My Schoolfellows, My Patrons, My Public: English Schoolboy Authorship 1786-1798

Jill Elizabeth Gage

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Abstract

Over the course of the eighteenth century, schoolboys were prolific writers, producing poetry, speeches, plays, periodicals, and novels to entertain their schoolfellows as well as a broader public, who listened to and read their work, criticised it, copied it, circulated it, had it printed, and purchased it. My research has yielded over seventy works published in print and manuscript by boys at English schools between 1660 and 1800. Yet schoolboy authors have been largely ignored by scholars, even as recent work has been produced on the history of education, on childhood, and on the rise of children's literature as a distinct genre in the mid-to-late eighteenth century. This thesis provides a survey of the corpus of schoolboy writing, along with three case studies of schoolboy authors who published between 1787 and 1800. The first case study concerns three schoolboy-authored periodicals: *The Microcosm* (1786–1787), *The Trifler* (1788), and *The Flagellant* (1792), which together form the largest corpus of identifiable schoolboy writing in print. The second study considers the work of James Boswell Jr (1778-1822), son of the biographer, whose juvenilia comprises verses, essays, plays, and letters, and is possibly the largest extant collection of extra-curricular literary manuscripts by a single eighteenth-century schoolboy. The third study examines a nearly five hundred page manuscript novel loosely based on *Robinson Crusoe*, written and illustrated by a boy named Jonathan Banks, at an unidentified school, probably in the mid-1790s. In surveying how schoolboy authors chose genres and formats, circulated material, and interacted with their intended and actual audiences, I hope to reveal how the experience of the schoolroom influenced their writing, how they defined authorship, both for

themselves and their readers, and how their schools functioned as a space of literary production and consumption.

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English Schoolboy Authorship 1660-1798: An Overview

Samuel Johnson once asserted that 'a schoolboy's exercise may be a pretty thing for a schoolboy; but it is a treat for no man'.[1] Such criticism, however, did not stop English schoolboys from publishing works in both print and manuscript form throughout the eighteenth century, nor did it reflect the public's interest in such works. Schoolboys were, in fact, seemingly inexhaustible authors: in addition to their schoolboy exercises, they produced poetry, speeches, plays, periodicals, and novels to entertain their schoolfellows as well as a broader public. My research has yielded over seventy works published by schoolboys during the long eighteenth century; moreover, there is much anecdotal evidence concerning schoolboy authorship during this period. Notably, Johnson himself wrote a number of poems while at school in both Lichfield and Stourbridge, including 'On a Daffodil, the first Flower the Author had seen that Year' and a now lost Latin poem on the glow-worm. Christopher Smart's talent in Latin verse-making at Durham School attracted the attention of Henrietta, Duchess of Cleveland; while Alexander Pope recollected, 'When I was twelve, I wrote a kind of a play, which I got to be acted by my schoolfellows'; and Samuel Richardson commented that his schoolmates often asked him to tell them stories 'from […] my Head, as mere Invention; of which they would be most fond. One of them […] was for putting me to write a History, as he called it, on the Model of Tommy Potts'.[2]

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[1] James Boswell, *Boswell's Life of Johnson*, ed. by G.B. Hill and L.F. Powell, 6 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1934-50), II, p. 127.

[2] W. Jackson Bate, *Samuel Johnson* (New York, Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1977), p. 62; Karina Williamson, 'Smart, Christopher (1722–1771)', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* < http://0-www.oxforddnb.com.catalogue.ulrls.lon.ac.uk/view/article/25739> [accessed 12 March 2011] (para. 5); Joseph Spence, *Anecdotes, Observations, and Characters of Books and Men* (London: W.H. Carpenter, 1820), p. 276; Samuel Richardson, *Selected Letters of Samuel Richardson*, ed. by John Carroll (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1964), pp. 228–235. 'Tommy Potts' refers to a chapbook, first published as *The Lover's Quarrel; or, Cupid's Triumph* (Edinburgh: [n. pub.], [1750?]),

Towards the end of the century, Robert Southey exulted in the extra-curricular literary culture of Westminster School, and compelled his roommate James Boswell the younger to write a mock biography of another schoolfellow, which was then circulated.[3]

If eighteenth-century schoolboy authors were so prolific, why have they, along with the literary culture that produced them, been largely ignored by scholars even as recent work has been produced on the history of early modern education, school libraries, and the rise of children's literature as a distinct genre in the mid-to-late eighteenth century?[4] The problem is partially rooted in the term 'children's literature', which has come to be understood as literature written for children, but not by children. While Matthew Grenby's work on child readers and book owners, and Jan Fergus's study of the reading habits of boys at Rugby School open up new ways of thinking about children – and specifically schoolboys – as readers, this work still focuses on children as consumers rather than creators of literary texts.[5] First and foremost, this dissertation shifts the focus from children's literature to literature by children.

All forms of children's writing are generally grouped under the rubric of 'juvenilia', another term that is rather problematic since, as Christine Alexander points out, it is simply 'extra-textual, deriving from the biographical criterion of age'.

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and beginning in 1776 as *The History of Tommy Potts; or, The Lover's Quarrel* (London: [n. pub.], 1776).

[3] William Haller, *The Early Life of Robert Southey, 1771-1803* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1917), p. 35.

[4] See, for example: *Children and their Books: A Celebration of the Work of Iona and Peter Opie*, ed. by Gillian Avery and Julia Briggs (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989); Ian Green, 'Libraries for School Education and Personal Devotion,' in *The Cambridge History of Libraries in Britain and Ireland, Volume II 1640-1850*, ed. by Giles Mandelbrote and Keith Manley (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), pp.47-64; and Seth Lerer, *Children's Literature: A Reader's History from Aesop to Harry Potter* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008).

[5] M. O. Grenby, *The Child Reader 1700-1840* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011); Jan Fergus, *Provincial Readers in Eighteenth-Century England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006).

Most scholarship assigns a somewhat arbitrary cut-off age for the production of juvenilia, generally between the ages of twenty and twenty-four, yet the term is not consistently applied: as one example, Alexander points out that John Keats wrote most of his poetry before the age of twenty-four, yet few would refer to his poetry as juvenilia. The writing of young authors varies wildly: in some instances it is simplistic and filled with mistakes, whereas in others 'the writing may be as sophisticated as any adult production'. Despite this wide range in quality there remains the 'illogical assumption that adult endeavours are somehow intrinsically "better" than youthful ones'.[6] While some scholarship has worked to situate juvenile works in a more serious light, the work has largely concentrated on famous writers such as Jane Austen, Leigh Hunt, or Virginia Woolf, and views their early work merely as a prelude to their later writing (a notable exception perhaps being the Brontës). Moreover, this work has traditionally been viewed as secret – or at least private – writing that would have circulated amongst family (if it circulated at all); the publication of this juvenilia often comes at a much later date, edited by family who 'seek to suppress family secrets or evidence of coarseness or immaturity'.[7] My project looks to examine a subset of juvenilia – schoolboy writing – as a distinctive literary culture with its own conventions and practises. It considers this writing not merely as a prologue to later work, but as a lens through which one might investigate the eighteenth-century English school as a space of literary production and consumption that fostered the creation and circulation of both curricular and extra-curricular work in manuscript and print.

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[6] Christine Alexander, 'Defining and Representing Literary Juvenilia', in *The Child Writer from Austen to Woolf*, ed. by Christine Alexander and Juliet McMaster (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), pp. 70-97 (pp. 72-73; p. 79).
[7] Ibid, p. 79.

While this introduction discusses schoolboy authorship between 1660 and 1800, the three case studies that follow focus on the last fifteen years of the eighteenth century. This narrow time frame allows the writing of these particular schoolboy authors to be placed within a fairly specific historical and literary context, which is especially useful since notions about all three keywords of my title – 'Boys' (or 'Children'); 'School' (or 'Education'); and 'Authorship' – changed dramatically over the course of the long eighteenth century and merit a brief discussion here. While the idea of childhood as a cultural construct can actually be traced back to the middle ages, from the late seventeenth century, it was increasingly shaped by treatises on education, including those of John Locke and later Jean-Jacques Rousseau, as well as by the rise of books, toys, and games marketed specifically for children that appeared in the mid-eighteenth century.[8] Additionally, ideas about who should be educated, and how it should be accomplished, were also debated: for example, the question of whether public or private education was preferable remained in dispute, and much discussion surrounded the education of poor children, as well as that of girls, who often received educational training that was quite sophisticated, either in private schools or at home.[9] There was, in fact, no national system of education until the late

[8] For a discussion of the history of childhood, see: Phillipe Ariès, *Centuries of Childhood: A Social History of Family Life*, trans. Robert Baldick (New York: Vintage, 1962). The work of Ariès, however, has been re-examined and challenged. See, for example: Linda Pollock, *Forgotten Children: Parent-Child Relations from 1500 to 1900* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983). For Locke and Rousseau, see: John Locke, *Some Thoughts Concerning Education* (London: A. and J. Churchill, 1693); and Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *Emilius and Sophia: or, A New System of Education*, trans. by William Kenrick (London: R. Griffiths, T. Becket and P. A. de Hondt, 1762). For a discussion of children's books in the eighteenth-century, see: *Children and Their Books*, ed. by Gillian Avery and Julia Briggs (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989); and *Opening the Nursery Door: Reading, Writing, and Childhood, 1600-1900*, ed. by Mary Hilton, Morag Styles, and Victor Watson (New York: Routledge, 1997).

[9] Mary Hilton and Jill Shefrin, 'Introduction', in *Educating the Child in Enlightenment Britain: Beliefs, Cultures, Practices*, ed. by Mary Hilton and Jill Shefrin (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2009), pp. 1-20 (pp. 10-11). In the same volume, see: Sophia Woodley, '"Oh Miserable and Most Ruinous Measure": The Debate between Private and Public Education in Britain, 1760-1800', pp. 21-39. See also: Michèle Cohen, '"To think, to compare, to combine, to methodise": Girls' Education in Enlightenment Britain'

nineteenth century, and instead schools were a 'patchwork of dissimilar institutions, endowed (or "public") and private-ventures, some offering advanced and thorough educations and some providing little beyond basic reading'.[10] Private schools ranged from 'Dame' schools, often kept by widows, which might offer rudimentary instruction in reading and writing to more ambitious schools (including ones for girls) that gave instruction in subjects such as English, arithmetic, drawing, history, geography, penmanship, and modern languages. Endowed schools, on the other hand, focussed primarily on the study of classical languages and authors, although as early as the mid-seventeenth century, some of these schools also provided instruction in English. For example, John Dryden wrote English as well as Latin exercises while he was at Westminster, and the seventeenth-century schoolmaster Charles Hoole recommended English composition alongside Latin.[11] Many schools had been founded in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries to educate poor, local students, but over the course of the eighteenth century some (for example, Christ's Hospital) shifted towards middle- and upper-class students; likewise, schools such as Rugby and Harrow moved away from educating mostly local boys and began taking in boarders from all parts of the country.[12] A few of these 'public' schools, including Eton, Westminster, Winchester, Harrow, Rugby, Shrewsbury, and Charterhouse became 'fashionable, elitist institutions by the end of the century'.[13] While perceptions about education and schools changed, important schools still 'wielded

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in *Women, Gender, and Enlightenment*, ed. by Sarah Knott and Barbara Taylor (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), pp. 224-42.

[10]Alan Richardson, *Literature, Education, and Romanticism: Reading as Social Practice 1780-1832* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), p. 77.

[11] M.L. Clarke, *Classical Education in Britain 1500-1900* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1959), p. 40.

[12] I have found Nicholas Carlisle, *A Concise Description of the Endowed Grammar Schools of England and Wales* (London: Baldwin, Cradock, and Joy, 1818) to be a useful source of information about individual schools, especially those that do not have independently published histories.

enormous cultural power; the leading schools influenced not just their students but also society itself'. Not only did 'poets, philosophers, and politicians [look] to the schools for evidence of social and intellectual trends', but in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, 'leading authors would enquire as to the reception of their works at Westminster and discuss poetry written by the boys there'.[14] Performances at Westminster and Eton, in particular, attracted much attention and were reviewed in newspapers and periodicals, but provincial school performances were also well reported and were an important part of the social calendar. As such, adult writers expressed admiration for schoolboy endeavours: after attending a play at Westminster in 1762 James Boswell commented, 'There was a very numerous audience. […] I was entertained to see the boys play.'[15] Frances Burney conveyed similar appreciation for Eton students, writing in her diary not only of her enjoyment at hearing their speeches, but also of reading *The Microcosm*, a periodical produced by Etonians in 1786-87.[16]

My study focuses on boys at public schools, although it is worth noting that even at schools that came to be seen as exclusively upper-class, students were not necessarily homogeneous in terms of their social status. Boys of limited means might be awarded scholarships based on academic skill, and students often encountered different types of schooling beforehand. In fact, George Canning, Robert Southey, and James Boswell Jr – the subjects of two of the next chapters – all attended private schools before entering Eton and Westminster.

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[13] Richardson, p. 81.
[14] Aaron Santesso, 'The School of Westminster: Institutional Philology and Anomic Influence', *Modern Philology*, 110 (2013), 367-88 (p. 378).
[15] Lance Bertelsen, *The Nonsense Club: Literature and Popular Culture, 1749-1764* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986), p. 11.
[16] Frances Burney, *Diary & Letters of Madame D'Arblay (1778-1840)*, ed. by Charlotte Barrett, 6 vols (London: Macmillan and Co., 1904), III, p. 121-122, 295.

Theories and practises of authorship also shifted over the eighteenth century, which saw the decline of literary patronage and the emergence of the professional writer. These changes, however, were not straightforward; even at mid-century, authors such as Samuel Johnson sought patrons and pensions, and there evolved complex commercial and intellectual relationships between authors, publishers, printers, and booksellers. Additionally, literary collaboration was both common and multifaceted: authors might receive assistance from friends during the composition or revision of a work; they might co-write a work; or they might contribute a preface or introduction to another writer's work. Dustin Griffin points out that eighteenth-century books, with their various paratexts, made manifest this joint authorship, and he suggests that books often spoke to readers 'in several different voices'.[17]

Contemporary interest in schoolboy authors might be linked to the transformation in public attentions to different authorial voices during the mid-to-late century, when previously marginalised voices, including those of slaves, women, and the lower classes, all materialised in the public sphere.[18] Schoolboys (especially public schoolboys), though, represented a different kind of voice, one of particular entitlement and privilege, and in fact had been a small but consistent part of the public sphere throughout the entire early modern period. Yet, despite the fact that schoolboy performances were a part of public life, scholarly work on the history of schools routinely overlooks works by schoolboys. Edward Mack, for example, claims to examine the 'copious body of prose fiction, reminiscence, history, poetry, and pamphlet literature which has in the past centuries grown up in exposition, praise, or

[17] Dustin Griffin, *Authorship in the Long Eighteenth Century* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2014), pp. 67-68.
[18] See, for example: *The Letters of the Late Ignatius Sancho, An African*, ed. by Frances Crew (London: J Nichols, 1782); Phillis Wheatley, *Poems on Various Subjects, Religious and Moral* (London: A. Bell, 1773); Anne Yearsley, *Poems, on Several Occasions* (London: T. Cadell, 1787).

censure around the institution of the Public School', and yet he disregards works actually written *by* schoolboys.[19] While schoolboy-authored works are often acknowledged in histories of specific schools – and in biographies of famous men – the work is often viewed either as inconsequential or merely as paving the way for future success; joint authorship is usually disregarded as well. Few scholarly works take into account the literary culture that allowed for the production of such schoolboy endeavours.[20] For instance, in his book on the history of Whitgift School, F.H.G. Percy describes a collection of verses published by schoolboys in 1713 as 'trite and conventional' while at the same time expressing amazement that 'a handful of boys should be able to produce such work at all'.[21] Schools themselves are seen as permanent and afforded histories, whereas schoolboys are viewed as temporary, replaceable parts of the system.

Students throughout the eighteenth century produced copious amounts of writing. On a daily basis they composed school exercises in oral and written form that were critiqued by both schoolfellows and schoolmasters. At holidays and breaking up days they performed before a larger public that might include anyone from family and friends to literary figures to members of the royal family, including the king and queen. Far from being secreted from view and writing private texts, schoolboys circulated their texts and offered them up to various publics. In addition to printed publications, there survive thousands of manuscript pages of school exercises, letters, poetry, plays – and even a novel. Schoolboys authors were what Margaret Ezell calls

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[19] Edward C. Mack, *Public Schools and British Opinion 1780 to 1860* (London: Methuen & Co. Ltd., 1938), p. xii.

[20] One notable exception has been the research on the literary training at Westminster School, renowned for producing poets, particularly from the mid-seventeenth to the mid-eighteenth centuries. See, for example: Aaron Santesso, '"Playful" Poetry and the Public School', *Eighteenth-Century Life* 32 (2008), 57-80.

[21] F.H.G. Percy, *Whitgift School: A History* (Croydon: The Whitgift Foundation, 1991), p.80.

'social authors' that is, writers who 'existed on the margins of the commercial literary domain', and who either produced work in manuscript that was circulated and copied, or else published work in print 'but did not expect to derive significant income from publishing or literary activities'.[22] Of course to a certain extent, a study of schoolboy authors encounters similar obstacles as a more general study of juvenilia: boys at school ranged in age from about ten to eighteen, and the quality of their writing varied greatly. My goal is not to examine everything written by schoolboys during the eighteenth century, but to focus primarily on original writing in English by boys who were students at endowed schools in England. Limiting my scope to boys with similar experiences is useful in that while my project does not look at the curriculum of these schools per se, it investigates how boys supplemented their traditional, classical school texts with contemporary works in English, and how they modelled their extra-curricular writing on these works while still using the methods of composition (and their related modes of social criticism) inculcated by schools.

How Did Boys Publish?

In 1660, Woodstock School, located just outside of Oxford, published *Votivum Carolo*, a collection of schoolboy-penned verses celebrating the restoration of Charles II. In their preface to the reader the boys state: 'Indeed, It may look like ambition in school-boyes to be in Print; But, if young students at Oxford doe much this way, why may not we at Woodstock doe a little?'.[23] This question – 'why may not *we* publish?' – was one that English schoolboys continued to ask both themselves and their readers throughout the long eighteenth century, producing over seventy printed works

[22] Margaret Ezell, *Social Authorship and the Advent of Print* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1990), p. 4, 85. While Ezell specifically discusses the authorial culture of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, her work is applicable to the later part of the eighteenth century as well.

between 1660 and 1800. In considering the steady rate of publication of schoolboy-authored works, the question of 'why publish?' might be followed with that of *how* schoolboy authors published their work.

Before the 1690s, it would have been difficult for boys – or aspiring authors of any age – to publish their work in print, as there were no newspapers that published literary texts, nor were there periodicals or magazines; additionally, printing was largely confined to London, Oxford, and Cambridge. By the late eighteenth century, though, print culture had been transformed, and Terry Belanger succinctly describes the options for an author as publication in either a local or a London-based newspaper or journal, 'contracting for […] printing with a view towards self-publishing, or finding a […] publisher willing to speculate on the work's chances of reaching […] a local, national, or international audience'.[24] Belanger does not include the possibility of manuscript publication amongst his options, which, for boys at least, remained a viable way of circulating works throughout the eighteenth century. In fact, two of the largest caches of schoolboy writing I have found – those of James Boswell Jr and Jonathan Banks – exist only in manuscript form and were never intended for print publication. Furthermore, although schoolboys had their own culture of literary circulation at school, when it came to being published in print they were often dependent on established channels maintained by adults, including schoolmasters as well as publishers. Schoolboys, then, might have published their work in the following ways: circulating manuscript copies of work that was intended to be spoken or had already been spoken; circulating manuscript copies of work written

[23] Woodstock School, *Votivum Carolo, Or, A Welcome to His Sacred Majesty Charles the II. From the Master and Scholars of Woodstock-School in the County of Oxford* (Oxford: [H. Hall], 1660).

expressly for the page instead of an oral performance; publishing work in a newspaper or periodical; publishing work in a volume collected or edited by the schoolmaster or underwritten by the school; or self-publishing work independent of school or schoolmaster. This chapter will provide an overview of all of these types of publications, focussing on the mechanics and practicalities of publication. The three chapters that follow will analyse case studies of specific authors and their publications.

The Schoolroom and School Curriculum

In fashioning themselves as authors for the general reading public, schoolboys would have needed to navigate various spaces, including the school, printing house, bookshop, and even the printed page. These spaces of literary production, I would argue, were not only clearly understood and manipulated by both aspiring schoolboy authors and their adult publishers, but were also made manifest through the production, transmission, and reception of their texts: the spaces of schoolboy production yielded works *about* the spaces of production. Boys frequently invited readers into their school spaces: the authors of *The Microcosm* presented Eton as 'a world in miniature', while an anonymous student provided a rather unseemly, but perhaps realistic picture of schoolboy spaces, admitting to his audience that his schoolfellows' books were 'in such a pickle, that your Ladiships would hardly touch them with a pair of Tongues, and the meer seeing, or scenting of them, might cause a breeding Lady to *peuke'*.[25] Schoolboy publications almost always advertised the place of their creation. Schoolmasters of course wanted to draw attention to the boys'

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[24] Terry Belanger, 'Publishers and Writers in 18th-Century England', in *Books and Their Readers in Eighteenth-Century England*, ed. by Isabel Rivers (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1982), pp. 5-25 (p. 6).

writing in order to lure parents of potential students, as well as to elevate themselves professionally and socially. Yet even when boys self-published, they often noted that their writing had started out as school exercises or had been circulated among schoolmates.

The schoolroom was, at least in theory, a very orderly space. Lessons generally took place in one room, with the headmaster stationed at the front, closest to the sixth form, the oldest boys. The lower forms were tended to by the other masters (sometimes called ushers) or even the boys themselves: at Westminster, for example, 'older boys were appointed as surrogates for the master to "monitor" and reprimand the younger boys' linguistic performance in his absence'.[26] Somewhat similarly, at Winchester College, each senior boy served as a tutor, with junior boys assigned to him. This method of education engendered the practise of 'fagging', in which younger boys 'served' older ones, meaning that boys might be beaten by masters or by their own schoolmates. This punishment could sometimes be avoided through school exercises or by begging for clemency. The schoolroom, then, might be viewed as a theatre of production, performance, and punishment, with boys receiving constant feedback and competing with other boys for attention and praise from the master, the senior boys, and boys in their own form. Some boys took ownership of this space and literally wrote themselves into the room, carving their names on desks and walls – Harrow's schoolroom in particular is covered with boys' names.[27]

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[25] *The Microcosm* (Windsor: Charles Knight, 1787), pp. 9-10*; Ludus Ludi Literarii: or, School-boys Exercises and Divertissements* (London: Thomas Parkhurst, 1672), pp. 38-9.
[26] Lynn Enterline, *Shakespeare's Schoolroom: Rhetoric, Discipline, Emotion* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2012), p. 35.
[27] Howard Staunton, *The Great Schools of England*, (London: S. Low, Son, and Marston, 1865), p. 11.

A sense of order could also be found in the curriculum and daily life. Robert Farren Cheetham, a student at Manchester School in 1792, provided a friend with a detailed account of how he spent his schooldays:

> First ev'ry morning we say a Greek lesson, Forenoon the same – the first generally about 12 verses in the Testament the second eighteen or twenty, we play three afternoons ev'ry week, the other three we read in Virgil two lessons ev'ry afternoon the first lesson about 40 verses the second about 30. Ev'ry night we have exercises, Monday, Tuesday, & Wednesday we translate Latin into English, Thursday write Latin verses, Friday translate English into Latin, Saturday we've a theme.[28]

At Eton, in addition to their daily construing, or translating, boys in the fifth form had to compose three Latin exercises each week during their 'play-time': an original theme of twenty lines, verses consisting of ten elegiac couplets, and five or six stanzas of lyrics; sixth form boys replaced the lyrics with Greek iambics.[29] In learning to compose themes (prose essays) and verses, boys would begin by making notes in a commonplace book. They would then read out loud what they had written and transcribe the notes of others, giving them a ready store of material; as they composed their own work they would also consult phrase books and model books such as John Clarke's *Formulæ Oratoriæ*.[30] In order to learn how to write and speak, boys were meant to imitate printed texts, as well as the speaking style and the hand and facial movements of their schoolmasters. This imitation taught boys to achieve 'their place in the social world […] by feeling and conveying passions that came from somewhere

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[28] Chester, Cheshire and Chester Archives, ZTCP/7/1/479.
[29] H.C. Maxwell Lyte, *A History of Eton College: 1440-1875* (London: Macmillan and Co., 1875), p. 316.
[30] John Clarke, *Formulæ Oratoriæ* (London: Robert Milbourne, 1630). There were nine later editions. Later phrase books included: William Hamilton, *Hermes Romanus Anglicis Dni. Johannis Garretsoni Vertendis Exercitiis Accommodatus: or, A New Collection of Latin Words and Phrases, For the More Ready and Exact Translating of Garretson's English Exercises into Latin* (London: John and Benjamin Sprint, 1711), which appeared in fourteen additions through 1771. For a discussion of how boys composed Latin verses, see: M.L. Clarke, p. 39.

else and someone else'.[31] Yet this method of instruction via imitation was meant to help boys become better readers, writers, and speakers, in that it trained them to discern and make arguments and to connect with their audience.

Although schools promoted strict training, students often regulated –and sometimes taught – themselves, and boys could spend vast amounts of time on their studies, or scarcely any at all. At Winchester, despite the fact that the boys wrote thousands of 'vulguses' (compositions in Latin elegiac verse) and 'varyings' (short extempore epigrams), there was also 'probably much desultory reading, and much to foster the literary temper in a life which had not become crowded by the overpowering claims of the classroom'.[32] It was perhaps exactly this environment that encouraged authorship: for example, Lance Bertelsen suggests that Westminster 'was certainly a place where independent (and joint) literary effort was encouraged. […] Young authors could gather what they needed in relative freedom, and practise their skills […] in a competitive arena'.[33] The competitive arena for schoolboys would have included performing in schoolroom examinations that would enable them to move up to a higher form, as well as speaking at celebrations for school feasts or the breaking up for school holidays. Not all schools were selective about who would speak on public days, and indeed some required all students (or at least all students of a certain proficiency) to attempt a speech. One boy used his allotted time on stage (and later on the page) to express his displeasure at this practise, telling his audience: 'I have not been six weeks in this School, and yet I am called upon to be an Orator. Is it not a sad thing that a man can no sooner peep into a Parish, but he shall be put upon

[31] Enterline, p. 29.
[32] H.C. Adams, *Wykehamica. A History of Winchester College and Commoners, from the Foundation to the Present Day* (Oxford: J. Parker and Co., 1878), pp. 437-38; H.A.L. Fisher, 'Winchester in the Eighteenth Century', in *Winchester College 1393-1893* (London: E. Arnold, 1893), pp. 83-95 (p. 85).
[33] Bertelsen, p. 11.

an Office?'.[34] Other schools were more discriminating as to who might be allowed to speak. At Eton, declamations and speeches were spoken about a fortnight before breaking up, and sixth form boys skipped a week's exercises in order to prepare.[35] During the six-weeks of 'Easter-Time' at Winchester, the upper school was divided into six 'chambers', with each chamber speaking on a different Saturday morning. Each boy would a recite a speech, with the best selected to recite again for the residents of town on Commoners' Day; boys were awarded medals for the best compositions and speeches.[36] Winchester seems to have been particularly organised and competitive about speech days, and the prevailing notion was that the best way for boys to learn to write prize-winning verses was to study previous prize winning verses by Old Wykehamists; a number of manuscript miscellanies devoted solely to Winchester poems survive.[37]

Schools also produced plays, usually to celebrate the holidays. The first recorded plays were performed at Westminster for the 1563 and 1564 Christmas holidays, with Queen Elizabeth in attendance for both plays.[38] Plays were generally in Latin (Terence was particularly popular), although by the late eighteenth century, they were performed in English as well. Boys wrote prologues and epilogues to these plays, mostly in English, which often commented wittily on current events or school life, and the boys' performances were undoubtedly rehearsed in the schoolroom along

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[34] *Ludus Ludi Literarii*, p. 61.
[35] At Eton, declamations consisted of original, opposing arguments on a single topic, while speeches were memorised from sources such as Livy or Sallust; this distinction was not made at every school.
[36] Adams, p. 422; Staunton, p. 90.
[37] See, for example: *Prize Poems and Other Verses Written by Scholars of St. Mary's College, Winchester, c. 1770-1820*, London, British Library, Additional MS 29,539; and *Prose and Verse Compositions, chiefly in Latin, by Winchester Schoolboys 1737-39*, Gloucester, Gloucestershire Archives, D1086/F99
[38] T.H. Vail Motter, *The School Drama in England* (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1929), p. 91.

with daily lessons. By the 1730s, the boys' prologues and epilogues were regularly printed in periodicals, expanding their audience far beyond the confines of the school.

A Prelude to the Eighteenth Century

Given the obstacles to publication in the late-seventeenth and early-eighteenth centuries, it is no surprise that I have located only three printed collections of schoolboy-authored works published between 1660 and 1730: the aforementioned *Votivum Carolo*; the anonymous *Ludus Ludi Literarii: or, School-Boys Exercises and Divertissements* (1672); and *Verses on the Peace* (1713) by the scholars of Whitgift School in Croydon; curiously, neither Woodstock nor Whitgift published any more work by its students.[39] Throughout the early modern period, schoolboys were also represented in print culture, first appearing in didactic works such as Juan Luis Vives's *Linguae Latinae Exercitatio* ('School Dialogues'), which first appeared in print in 1539, with the first edition printed in England in 1612. Later, satirical pieces such as *A Pleasant Dialogue between a Protestant School-boy, and a Popish Priest* (1698) and *A Critick No Wit: or, Remarks on Mr. Dennis's Late Play, Called the Invader of His Country. In a Letter from a School-boy, to the Author* (1720) used the ingenuous figure of a schoolboy to make pointed critiques. One satire on the Royalist pamphleteer and newspaper publisher Roger L'Estrange, *New News from Bedlam*, even uses the setting of a school speech day, with the Captain of the school 'Mr. Tho. Tell-Truth' declaring: 'Our Master gave, besides our Bedlam Theams, / To Oil our Fancies, several sorts of Scenes; / And in our Contemplations bid us hope / To Maul

[39] Whitgift Grammar School, *Verses on the Peace; By the Scholars of Croyden School, Surrey. Spoken in Public, May 13, 1713* (London: A. Baldwin, 1713).

the French, the Tories, and the Pope'.[40] These pseudonymous publications situate schoolboys in the public sphere and give them a voice – albeit not their own – with which to criticise adult behaviour. While the satirical use of the pseudonym 'a schoolboy' largely falls away after 1750, I would argue that the schoolboy-authored periodicals of the 1780s and 90s I examine in the next chapter take up anew the idea of boys offering pseudonymous social critiques; this can especially be seen in the short-lived Westminster periodical *The Flagellant*, whose authors produced an essay arguing that schoolmasters had satanic origins.

While my project focuses particularly on schoolboy writing of the 1780s and 90s, the pre-1700 publications nevertheless merit a discussion, as they anticipate and help to contextualise later works. The three early printed works were probably paid for by the schoolmasters, and the two sets of occasional verses on the restoration of Charles II and the end of Queen Anne's War imply political motives for publishing. The Whitgift volume simply contains verses by the boys in English, Latin, and Greek, with no dedication or preface. The Woodstock verses, though, contain a dedication to George Monck by the schoolmaster, Francis Gregory, in which he reveals that he published his boys' verses because 'my work is, to teach them Religion, Loyalty, and Learning; Religion towards their GOD; Loyalty towards their KING; and Learning to fit them for the service of both'. Additionally, the schoolmaster includes two of his *own* poems, in honour of Monck and Charles II, at the beginning of the volume; and two more, on *Eikon Basilike* and the death of Charles I, at the end. Superficially, then, the book is about the boys writing verses for the King, yet the text is book-ended by

[40] Juan Luis Vives, *Linguæ Latinæ Exercitatio* (London, N. Okes, [1612?]); *A Pleasant [D]ialogue Between a Protestant School-boy, and a Popish Priest, Concerning the Present Times, As They met at Hide-Park Corner, Last Fryday* ([n.p.]: [n. pub.], 1698]); *A Critick No Wit: or, Remarks on Mr. Dennis's Late Play, Called the Invader of His Country. In a Letter from a School-boy, to the Author* (London: J. Roberts, [1720]). Theophilus Rationalis, *New News from Bedlam: or More Work for Towzer and his Brother Ravenscroft* (London: printed for the author, 1682).

the writing of the master, with eleven of its twenty-eight pages devoted to his own work. Given that Gregory had attended Westminster and later served as an usher under the celebrated Dr. Busby, he no doubt would have been familiar with that school's literary training, performances, and publications, as well as its political and cultural influence. Furthermore, the fact that Gregory dedicates a poem to Monck, an army officer who originally fought with Royalist forces, later served under Cromwell, then changed sides again, helping to bring about the restoration of Charles II, reinforces his political motives.[41] The boys – and their writings – are thereby controlled by the schoolmaster and subsumed beneath his own writing in an effort to situate himself in a position of both allegiance and power. The boys' verses were clearly scrutinised by their schoolmaster and are fairly conventional. Usually striking a pose of diffidence and veneration, the boys tend to manifest anxiety about writing verses:

> Shall *I*? What *I*? poor *school-boy* undertake
> A verse on *such* a subject for to make?
> CHARLES is a Subject that becomes the Pen
> Onely of Doctours, Bishops, Nobler-Men.
> For *school-boyes* 'tis too high a theame; on it
> An *Ovid* now might exercise his wit.
> But yet so *gracious* is our *Prince*, that *Boyes*,
> Who have no *wit*, are welcome ev'n with *toyes*.[42]

While these lines are light-hearted, the fact that they have been printed lends them a literal weightiness: the poetical 'toy' becomes an actual object of pleasure for the king to hold. Just as the schoolmaster 'holds' the boys textually, the king can physically contain them within his hands, assuring himself, and others, of their loyalty. The

[41] Newton E. Key, 'Gregory, Francis (1623–1707)', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/11462> [accessed 1 Sept 2014]; Ronald Hutton, 'Monck,

collection as a whole exemplifies what Keith Thomas describes as the 'way in which the schools shaped the outlook of their pupils; […] by promoting in their daily workings a model of political life, a practical lesson in the exercise of authority', and advertises to readers how the schoolmaster enabled and controlled literary production within the space of his school.[43]

The Woodstock publication imitates manuscripts produced by professional scribes, which were often a gift for a single patron.[44] Manuscript copies, though, were not always professionally produced. A late seventeenth-century miscellany by Richard Enock of Trinity College, Oxford includes a manuscript copy of *Votivum Carolo* that lacks the paratextual material and includes only the verses, suggesting that the boys' writing was what Enock found to be of interest. Immediately following the Woodstock poems is 'Carmen Laudatorium, or verses on the praise of Mr. Henry Boxe founder of Witney Schoole in Oxfordshire (by the scholars of Whitney School)'. At some point in the 1660s, Francis Gregory left Woodstock School to become the headmaster of Witney School, so these verses, too, were likely composed in his schoolroom. 'Carmen Laudatorium' does not exist in printed form, so the manuscript is probably a record of a public speech day. One student, Edmund Wheeler, proclaims:

> To give such guests that welcome which is due,
> Would pose a Shakespeer, and a Jonson too;
> I must not once attempt it, but sitte down,
> And be contented to be thought a clowne;

George, first duke of Albemarle (1608–1670)', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/18939> [accessed 1 Sept 2014].

[42] Woodstock School, p. 9.

[43] Thomas, p. 4.

[44] See, for example: *Viola Martia, Complimentary Verses to Charles I on the Birth of his Daughter Anne by Eighteen Members of Westminster School*, British Library, Royal 12 A. XII; and *Complimentary Verses, in Latin and English, to Charles I, Upon his Return from Scotland in 1633, by 27 Boys of Westminster School*, British Library, Royal 12 A. LVIII.

> Unhappy sure am I that must dismisse,
> So faire, so many Ladyes, and not kisse.

Wheeler's verse projects the same anxiety as those of the Woodstock boys, yet his trepidation is in relation to a different, more immediate audience. The fact that he describes his physical movements of standing and sitting, along with the allusion to Shakespeare and Jonson instead of Ovid, suggests that Wheeler intended specifically for his work to be performed on stage, undoubtedly for an audience that included women; the gender makeup of the audience is further indicated by Wheeler's comment on being unable to kiss all the ladies in attendance. Another boy, Edmund Gregory (the son of Francis Gregory), also addresses this female audience, humorously requesting that the ladies in the crowd save him from punishment:

> It's holy day, and yet we might make speeches.
> And if not witty, then have at our breeches.
> If these my lines prove false, I'm twice undone
> And shall be whipt, as scholar, and a son.
> For want of Witt, I want two pardons, true
> One from my Father, Madams one from you.
> Pray lets have both, and leave me not in the lurch.
> If not, I fear that Boxe will bring forth birch.[45]

While still directing his remarks at women, Gregory also attempts to appeal to schoolboys both young and old who would understand (and find sympathetic humour in) the system of literary training that combined performance and punishment in the schoolroom.

Given that Enock entered Trinity College in 1673 at age fifteen, he obviously was not an original owner or reader of the 1660 Woodstock verses (although the Witney verses are undated). It is likely that he used a printed source for the former

[45] British Library, Sloane MS 1458.

and an existing manuscript for the latter; in fact, it is probable that he worked from copies owned by Edmund Gregory, who entered Trinity College, at age sixteen, in 1676.[46] Gregory may have been a facilitator of these texts, making copies available to any number of his friends or fellow students, although the exact nature of how texts such as these circulated is difficult to establish since 'most personal miscellanies rarely record the circumstances of receipt of particular items, and almost never those of further transmission'.[47] Enock's miscellany indicates that even in manuscript, school verses had an afterlife and circulated not just within the sphere of the school, but outside it as well.

Not all schoolmasters were as politically motivated as Francis Gregory. In the 1672 publication, *Ludus Ludi Literarii: or, School-Boys Exercises and Divertissements*, a schoolmaster, who signs himself only R.S. and refuses to identify his school, tells the reader in his preface that boys should be required to make speeches in English instead of Latin because English speeches on everyday topics would force the boys to be original, and not 'pick and steal' from the usual sources used when composing Latin verses and speeches.[48] Indeed, the speeches are entirely inventive: instead of paeans to the king or humorous requests not to be beaten, these boys, who also are identified only by initials, give speeches on topics ranging from fashions to watches to tobacco to news, though what they mostly talk about is eating. In addition to the speeches that are directly about food (two speeches, for instance, reflect on mince pies and chocolate) many speeches on completely unrelated topics

[46] Joseph Foster, *Alumni Oxonienses 1500-1714*, 4 vols (Oxford: Parker and Co., 1891-1892), II, p. 463; p. 602.
[47] Harold Love, *Scribal Publication in Seventeenth-Century England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), p. 80.

eventually turn to the boys' omnipresent hunger (for example, a boy discoursing on Quaker weddings goes on at length about Venison pasties, while another complains that at funerals and christenings one was often only given 'Naples-biscuits' to eat over the course of several hours).[49] Through their short, observational, English speeches these boy authors foreshadow the schoolboy essay periodicals that would gain popularity more than a century later (and perhaps in fact, essay periodicals as a whole – it is worth noting that Joseph Addison and Richard Steele first met as schoolmates at Charterhouse School). In fact, I would argue that boys learning to write and present speeches such as these impacted all types of eighteenth-century authorship. In *The Compleat English Gentleman*, Daniel Defoe claims that the practise of Charles Morton, who ran the Dissenting Academy at Newington Green, of making his students write exercises and perform in English, taught students to write 'free and plain, without foolish flourishes and ridiculous flights of jingling bombast in stile, or dull meanesses of expression'.[50]

In summary, the schoolboys of the seventeenth century could not have written the periodicals or comic operas or novels that later boys did, since those genres did not exist. They could not have submitted work to magazines or self-published their work using a provincial printer, since those options were unavailable. But what these seventeenth-century boys make manifest is that the desire and ability to entertain audiences with original literary works was already in place. Classical school training, in which boys were taught to imitate or identify with others, share their work with

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[48] 'R.S.' might possibly be Richard Swift, who ran a private grammar school in Mill Hill, near London. See: Mark Burden, 'A Biographical Dictionary of Tutors at the Dissenters' Private Academies, 1660–1729', Dr Williams's Centre for Dissenting Studies (2013), <http://www.english.qmul.ac.uk/drwilliams/pubs/dictionary.html> [accessed 1 August 2014]
[49] *Ludus Ludi Literarii*, pp. 8-10, pp. 77-79; pp. 22-25; pp. 1-6.
[50] Daniel Defoe, *The Compleat English Gentleman*, ed. Karl D. Bülbring (London: D. Nutt, 1890), p. 219.

schoolmates, and write and declaim their own works (sometimes in English), allowed them to reimagine the limits of their writing over the course of the eighteenth century. These early works establish a model for schoolboy authorship that boys both adhered to and moved away from over the next century; as new avenues of publication opened up, schoolboys embraced the opportunity as much as any other aspiring author of the period.

An Overview of Schoolboy Publishing

Schoolboys, as previously stated, published their work in manuscript, in periodicals, and in independently published editions throughout the century. The choice of publication often depended on the boy author. Obviously, the most expedient way of publishing was to circulate work in manuscript. These manuscripts might be informal scraps of paper passed around to copy, or else they might be more formal publications complete with title pages, dedications, and illustrations. An aspiring schoolboy poet might then test the waters by submitting work to a periodical with or without attaching his name or even identifying himself as a schoolboy (as such, it is certain that many schoolboy-authored works have escaped my searches). In independently published volumes, there were two options: boy authors might see their work published by their schoolmaster, either as part of a collection of verses and speeches or in a volume devoted specifically to one boy; boys might also self-publish their work. This section will discuss each of these methods of publication.

Manuscripts

Obviously, all writing of the eighteenth century began life in manuscript, and from an early age boys would have circulated work amongst schoolfellows. Even these manuscript verses sometimes gained a wider readership. Public speech day

verses in particular had a tendency to get copied and recopied long after their initial oral 'publication' and are often found in manuscript miscellanies. These collections follow the tradition of seventeenth century manuscript miscellanies, often scribally published, which contain work by multiple writers and were 'the characteristic mode through which verse was circulated'.[51] Some of these miscellanies, like those of Winchester School, were meant to aid the writing of the boys', but others, copied out by adults, include boys' work alongside that of other writers. For example, George Weller's miscellany (circa 1750) includes at least two of his own compositions, several pieces spoken by boys at Tonbridge School, and copies of several older poems and ballads.[52] Most of the Tonbridge School pieces in the collection were written for Skinners' Day, the official visitation of the school's governors, the Worshipful Company of Skinners. Weller includes verses and dialogues dating back to 1700, and up to at least 1743. Weller may have heard some of these speeches in person, for example, 'A Dialogue between Plato and Ovid. Spoken in Tonbridge School May 11th 1725' and 'A Dialogue between Skinner Spencer and Master Shadwell. Both before they went to University at leaving the School' (probably dating from 1735), but he was likely copying the older material, like 'The Pastoral at Tonbridge School May 14th 1700' from other manuscript sources. It was this method of manuscript copying that 'was able to sustain the currency of popular texts for very long periods and bring them to the attention of considerable bodies of readers', and like Richard Enock's earlier miscellany, what Weller's collection evidences is that even when schoolboys'

[51] Love, p. 5.
[52] George Weller (1710-68) was at Tonbridge School for at least the 1721-22 school year and probably longer. He continued to live at Tonbridge, and then at Tunbridge Wells until sometime after 1766 and seems to have played an active role in county affairs. Weller does not appear in the DNB; instead this biographical information comes from the inventory of the manuscript: Leeds, Leeds University Library, Brotherton Collection MS Lt q 51.

work was not published in print, it continued to circulate and find an audience in manuscript.[53]

While many manuscripts contain verses spoken on public days or written for school competitions, writing that was strictly extra-curricular survives as well. As Harold Love argues, the determination of manuscript publication is the 'movement from a private realm of creativity to a public realm of consumption'. A work, he claims, can be considered published when the author 'knowingly relinquishes control over the future social use of that text'.[54] This type of publishing can be seen in work that was circulated within school so that other boys could copy it: for example, Joseph Warton remarked in one of his notebooks that while at Winchester in 1740 he wrote a masque called 'The Hermit' which he loaned to a friend who never returned it.[55] It is not always easy to discern if or how a manuscript circulated, and therefore some manuscripts suggest publication (or the intent to do so) based on their material design and their employment of 'a recognizably public form of discourse'; the writings of James Boswell Jr and Jonathan Banks fall into this category and will be examined in later chapters.[56] Some boys circulated work in manuscript merely as a prelude to publishing it in print. Robert Farren Cheetham, who I will shortly discuss in more detail, regularly circulated his poems amongst his schoolfellows at Manchester School, as well as his old schoolmates in Chester, before he would even consider submitting them to a newspaper. Coterie publishing in manuscript obviously would have appealed to boys because it was the easiest and least costly way to circulate their work and required no adult subvention; furthermore, manuscript publications freed

[53] Love, p. 38.
[54] Ibid., p. 36, p. 39.
[55] Oxford, Bodleian Library, Warton Papers, Dep.e.291, Notebook 1739-40, fol.79.
[56] Love, p. 42.

boys from 'the conventions and restrictions of print and commercial texts'.[57] This type of manuscript circulation offered boys the opportunity to create work outside of their daily school exercises, yet still receive feedback from their schoolmates; the structure of criticism inherent to daily school life could be easily transferred to this extra-curricular writing. Of course the audience for this writing shifted, and instead of pleasing the schoolmaster or other adults, the boys' aim was to entertain their schoolfellows. In print, a boy author's schoolfellows, patrons, and public were three distinct audiences, while in manuscript they were often collapsed into one.

Periodicals

Beginning in 1719, schoolboy writing began appearing in periodicals, although it was not until the 1730s that boys began to make a steady appearance. In that decade, I have located thirteen works in periodicals: Westminster, Harrow, Merchant Taylors' School, Bury School, and Cadington School (indeed, there was a mini burst of publishing at Bury and Cadington in 1733-34), and Winchester all saw work by their boys published.[58] The works are concentrated in three publications, with *London Magazine* printing four works; *The Grub-Street Journal* printing three (two of which were also published in *London Magazine*); and *Gentleman's Magazine* printing six items. Verses or speeches by individual boys that were published in periodicals were probably submitted by the boys themselves, but the prologues and epilogues were likely to have been printed in newspapers, then picked up by the periodicals: in 1734, *The Grub-Street Journal* noted that 'An Epilogue to the Adelphi of Terence, acted by the King's scholars at Westminster-school, on Nov. 28, and Dec. 6.' was

[57] Ezell, p. 24.
[58] 'Bury School' was probably King Edward VI School in Bury St Edmunds; I have not been able to definitively identify 'Cadington School'.

'incorrectly printed in one of the Evening Posts, before it had been spoken a second time'.[59]

Publishing work in a periodical suggests a more solitary, private manner of writing, but publishing was often merely the end result of a collaborative process. For example, William Collins submitted his first (published) poems to *Gentleman's Magazine* along with those written by his Winchester schoolfellows Joseph Warton and a boy identified only as 'Tomkyns', but Oliver Sigworth maintains that 'the three juvenile poets probably inspected each others compositions, and may be considered as jointly concerned in the pacquet sent to the magazine'. In fact, all three poems were published anonymously in October 1739, according to a copy of the magazine annotated by Warton.[60] Additionally, periodicals often acted as a link, or stepping stone, between the practise of circulating manuscripts amongst a coterie of schoolfellows and publishing a standalone printed work. Such was the case of Robert Farren Cheetham who in 1794, at the behest of his schoolmates, published poems in *The Chester Courant* which he later included in two self-published editions in 1795 and 1796.[61] Periodicals also participated in schoolboy literary culture by publishing reviews of their work. The reviews that I have found indicate that both critics and readers eagerly accepted literary works by boys, with *The Monthly Review* stating: 'Either the Muses must have fallen in love with boys, or boys in love with the Muses. […] for on what other supposition are we to account for the starting up of so many juvenile poets?'.[62] Over the course of the century, periodical publication by boys remained fairly steady, and outnumbered individual volumes. It was not until the

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[59] *The Grub-Street Journal*, 10 January 1734, p. 706.
[60] Oliver Sigworth, *William Collins* (New York: Twayne Publishers, Inc., 1965), p. 21.
[61] Chester, ZTCP 7/1; Mathete (i.e. Robert Farren Cheetham), *Poems* (Manchester: G. Nicholson and Co, 1795); Robert Farren Cheetham, *Odes and Miscellanies* (Stockport: J. Clarke, 1796).

1790s that standalone publications overtook periodical pieces; by this time three sets of boys had also published their own periodicals, inviting submissions from boys and the general public.

The Schoolmaster as Publisher

Many publications were issued under the aegis of a schoolmaster who had a specific agenda for publishing – most often promoting their own school – but at times they had personal motives as well. In 1786, Robert Ashe, headmaster of the Grammar School in Crewkerne, published *Poetical Translations from Various Authors. By Master John Browne, of Crewkerne, a Boy of Twelve Years of Age.* The book was published by subscription, with subscribers ranging from the Earl of Macclesfield to Hannah More to various booksellers; the subscription list makes it clear that the schoolmaster was an Old Wykehamist and used his ties to Winchester to help sell copies of the book. [63] Surprisingly, only one other schoolboy publication, Robert Farren Cheetham's 1796 *Odes and Miscellanies*, seems to have been published by subscription. Ashe explains in his preface that the young author was one of eight children and his parents could not afford to send him to university; proceeds from the book would therefore be used to pay for young master Browne's continuing education. Yet, the schoolmaster maintains that even if the boy *did not* need money, his work would still be worthy of publication. He states that all the works included in the volume were 'written in the School of Crewkerne, as exercises on Saturday Evenings; for which the Author constantly received some public reward from the time that he attained to the tenth year of his age'. Moreover, he claims that the boy's work

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[62] *The Monthly Review*, October 1788, p. 358.
[63] John Browne. *Poetical Translations from Various Authors. By Master John Browne, of Crewkerne, Somerset; A Boy of Twelve Years of Age* (London: Rev. Robert Ashe, 1786).

had been praised by 'the first scholars in the kingdom, long before the Editor had a thought of making them publickly known'. Here Ashe implies that the school not only trained and nurtured literary prodigies, but also attracted scholars who were able to recognise and appreciate this genius. Ashe is careful to note that 'he never assisted his pupil in the structure of the five verses throughout the whole of his Poems', and he argues that an 'impartial reader will soon be convinced of that visible superiority of style in every page, and the severest critic must consider them as a Literary Curiosity'.[64] Even with this statement, one review of the book, which was favourable, at least in part because the book was a charitable publication, comments that the quality of Browne's work is so high that 'we would have ascribed to Mr. Ashe's *touching up* the MSS had he not assured us […] that they are the genuine productions of […] *a youth but 12 years old!!!*'.[65]

After claiming that his student is a prodigy, the schoolmaster proceeds to fill every page of the book with annotations about Browne's poems, comparing him at turns to Milton, Gray, and Shakespeare. One couplet in 'Ode to Silence', written by Browne at ten years old: 'Or dost thou midst the tombs now wand'ring tread, / Struck with the groans proceeding from the dead?' encourages the schoolmaster to indicate that the 'Reader is desired to pardon this daring expression […] which may, perhaps, be justified by the following Line from Thomson's Winter, "Mix'd with foul shades and frightened Ghosts they howl".' Ashe uses his own copious footnotes in an obvious attempt to place the boy on a literary continuum, but the effect is such that the boy author – along with the reader – is constantly interrupted by the schoolmaster, and the space of performance is entirely filled by Ashe. Nowhere is this interruption

[64] Browne, p. xx, pp. xxii-xxiii.
[65] *The Monthly Review*, October 1788, p. 358.

of performance more egregious than on the page with young Master Browne's poem 'Ode on St. Cross, near Winchester', where Ashe informs the reader:

> To the foregoing account the Editor takes the liberty of subjoining an early poetical attempt of his own: it is part of a familiar Epistle to the Rev. Dr. Hoadly, late master of St. Cross […] and was composed at Winchester college in 1768.[66]

Here Ashe publishes his own schoolboy writing, suggesting that he was clearly a schoolmaster who yearned to be the centre of attention, even while attempting to help his student. In print, this hemming-in of the boy's poems seems to re-enact or replicate the space of performance within the school: the boy submits work to the schoolmaster, who then comments on it. The work of young Master Browne, clearly a star of the private schoolroom and of public events at the school, occupies the space of authority on the printed page, but that authority is constantly challenged and commandeered by that of his schoolmaster.

John Dupré, the master of Berkhamsted School, manipulated the spaces of the printed page slightly differently than the schoolmasters previously discussed, although he, too, includes some of his own poems. In two editions of (the same) work produced by his students, Dupré clearly announces his presence to the reader, yet he allows the boys to stand on their own on the printed page. Dupré first published *Musæ Berkhamstedienses: Or Poetical Prolusions by Some Young Gentlemen of Berkhamsted School* in 1794. The work is a collection of English and Latin speeches given on public days, along with a few school exercises, and includes epigrams, odes on leaving school, a Latin translation of Gray's *Elegy*, and 'Robinson Crusoe's Soliloquy'. In his introduction, Dupré specifically addresses the question 'why

[66] Browne, p. 38.

publish?'. He argues that his decision to publish was not born out of self interest, nor was it to 'attract the notice of Parents by a pompous display of his Scholars' abilities and improvement'. Instead, he claims that the work was printed due to market demand: the audience who had been in attendance on speech day had requested copies of the poems, which 'are now, to oblige them, collected in a small volume with all their imperfections'.[67] These kinds of publications were particularly suited for provincial printers or publishers, who could easily print off a small edition that could be marketed to the boys' families and friends as a souvenir of performances; boys could also give them to schoolmates as 'leaving gifts' or take the publications with them as they went off to university.

Although the collection of verses was published with its own title page, suggesting that the boys and their work functioned as a unit, each individual work also has a separate title page featuring the name of the author. Of the sixteen schoolboy works included in *Musae Berkhamstediensis*, twelve were spoken in public. While seven pieces were recited by the boys who authored them, five boys had their work recited by a schoolmate, whose name is also included on the title page, emphasising collaboration on both production and performance. Here, boys endeavoured to imitate not classical authors or their schoolmaster, but their own schoolfellows. Obviously the purpose of the individual title pages was to allow each work to be purchased as a separate item; if one boy's family or friends wanted extra copies of his work, they would be readily available. Although the pages of the entire volume are numbered, indicating an intended order of sequence, and no doubt reflecting the order of the speeches, the individual title pages would have allowed

[67] Berkhamsted School, *Musae Berkhamstediensis:or Poetical Prolusions by Some Young Gentlemen of Berkhamsted School* (Berkhamsted: W. Mcdowall, 1794), pp. iii-iv.

readers to rearrange the texts in another manner if so desired, somewhat like a miscellany. These individual units also allowed the boys to be detached from their school and their schoolmates: while the work may have been created and performed amongst schoolfellows, each boy could later remove himself from that space and let his work stand on its own.

In 1799, five years after the initial publication of the Berkhamsted School speeches, Dupré published a second edition, corrected, and enlarged with some additional exercises. While a contemporary publication of schoolboy speeches seems logically designed to appeal to a market consisting of family and friends, a second edition published long after most of the boys had left the school suggests a different motive for publication. It is perhaps possible that Dupré had spent the intervening years digesting the harsh assessment of the *The British Critic*, which wrote: 'We cannot regard it as a mark of wisdom in a school-master, to publish the juvenile productions of his scholars.' While the English verses were deemed good, 'the errors in the Latin compositions (several of which we could point out) reflect more discredit on the teacher who suffered them to pass, than the more successful parts can counterbalance'.[68] The review emphasises the lack of quality, not in the boys' own original writing, but in that ostensibly overseen by their schoolmaster. Dupré goes to great lengths to answer this criticism in his introduction to the second edition, primarily arguing that the printer had not used the corrected proofs, but he nevertheless admits: 'I am not sure that it was right in the first instance to print these youthful exercises; but […] no one, I trust, will censure me for wishing to have it

[68] *The British Critic*, February 1796, p. 195.

appear in a more perfect form.'[69] The appearance of a second edition of this work, then, suggests that Dupré was more interested in mending his reputation as a schoolmaster than in extending the work of his students.

Schoolmasters obviously had different motives for publishing schoolboy writing, and even an ambitious master might have felt genuine affection for his boys' labours. Yet collections of schoolboy writing published by masters almost invariably place the focus (along with its praise or criticism) on the adult editor and not the boys themselves. It comes as no surprise, then, that boys who were interested in being taken seriously as authors began to self-publish their work in order to distinguish it from that of their schoolfellows.

The Independent Schoolboy

Beginning in the 1760s, boys began to publish their own work; these boys usually did so because they wanted to make the leap from schoolboy author to professional author. Again, the provincial press greatly assisted boys in this matter, and printed works emerged from presses in places such as Northampton, Canterbury, Guilford, Bath, Wrexham, Stockport, and Windsor. Boys often moved quite cautiously when transferring their work from school to bookshop, and this reticence often manifested itself in the paratexts of schoolboy-authored works. For example, in 1777, Richard Polwhele, then still a student at Truro School, published *The Fate of Lewellyn; or, The Druid's Sacrifice*. In his preface to the reader, Polwhele writes:

[69] Berkhamsted School, *Poetical Prolusions in the English and Latin Languages; by Some Young Gentlemen of Berkhamsted School* (Berkhamsted: W. McDowall, 1799), pp. vi-vii.

> The Author of the following lines, whom even a cursory view of them will soon discover to be a very young writer, is aware of them containing many cursory imperfections, which the critical eye will not overlook, and some which his own mature judgement would probably have enabled him to remove. Several little essays, which he has made in the poetical way, have been very favourably received within his circle of friends. Their encouragement, added to an ambition he feels of distinguishing himself […] has prevailed on him to submit these pieces with all their imperfections on their head to the inspection of a candid and indulgent public; that from their judgment he may be informed, whether he has any talent for this kind of writing – or whether he has mistaken the partial applauses of his friends for the genuine inspiration of the muse.[70]

Although he is careful to acknowledge the youthful imperfections of his work, Polwhele clearly manifests a literary coterie that read one another's work and encouraged publication. Yet he is careful to distinguish schoolboy literary critics from those operating in the larger sphere of print culture, and he suggests that the critical eye of the schoolboy reader, as well as that of the author, is under development. By publishing his work in print, Polwhele projects the role of schoolmaster onto the general public, and patiently awaits its critique.

Nearly twenty years after Polwhele published his work, another schoolboy, Robert Farren Cheetham, published his 'first fruits' and looked to his schoolfellows for support. In a series of letters written between August 1792 and March 1794, Cheetham discussed the various travails of schoolboy authorship with another boy, John Finchett. Cheetham, then attending Manchester Grammar School, was a former schoolfellow of Finchett's in Chester. Cheetham's letters, some written in verse, describe not just daily life at school and the culture of literary circulation that existed, but also his first steps towards becoming a published author. The letters emphasise the classical training at Manchester and reflect the educational ideals of the school's High

[70] Richard Polwhele, *The Fate of Lewellyn; or, The Druid's Sacrifice. A Legendary Tale. To Which is added 'The Genius of Carnbe', a Poem. By a Young Gentleman of Truro School* (Bath: printed for the

Master, Charles Lawson. Founded in 1515 by Hugh Oldham as a free school that would teach Latin and Greek to any children who presented themselves, by the end of the seventeenth century, Manchester School's benefactors had provided money for scholarships to Brasenose College, Oxford, and St. John's College, Cambridge. In addition to day students from Manchester, who mostly attended the elementary 'Lower School', boarders destined for the classical 'Upper School' were recruited from the counties of Lancashire and Cheshire. The school flourished in the eighteenth century: William Purnell, High Master from 1746 until 1764, produced classical plays at Christmas, first in the schoolroom, and then for several years in the Manchester theatre, while his successor Lawson instituted a yearly speech day, which took the place of the classical play. In addition to speeches by current pupils, Lawson requested speeches to be sent by former boys, then at university, and in doing so he 'linked Old Boys, future parents, to the school'.[71]

Lawson kept a tight rein on his pupils, especially boarders who lived in his house, and his strict but fair management of the school endeared the boys to him as well as to one another. Thomas De Quincey, who was a student during the last years of Lawson's tenure, commented that 'with our confederation through house membership, what with our reciprocal sympathies in the problems suggested by books, we had become a club of boys […] altogether as thoughtful and as self-respecting as can often exist even amongst adults'.[72] While Cheetham may have experienced this close-knit environment at his new school, he also maintained friendships with old schoolfellows and endeavoured to entertain them. Despite his

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author), 1777, p. 4.

[71] Alfred A. Mumford, *Manchester Grammar School, 1515-1915* (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1919), p. 25.

[72] Thomas De Quincey, *Confessions of an English Opium Eater* (Edinburgh: Adam and Charles Black, 1862), p. 40.

rather rigorous set of weekly lessons, Cheetham evidently also found time to write his own poetry, and on 30 September 1792, Finchett wrote: 'I have rec'd your poetical letter & highly approve of it. […] I mentioned in my last, "I thought you would not have much time to exercise your muse," but however you show me plainly to the contrary.'[73] Finchett's comment that he thought his friend might not be able to 'exercise his muse' suggests that Cheetham had long been in the habit of writing and circulating extra-curricular work for the entertainment of his friends, who enjoyed and respected his writing.

In April 1793, Cheetham wrote to Finchett, 'Remember me to my schoolfellow Walker, who I think has a copy of my "Unfortunate Father", I shou'd be glad, as I have none myself, if he wou'd write one for me.' Here there is a clearly manifested culture of circulation, with Cheetham depending on his schoolfellows for the survival of his work. Walker must have indeed had the work and provided a copy, for Cheetham included the poem in the two printed editions of his work. By this time, Cheetham must have been interested in collecting and perhaps revising his work, for a month later, Finchett wrote: 'I should be glad to know in your next how much more you have wrote & whether you intend publishing for by this time I expect you must have wrote a large volume.' Finchett's comments about the amount of work Cheetham was likely amassing posits the idea that he was a prolific writer – one who should expect to see his work in print. Finchett's approval must not have bolstered Cheetham's confidence in publishing, for he quickly responded, 'Talk nothing of publishing yet. They are juvenile indeed'.[74] Cheetham's statement, while self-

[73] Chester, ZTCP/7/1/480-481.
[74] Ibid., ZTCP/7/1/486-88.

deprecating, suggests that he and his friends thought that publishing work while still in school was certainly an option.

Cheetham evidently continued to circulate his poems amongst his fellow students, and in February 1794 he wrote to Finchett: 'As two of our boys have found them worthy of ent'ring into dispute about, whether they possess any merit or not, I shall thank you to try whether your newspaper editors shall think them worthy a place. If they do, send me them printed.' In his directive to Finchett, Cheetham makes it clear that, after having long-circulated his poems within a group of schoolboy critics, he, like Polwhele, was ready to move them into a more public realm of adult-controlled publication and readership. Finchett was clearly delighted with the chance to act as literary agent for his friend and he drafted a letter to the editor of *The Chester Courant*:

> Permit me, to submit to the perusal of your candid readers an Ode written (by way of afternoon tasks) & communicated to me, by a Youth now prosecuting his studies in a reputable school some miles from hence. Shou'd it meet with your approbation & be deemed worthy a place in your respectable paper you will by the insertion display your taste.[75]

Finchett's letter reveals his role in the chain of transmission and production of schoolboy-authored texts, and it draws the newspaper publisher into the space of the school, while simultaneously marking out an ever-widening space of circulation: Manchester School – Chester — newspaper office – and finally the reading public.

Cheetham went on to publish three books of his poems, two while he was still in school. The first book, published under the pseudonym 'Mathetes' in 1795, was revised and published under his own name the following year, just as he left his

grammar school for Brasenose College, Oxford. In the introduction to his 1796 volume, Cheetham acknowledges the school as a site of literary creation, while at the same time attempting to move beyond it. He writes: 'I felt a strong desire to separate, by publication, the efforts of the School-boy from (I hope) the maturer productions of the Collegian. Such as these first-fruits are, you have deigned to accept them, and by that means rendered them more dear to me.'[76] In demarcating his work as that done in school, Cheetham both binds himself to the space of creation and announces his intention to move beyond it.

Three Case Studies

The three case studies I have chosen to examine in the following chapters deal with late eighteenth-century schoolboy writing that developed through camaraderie, shared school experiences, and the production and circulation of texts in a variety of formats. The first case study concerns three schoolboy-authored periodicals: *The Microcosm* (1786–1787), *The Trifler* (1788), and *The Flagellant* (1792). Together, the three papers form the largest corpus of identifiable schoolboy writing in print. The second case study considers the schoolboy writings of James Boswell Jr (1778-1822), son of the biographer, whose juvenilia comprises verses, essays, and plays, along with letters to and from his father and brother that detail school life as well as the travails of authorship; it is possibly the largest extant collection of extra-curricular literary manuscripts by a single eighteenth-century schoolboy. The third case study examines

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[75] Ibid., ZTCP/7/1/503-504. *The Chester Courant* was a continuation of *Adam's Weekly Courant*. I have been unable to locate a copy of Cheetham's printed poem, but in a letter dated 9 March 1794, he mentions to Finchett that he has been complimented on his published ode. See: ZTCP/7/1/505.

[76] Mathete (i.e. Robert Farren Cheetham), *Poems* (Manchester: G. Nicholson and Co, 1795); *Odes and Miscellanies*, pp. v-vi. Cheetham only published one more collection of poems in 1798, and he died in 1801 at the age of twenty-four. For biographical information, see: *England, Select Cheshire Bishop's Transcripts, 1598-1900* <http://www.ancestrylibrary.com/ > [accessed 8 September 2014].

a five hundred-page manuscript novel, *Juveniles Phantasiæ or The Original History of All the Remarkable and Curious Adventures of Mirus Omnivagus*, written and illustrated by a boy named Jonathan Banks, at an unidentified school, probably in the mid-1790s. The chosen works represent a notably broad spectrum of schoolboy authorship of the period, and include a variety of genres (essay periodicals, letters, plays, and novels) that survive in different formats: there are no extant manuscript copies of the essays printed in the three periodicals, while Boswell and Banks only circulated their works in manuscript form and not in print. The case studies also investigate different models of authorship: the authors of the three periodicals wrote collaboratively, often under a single pseudonym; Boswell collaborated –via post – on at least one play with his older brother, but also wrote works on his own that he shared, mostly in draft form, with his father, brother, and schoolmates; and finally Banks may also have initially collaborated on his novel, but he eventually produced a polished, illustrated manuscript publication in a single hand that was clearly intended for circulation.

The first two case studies examine works written by boys at Eton and Westminster, the two top (and rival) English schools of the eighteenth century, while the third deals with a boy at an unidentified 'country boarding school'. The boys of Eton and Westminster offer their readers a glimpse into their daily lives at school, as well as their interactions with the 'outside world'. An analysis of responses to these works serves to highlight cross-institutional collaboration and rivalry between Eton and Westminster. The work produced in the unidentified school offers less about the specifics of school life, yet emphasises both the freedom and alienation many boys must have experienced.

The three chapters also include variety amongst the individual boys, whose ages range from twelve to seventeen. While the young authors went on to pursue a variety of careers and literary endeavours, only one, Robert Southey, made his living as a writer; others took up careers in politics or the law while still engaging in (often collaborative) literary interests. For example, the group of boys who published *The Microcosm* (including George Canning and John Hookham Frere) continued writing together after they left school, while James Boswell Jr co-edited Edmond Malone's Shakespeare variorum.[77] Jonathan Banks, the subject of my final chapter, remains an enigma; because I cannot definitively identify him, my analysis attempts to build a picture of who he was through clues in his writing.

My examination of the similarities and distinctions amongst these three case studies works towards an understanding of schoolboy authorship of the late eighteenth century, how it developed out of earlier writings by both boy and adult writers, and how schools shaped authorship and its associated forms of exchange and interaction. No matter what boys wrote or how they were published, their work had its genesis in the physical and cultural space of the school. Schoolboys' first readers and audiences were always other boys. As such, even when boys wrote for an audience that included adults, they first had to entertain, or at least address, their schoolfellow patrons and readers. From an early age, though, boys had to learn to please multiple audiences. Masters, other adults (male and female), and a coterie of schoolfellows listened to and read their work, criticised it, copied it, passed it on (or lost it), submitted it for publication, had it printed, and purchased it. In surveying how schoolboy authors chose genres and formats, circulated material, and interacted with their intended and

[77] *The Plays and Poems of William Shakspeare, With the Corrections and Illustrations of Various Commentators,* ed. by Edmond Malone and James Boswell (London: R. C. and J. Rivington, 1821).

actual audiences, I hope to reveal how the experience of the schoolroom influenced their writing, how they defined authorship, both for themselves and their readers, and how even as they stepped tentatively (or boldly) into the public sphere, they remained linked to this space of production and consumption.

Bibliography of Printed Schoolboy Works 1660-1798

While the focus of the case studies is schoolboy writing of the 1780s and 90s, I have included a bibliography (*Appendix A*) that covers a much broader period: it consists of printed and manuscript works, at least partly in English, written by schoolboys between 1660 and 1798. My research methods included both broad and narrow searches of the *English Short Title Catalogue* (ESTC), beginning with the keyword searches 'schoolboy' and 'schoolboys' as well as their variants, including 'school boys'; 'schoolboyes'; 'schoolboies'; 'schole boys'. Another search that yielded numerous results was 'young gentleman' or 'gentlemen'. I then performed more targeted searches using names of specific schools, working my way through Nicholas Carlisle's 1818 work, *A Concise Description of the Endowed Grammar Schools of England and Wales*. Some schools, like Eton, and particularly Westminster, produced copious results in ESTC, most of which were *not* schoolboy writing, but these were easily sorted and removed. Along with searching for printed books, I also searched *British Periodicals Online*, which offers searchable text for nearly five hundred periodicals, and *17th and 18th Century Burney Collection Newspapers*. To locate manuscript material, I began by searching the *Access to Archives* database through The National Archives and *ArchiveGrid*, a portal for manuscript collections in United States repositories, again using broad keywords like 'schoolboy'; 'school'; and 'school exercises' before searching for specific schools. I

then moved on to local library catalogues, including those of the British Library, the Oxford University Libraries, the University of Leeds, the Folger Shakespeare Library, the Huntington Library, the Newberry Library, Harvard University, and Yale University.

While I have identified over ninety works in print and manuscript, I am certain that the list here is only a fragment of what was actually produced. All schoolboys of the eighteenth century, much like schoolchildren today, wrote constantly and would have at least prepared school exercises on a daily basis. Most boys who had any literary aspirations were likely to have produced extra-curricular writing as well, as evidenced by the anecdotes found in many autobiographies or memoirs of authors of the period; a list of such memoirs might be a useful addition to this bibliography at a later date. Moreover, boys were of course not compelled to publish under their own names, or even to announce that they were schoolboys. If all schoolboy contributors to periodicals had been required to identify themselves as such, the number of publications on this list would no doubt multiply greatly. One way of learning more about what was published but does not survive might be to search newspaper databases for announcements and advertisements of books published. Manuscript works are more difficult to research than printed works, the problem being that many manuscripts either do not survive or are held in private collections; even when they are held in public record offices or repositories they are often buried in uncatalogued or underdescribed collections of papers. As more archival repositories make even cursory inventories available online, I believe more of this material will come to light. Some of this work will never be able to be definitively identified, but by carefully reading printed memoirs and periodical publications alongside emerging manuscript

collections I, along with other scholars, should be able to expand this bibliography and provide fuller insight into schoolboy literary culture.

Puny Authorlings: Three Schoolboy Periodicals, 1786-1792

Have you seen a very extraordinary production of some Eton boys? It is a periodical paper called 'the Microcosm'[…] not unworthy of Addison in his happiest mood. This is what I should have least expected from a boy.

Letter from W.W. Pepys to Hannah More, December 1786[1]

Between 1786 and 1792, three periodicals were published autonomously by Eton and Westminster schoolboys, achieving a modicum of success, and introducing the world-at-large to the 'puny authorlings' who inhabited the schoolboy world. These periodicals represent the first time that schoolboys were in charge of writing, editing, and publishing their own work and together the three papers form the largest corpus of identifiable schoolboy writing in print. Leading the way in 1786, four Etonians published *The Microcosm*, specifically marketing the work as being that of schoolboys. Popular enough to be reprinted five times before 1825, *The Microcosm* spawned a rival publication at Westminster, *The Trifler*, which received less critical attention but still ran for forty-three weeks (roughly the same run as *The Microcosm*), and was printed as a collection in two editions in 1788-1789. In 1792, another Westminster periodical appeared, this time spearheaded by Robert Southey and titled *The Flagellant*; it was prompted in part by the fact that one of Southey's poems had been rejected by the editors of *The Trifler*. *The Flagellant* had a less successful run, ending after just nine numbers when Southey was expelled for writing an essay suggesting that schoolmasters were descended from Satan. While *The Microcosm*, *The Trifler*, and *The Flagellant* had different aims, audiences, and responses, as a group they reveal much about how schoolboys constructed themselves as authors and marketed themselves to readers in the late eighteenth century. In fact, these three

[1] William Roberts, *Memoirs of the Life and Correspondence of Mrs. Hannah More*, 4 vols (London, R.B. Seeley and W. Burnside, 1835), II, p. 46.

works provide not only the first extended discussion of schoolboy authorship *by* schoolboys, with the later works commenting on their predecessors, but they also foreshadow the plethora of schoolboy periodicals that appeared in the nineteenth century.[2] This chapter will discuss not only the textual content of these periodicals, but also the history of their publication and reception.

The Microcosm

Not only the first schoolboy periodical, but the most successful in both critical and popular terms, *The Microcosm* was the work of four Etonians writing collectively under the pseudonym 'Gregory Griffin': George Canning, who produced another periodical, *The Anti-Jacobin*, in 1797 and had a long political career, eventually becoming Prime Minister shortly before his sudden death in 1827; John Hookham Frere, who also contributed to the *Anti-Jacobin* and who succeeded his life-long friend Canning as under-secretary of the Foreign Office; John 'Easly' Smith (so nicknamed for his pronunciation of the word 'aisle') who became the Postmaster-General of Jamaica; and Robert 'Bobus' Smith, who became a judge in India and whose nickname derived from his proficiency in Latin. *The Microcosm* was first published on 6 November 1786, and ran for forty numbers, with the last appearing on 30 July 1787. The paper was published mostly at the rate of one a week: there was a break of about a month between the sixth and seventh numbers, presumably for the Christmas holiday, while on seven different dates two numbers were published simultaneously. The paper was evidently well received from the start, since in December 1786 – a little more than a month after its initial publication – a second printing of the first number appeared. It soon had a circulation of seven hundred

[2] See for example: William N. Weaver, '"A School-Boy's Story": Writing the Victorian Public Schoolboy Subject', *Victorian Studies* 46:3 (2004), 455-487.

copies, and by the tenth number the publisher, Charles Knight, had entered the work at Stationers' Hall; Knight later purchased the rights to the work for fifty guineas.[3] Throughout the summer of 1787, notices of the paper appeared in *The World and Fashionable Advertiser* commending the work and suggesting that 'the Masters and Fellows should give all encouragement they can; for, as an effort in literature, it is reputable to the foundation'.[4] Talk of the periodical was taken up in private circles as well, and Frances Burney noted in her diary that 'I read […] to the Queen, a paper of the Microcosm. […] It is a periodical imitation of other periodical papers, and written by a set of Eton scholars. It has great merit for such youthful composers'.[5] The final two numbers, describing the death of Gregory Griffin and the reading of his will (which in turn revealed the names of the young Etonian authors), were published, certainly not coincidentally, on the same day as the school speeches at Eton, of which *The World* commented, 'The writers of the Microcosm were much distinguished. […] The WORLD is more mistaken than it is apt to be, if Canning does not become, among the best promise at the bar.'[6]

By November 1787 a complete edition was available, sold not only by Knight in Windsor but also by two booksellers in London: the Robinsons in Paternoster Row and John Debrett in Piccadilly. Notably, the Robinsons also published *The Critical Review*; *The Town and Country Magazine*; *The Ladies' Magazine*; and *London Magazine*, suggesting that they saw *The Microcosm* as appealing to a broad readership as opposed to simply being a niche publication. For those who had purchased individual numbers, a title page for the collection, a vignette half-title, a list

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[3] Wendy Hinde, *George Canning* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell Ltd., 1989), p. 15; Charles Knight, *Passages of a Working Life During Half a Century: With a Prelude of Early Reminiscences*, 3 vols (London: Bradbury & Evans, 1864-65), I, p. 20.
[4] *The World and Fashionable Advertiser*, 6 July 1787.
[5] Frances Burney, *Diary & Letters of Madame D'Arblay (1778-1840)*, ed by Charlotte Barrett, 6 vols (London: Macmillan and Co., 1905), III, p. 121-122; p. 295.
[6] *The World and Fashionable Advertiser*, 31 July 1787.

of contents, and the names of the authors could also be acquired.[7] Early on then, the work was presented to readers as something collectible, as opposed to merely ephemeral schoolboy writing, with paratexts giving permanence to the space of creation and to the boys themselves, effectively making them eternal schoolboys. A second edition of *The Microcosm* appeared in 1788 and a third in 1790. The 1790 edition was re-issued in 1793, possibly to capitalize on Canning's entry into Parliament in June of that year, aged twenty-three. Even as a new member of Parliament, Canning was still strongly associated with his schoolboy lucubrations, for in February 1794 *The World* remarked, 'Mr. Canning, who lately made his maiden speech in the House of Commons, was the joint and chief Author of the *Microcosm*, a periodical paper published at Eton School. He was a boy of abilities.'[8] A fourth edition appeared in 1809 in two volumes, with frontispiece portraits of Canning and Frere, and a fifth and final standalone edition in 1825. In 1827, Robert Lynam included *The Microcosm* in the multi-volume *British Essayists* series, cementing the work in the periodical canon.[9] The paper continued to garner new readers long after it was out of print: between 1839 and 1840, the senior class of Manchester School published *The New Microcosm*, telling readers: 'Lest our attempt should appear too bold, let it be remembered that our predecessor, "The Microcosm," written by youths of our own age, at Eton, has obtained a station with the *Spectator*, *Rambler*, *Mirror*, &c. among the Standard Essayists of our language.'[10]

[7] *St. James's Chronicle or the British Evening Post*, 13 November 1787.
[8] *The World*, 4 February 1794.
[9] Robert Lynam, *The British Essayists: with Prefaces Biographical, Historical, and Critical*, 30 vols (London: J.F. Dove, 1827).
[10] *The New Microcosm* (Manchester: Cave and Sever, 1840), p. 1.

Why a Periodical?

Considering that *The Microcosm* had such initial success and remained relatively popular for the next fifty years, one might question why earlier schoolboys had never attempted a periodical. Schoolboys certainly would have been readers of periodicals, which were even proposed for private study, with Vicesimus Knox maintaining: 'I know of no book which can be more properly recommended at first, than *The Spectator*. […] I would require one paper to be read every day, and I should make little doubt but that the pupil would soon read more from choice.'[11] It almost seems odd that there was *not* a schoolboy periodical before 1786 since, between 1709 and 1800, over two hundred essay periodicals were produced.[12] There were also several university periodicals published mid-century, including *The Student: or the Oxford Monthly Miscellany* (which eventually became *The Student: or the Oxford and Cambridge Monthly Miscellany*), published between 1750-51, and partially written by Christopher Smart, and *The Oxford Magazine; the University Museum*, which ran from 1768 to 1772. Perhaps no student periodicals were published until 1786 precisely because there *were* ample opportunities for boys to publish and perform elsewhere, and – like periodical writers – they produced work for the public, or at least *a* public, at regular intervals. The chance to publish occasional poems or perform speeches and plays throughout the school year may have provided enough acclaim and encouragement to sustain boys with literary aspirations until they went to university. Moreover, in print schoolboys tended to be rather apologetic for their publishing efforts, cautiously suggesting to their readers that since university students (the clear model for earlier schoolboy authors) published on a regular basis, why

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[11] Vicesimus Knox, *Liberal Education: Or, A Practical Treatise on the Methods of Acquiring Useful and Polite Learning* (London: Charles Dilly, [1781]), p. 211.
[12] Melvin Ray Watson, *Magazine Serials and the Essay Tradition, 1746-1820* (Louisiana State University Press: Baton Rouge, [1956]), p. 16.

might not younger students occasionally try? The often-hesitant nature of their publishing suggests that perhaps many schoolboys may have considered a periodical to be too troublesome or too bold an attempt to consider. The students of Westminster School – the most literary-minded school of the period, and in fact Britain's leading school for the first part of the eighteenth century – generally did not have a problem with timidity, but the school prided itself particularly in the production of poets, and provided plentiful occasions for clever boys to have their poems printed, so an essay periodical may have had less appeal. Provincial schoolboys may have been hindered by their location: because the three early periodicals were all published without the assistance of schools or schoolmasters, the boys would have needed not only direct access to a printer or publisher, but also a modicum of understanding as to how the print market functioned – and how their publication might fit into that market. A schoolboy periodical project essentially needed someone not only talented, but also ambitious enough to take on a large-scale extra-curricular project. In short, such a project needed someone like George Canning.

Canning (1770-1827) was the son of a poetry-writing lawyer (publishing a collection of his own poetry in 1767) who died in 1771 – a year after his son's birth. Left in financial straits, his mother became an actress, finding work – and a dissolute actor husband – in the provinces, where she toured with her young son. Worried about his future, Canning's uncle, Stratford Canning, became his guardian and sent him to school, first at Hyde Abbey, Winchester, in 1778 and to Eton in 1782. In a fortuitous turn of events, on the death of his paternal grandmother in 1786 Canning came into the inheritance left to him by his grandfather, which most likely provided him with the money needed to pay for the publication of *The Microcosm*. Canning's time at Eton was carefully developed by him from the start. Although he was offered a place

as a Colleger (that is, a foundation scholar), he declined, for he felt there were more disadvantages than advantages: Collegers rose more slowly through the ranks of the school, stayed until age nineteen instead of seventeen, and 'were not looked upon in near so respectable a light as an Oppidant [*sic*]'.[13] Canning was already known at school as a talented orator, and the Duke of Wellington later commented that he 'was readier at writing than even at speaking. I never in my life knew so great a master of his pen'.[14] As a talented writer, orator, and what one might call a schoolboy strategist, Canning would have viewed *The Microcosm* not just as a chance to publish or perform, but also as a culmination of his schoolboy career: a chance to propel himself and his friends, all but one of whom were in their final year at Eton, into the public sphere, establishing the group as men to watch even before they went off to university.

The notion that four schoolboys were able to produce a weekly periodical in addition to their schoolwork suggests that the demands of school were not particularly onerous. Etonians, in fact, had a good deal of free time: rising numbers of students meant that there were fewer lessons taught in the schoolroom, with more work done outside the school. Boys shared meals together, and at least one tutor allowed tea in the boys' rooms; they were also able to take meals outside of school, making it easy to wander about Eton and Windsor on their own. In addition to regular holidays, the entire school was also able to obtain extra holidays when a boy wrote an especially good exercise; such a boy would be 'Sent up for Play', meaning that he was given time to copy out his work on gilt-edged paper, which he would then present to the Head Master and request a half-holiday for the school. Boys managed their own time

[13] Rev. J. Raven, 'Some Letters of George Canning', *Anglo-Saxon Review*, III (1899), 45-54, p.49. An Oppidan is the name for a commoner at Eton.
[14] Captain Josceline Bagot, *George Canning and His Friends*, 2 vols (London: John Murray, 1909), I, p. 1.

to such an extent that many 'of the good things at Eton came about largely through [their own] unaided initiative'.[15]

Practically speaking, a periodical probably appealed to the Etonians because it was a collaborative effort with short pieces; dividing work up amongst the four main contributors meant that no one person would need to shoulder too much of the workload. Additionally, the essay periodical, a genre that was both distinctly modern and associated with ancient civic philosophy, was an ideal choice for them, since it would have offered the opportunity to expound on a variety of topics, serious and comical, and to show off their classical training as well as their more contemporary reading outside the classroom. Producing a periodical enabled the Etonians – to borrow a phrase from Addison – to bring the schoolboy out of school 'to dwell in Clubs and Assemblies, at Tea-tables, and in Coffee-houses'.[16] Furthermore, the Etonians had easy access to a publisher, Charles Knight, whose bookshop and circulating library in Windsor was directly across from the castle and just a short walk from the school. Knight may have been particularly enthusiastic about the boys' work because of his interest in publishing on local subjects; in 1783, he had begun publishing *The Windsor Guide, Containing a Description of the Town and Castle.* Both Knight and the Etonians probably realized that not only would a provincial publication be of interest (*The Microcosm* was, in fact, the only periodical published in Windsor in the eighteenth century), but also that their schoolboy status could be used to their advantage, positioned as a novelty that might pique the interest of the reading public: far from being apologetic about being schoolboys, the Etonians boast 'of "sucking the milk of Science" from our Mother Eton, under the auspices of its

[15] Tim Card, *Eton Established: A History from 1440 to 1860* (London: John Murray, 2001), p. 90, p. 92, p. 103.
[16] *The Spectator* 10, 12 March 1711.

present Director'.[17] The boys may have taken particular pride in proclaiming that they were Etonians: while in the seventeenth century Westminster had been the most celebrated and influential school in England, by the early part of the eighteenth century its reputation began to decline; when Samuel Smith became Head Master in 1764 the school 'shook off its Tory principles and became imbued with a large measure of the Whig spirit of the day', with George III transferring his patronage to Eton.[18] The first number of *The Microcosm* in fact emphasizes its location and its freshness, claiming that it is 'new and unprecedented in the annals of Eton'. Yet I would argue that despite its being marketed as a novelty, a periodical in fact linked the young authors with older and well-known literary works, and the Etonians establish this connection in their first number with the assertion: 'When the respectable names of the *Spectator*, the *Guardian*, or the *Rambler* recur to our memory, we start, and are astonished at the presumption of a *puny Authorling*, who dares, at so early an age, tread in the steps of these Heroes of Wit and Literature.' [19] While the rhetorical pose here is one of supplication, the authors actually use this statement to situate themselves within a literary tradition that would have been immediately recognised by their readers, for at the end of the eighteenth century, it was not the novel, but the essay periodical that 'stood apart as the century's signal contribution to world literature'.[20] The boys not only connected their work to the earliest and best-known periodicals, but also to those that came after them; mentioning 'classic' works like *The Spectator* was in fact a regular convention of the first numbers of periodicals, which were 'a self-forming and informing genre,

[17] Watson, p. 17. During the last thirty years of the eighteenth century, the most successful periodicals were published not in London, but in the provinces.
[18] Reginald Airy, *Westminster* (London: G. Bell and Sons, 1902), p. 43.
[19] *The Microcosm* (Windsor: Charles Knight, 1787), p. 5; p. 6.
[20] Richard Squibbs, *Urban Enlightenment and the Eighteenth-Century Periodical Essay: Transatlantic Retrospects* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), p. 27.

ceaselessly invoking their own conventions and antecedents […] as they attempt to establish legitimacy'.[21]

Eighteenth-century essays themselves drew upon a dual strand of print and oratorical tradition. Early periodical writers found their inspiration not just in the work of Montaigne and Bacon, but in English 'character' books such as Joseph Hall's 1608 *Characters of Vertues and Vices* and the 1614 *Characters of Overbury*, whose descriptions of characters 'share a common concern to make the types of people and places readers would frequently encounter in their day-to-day lives morally legible'.[22] In addition to printed works, periodical writers drew heavily upon oratory, particularly in their construction of a single persona as their narrator, since the 'ancient Greek concept of rhetor (orator) highlighted the rhetorician as a real person, standing in a real place, speaking to a real audience for certain ends'.[23] It is this oratorical tradition that perhaps played the most important role in the design and marketing of *The Microcosm*. Schoolboy authorship was already organised around regular 'publication': boys performed their lessons daily for their schoolfellows and masters and on speech days for a general public; these school exercises and speeches were then often printed, either in periodicals or in collections published by the school. This authorship on a schedule thereby mirrors Addison's description of a periodical author as one 'whose Works return upon the Publick on certain Days and at stated Times'.[24] Notably, after 1760, the bulk of periodical essays were not published in essay periodicals, but in magazines containing a variety of material, suggesting that

[21] Manushag Powell, *Performing Authorship in Eighteenth-Century English Periodicals* (Lewisburg, Pa.: Bucknell University Press, 2012), p. 10.
[22] Squibbs, p. 45-6.
[23] *The Great Age of the English Essay: An Anthology*, ed. by Denise Gigante (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008), p. xvii.
[24] *The Spectator* 582, 18 August 1714.

the essay became 'part of an archive rather than a lively diurnal announcement'.[25] While *The Microcosm* did contain some poetry, it stayed fairly close to the single essay format, a decision which focussed the reader's eye on the writing of these particular boys, as opposed to the assortment of schoolboys represented in collections of occasional verses. I would further argue that the periodical was meant to recreate school performances, including both the unseen daily theatre of the schoolroom as well as public orations, and would have drawn in a number of audiences: current and former students, friends, and family who were already familiar with the boys and their endeavours, along with those who had never attended school or a schoolboy performance, but were nevertheless curious about school life. The Etonians' periodical project, then, was not strictly 'new and unprecedented', but simply repackaged an older model of schoolboy publication; instead of offering up a random assortment of speeches and verses, it provided readers with a recognisable literary form and a single narrator as their guide to the schoolboy world. This use of a narrative persona was likely an essential part of *The Microcosm*'s success, not only because it helped to draw together writings by multiple boys, but also because readers would have needed a guide to this world, given that the image of an independent schoolboy author would have been new for them: the work was a radical departure from most earlier schoolboy publications – and even those roughly contemporaneous with *The Microcosm* – which were 'hemmed in' by schoolmaster paratexts.

Why '*The Microcosm*'?

The Microcosm seems a slightly odd choice for a title; if the authors had wanted to carry on the tradition of Addison and Steele, they might have called their

[25] Robert DeMaria, Jr., 'The Eighteenth-Century Periodical Essay', in *The Cambridge History of English Literature, 1660–1780*, ed. by John Richetti (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), pp. 525-48 (p. 548).

paper *The Microcosmopolitan* as a description of their narrator. The OED defines *microcosm* as both 'a place, situation, etc., regarded as encapsulating in miniature the characteristic qualities or features of something much larger', and as 'one person in particular, regarded as the representation in miniature of the world or universe'. Within its pages, the school – not just any school, but Eton in particular – is displayed to the reader as a representation of the 'larger world', while Gregory Griffin is presented as its multi-faceted representative who, unlike his predecessors Isaac Bickerstaff and Mr. Spectator, does not move from location to location or ramble throughout town, but is instead confined to the single space of the school. The idea of a miniature world, narrated by a sort of Etonian tabula rasa may be an allusion to another work published in 1786: John Earle's *Micro-cosmography,* a collection of witty character sketches first published in 1628 and then appearing in ten subsequent editions. The first sketch in the book is for a 'Child', described as 'a Man in a small letter. […] His Soul is yet a white paper unscribbled with observations of the world, wherewith at length it becomes a blurred note-book'.[26] Through the lens of this description, the 'puny authorling' Gregory Griffin might be construed quite literally as a man who exists in the 'small letters' of the periodical, with *The Microcosm* serving as the notebook into which the observations of the schoolboy world are inscribed. To this end, Griffin also functions as a youthful version of Mr. Spectator, who 'has read everything and travelled everywhere' and is now at the end of his life, reviewing (and printing) it before he dies.[27]

For the contemporary reader, the periodical's name would have also called to mind a mechanical spectacle that toured Britain in the mid-eighteenth century as 'The Microcosm, or, The World in Miniature.' Descriptions of the attraction were

[26] John Earle, *Micro-cosmography; or, A Piece of the World Characterized; in Essays and Characters* ([Salisbury]: E. Easton, 1786).
[27] DeMaria, p. 537.

published under the title *A Succinct Description of that Elaborate and Matchless Pile of Art* by the proprietor, Edward Davies, who claimed that the display 'received the approbation of the nobility, the royal society, the gentry, and the curious part of mankind in general'. The mechanical Microcosm contained 'an infinite variety of moving figures, whose motions are a judicious representation of life'. The display featured scenes of the Muses, both the Ptolemaic and Copernican systems, a landscape with a view of the ocean, and a carpenter's yard, with figures who seemed 'actually at work, and their various attitudes and motions are an accurate resemblance of life'. When one looked closely at the astounding display, however, the mechanism behind it, consisting of 'upwards of one thousand two hundred wheels and pinions', was revealed.[28] In naming their periodical *The Microcosm*, the Etonians were able to situate their publication within the marketplace: it was a spectacle (worth paying to see) that would please the senses and be a delight to all those who looked upon it, while a closer inspection might provide the reader with a sense of schoolboy exertions. If Thomas Gray had offered readers a distant prospect of Eton College nearly forty years earlier, *The Microcosm* promised to present them with a close-up view. Additionally, though, the title hints at artificiality, a scene that looks real but is of course just a representation or imitation. This artifice is also manifest in the pseudonym Gregory Griffin, for as the Etonians point out, 'A Griffin is an imaginary being.'[29] In choosing their title, then, the young authors signaled to their readers that whether read as schoolboy reality or schoolboy fantasy, their paper, like its

[28] Edward Davies, *A Succinct Description of that Elaborate and Matchless Pile of Art, called, the Microcosm, with a Short Account of the Solar System, Interspersed with Poetical Sentiments, on the Planets* (Glasgow: R & A Foulis, [1765?]), pp.3, 5, 26.
[29] *The Microcosm*, p. 36.

mechanical predecessor, 'for elegance of design, structure, variety of scenes, utility of systems, harmony, &c. &c. &c. has not its equal'.[30]

The Etonians continue to convey the idea of a miniature world populated with tiny, moving boys in their first number, which is unsigned, implying that it was a collaborative effort. Gregory Griffin reveals to his readers that within the walls of Eton one might observe:

> the embryo Statesman, who hereafter may wield and direct at pleasure the mighty and complex system of European Politics, now employing the whole extent of his abilities to circumvent his companions at their plays […] or a General, the future terror of France and Spain, now the dread only of his Equals, and the undisputed Lord and President of the boxing-ring. The Grays and Wallers of the rising generation here tune their little lyres; and he, who hereafter may sing the glories of Britain, must first celebrate at Eton the smaller glories of his College.[31]

Here the authors establish Eton as an incubator of leaders and geniuses, who are able to hone their skills entirely within the sphere of the school. The schoolboys of this scene are presented as entirely non-threatening; they may be future terrors, but for the time being they are but pocket-sized pleasures. Within the pages of the periodical then, readers might view not only the schoolboys of the present, but also the possibilities of Britain's future.

Following convention, in the first essay Gregory Griffin offers an account of the scope and design of the work, so that 'the Reader may be fully acquainted with the nature of the amusement or instruction he may expect to find; and that I may obviate any objections, which I foresee will arise to this undertaking'. The list of possible objections includes: the age of the author, the time the paper might take away from serious studies, and the sources from which materials of interest might be drawn. The

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[30] Davies, pp. 26-7.
[31] *The Microcosm*, pp. 9-10.

fact that the Etonians were able to foresee and explain away any objections from the start suggests an awareness not only of previous schoolboy publications, but also of how the public might have reacted to such works. This understanding of the possible public response allows them to argue that the age of the author should not matter to the reader, since:

> Virgil and Pope produced their Pastorals long before the one became the glory of Rome as her Epick Poet, or the other of Britain, as her Philosopher and Satirist; […] Cicero's *Treatise de Inventione* was the juvenile effort of that mind. […] If the above-mention'd compositions were only the preludes to the greater glories of a riper age, may not I […] try the feebler efforts of my Genius, and by degrees attempt to accustom myself to undertakings of a more trying and arduous nature?

With this statement, readers are reminded that literary giants started out as schoolboys, therefore, why should schoolboys not publish their own early work? The assertion effectively places the onus of recognizing the future greatness of schoolboy authors (and particularly *these* schoolboy authors) on the reader. Griffin then adds that the work of writing 'only occupies a few leisure hours, which might be triflingly, if not more unworthily employed'; moreover, the sources from which he might draw inspiration are copious, and include 'History, reading, and morality […] combined with the topics of the moment, or those which our peculiar situation can afford'. [32] Manushag Powell contends that 'periodicals invented a space for their authors to think out loud about what it meant to be a professional writer', and within their opening number the Etonians mark out just such a space for themselves in the arena of the print marketplace – not just as schoolboys or authors, but specifically as *schoolboy authors.*[33] The public was obviously ready for this new genre, for as Canning admitted in a letter to Mr. Richman, his friend and former tutor at Hyde Abbey School

[32] Ibid, pp.5-9.
[33] Powell, p. 3.

at Winchester, 'To publish was indeed a bold attempt. We succeed, however, far beyond our expectations.'[34]

The Content

The Microcosm was genuinely a group effort: Canning wrote twelve of the forty essays and co-wrote another with Robert Smith, who also wrote nine individual pieces; John Hookham Frere contributed five essays and John Smith added four. One essay, signed 'M', is attributed to Joseph Mellish, while one signed 'L' remains unidentified. Seven numbers, generally made up of correspondence, are unsigned. The fact that six numbers were published simultaneously, with three double numbers in the last month of publication, suggests that the group wanted to make sure that each contributor was able to publish work already completed. With only one exception, no two back-to-back numbers were authored by the same boy, and thus would also have helped to break up the workload. Canning, however, was obviously the driving force, and he was the contributor who was most likely to draw on his literary predecessors for inspiration, often inviting readers to make direct comparisons, and in four essays, he deftly parodies well-known essays by Joseph Addison and Samuel Johnson.

The first two of these essays are an imitation of Addison's two-part reading of the ballad of *Chevy Chase*, published as numbers 70 and 74 of *The Spectator* on 21 and 25 May 1711. Numbers 11 and 12 of *The Microcosm*, both published on 12 February 1787, provide a critical reading of what Canning claims to be an epic poem. He opens his essay with the assertion: 'It has hitherto been customary for all Periodical Writers […] to display their Critical abilities […] by bringing forth the performances of hidden merit, and throwing light on genius in obscurity.' In specifically citing Addison's essay, Canning once again places himself amongst the

[34] Raven, p. 53.

canon of great writers, and suggests that through *The Microcosm* the reader will be introduced to a great poem that would otherwise remain unpraised, as his predecessors, for all their talents, had failed to grasp its merits. He informs his readers that he will critique a poem so plain and simple that some will question the author's 'claim to the title of an Epic Poet; and will endeavour to degrade him even to the rank of a ballad-monger. But I, as his Commentator […] will plainly demonstrate his Poem to be an Epic Poem'.[35] With these lines Canning reiterates the idea that it is the responsibility of the reader to recognize genius, and in establishing himself as a commentator, he proposes that he is as adept at reading literature as he is at writing it.

Unlike Addison, who names the ballad that is to be the subject of his critical reading at the outset of his essay, the first five pages of Canning's essay are taken up with rehearsing the tradition of periodical writers to provide such critical readings, along with his reluctance to swerve from tradition: it takes him nearly half of his first number to reveal that the subject of the poem *he* will read is 'The Reformation of the Knave of Hearts'. While this drawn out beginning amplifies the humour of what is clearly a mock-critical reading, it also works to parody not just Addison, but his imitators, thereby situating Canning on the century-long continuum of periodical writers. Moreover, the extended opening – and indeed the entire essay – allows him to demonstrate how a schoolboy might construct a school exercise or speech according to the traditional canons of rhetoric, beginning with an introduction (*exordium*) that discusses the invention of material – with the final choice of topic being a nursery rhyme ('The Queen of Hearts') that is easy to remember and would aid in successful

[35] *The Microcosm*, p. 130; 132

delivery of an oration.[36] The poem, in fact, is just as Addison claims a Heroic Poem should be – 'adapted to the Constitution of the Country in which the Poet writes'.[37]

With his subject revealed Canning moves on to the rhetorical argument. According to Cicero and Quintilan, an effective argument would include an explanation of the most important features of the topic; the proof, with supporting claims; the refutation of opposing arguments; and a conclusion. With this in mind, Canning's essay serves to both amuse and instruct a general audience as well as his schoolfellows, and works as a kind of cross-writing: the audience can either appreciate the display of a schoolboy author performing a witty oration, or else they might choose to marvel at the mechanism behind his work. Canning begins his critical reading with an explanation that an epic poem should be 'conducive to the purposes of *Morality* and […] that it should have *a Hero*'. He refutes the argument that some may find a knave to be rather an unfit hero; it is a frivolous argument, he claims, for the hero of *Paradise Lost* is 'The Devil', while the hero of this poem 'has the advantage of Milton's, by reforming at the end'. Similarly, he contends that having a thief as the hero should not be problematic because 'in Virgil's poem, almost the first light in which the pious Æneas appears to us, is as a deer-stealer'.[38] While Canning is most likely lampooning another of Addison's essays in *The Spectator*, number 267, which debates whether *Paradise Lost* is a heroic poem and compares it to Virgil's Æneid, his comments may also reflect the popularity of Milton's work on school speech days. For example, in the summer of 1787, two of Canning's fellow writers, Frere and one of the Smiths, recited passages from *Paradise Lost*, with *The World and*

[36] 'The Queen of Hearts' was first printed in *The European Magazine* in April 1782, but was clearly known as a children's poem before that time. See: *The Oxford Dictionary of Nursery Rhymes*, ed. by Iona Opie and Peter Opie (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), p. 427.
[37] *The Spectator* 70, 21 May 1711.
[38] *The Microcosm*, pp. 133, 140.

Fashionable Advertiser claiming that Smith's 'Devil' was second only to Canning's speech (Frere's 'Adam' must have made less of an impression).[39]

At length Canning proceeds to the opening, 'The Queen of Hearts / She made some tarts', declaring it is exactly as it should be: 'embellished with the flowers of poetry, not turgid with pomposity of diction'. The author does not 'detain his readers by any needless circumlocution' but instead 'sets us on the most easy and familiar footing imaginable, with her Majesty of Hearts, and interests us deeply in her domestic concerns.' This restraint is noteworthy and admirable, and he contends:

> There is no task more difficult to a Poet, than that of Rejection. Ovid, among the ancients, and Dryden, among the moderns, were perhaps the most remarkable for the want of it. […] Ovid would have gone so far as to tell us what the tarts were made of; and perhaps wandered into an episode on the art of preserving cherries. [40]

Here Canning reverses the topic of his essay: his interest is not in aggrandising an unheralded poem, but in 'shrinking down' the great poets; it is they who should endeavour to meet the skill of the anonymous poet. His mock criticism would have undoubtedly entertained schoolboys past and present, as he implies a humorous weariness, both of being forced to endlessly read, translate, and perform poetry as part of a rigid schoolboy curriculum, as well as having to endure the literary exertions of less talented schoolmates. While the essay would have amused a wide variety of readers, such a mock critique takes on new life when authored by a schoolboy, particularly one as confident in his performance as Canning.

At the end of the first number, there is a brief digression, in which Canning claims that 'one of the Scribleri, a descendent of the famous Martinus' has expressed the possibility of a textual corruption in which one should read 'Alone' instead of 'All

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[39] *The World and Fashionable Advertiser*, 1 August 1787. Virgil seems to have been rather less popular with the boys than Milton.
[40] *The Microcosm*, pp. 133-35.

on'. The reference to the Scriblerus Club, and particularly Alexander Pope's *Dunciad*, once again exhibits the young author's understanding of the satirical tradition, and manifests the idea that *he* is descended from these earlier literary Wits. Canning then concludes the number, telling readers that he 'shall not delay publication of the second to another week – as that, besides breaking the connection of criticism, would materially injure the unities of the Poem'. The essay could have easily been produced as a slightly larger single number, or the conclusion could simply have been published the following week, but the simultaneous extension of the poem and the collapsing of the two numbers is of course part of the joke. Additionally, publishing both numbers in the same week links the essays to *The Spectator*: although Addison published the second part of his *Chevy Chase* essay four days after the first, the two still appeared in the same week (the first on a Monday and the second on Friday). A notice at the end of the second part of Canning's essay, however, may reveal an additional motive, and he addresses himself to his 'fellow-citizens' who 'are engaged in compositions of the Epic kind'. He then returns to his wider audience, particularly the ladies, informing them that the 'period approaches, when upwards of a hundred Epic Poems will be exposed to public view, most of them nearly of equal length, and many of them nearly of equal merit, with the one which I have here taken into consideration'. He states that as the topic of these poems 'is the *Restoration*, many of my fellow-citizens may choose to adorn their title-pages with the representation of His Majesty, Charles the Second, escaping the vigilance of his pursuers in the *Royal Oak*'. While this is obviously a reference to Royal Oak Day, celebrated every year on 29 May, it seems rather odd that boys would be making preparations for it in February with the manuscript production of poems complete with decorated title pages, and indeed, there is no record of any such work in the Eton College archives. I would argue

instead that Canning's comments here suggest that he and his schoolfellows were in the process of composing verses in preparation for an upcoming speech day, most likely for the breaking up for the Easter holiday, and it is their orations that are to be exposed to public view. Within the pages of his paper, though, Canning is eternally on stage, and at the end of his mock analysis he claims: 'And here I cannot help again lamenting, that, by not knowing the name of the Author, I am unable to twine our laurels together; and to transmit to posterity the mingled praises of Genius and Judgment; of the Poet, and his Commentator.'[41] It is Canning the commentator who receives the whole of the accolades, and here he takes his bow in print, lauding his abilities as reader, writer, and orator. His essay functions as a virtuoso performance, revealing a command of literature both past and present, while entertaining multiple audiences and providing readers with an image of Etonians as confident, witty, and erudite schoolboys who promise to soon be on display once again both in print and in person.

Three months after his Addisonian essays, Canning responded to another well-known essayist, this time Samuel Johnson and his discussion of Novels versus Romances in number 4 of *The Rambler*, which argues that novels were 'written chiefly to the young, the ignorant, and the idle' and 'are entertainment of minds unfurnished with ideas'.[42] As one of these young readers, it first seems as though Canning is in opposition to Johnson, and he argues that novels are simply modernised romances, with 'trifling transformations of merciless Giants into austere Guardians, and of she-dragons into Maiden Aunts'. He then implies that the true difference between the two genres actually resides in their marketing, asking: 'can the simple "Don Belianis, of Greece," or the "Seven Champions of Christendom," trick out so

[41] Ibid., pp. 138, 145-46, 144.
[42] Samuel Johnson, *The Rambler*, 4, 31 March 1750, p. 20.

enticing a title page, and awaken such pleasing expectations, as the "Innocent Adultery," the "Tears of Sensibility," or the Amours of the Count de*****, and L----y ----------?".' Here, Canning makes clear that he is not just reading the classical texts or modern poets such as Milton and Dryden that no doubt constituted his schoolwork, but a wide variety of popular literature as well – and that he is aware of how this popular literature is advertised to the young and idle. Beneath his humour is perhaps a genuine criticism of the quantity and quality of novels available to readers, and he asserts that since the marketplace is so glutted with novels, writers might apply to his 'Warehouse for Wit' for titles that consist either of two adjectives ('Fair Fugitive') or place names ('Gander Green') as well as character names 'from the Belviles and Beverleys of high life, to the Humphreys and Gubbinses of low'. While it is easy to initially assume that Canning's criticism of those who prefer the novels that 'croud the teeming catalogue of a circulating library' is directed at female readers, his target is actually his schoolfellows who 'cannot resist the impulse of curiosity, or withstand the allurements of a title page'. In fact, Canning ends his essay by informing his readers that in an upcoming number he will recommend a set of books which novel-readers 'now treat with undeserved contempt, but which I will prove, that they may derive at least as much entertainment, and certainly much more useful instruction'. [43]

Four numbers later, on 11 June, Canning published the second part of his essay, stating that in the time since his first essay appeared, he had been inundated with enquiries and conjectures about the books that were ostensibly a superior substitute for novels. One correspondent guesses that he means the Bible, and promises 'henceforward to read a chapter of it every night […] and never to devour at most above three novels in a month'; another believes the books in question are the

[43] *The Microcosm*, pp. 298-306.

classics, and vows to give them his full attention, as well as strike his name from subscribers to the circulating library. He mocks these suggestions, wondering if his readers 'could for a moment suppose me so devoid of delicacy, as to propose, as a substitute for sentiment, the dull perusal of the unpolished Ancients, and a study so unfashionable as religion'. The works people should be reading, Canning declares, are in fact the little gilt-edged books of John Newbery, particularly the Histories of Tom Thumb and John [*sic*] Hickathrift.[44] His particular selection of titles is noteworthy, in that they are the two texts specifically mentioned by William Wagstaffe in *A Comment Upon the History of Tom Thumb*, a 1711 parody of Addison's *Chevy Chase* essays. In his introduction, Wagstaffe writes that it was his good fortune 'to have the Library of a School-Boy committed to my Charge, where […] I pitch'd upon Tom Thumb and Tom Hickathrift, Authors indeed more proper to adorn the Shelves of *Bodley* or the *Vatican*'. He hopes to rehabilitate Thumb in the eyes of his readers, claiming that while 'it may have been ridicul'd, and look'd upon as Entertainment only for Children' a critical reading of it may prove 'a Performance not unworthy of the Perusal of the Judicious'.[45]

Although stories of both Thumb and Hickathrift had been in print since the seventeenth century, Canning's specific reference to Newbery suggests that he is promoting editions marketed specifically to children – short stories printed in a small format featuring physically small characters who experience great adventure – essentially novels in miniature. One edition, *Tom Thumb's Folio* – in fact a vicesimo-quarto (that is, a 24mo) – published in 1786 plays on this juxtaposition of great and

[44] Ibid., pp. 341-46. Considering that Canning misidentifies Hickathrift's name, he might not have been an especially keen reader of children's books himself.
[45] [William Wagstaffe], *A Comment Upon the History of Tom Thumb* (London: J. Morphew, 1711), p. 2.

small.[46] As with his parody of Addison, Canning 'shrinks' his topic for both the pages of *The Microcosm* and the inhabitants of the Etonian microcosm: would not the 'embryo statesman' of the schoolyard appreciate the small heroes of these tiny editions? Canning finds in these heroes a 'strong resemblance to those who are immortalized in Homeric song' and in Hickathrift can be seen 'the spirit, the prowess, and every great quality of Achilles; and in Thumb, the prudence, the caution, the patience, the perseverance of Ulysses'.[47] Through his various mock readings, Canning responds to his literary predecessors who, for the better part of the century had sought to justify or explicate 'smaller' or 'lesser' literary works for their readers. Canning's essays reclaim the 'small', asking why the 'puny authorlings' of the miniature world should not comment on these texts produced specifically for them and their schoolfellows, while simultaneously critiquing the 'larger' world of their spectators as well as *The Spectator*.

The Microcosm ends with the fictitious Gregory Griffin meeting his death, in two simultaneously published numbers, with his bookseller, bookseller's boy, printer's devil, and young Etonian friends surrounding him. Although 'for periodicals, death is all part of the act', here it marks the birth of these schoolboy authors.[48] Interestingly, Gregory Griffin seems to have aged quite rapidly over the course of the paper's run; this perhaps represents the idea that a schoolboy ends one part of his life as he finishes school. Bequeathing in his will all the essays of *The Microcosm* to their rightful owners, Griffin allows the authors to step out from behind their imaginary editor and claim their own individual fame. Although many readers, especially fellow students, certainly knew who the authors were, the Etonians clearly wanted to make

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[46] *Tom Thumb's Folio; or, A New Penny Play-Thing for Little Giants* (London: T. Carnan, 1786).
[47] *The Microcosm*, p. 345.
[48] Powell, p. 193.

sure that their names were known beyond the 'limits of our little republic'.[49] The Etonians' success, I would argue, is attributable to the fact that they never lost sight of their purported purpose to provide a double view of their little world, showcasing schoolboy performances and the exertions behind them. The 'mature' editorial hand, most likely of Canning, worked to create a cohesive text, and as a review in *Aberdeen Magazine* remarked, 'we expected, as in most juvenile performances, to observe […] an imagination wild and eccentric, and a composition gaudy and incorrect. But we have been agreeably disappointed in discovering a maturity of thought, and a purity and correctness of style, beyond most authors of the age'.[50] The critical and popular success of the paper not only kindled the careers its young authors, but also set the standard for ensuing schoolboy periodicals.

The Trifler

The success of *The Microcosm* spawned *The Trifler*, a rival publication by Westminster students who were perhaps stung by a review of the Etonians' paper which asked, 'Shall it then be understood, that Eton has engrossed all the rising genius of England? Is Westminster, Harrow, all dumb? To be equal to Gregory is not, most certainly, easy; yet sure it is worth a contest.'[51] Published under the pseudonym 'Timothy Touchstone', *The Trifler* commenced on 27 May 1788, about the same time that the second edition of *The Microcosm* was published. The paper was sold by the Robinsons, one of the two London distributors of *The Microcosm*, the success of the Etonians perhaps stimulating the booksellers to seek out other schoolboy authors. Owing to *The Microcosm*'s success, a fairly wide audience must have been expected for *The Trifler*, and an advertisement that ran the initial day of publication announced

[49] *The Microcosm*, p. 449.
[50] *Aberdeen Magazine, Literary Chronicle, and Review for the Year MDCCLXXXVIII* (Aberdeen: J. Chalmers and Co., 1788), 1, p. 845.
[51] *The European Magazine, and London Review*, March 1788, p. 492.

that the paper would be continued weekly, with each number costing 2d.[52] Unlike its predecessor, the paper did indeed run weekly, with no gaps or double numbers, suggesting that the boys were either slightly better organized than their Etonian counterparts, or else that they had a wealth of material at hand from which they could continuously draw. Within two months of its publication, the first number went into a second printing; *The Trifler* was issued as a whole in 1789 with a second (and final) edition appearing that same year, indicating an initial interest in both the original numbers and the collected edition, although there was little interest in ensuing years.

Marketing *The Trifler*

The title selected by the Westminsters for their periodical was clearly a direct response to their Etonian rivals. The Etonians specifically stated in their first number that they hoped to avoid 'trifling', although they were not opposed to anything light or humorous. The Westminsters, on the other hand, embraced the art of trifling, with their fictitious editor telling readers, 'As our fabrick will be composed of such slender materials, I have chosen a name equally frivolous and trifling.'[53] Their were a number of works in the late eighteenth century either titled *The Trifler*, or authored by *a Trifler,* including George Caswall's 1767 satirical poem, as well as a 1771 verse miscellany, *The Muse in Miniature, Humbly Attempted by the Trifler*, and the name is descriptive of both the content and the narrator, and is suggestive of something easy and witty, a performance that is unpractised but still entertaining. If the Etonians had celebrated artfulness and made a show of the effort behind schoolboy performances, the Westminsters mocked the idea that such performances required any effort, a notion that recalls Samuel Johnson's introductory essay in *The Idler* in which he

[52] *Morning Post and Daily Advertiser*, 27 May 1788.
[53] *The Trifler* (London: Messieurs Robinsons, 1788), p. 3.

jokes, 'It will be easily believed of the *Idler*, that if his title had required any search, he never would have found it.'[54]

The pseudonym chosen, 'Timothy Touchstone', is possibly a reference to the court fool in *As You Like It*, or even to James Ralph's 1728 *The Touch-stone*, a collection of essays on 'the reigning diversions of the town', but even so the name works against the idea of frivolity and instead implies a level of merit or a benchmark, imparting a weightiness and permanence. This pseudonym can also be viewed as a rejoinder to their literary rivals, suggesting that although the Etonians may have been the first to publish a schoolboy periodical, Westminster was still regarded as the true mark by which young literary talent was measured. An image of the young author appears on an optional frontispiece that customers could purchase featuring a very young-looking Westminster scholar, pen and paper in hand, gazing out at the reader with his college behind him and a scroll reading 'Morality / Manners / Poetry / Satire / Characters / Literature'. The youthfulness of the boy in the illustration not only reminds the reader that the work is a schoolboy undertaking, but also presents the Westminster boy as less worldly than the authors of *The Microcosm*. While *The Microcosm* asserts that it is a representation of a larger world, *The Trifler* claims practically no access to, or interest in, the world outside of school, stating not only that the boys are 'immured within the walls of our College', but also that 'the mysteries of low life I am neither able nor willing to celebrate […] nor do I feel myself inclined, like Dr. Smollett, to endure a residence at Wapping, in order to acquire such enviable knowledge'. This is an odd picture of the Westminster student seemingly imprisoned, or at the very least, separated from society; it is perhaps a schoolboy version of the authorial life presented in Samuel Johnson's *Vanity of*

[54] Samuel Johnson, *The Idler* (London: J. Newbery, 1761), p. 2.

Human Wishes: 'Yet think what ills the scholar's life assail, / Toil, envy, want, the garret and the jail.'[55]

As further evidence of their insularity, the Westminsters name not *The Microcosm*, nor even *The Spectator* or *The Tatler*, as their model, but *The Connoisseur* (which ran from 1755-56), claiming that 'those who have read the Connoisseur with profit and delight, should pardon the wanderings of the inexperienced Trifler'. [56] Clearly intending to ignore *The Microcosm*, *The Trifler*'s authors perhaps mention *The Connoisseur* because it was the work of a group of Old Westminsters (that is, the Nonsense Club, consisting of Charles Churchill, Bonnell Thornton, George Colman, William Cowper, and Robert Lloyd); in addition to possessing the acerbic wit that Westminster School so carefully cultivated and prized, its authors were successful in their later literary endeavours.[57] If the Etonians summoned up names like Virgil and Cicero, the Westminsters aimed to offer up slightly more contemporary examples, as well as allude to a long history of literary training at their school. Such a reminder would have made manifest to readers that while Westminsters had never specifically published a schoolboy periodical, there was certainly no lack of literary production in the history of the school.

The title and illustration may also provide an indication of the Westminsters' imagined audience. The Etonians strove to acquire a general, yet serious-minded group of readers beyond the boundaries of their school, and despite the fact that they continually trumpeted themselves as mere schoolboys, they endeavoured to present a finished product far beyond what might be expected. The Westminsters, on the other hand, seemed to envision their readers to be exactly the same audience that might

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[55] Samuel Johnson, *The Vanity of Human Wishes* (London: R. Dodsley, 1749).
[56] *The Trifler*, pp. 2-3.
[57] For a discussion of the Nonsense Club, see: Lance Bertelsen, *The Nonsense Club:Literature and Popular Culture, 1749-1764* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986).

attend public speeches or performances at their own school. While this audience might include well-educated, literary people, it would also consist of less erudite family members, in particular the mothers and sisters of the boys. The Westminsters seem to have directed *The Trifler* at this audience, and instead of promising work that might one day stand alongside that of Virgil and Pope, the boys assure their readers that their content will be 'extremely agreeable to the ladies; whose patronage […] I am ambitious of acquiring.'[58] The innocent-faced boy of the frontispiece was likely designed to appeal expressly to this female readership the Westminsters were so desirous of obtaining.

There were certainly not any non-Westminster boys reading *The Trifler*, if one is to believe a letter, dated 8 December 1788, written by a young Etonian, William Way, to his aunt, Lady Sheffield. Way writes:

> I suppose you have heard of the vain endeavours of the Westminster boys to equal the Microcosm. They did indeed publish a paper on the same Plan under the name of the Trifler, but since, the 2 or 3 first Nos, which were almost too *Trifling* to be read, I have not taken them in, nor do I believe a single Etonian has, which much affronts them, as there were nearly as many Nos of the Microcosm sold to the Westminster boys as the Etonians themselves.

This letter indicates that *The Microcosm* had a wide readership amongst boys from different schools, and while Etonians were initially open to a publication by their London peers, they became its harshest critics. Way continues his mockery of the Westminsters' 'puerile lucubrations' and reveals that the authors of *The Trifler*:

> stuck a print in all the Printshops about Town of Justice holding a pair of Scales, in one of which were placed 4 Westminsters & the Trifler was written on the outside, in the other as many Etonians & his Majesty with 50 Guineas in his hand & very indignant at the Westminsters preponderating, on this was writ Microcosm, & the Queen placed at the bottom tryed in vain to pull down

[58] *The Trifler*, p. 5.

> the Etonians by a rope tyed to their scale. By this foolish Print they endeavoured to Eternalize the memory of the Trifler, but like Samson have pulled down a house on their own heads, & what is better rather exalted than crushed their antagonists, for Canning immediately as he saw it wrote these following Verses on it & I believe they are now annexed to the Print.
>
> What prove ye by this Print so rare
> Ye wits of Eton jealous
> But that our Rivals soar in air
> And ye are heavy fellows?— [59]

The print in question, *The Rival Candidates* **[Figure 1.1]**, is attributed to James Hook (the future Dean of Worcester), who undoubtedly also created the frontispiece, and it suggests that the success of *The Microcosm* was due to Eton's proximity to Windsor and its patronage by George III.[60] While *The Microcosm* was written by boys, the Westminsters seem to contend, its ballast was provided by adults. *The Trifler*, on the other hand, despite its commitment to frivolous topics, not only was free of adult assistance, but also held more authorial weight. Although not all readers agreed with this view of *The Trifler*, the print nevertheless manifests a discourse around schoolboy authorship that existed not just within each school, but within the bookshops of London as well.

The Content

There is some confusion about the authorship of *The Trifler* since, unlike *The Microcosm*, the authors never reveal their names. Both Lowndes and Halkett & Laing cite the authors as: Robert Oliphant, John Hensleigh Allen, Walter Aston, and

[59] London, Westminster School, Westminster School Archives A0007/027. The only copy of the print I have found, in the British Museum, does not have Canning's verses added to it.
[60] *The Life and Correspondence of Robert Southey*, ed. by Charles Cuthbert Southey (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1851), p. 55.

William Elias Taunton.[61] The DNB, however, names James Hook as the editor. This attribution of authorship to Hook is likely erroneous, and stems from the use of his illustrations. Robert Southey claimed that the paper itself was the work of Oliphant 'and some of the senior King's scholars'; he does not mention Hook (who was at the time only a junior King's scholar) as part of the group, although he does assign the caricature to him.[62] King's scholars (Foundation, or College, scholars) were limited to forty students; admission was by a number of examinations, or challenges. Boys aged fifteen or younger, in the Shell, Fifth, or Fourth forms were eligible, and prepared for the examinations with the assistance of boys who were already King's scholars. The challenges lasted up to eight weeks, with the ten highest-ranking boys being admitted to College; boys remained in College for the next four years, at which point they would undertake another series of examinations in an effort to gain studentships at Christ Church, Oxford or Trinity College, Cambridge. These tests of intellectual endurance to become a King's scholar were watched, with great enthusiasm, by the entire school; boys who were elected would have been among the cleverest and most well-known students.[63]

There is signed work by eight different authors: 'A', 'B', 'C', 'N', 'S', 'W', 'X', and 'Z', along with three unsigned poems. The boys who sign themselves 'B', 'C', 'S', 'N', and 'Z' contribute the bulk of the work: 'B' and 'S' supply eight essays each, 'C' seven essays and two poems, 'N' six essays and two poems, and 'Z' contributes one essay and five poems (his work includes an entire number devoted to poetry). While the Etonians evidently shunned the paper, a significant number of

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[61] Samuel Halkett and John Laing, *Dictionary of Anonymous and Pseudonymous English Literature* (London: Oliver and Boyd, 1932), p. 99; and William Thomas Lowndes, *The Bibliographer's Manual of English Literature* (London: Henry G. Bohn, 1864), IV, p. 2712. Lowndes may have taken this from an annotation in one of the Bodleian's copies.
[62] Southey, p. 55.
[63] Howard Staunton, *The Great Schools of England* (London: Sampson Low, Son, and Marston, 1865), pp. 135-6.

Westminsters (or other readers) must have submitted work with the hope of being published, for a notice in the eighth number states that 'Several Favors only wait for Room'. Notably, *The Trifler* editors refused a poem by their schoolfellow Robert Southey, who offered an elegy on the death of his young sister to the paper. In the eighth number, the editor writes, 'The Elegy by B. must undergo some Alterations; a Liberty I must request all my Correspondents to permit me to take.'[64] In his later recollections of his school days, Southey claimed that 'the verses were written with all sincerity of feeling […] but that they were very bad indeed I have no doubt'. Nevertheless, he waited anxiously for the poem's appearance, but his wait was 'in vain […] no alteration could have rendered it fit for appearance'. The editors never knew the work had come from him, and Southey notes: 'I was far too much below them to be suspected, and indeed, at that time, I was known out of my remove for nothing but my curly head.'[65] What Southey's correspondence makes manifest is that even though Etonians were not reading the paper, Westminsters *were* reading it and were eager to participate in published literary life at school.

In their first number, the authors propose to the reader a certain spontaneity, relating that their intention is to present a 'miscellaneous farrago, where many topicks being promiscuously blended together [we] may chance to blunder on something amusing. […] Essays and Elegies, Prose and Poetry, will alternatively succeed each other, through all the mazes of periodical confusion'.[66] Despite providing readers with the single persona of Timothy Touchstone, the Westminsters' work does not offer the cohesion of *The Microcosm*. Instead of an essay periodical, it models itself more as a magazine, which is perhaps a sincerer representation of school performances, with a

[64] Haller, William, *The Early Life of Robert Southey, 1771-1803* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1917), p. 40.
[65] Southey, p. 55.
[66] *The Trifler*, p. 6.

steady succession of boys coming forward briefly to entertain their audience. During the first half of *The Trifler*'s run, the authors maintain this farrago, and poems appear in twelve numbers. Over the next twenty-eight numbers, however, poems appear only three times. This is a somewhat surprising shift, since reviews of the paper specifically praised the poetry. *Gentleman's Magazine*, for example, commented that 'the poetry of the *Trifler*, of which there is more than commonly appears in periodical works […] is infinitely superior to that of the *Microcosm*'.[67] The change in the make-up of *The Trifler*'s content suggests that midway through the run of the paper the authors either lost interest, or found their extra-curricular project too difficult to continue along with their schoolwork. The authors allude to this difficulty in their final number, with their editor stating, 'as the work was originally undertaken with the avowed intention of employing my leisure hours only' and it instead threatens to 'encroach upon the purpose for which I was admitted into Westminster College […] I think it more advisable to conclude'.[68]

Even within the first half of *The Trifler*, the poetry is not especially serious, particularly for Westminster, which had traditionally produced some of England's finest poets. One poem, 'To a Lady, on the Death of her Gold Fish' builds on an obvious Etonian model, Thomas Gray's 'Ode on the Death of a Favourite Cat, Drowned in a Tub of Gold Fishes', with the young Westminster author considering the fate of the fish:

> Ah dry those Tears, they flow too fast,
> His time was come, his die was cast;
> The shining fin, the golden scale,
> Alas you see could not avail:
> Not Virtue's pray'r, not Beauty's pow'r,
> Could stay his fate a single hour.

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[67] *Gentleman's Magazine*, May 1789, pp. 436-437.
[68] *The Trifler*, p. 548.

> Fair Lady, moderate your grief,
> A Friend's advice may bring relief;
> Consider that we all must die,
> Your Fish, your Dog, your Cat and I.[69]

Along with Gray, though, the poem might be an imitation of 'Epitaph on a Dormouse', found in the children's book *The History of Little Goody-Two Shoes* (first published in 1766), but also set to music by Benjamin Cooke. Given that Cooke was the organist at Westminster Abbey until his death in 1793, the authors and their schoolfellows would have likely known the song, which laments:

> In paper case, hard by this place,
> Dead a poor dormouse lies;
> And soon or late, summon'd by fate,
> Each prince, each monarch dies.[70]

Like the Etonians, the Westminsters draw inspiration from both older poets and children's books, but instead of trying to enlarge their subjects, they modify them for their female audience, continually appealing to them not with parodies of Addison and Johnson, but with sentimental poems and stories of love and dramatic death. The eighth number, published on 19 July 1788, represents the height of the Westminsters' success – or at least what they construed as their success. By this time the original numbers had gone into a second printing and the boys must have felt supremely confident about this turn of events, along with the knowledge that they had so many submissions from readers that they could afford to be selective in publishing. This accomplishment perhaps encouraged them to try their hand at a different genre, and the number includes the first of two short stories published during the paper's run. Following a serious essay on gaming and 'its frequent consequent, Suicide', and then

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[69] *The Trifler*, p. 174.
[70] *The History of Little Goody Two-Shoes; Otherwise Called, Mrs. Margery Two-Shoes* (London: J. Newbery, 1766); Benjamin Cooke, *A Collection of Glees, Catches and Canons* (London: printed for the author, [1775]).

a number devoted to poetry that features the epigraph 'Scribe jussit amor' (Love bade me write), the eighth number collapses these themes of love and death into a tragic tale of two young lovers, Henry and Charlotte; it is a cautionary tale involving romance, adventure, tragedy and, of course, Westminster School.

The story opens with the assertion: 'Attachments too early formed are almost always attended by fatal consequences. […] The death of Mr. Thynne is well known to have arisen from this cause.' 'Mr. Thynne' is Thomas Thynne, who was murdered in 1682, possibly because of his marriage to the widow of Lord Ogle. While the prospect of a tragic romance would have undoubtedly appealed to female readers, the mention of Thynne signifies a shift to an audience of young Westminsters, who would have certainly been familiar with Thynne's monument in Westminster Abbey, bearing his effigy and a relief of his murder. The author explicitly identifies this audience, admitting that it is a story 'still current among the higher circles in Westminster, and which […] has moved many a youthful hearer from the mouth of a schoolmaster'. This opening works to conflate the image of the Westminster student as writer and audience; the literary world of the school is self-contained. In fact, Westminsters function not just as the writer and audience, but as the subject of the story as well, since the events of the story are said to have occurred 'under the mastership of the celebrated Busby'.[71] Dr. Richard Busby was the famous seventeenth-century headmaster at Westminster, whose pupils included Christopher Wren, John Dryden, and Matthew Prior. By claiming that the events of the story transpired during Busby's tenure, the young author imbues the tale with a veracity that also links it to the golden age of Westminster.

[71] *The Trifler*, pp. 95-97.

The protagonist, Henry, would clearly have thrived under Busby since he was 'equally esteemed by his masters for the brilliancy of his talents, and beloved by his schoolfellows for the various excellent qualities of his mind, and the sweetness of his disposition'. Unfortunately, young Henry had also 'conceived a passion for a young lady in the neighborhood', and it is evident from this description of Charlotte that she lies outside the circle of Westminster; although she lives in the neighborhood, she has no affiliation with the school through her family. Charlotte's status was evidently of great concern to Henry's father, who in order to separate the two 'purchased him an ensigncy in a regiment just going abroad, and […] sent him off to Jersey'. Henry, like any young man in love, 'had their marriage consummated unknown to any of his friends', but eventually is forced to depart, and once alone, Charlotte experiences every possible calamity that might befall a young heroine. In quick succession she is orphaned and 'reduced to the desperate alternative of either starving, or maintaining herself by the most wretched trade her sex is acquainted with'. Along the way she also gives birth to a baby boy who remains nameless and insignificant for the rest of the story, and just when it looks as though Charlotte and her young infant will be thrown into the street, 'an old schoolfellow of Henry's […] flew to her assistance […] and saved her from the rigor of death she no ways merited'.[72] The Westminsters of the tale are incredibly chivalrous, and here the story seems to shift back to a female audience, encouraging them to dream of being saved from death – or an even worse fate – by gallant Westminsters.

Just after Charlotte is saved from a life of prostitution, she receives a letter from Henry, who reveals that the 'pernicious effects of this climate have inflicted on me an illness, which I fear I never shall get over'. Of course, Henry's exceedingly

[72] Ibid., pp. 98-99.

selfless schoolfellow pays for Charlotte's passage to visit the dying Henry, but the black cloud following her reappears quite literally when a storm overtakes the ship. Although she is on the brink of being saved by a passing ship (which, the author notes, carried Henry), Charlotte's bad luck continues when a wave snatches her lifeboat and she 'with her dear infant close-clasped to her breast, floated at the mercy of a stormy sea'. Meanwhile Henry, distressed at the scene in front of him – and completely ignoring his ostensibly terminal illness – plunges in to save her. He is too late, however, as the author tells his readers: 'Dead was the lustre of her glossy eye, and cold her lily hand. […] She at length awoke […] but seeing her Henry's face, shrieked astonishment, and sunk into his arms a breathless corpse!!!'. [73] In reading the end of the story, one can clearly imagine it being told to a group of rapt and breathless young boys, while still appealing to young women, offering all the elements a lover of sentimental stories might desire: pretty young lovers, a tender infant, cruel separation, and a shipwreck, all placed within the exotic locales of Westminster and Jersey. The Westminsters, like the Etonians, attempt to reduce literature to fit within their little world, but they are uninterested in literary criticism, genuine or mock; and the continuum on which they place themselves is one of Westminster stories. While *The Microcosm* authors challenged the writers of the 'greater' world, *The Trifler* authors all but ignored that world, and were happy to exist entirely within the walls of their school.

Despite the Westminsters' insistence on levity, and the dubious quality of some of their writing, they were clearly invested enough in *The Trifler* to continue it for three weeks longer than *The Microcosm*, and perhaps their goal was merely to run longer than their rivals. *The Trifler* was not without critical praise though, and

[73] Ibid., pp. 100-102.

Gentleman's Magazine observed: 'The Microcosm may be compared to a lake of clear but standing water; the Trifler, to a running brook, which, with impetuous velocity, sometimes flows through verdant, and sometimes through barren fields.'[74] Despite its relatively successful run, *The Trifler* ended on a quiet note. Instead of revealing their names and basking in their newfound fame, the boys simply write: 'How then can *The Trifler* hope to escape a fate common to all the labours of human industry? Time, which subdues all things, has, at length, put a period to the efforts of Timothy Touchstone.'[75] Although it may not have come to life without *The Microcosm*, and indeed paled in comparison to its predecessor, *The Trifler* nevertheless succeeded at what it set out to do: provide an outlet for schoolboys to publish their work autonomously for the entertainment of a select public.

The Flagellant

The Trifler was considered an embarrassing failure by at least one Westminster schoolfellow, and in a letter to his friend Charles Collins, Robert Southey, writing of his own forthcoming schoolboy periodical, asserted that 'should it fail, it cannot be worse than the Trifler. […] If I thought my verses only equal to those […] I would burn every line'. First published on 1 March 1792, *The Flagellant* was the brainchild of Southey along with Grosvenor Charles Bedford, Charles Watkins Williams Wynn, and George Strachey. Wynn and Strachey had already left school by the time of its publication, and the group may have planned to use the two as informal distributors, or at least as promoters, of the periodical at university, for Southey told Collins, 'Old Westminsters at Oxford and Cambridge will be glad to see some sparks

[74] *Gentleman's Magazine*, May 1789, pp. 436-437.
[75] *The Trifler*, p. 547.

of genius from their old habitation.' [76] Although Southey claimed that it would 'retrieve the reputation of the school & establish our own', *The Flagellant* had a brief and calamitous run: it was the least successful of the three schoolboy periodicals and only ran to nine numbers, with the first five sold by T. and J. Egerton and the last four by E. Jeffrey; none of the individual numbers was reprinted, and the work was never published as a collected volume. The periodical attracted virtually no notice in the press and survives in just three copies.

Planning *The Flagellant*

Although it was his schoolfellow Bedford who produced the bulk of the work, authoring five numbers, it was Southey, like Canning six years earlier, who must have been the impetus behind the project, and he described the life of his doomed effort in a series of letters to his friends that provide insight into his ideas about authorship and the book trade, as well as the perils that schoolboys faced in trying to publish their work. In December 1791, the *Flagellant* was taking shape, and Southey wrote to Collins with specific instructions on how the paper should be presented to the public:

> Insist upon avowing the paper from Westminster as otherwise it must descend to oblivion & the chandlers shop. By dating it thence it will burst into notice very probably acquire correspondents & insure a good local sale. […] Allow me to say I do not much doubt of my success.

In an addendum to the letter he wrote: 'I shall to day send a paragraph to the *Argus* stating that a new periodical publication is to be expected shortly from Westminster – it will naturally excite the curiosity of the people & they will wait with some impatience.' [77] Southey completely grasped the idea of marketing themselves not just

[76] Huntington Library, HM 44796. For transcriptions of Southey's letters, see also *The Collected Letters of Robert Southey*, ed. by Lynda Pratt, Tim Fulford, and Ian Packer <http://www.rc.umd.edu/editions/southey_letters> [accessed 5 July 2014]
[77] Ibid.

as schoolboys, but specifically as Westminsters, and in addition to a surfeit of self-confidence, his comments are evidence that he was familiar with the success of his predecessors. As long as his own paper was marketed as a Westminster production, he would have no trouble finding an audience in a perhaps overcrowded periodical market. As with *The Microcosm*, asserting themselves as Westminsters functioned both as a request for patronage from current and former students and an invitation to non-Westminsters into a private space marked out by the boundaries of the school.

Unlike *The Microcosm* and *The Trifler*, *The Flagellant* did not timidly offer itself to readers, but instead boldly declared itself '*Avowedly written by* Westminster Boys'. Despite the fact that they were desperate to declare themselves as Westminsters, the boys did not believe that as authors they had to live within its walls or by its rules, and in their first number they claim that they had retired to a ruined monastery. Signing themselves 'St. Peter the Hermit', 'St. Basil', 'St. Pardulph', and 'Gualbertus', the boys promise 'to scourge the Vices and Follies of every one that shall come within the length of my whip. […] the Conductors of THIS PAPER are rather dispensers than receivers of discipline'.[78] The emphasis on 'THIS PAPER' is perhaps meant both as a riposte to *The Trifler*, which had been somewhat critically lashed four years earlier, and also as a warning to the schoolmasters that schoolboys were now in charge. The opening number of *The Flagellant* promises – or even threatens – to reveal the dark, ugly side of schoolboy life, and it is worth noting that the paper's publication came only three months after a school rebellion in which the older boys left the school grounds and threatened physical violence after becoming angry with the headmaster over his intent to flog the head boy.[79] Even after the rebellion was quelled, there was still a state of unrest, and John Smith, an Usher, or

[78] *The Flagellant* (London: T. and J. Egerton), pp. 4, 23-24, 5.
[79] For a discussion of the Westminster rebellion, see my chapter, 'The Cub at Westminster'.

Under Master, noted in his diary, 'Opposition and discontent on all sides'.[80] There was, in fact, a tradition of Westminster flagellation in print: in 1716, the scurrilous Grub Street publisher Edmund Curll pirated a funeral oration given by a Westminster student called John Barber.[81] Enraged with Curll – not because the work had been pirated, but because it was ungrammatical – the Westminsters invited Curll to the school and proceeded to toss him in a blanket, beat him, and force him to beg for forgiveness. Samuel Wesley, an Old Westminster who was working as an Usher, or schoolmaster, there at the time immortalized the incident in the poem *Neck or Nothing*, which bears a frontispiece showing Curll being abused by scholars in caps and gowns.[82] The Westminster students of the poem liken themselves to the writers that Curll has locked away in his Grub Street garret and mistreated for his own gain, and they suggest that he deserves what he has coming as a bad translator of schoolboy work. In Wesley's work, it is the schoolboys who wield the rod and dole out the punishments, dominating the spaces of the school and the bookshop alike; in their first essay, *The Flagellant* authors announce their intention to do the same.

The Content, Published and Submitted

While it never enjoyed any sort of the popularity afforded to *The Microcosm*, or even *The Trifler*, *The Flagellant* had at least one devoted reader: James Boswell the younger, who was Southey's roommate for a time at Westminster, and was thirteen at the time of the periodical's publication. The fourth number of the paper, published 22 March 1792 notes the receipt of a letter from 'Fiducius'; one of the three pseudonyms under which little Boswell composed letters for submission ('Aristides' and 'Gregory

[80] John D. Carleton, *Westminster School: A History* (London: Rupert Hart-Davis, 1965), pp. 36-7.
[81] John Barber, *The Character of the Reverend and Learned Dr. Robert South (*London: E. Curll, 1716).
[82] Samuel Wesley, *Neck or Nothing: A Consolatory Letter from Mr. D-nt-n to Mr. C—rll Upon His Being Tost in a Blanket, &c* (London: Charles King, [1716]).

Whim' being the other two). While Boswell's Fidicius letter was never published, a copy survives in the Boswell family papers. [83] Boswell begins his letter by claiming that of all the 'follies of Mankind' none is 'more deserving of the lash of Satire' than 'the Presumption of Mankind in accusing the Supreme Author of the Universe of Injustice'. To illustrate his point, Fiducius offers up his history, claiming to be the only son of a good family in Bedfordshire, whose mother died when he was an infant and whose father died when he was but sixteen. Coming into his father's money, he 'frequented all the publick places of diversion and lastly the Gaming table'. Before he could lose his fortune, he met Serena, 'daughter to an Eminent Banker', who had 'beauty without affectation, wit without impertinence, and religious deportment without hypocrisy'. Upon marrying, the two returned to Bedfordshire until Fiducius was once again lured to London, losing himself in extravagance and luxury before receiving a note that his wife was gravely ill. He rushed home only to find Serena 'a pale lifeless corpse', but rather than plunging into despair he 'bid adieu to a life of extravagance and libertinism'. Boswell's letter, which might perhaps be read as a thinly veiled description of his own mother's death and his father's reaction to it, reveals a boy who had been keenly reading his schoolfellows' paper and was eager to contribute to it, even though he apparently had no interest in publishing his other writing. Boswell, who at the time was also writing comic operas, was perhaps a little too irrepressibly light-hearted for *The Flagellant*, and another of his unpublished letters, signed 'Gregory Whim', is surely a description of his uncle, Thomas David Boswell, his father's youngest brother, who became a merchant in Spain in the 1760s before returning to England. In that letter, Boswell describes his uncle as a 'Camelion' [*sic*], not literally, he is careful to explain, but instead 'metaphorically, as

[83] M.S. Pottle, C.C. Abbott and F.A. Pottle, *Catalogue of the Papers of James Boswell at Yale University* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993), C363.

my Uncle changes his disposition as often as the Camelion changes his colour'. After returning from Spain this uncle could 'dance a fandango with great agility' but still had a changeable disposition, and Boswell hopes that *The Flagellant*'s authors will advise him on how to moderate his uncle's behaviour. The 'Gregory Whim' letter was never acknowledged, most likely because after its fifth week the paper took a sharp downward turn.

While it is Southey who is now most closely associated with *The Flagellant*, Bedford in fact wrote the first four numbers; Southey did not contribute anything until the fifth number when, under the pseudonym Gualbertus, he wrote an essay suggesting that flogging had satanic origins. Although Southey had previously tried to publish a poem in *The Trifler* – and though his letters at the time of *The Flagellant* are filled with poetry – he never published any verse in the periodical. He may have been waiting for the paper to build its circulation or receive critical attention before publishing his own work, although given his enthusiasm for the project it is hard to believe he managed to wait more than a month to insert any of his own writing. Letters to his friends at the time, along with his own later recollections, reveal a schoolboy completely enthralled with the idea of being a published author. Of the first number he recalled:

> It was Bedford's writing, but that circumstance did not prevent me from feeling that I was that day borne into the world as an author; and if ever my head touched the stars while I walked upon the earth it was then. It seemed as if I had overleapt a barrier, which till then had kept me from the fields of immortality, wherein my career was to be run. In all London there was not so vain, so happy, so elated a creature as I was that day; and in truth, it was an important day in my life.[84]

[84] Haller, p. 40.

Perhaps by the fifth number Southey had become over-confident. The fact that the paper had been in publication for a month (and had been attracting some notice) probably encouraged him to believe that he was well on his way to success. Much like Numbers 11 and 12 of *The Microcosm*, and Number 8 of *The Trifler*, Number 5 of *The Flagellant* represents a moment of confidence, and Southey, like his predecessors, produced an essay undoubtedly meant to entertain his schoolfellows. Upon allegedly receiving a letter from a boy under the care of 'Mr. Thwackum, a school-master, whose hand is even heavier than his head, and almost as hard as his heart', Southey vows to investigate the history of flogging and claims that 'every school-master will be ready to let the uplifted rod drop from his hand, when he hears that flogging was invented by the DEVIL!!!'. Declaring that saints and monks concur that Lucifer 'was remarkably fond of exercising the rod' and that Plutarch, Cicero, and Seneca, amongst others 'all concur in assigning the origin of flagellation to the Devil', he asks his readers if it is possible to 'doubt for one moment, that whilst they are lashing their scholars, the Devil is in the school-masters?'. Like Canning before him, Southey attempts to create his argument by drawing on a long tradition of commentary by other authors, specifically those that he had read as part of his school curriculum. Filling fifteen pages with a diatribe on 'the impiety and abomination of flogging', Southey ends his essay by stating, 'I, Gualbertus, scourger of the follies of mankind, issue my sacred bull, hereby commanding all doctors, reverends, and plain masters, to cease, without delay or repining, from the beastly and idolatrous custom of flogging.' [85]

The Flagellants are Flagellated

[85] *The Flagellant*, pp. 75-76, 79-80, 85-89.

Southey's essay, and his flagellation of schoolmasters, was obviously meant to be funny to his schoolfellows as well as promote genuine reform, and as he later recollected, 'I was full of Gibbon at the time, and had caught something of Voltaire's manner.'[86] Additionally, the essay was perhaps modelled on a satirical pamphlet published that same year, *A Sketch of the Rights of Boys and Girls,* that called for an end to flagellation, claiming it 'is a never-to-be-forgiven violation of the rights of Boy-man'.[87] While his schoolfellows may have been amused, the essay infuriated Dr. William Vincent, the headmaster, who, after the recent rebellion, was possibly fearful of his authority once again being undermined by his students. Immediately after Southey's essay was published, Vincent sued (or threatened to sue) the publisher for libel unless the name of the author was revealed to him. One of the Egertons must have indeed provided Vincent with Southey's name, for in a letter to his co-author Bedford, Southey wrote: 'Egerton is an infamous fellow. […] He has certainly given up my name but is afraid to have it known.' A month later he added, 'I have been obliged to write Vincent to confess myself wrong.' In addition to disclosing Southey's name, the boys' publishers, Thomas and John Egerton, refused to sell, or even relinquish, copies of *The Flagellant*. On 14 April, Southey wrote to his schoolfellow and co-author Charles Grovesnor Bedford begging: 'Go to Egertons & oblige him to give up the numbers. The paper must succeed for it has enemies. […] We must advertise at once, make Egerton send the papers & it will succeed.' Within two days Southey wrote to Bedford again with a new idea: 'Were we some time again to publish the Flagellant compleat in one volume it would be more likely to answer – publish it by subscription & when 250 sets are subscribd [*sic*] for print that number.'[88]

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[86] Haller, p. 41.
[87] Launcelot Light and Laetitia Lookabout, *A Sketch of the Rights of Boys and Girls* (London: J. Bew, 1792), p. 20.
[88] Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Eng. Lett. c. 27; Bodleian, MS Eng. Lett. c. 22

Southey's knowledge of how print culture functioned is notable here. In his idea for a publication by subscription, he was clearly searching for support outside of the schoolroom, having rejected any possible patronage that might be granted by his schoolmaster.

By early May, Southey had given up on *The Flagellant*, but held out hope for a new periodical, writing to Bedford: 'I think that our joint production may acquire some credit – the sooner we have a volume the better – the Medley – the Hodge Podge – the Whatdoyoucallit […] any of these titles or any better you may propose will do.'[89] He also wrote to Thomas Davis Lamb, 'I am obliged to discontinue the Flagellant but we shall not waste our papers. We mean to write on and some months hence publish a volume compleat.'[90] The correspondence establishes the notion that Southey well understood the various means by which the boys might publish their work, along with the idea that he believed the paper could be nothing less than a success if only it could find its way to the marketplace. Significantly, Southey seemed uninterested in publishing his work independently; instead, he thought of collaborative writing and publishing, especially that which could be linked to their school, as the only possibility.

If the Westminsters had portrayed themselves as displaced from society in the opening pages of the periodical, after their skirmishes with their publisher and schoolmaster they must have felt completely excluded from both their school, and perhaps more importantly, the bookshop. In May 1792, Southey included a poem about the fate of *The Flagellant* in a letter to Bedford:

> We have ventur'd
> Like little wanton boys that swim on bladders

[89] Bodleian, MS Eng. Lett. c. 22
[90] Harvard, Houghton Library, bMS Eng 265.1 (32)

> These last nine numbers on a sea of honour
> But far above our depth – the high blown bubble
> At length burst under us & now has left us
> (Yet smarting from the rod of persecution
> Tho' yet unwearied) to the merciless rage
> Of the rude sea that swallowed Number five.

This poem is lifted directly from Shakespeare's *History of Henry VIII*; it is a speech in which Cardinal Wolsey describes in child-like terms how his 'high-blown pride / At length broke under me', leaving him 'to the mercy / Of a rude stream, that must forever hide me'.[91] Here, though, the 'sea of honour' represents the print culture into which the Westminsters had naïvely floated, only to be subsumed beneath the merciless waves of adult interference. Southey presents a picture of the schoolboy author as being violently thwarted by adults, and he places blame for the failure of his periodical squarely on the shoulders of the schoolmaster and publisher who had banned him quite literally from the spaces of the bookshop and the school. What distressed him the most about the demise of his periodical was the idea that his work might be remaindered; he wrote in a letter to Bedford:

> The ghost arises of the Flagellant!
> Not bound & gilt as once I hopd (sic) to see
> The ornament of all the library
> No ---- a vile grocers hand the paper handles
> To wrap up butter or a pound of candles.[92]

In Southey's mind, the fates of *The Flagellant* and its schoolboy creators were collapsed into one and cast out from the marketplace, consigned to 'oblivion and the chandlers shop'. Although he outwardly expressed a wish to lash society, his longing for his book to be 'bound and gilt' proposes that he had hoped for a prestigious readership, or at least a readership that would esteem his books as works of art instead

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[91] *History of Henry VIII*, III. 3. 2265-68.
[92] Bodleian, MS Eng. Lett. c. 22

of waste paper relegated to household tasks. Authorship for Southey was in fact intensely concentrated in the physical object. Seeing his work in print was one part of the process of becoming an author, but was rendered meaningless if no one read it; using pages to wrap butter was the terrestrial equivalent of having books consumed by the 'rude sea'. It is perhaps understandable why Southey felt that he (along with his book) might be consigned to a life of hardship and obscurity, since he suffered much the same fate as his paper. He was expelled (and later denied admittance to Christ Church, Oxford based on the incident), later recollecting that there were more 'wigs than brains laid together about that poor number of *The Flagellant*!'.[93] The periodical limped along under a new publisher, E. Jeffrey, for another few weeks, but Southey's collaborators were understandably taken aback by his expulsion, and in Number 6 they write:

> On Thursday last died brother Gualbertus, of a disorder in his pericranium, which shewed itself early in the morning, by strong delirious symptoms, and wandering language. Something very offensive issued from his head, which was opened, and the construction of the brain was too complex for the most refined professors to unravel.

Despite the fact that they were clearly upset with their schoolmaster for his rash response, they ended the paper four weeks later, telling readers that 'little remains, but to withdraw from notice, what has not succeeded'.[94]

The Microcosm, *The Trifler*, and *The Flagellant* provide the reader with three very different schoolboy-author experiences. The Etonians proclaimed their genius from the start, and yet managed to appeal to the public as genial, witty, and erudite boys who were clever beyond their years. Six years later, the Westminsters behind *The Flagellant* proclaimed their genius just as, if not more vociferously, than the Etonians. Suggesting that schoolboys did not need to be polite, instead of offering

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[93] Haller, p. 44.
[94] *The Flagellant*, pp. 95, 157-158.

entertainment they professed a desire to lash the vices of society, although their effort only resulted in their own punishment. *The Trifler*, very much situated in the middle, of its two rivals (and sandwiched between the talents of George Canning and Robert Southey), presents us with a group of boys, with a modicum of literary talent, who published a modestly successful periodical for the entertainment of a school audience. Despite their differences, the appearance of these three very different schoolboy periodicals within six years of one another suggests that, within the late eighteenth-century circle of readership (and within the marketplace), the idea of the schoolboy author was being constructed (and re-constructed) and marketed by schoolboys themselves.

The Cub at Westminster

Is't not a fine sight, to see all our Children made Enterluders? Do we pay our Money for this? We send them to learn their Grammar, and their Terence, and they learn their Play-books.

Ben Jonson, *Staple of News*, III.2.

In September 1790, James Boswell wrote to his fifteen year old son Alexander ('Sandy'), at Eton: 'Little James is very well. […] He is turning Aningait [*sic*] and Ajut a Greenland Tale in Dr. Johnson's Rambler into an opera. He is certainly a *curious* fellow'.[1] This 'curious fellow' was Boswell's younger son James ('Jamie'), then twelve years old and recently enrolled at Westminster School. Eight months later, Jamie had evidently finished – or at least tired of – his opera, for in May 1791 his father prepared a mock bond for him to sign:

> I James Boswell Junior, Authour [*sic*] of the opera Aningait and Ajut, do hereby bind myself to pay to my Father ten thousand guineas or submit to be sent to Botany bay if I destroy any part of the said opera without the consent of my said Father & witness where of I subscribe this Bond at London on the seventh of May one thousand seven hundred and ninety one.[2]

Jamie's dramatic rendering was indeed saved from destruction and survives along with a substantial portion of his other juvenilia, including verses, essays, and plays, as well as letters to and from his father and brother which detail school life and literary endeavours; it is possibly the largest extant collection of extra-curricular literary

[1] M.S. Pottle, C.C. Abbott and F.A. Pottle, *Catalogue of the Papers of James Boswell at Yale University* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993), L 87. While there is an online inventory of the Boswell Collection at Yale (Boswell Collection. General Collection, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library) that is organised by box and folder numbers, for reference purposes it seems more expedient to cite works by the numbering system used in the printed *Catalogue*; these numbers are included in the folder level descriptions of the Beinecke inventory. The story of 'Anningait and Ajut; a Greenland History' appeared in *The Rambler*, 28 and 31 December 1751.
[2] *Catalogue*, M 19.

manuscripts by a single eighteenth-century schoolboy.[3] The collection is also unique in that it contains multiple drafts of works, which allows for the reconstruction of the literary process of a schoolboy author and suggests a mode of authorship that is as much about documenting than it is of writing. This chapter will investigate Jamie's schoolboy writings.

James Boswell the younger (1778-1822) was the younger son and second youngest of the elder Boswell's five children with his wife Margaret Montgomerie. Educated at Westminster School and Brasenose College, Oxford, he was called to the bar of Inner Temple in 1805, and was eventually appointed a commissioner of bankrupts. Despite his career in law, Boswell chose – much like his father – to pursue his literary interests. While still at Brasenose he contributed to the third and sixth editions of *The Life of Johnson* under the direction of Edmond Malone, who had become his guardian after the death of his father in 1795. Malone was a dedicated mentor and Jamie a devoted charge; in fact it was Boswell who completed and published Malone's twenty-one volume edition of Shakespeare in 1821 – nine years after Malone's death and one year before his own sudden death at the age of forty-four.[4]

In 1786, at the age of eight, Jamie moved with his father to London and was enrolled in William Barrow's academy in Soho, where he was very happy, although his father felt that there were 'few boys of good birth there'. In London he was immersed in his father's activities, literary and otherwise. In December 1788, he wrote to his mother, 'Papa is continuing to write his life of the great Dr Johnson and hopes to have it done by Christmas'. He noted in the same letter, 'Mr Buchanan

[3] While the Boswell family papers are primarily at Yale, there is one notebook of Jamie's in Glasgow, University of Glasgow, MS Murray 113.
[4] Gordon Turnbull, 'Boswell, James (1778–1822)', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* <http://0-www.oxforddnb.com.catalogue.ulrls.lon.ac.uk/view/article/2951> [accessed 24 May 2012]

invited one Dr Burn to keep papa company. […] They drank about two bottles together but neither of them was the worse of it which you know was a lucky thing indeed'.[5] A year later the elder Boswell recorded a less fortunate incident in his journal: 'Drank a great deal. […] Ran out to Wimpole Street and staggered. Little Jamie followed and brought me back. Wretched scene'.[6] In more sober moments, Boswell acquainted his sons with the delights of London. In 1789 he rode with them in a carriage so they might view the 'the most brilliant show that ever the metropolis exhibited' to celebrate the recovery of George III; he also introduced them to the theatre, taking them to see *Love à la Mode*, 'that they might talk of having seen Macklin play Sir Archie MacSarcasm'.[7] The journalist John Taylor was at this same performance, and in his own memoirs he recollects:

> The first time I ever saw Mr. James Boswell, Junior, was in the first gallery of the Haymarket Theatre. […] He was then quite a boy, and stood on the bench while his father held him round the waist. […] Jack Johnstone sung a song in character, each verse ending with the word *Whack*, which he gave with great power of lungs. Little Boswell was so delighted with this song that his father roared for a repetition with a stentorian voice, to please the child, and Johnstone readily sang it again.[8]

Through Boswell's journal and family letters, it becomes clear that for Jamie, school and schoolwork were intermingled with literary production (and consumption) and active participation in London life, all of which undoubtedly must have been an influence on an imaginative young writer.

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[5] For Boswell's letter, see *Catalogue*, L 76; for Jamie's letter, see C 340.
[6] *Boswell: The Great Biographer, 1789-1795*, ed. by Marlies K. Danziger and Frank Brady, The Yale Edition of the Private Papers of James Boswell (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1989), p. 16.
[7] See *Catalogue* L 190 for Boswell's mention of the procession. For his discussion of taking the boys to the theatre, see *Boswell: The English Experiment 1785–1789*, ed. by Irma S. Lustig and Frederick A. Pottle, The Yale Edition of the Private Papers of James Boswell (New York: McGraw Hill, 1986), p. 141.
[8] John Taylor, *Records of My Life*, 2 vols (London: E. Bull, 1832), I, p. 219. Quoted in Lustig, p. 141.

After his wife's death in 1789, Boswell worried about Jamie's education, remarking to Sandy that he was still undecided about where to place Jamie: 'Poor little affectionate fellow his first wish is to go to Eton […] but I think it better to have him at a different school from you. […] Then I hesitate between Westminster and the Charterhouse'.[9] Jamie entered Westminster in mid-June, 1790, and that summer he was tormented by 'big boys' who forced him 'to drink burgundy till he was intoxicated'.[10] He wrote to his brother:

> O Sandy how I do hate Westminster. They use me so ill there, other Day One of the Great Boys […] knocked me senseless for half an hour because I said dont [*sic*] and One of them first ticled [*sic*] me to make me laugh and then pulled my hair and beat me to make me cry to see how I looked when I cryed [*sic*].

Despite his harsh introduction, Jamie quickly adapted to all parts of school life, and by that autumn his father commented to Sandy, 'He seems to agree now exceedingly with Westminster and gets a manly appearance'.[11] Jamie's enjoyment of Westminster most likely stemmed from the fact that he was surrounded by a group of boys quite like himself – boys who were interested in both literature and the theatre. In fact, there could not have been a more ideal school for Jamie Boswell than Westminster of the 1790s. Westminsters were known for attending theatrical performances outside of school: George Colman the elder had welcomed students (including his son) when he was the manager at Covent Garden; Colman the younger did the same while he was the manager of the Haymarket Theatre in the 1790s.[12] Additionally, in 1788 – two

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[9] *Catalogue*, L 79.
[10] Danziger, p. 59.
[11] For Jamie's letter to Sandy, see *Catalogue*, C 341. For Boswell's letter to Sandy, see L 87. Jamie often used little-to-no punctuation in his writing; for ease of reading I have inserted punctuation but have kept his spelling, capitalisation, and emphasis.
[12] John D. Carleton, *Westminster School: A History* (London: Rupert-Hart-Davis, 1965), p. 33.

years before Jamie's arrival – a group of Westminsters had independently published their own periodical, *The Trifler*, to modest success. The paper's appearance suggests that Westminster was, at that time, a space in which boys could fashion themselves as authors and circulate work in both private and public spheres. Jamie participated enthusiastically in this schoolboy authorial community: at the urging of his older roommate Robert Southey, he wrote a mock biography of another classmate, Horace Walpole Bedford – known to his schoolmates as 'Little Dr. Johnson' – that was circulated throughout the school, although sadly does not survive.[13] Furthermore, he submitted at least one letter, written under the pseudonym 'Fiducius' and containing a short, moralising story, to *The Flagellant*, the 1792 Westminster periodical edited by Southey. Two more fragments of letters, signed 'Gregory Whim' and 'Aristides', survive and although they were obviously intended for *The Flagellant,* it is unclear if they were ever submitted.[14] Jamie's contributions within the authorial space of Westminster reveal a boy who found his school and schoolfellows a source of literary inspiration.

Westminster was also a place in which boys could (and were expected to) perform for both the public and other boys. From the early modern period on, memorisation and recitation were the cornerstones of grammar school training, and 'school colloquies and plays proliferated alongside catechisms, dramatic dialogues and proverbs'.[15] Dramas were produced in schools throughout England and schoolmasters promoted both acting and declamation as good training: the words

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[13] William Haller, *The Early Life of Robert Southey, 1771-1803* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1917), p. 35.
[14] For the pseudonymous letters, see *Catalogue*, C 363. The letter signed 'Gregory Whim' was acknowledged in Number 7 of *The Flagellant*, though it was never published; the other letters were never acknowledged. See Chapter 2, 'Puny Authorlings', for a longer discussion of Jamie's submissions.
[15] Marah Gubar, 'Introduction: Children and Theatre', *The Lion and the Unicorn* , 36 (2012), v-xiv, p. vi.

'declaim' and 'play' were often synonymous.[16] In the mid-eighteenth century, David Garrick took a keen interest in school drama and wrote prologues and epilogues for boys to perform. Garrick saw school plays not as training for professional actors, but as a 'means whereby boys might learn through speaking and public appearance, poise and self-possession, and through acting plays, might come to a better understanding of literature and life'. At Westminster in particular, drama was an integral part of school life, with plays having been produced at the school since the sixteenth-century; by the eighteenth century plays were being performed in both Latin and English.[17] Plays mounted by Westminsters received much attention, and performances reached well beyond the circle of the school, with notices and reviews regularly printed in newspapers and periodicals. Adults expressed admiration for schoolboy theatricals; as early as 1762 the elder Boswell attended a play at Westminster, commenting, 'There was a very numerous audience. […] I was entertained to see the boys play.'[18] Boys also took notice of school plays and Robert Southey recollected: 'The Christmas before my entrance at Westminster, I remember seeing in the newspapers the names of those boys who acted in the Westminster Play that year. […] I pleased myself with thinking that they were soon to be my friends'.[19] To perform, then, especially at Westminster, was analogous to being published and often meant seeing one's name in print and having the public take notice. Jamie acted in school plays throughout his career at Westminster: in November 1791 he acted the role of 'Haly' in a Westminster production of Nicholas Rowe's *Tamerlane* along with two roles ('Gargle' and 'the

[16] Lynn Enterline, *Shakespeare's Schoolroom: Rhetoric, Discipline, Emotion* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2012), p. 41.
[17] T.H. Vail Motter. 'Garrick and the Private Theatres: with a list of amateur performances in the 18th century', *ELH*, 11 (1944), 63-75 (pp. 65-66). For a discussion of the Westminster plays, see T.H. Vail Motter, *The School Drama in England* (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1929).
[18] James Boswell, *London Journal 1762-1763*, ed. by Frederick A. Pottle, The Yale Edition of the Private Papers of James Boswell (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1950), p. 63.
[19] *The Life and Correspondence of Robert Southey*, ed. by Charles Cuthbert Southey, 6 vols (London: Longman, Brown, Green and Longmans, 1849), I, p. 143.

Scotchman') in its afterpiece, *The Apprentice*. In a letter to his brother, he mentions only the two comedic roles, which he clearly relished; a review of the performance in *The Public Advertiser* remarks that he displayed 'considerable humour' in the afterpiece.[20] In 1792 he appeared in another Westminster production, *Love á la Mode*, at the Lyceum in the Strand, which prompted his father to comment in his journal, 'My son James acted Sir Archie Macsarcasm [*sic*] very well'. In 1793 he may have appeared on stage once again, for his father noted in his journal a Westminster production of *Ignoramus*, and thought that if he did not attend that Jamie would 'be vexed'.[21] Westminster School of the late 1780s and 90s was a place of literary production and literary performance, and it was a world into which Jamie would have easily transitioned, having already been accustomed to presenting (and performing) his work to and for his family.

While Jamie was undeniably invested in his coterie of schoolfellow writers, readers, and audience, he also continued circulating work within his family, reading and commenting on their work, and even encouraging publication. His father urged both boys to keep journals – that he read – telling Sandy, 'I am pleased with your Journal & Jamie's; only I wish that the writing was better. Pray continue them, & write with more care'. This circulation of journals mimics the elder Boswell's own early exchanges with his friend William Temple and implies he was inculcating his sons to the habit of making regular personal notes that were also meant to be read within a wider, even if not entirely public, sphere. Jamie and Sandy readily practised this literary exchange and not only acknowledged one another's authorial attempts, both within and outside the schoolroom, but also collaborated on work from a

[20] *The Public Advertiser*, 16 December 1791.
[21] Danziger, p. 207, pp. 265-66.

distance. In 1790, Jamie wrote to Sandy lauding his performance on a public speech day: 'I am glad the King comes to hear you speak. I daresay it will make you very agreable [*sic*]'; additionally, the brothers may have worked together that same year on a poem, 'Nootka Sound, or, A Warning to the Dons', which is composed in the handwriting of both boys.[22] This poem refers to a controversy of 1789-90 in which the British attempted to develop trade in the Pacific Northwest, an area which Spain had asserted claim to since the sixteenth century. After the Spanish Navy seized four British ships at Nootka Sound and refused requests for compensation, Britain threatened to go to war. Although the dispute was settled peaceably, it was considered a symbolic victory for Britain. While the topic might initially seem like an odd choice for boys, it serves as an indication that the young Boswells were regularly reading the newspapers (there were over five hundred articles about the controversy published) and recasting news of political upheaval as literary entertainment. The boys might also have been influenced by James Byrn's pantomime *Nootka Sound; or, Britain Prepared*, which the elder Boswell notes that his brother and daughter saw at Covent Garden the day after Jamie entered Westminster. [23]

By 1793, Sandy was writing both verses and plays, and Jamie told him, 'There is not the least doubt but that you will show me your pieces in a periodical paper', adding that he thought Sandy's 'Dramatic attempt' would also be a success. Jamie's comment here makes manifest a belief that schoolboys could and should publish their work in print, although he himself published only in manuscript. In this same letter, Jamie indicates that he and his brother were collaborating on a play, writing, 'I now send you the Prologue to my play. I shall expect to see an Epilogue from you'. He

[22] For Boswell's letter to Sandy, see *Catalogue*, L 75. For Jamie's letter, see C 341.
[23] Barry M. Gough, 'Nootka Sound Controversy', in *The Canadian Encyclopedia* <http://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/nootka-sound-controversy/> [accessed August 14, 2014]; Danziger, p. 59.

then adds, 'I didn't write the letter in rhime [*sic*] for I thought you'd have rhime enough in the prologue'. [24] For Jamie, writing was a shared editorial process, with work regularly circulating in draft form. Despite being completely immersed in the literary culture of Westminster, young Boswell evidently had a different view of authorship than his contemporary Westminsters (and Etonians) who were producing periodicals for a larger reading public, for he had little to no interest in publishing his work in print, but was patently interested in manuscript coterie publication. In part, this lack of interest in publishing must have been related to his chosen genre of plays, since for a play to be 'published' it need only be performed, not printed. However, considering that Jamie's first burst of literary activity (1788-1793) coincided with the years that his father was writing and publishing *The Life of Johnson*, it seems likely that it was through observing his father that Jamie constructed his idea of an author – and that he construed authorship as more of a vocation than a profession. For him, it was the act of writing and editing (and preserving the process) that represented authorship, not producing a finished product in print. This construction of authorship placed him in direct contrast with some of his fellow Westminster authors such Southey, who was obsessed with appearing in print.

The bulk of Jamie's schoolboy writing that survives relates to his plays: *The Siege of Carthage* (1788-[1791?]); an untitled fragment (1788-89); *Ajut and Aningait* (1790-91); *The Grinners* (1792-93); *The Village Heroine* (1793); *The Misanthrope Converted* and *The Rake Reclaimed* (two drafts of the same play with different titles, 1793); and *The Modern Patriot* (1793). Of these, only *Ajut and Aningait* exists in a complete fair copy. Jamie's work survives, at least in part, because his father –

[24] *Catalogue* C 345. For 'Nootka Sound', see C 372. Sandy's play does not survive, although the play on which they were collaborating may have been *The Rake Reclaimed*, see C 369.

essentially functioning as his patron – was inclined to collect his son's work alongside his own notes, drafts, and letters. In fact, Jamie dedicates *Ajut and Aningait* to his father, calling him 'the Patron of a rising Genius in youth'.[25] Boswell seemed to view Jamie as an extension of himself, writing to William Temple that Jamie was 'an extraordinary boy' who was 'much of his father (vanity of vanities!)'.[26] In February 1789, he wrote to his wife: 'Jamie is quite a genius. […] At my desire he is writing down his comedy. It is amazing both as to plot and dialogue, though imperfect, and how he can carry it all in his head I cannot conceive.'[27] Boswell's comment implies that Jamie originally thought of his plays as being entirely oral creations and productions, and it is possible that he 'drafted' his work out loud for his family. While his wish for Jamie to record and save his literary efforts may have been motivated by simple paternal pride, it is likely that as a biographer, Boswell also would have been keenly interested in collecting the first fruits of a boy he thought to be a budding author. In his introduction to the *Life* he writes:

> Indeed I cannot conceive a more perfect mode of writing any man's life, than not only relating all the most important events of it in their order, but interweaving what he privately wrote, and said, and thought by which mankind are enabled as it were to see him live, and to 'live o'er each scene' with him, as he actually advanced through the several stages of his life. Had his other friends been as diligent and ardent as I was, he might have been almost entirely preserved.[28]

Boswell, I would argue, saw Jamie's work as a unique opportunity to experience and document the juvenile writing process, and therefore would have encouraged him to save his own writing so that future readers could 'live o'er each scene'.

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[25] *Catalogue,* C 364.
[26] *Boswell: The Later Years*, ed. by Frank Brady, The Yale Edition of the Private Papers of James Boswell (New York: McGraw Hill, 1984), p. 397.
[27] *Catalogue*, L 188.
[28] Boswell, James, *Boswell's Life of Johnson*, ed. by G.B. Hill and L.F. Powell, 6 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1934-50), I, p. 35.

Jamie's plays may have particularly attracted the interest of his father, who as a teenager, had himself become interested in the theatre and had thrown himself into it 'with the furious and single-minded intensity that was henceforth to characterize all his enthusiasms'. In 1759, Boswell claimed authorship of the manuscript play *The Coquettes* (a poor translation of a play by Thomas Corneille), which was actually written by his cousin Lady Houston, and which turned out to be an abject failure; in February 1760, at the age of nineteen, he published his first book – a fifty page pamphlet ('by a Society of Gentlemen') titled *A View of the Edinburgh Theatre during the Summer Season 1759, containing an Exact List of the Several Pieces represented, and Impartial Observations on Each Performance,* containing a series of reviews written for *The Edinburgh Chronicle*. That same year, Boswell wrote (although left unfinished) a ballad-opera, *Give Your Son his Will*, about 'a hard-headed London citizen who is keeping his giddy but attractive son, Charles Positive, from becoming an officer in the Guards'. Importantly, it was during this burst of theatrical enthusiasm that Boswell began keeping a journal. Frederick Pottle proposes that the structure of Boswell's journal is inherently dramatic, and that from the beginning he dealt 'lavishly in "characters"; the individualization of the people he mentions by swift and economical descriptive touches that read like stage-directions in modern printed plays'.[29] For Boswell, drama informed his daily writing from an early age; and Jamie, in turn, embraced this intrinsically dramatic writing as well, thereby fashioning his literary works and his ideas about authorship, publication, and performance within the two overlapping spheres of home and school. This chapter will examine two of Jamie's plays, *The Siege of Carthage* and *The Grinners*. These

[29] Frederick A. Pottle, *James Boswell: The Earlier Years, 1740-1769* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1985), p. 40, 44, 68, 90.

plays were chosen, in part, because drafts of them survive in the same notebook, permitting comparison. Additionally, *The Grinners* is the only play that survives in multiple drafts, allowing for the reconstruction of Jamie's writing and editing processes.[30] While *The Siege of Carthage* only exists in one draft, I would argue that this surviving copy is a revision of his earliest play, and was connected to events that Jamie witnessed and recorded at school. These two plays, then, provide us with a view of how this particular schoolboy author developed his work over a period of time. To this end, I will also discuss two letters written by Jamie, which not only help to contextualize his plays and materialize the spaces of their authorship, but also stand on their own as literary works.

The 1791 Letters

Two letters written by Jamie to Sandy in 1791 survive, and reveal that he was not just interested in providing Sandy with news of daily life, but in turning that news into entertainment – intended to be read by multiple audiences. His letter of 26 November of that year is of particular interest, because it describes a school rebellion and specifically presents his schoolfellows as protagonists, thereby situating the schoolboy as both spectator and spectacle. Notably, when boys published their work in print, they did not generally write about their contemporaries, even though they constantly reminded readers that they were, in fact, schoolboys. Schoolboys obviously appear in Jamie's letters because he is relating incidents at school, yet he was nevertheless very intent on dramatising school life, and he seems to have viewed letters as a literary genre that intersected with his plays. As a schoolboy, Jamie would

[30] While *The Misanthrope Converted* and *The Rake Reclaimed* are drafts of the same play, they are very fragmentary.

have been well-versed in letter writing, as it had long played an important role in classical education. As Susan Whyman points out, grammar school students imitated Cicero's letters as early exercises in composition, and would have studied the model letters provided by Erasmus in his *De Conscribendis Epistoles*, first published in 1522 but used throughout the eighteenth century. Learning to write letters was an important step in the path to schoolboy authorship: the schoolboy letter-writer might initially grasp 'only its formal features – layout, design, appropriate length, and forms of address', but as he gains both knowledge and experience, and 'masters grammar, expands vocabulary, and organizes his material, the boy is becoming an author'.[31] Books about letter writing existed outside the classroom as well, and by the later eighteenth century printed editions of personal, literary, and instructional letters by writers such as Jonathan Swift, Alexander Pope, Laurence Sterne, and the Earl of Chesterfield were readily available; letter writers (and readers) also had a different kind of model in epistolary novels like *Pamela* and *Humphrey Clinker* that blurred the lines between fact and fiction. In fact, the elder Boswell experimented with the genre of the literary letter early in his career, and at the age of twenty-one he and his friend Andrew Erskine authored a series of letters, which were published in 1763; it was the first of Boswell's publications to bear his name.[32] Jamie's letters reveal a boy who may have been trained using classical models, but who was also eager to experiment with that model, turning his epistles into lively performance texts for multiple audiences.

The November letter might be placed in context via another one written to Sandy earlier that year. The letter, of late January 1791, begins rather formally: 'Dear

[31] Susan E. Whyman, *The Pen and the People: English Letter Writers 1660-1800* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), pp. 11-12, 21.
[32] James Boswell and Andrew Erskine, *Letters between the Honourable Andrew Erskine, and James Boswell, Esq* (London: W. Flexney, 1763).

Alexander – I being at home tonight […] I take up my pen to address an epistle to you. […] according to custom I am still writing scraps for my opera which goes on very well'. [33] This opening, which may have been mock-serious, nevertheless suggests a more formal letter, more of the sort one would write to a literary patron, rather than a brother. He then mentions his schoolwork, writing that he was now doing '*Phaedrus Verses* at Westminster which is turning a *Latin fable* into *Latin Verse* which I like vastly. I forgot to bring my *foul Book* home and so cannot give you a specimen of them but will in my next letter'. Here Jamie merges his various types of authorship: his personal correspondence adjoins his curricular and extra-curricular writing, all of which are offered up for Sandy's personal and critical reading pleasure. The letter then quickly segues from writing and schoolwork to something quite different: a detailed description of a professional bare-knuckle boxing match. Jamie writes: 'I suppose you have heard of the great battle between Big Ben and Johnson. […] [It is] wonderful to relate Big Ben has beat the Champion of England as Johnson was call'd before this dreadful Downfall'. 'Big Ben' was Ben Bryan, and 'Johnson' was Tom Johnson, referred to as the Champion of England between 1784 and 1791. The match between the two was particularly vicious, and even though Johnson was favoured, Bryan beat him unconscious in twenty minutes, earning a prize of five hundred guineas.[34] Jamie offers his brother a blow-by-blow account of the match, remarking at one point that 'Johnson […] turned his back several times and retreated and even Pulled big Ben's hair'. This description mirrors Jamie's own hair pulling and beating at the hands of his schoolfellows six months earlier, but all that seems

[33] *Catalogue*, C 342.1. The opera to which Jamie refers must be *Ajut and Aningait*.
[34] Dennis Brailsford, 'Johnson, Tom (c.1750–1797)', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* <http://0-www.oxforddnb.com.catalogue.ulrls.lon.ac.uk/view/article/59099> [accessed 24 May 2012]

forgotten and here he presents violence as entertainment for his brother. In fact, he spares no gruesome detail:

> [T]hey were both very much maimed Johnson in particular. Big Ben's eye hung only by a peice [*sic*] of skin and Johnson broke the joint of his wrist and then with a stroke he aimed at Big Ben's kidneys upon which Big Ben put out his elbow and caught upon it the wrist and hand of Johnson. After an obstinate and bloody Battle Johnson being knock'd down eighteen times almost running gave in and acknowledged himself Beaten terribly which he realy [*sic*] was being scarcely able to stand'.

Although the letter is written as though Jamie was in attendance at the fight, he was, in fact, not actually there, for he added a note the following day: 'I […] received from Papa a letter […] in which you told me of Ben's victory but I hope you will not be displeased to hear an account of it from Me as I heard Kennedy tell it who was present'. Numerous accounts of the fight appeared in newspapers, but it is clear that for Jamie, mere newspaper accounts did not suffice, and he found pleasure in writing his own interpretation of events. Moreover, the fact that he did not initially disclose that his letter was not actually a first-hand account suggests a collapse between fact and fiction (or at least, literary embellishment). While the January letter is unrelated to the one Jamie would write later that year, it nevertheless foregrounds his interest in both theatricality and veracity (or pseudo-veracity), and I would propose that it builds upon the kind of writing his father practised.

Jamie's next surviving letter, of 26 November 1791, is obviously a response to one of Sandy's (which does not survive), and he begins: 'As you have sent me several questions I now set about answering them'.[35] He first answers Sandy's questions about his parts in a school play and the dates of a school holiday, and he then turns to the third and most important question, writing:

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[35] *Catalogue*, C 343.

> I never heard any more like a newspaper than the account you have got of what happened at Westminster. Never was a greater hyperbole told in all this World and with less foundation, your question is (Is it true that the Upper boys of Westminster have been overcome by the Under ones and that fagging is abolished? As the papers say that this is the case at Westminster and the Charterhouse). It may have happened at the Charterhouse but as for Westminster there is not the least or most distant thoughts of such a thing nor if they were to make any attempt could it avail in the least because even if our number was superior to that of the head boys what could a parcel of little boys do against even half their number of Big Boys?

Here, Jamie displays a genuine indignation at the misrepresentation of school events – and school hierarchies – in newspaper accounts, undoubtedly written by adults, outside the circle of the school. Indeed, his pique is so great that simply questioning what a 'parcel of little boys' might do is not enough, and he rephrases the question as a metaphor, commenting:

> To give you a simile, what could two rats do against four bats? Two bats would stand a good chance with four Rats but two Rats would never (most certainly) conquer four bats. That may justly be compared to the Upper and Under School of Westminster.

Although he misidentifies a simile, this slightly disturbing portrayal of Westminster students as rodents reveals that Jamie was interested in trying out different literary techniques in his letters – literally learning how to be an author – while perhaps tempering the severity of the events at school with a bit of levity. Yet in his next sentence, he dispenses with humour and cuts to the real reason for the letter, declaring: 'In short we have had a Rebellion. I shall give you an account of its Rise, Progress, and Fall in due form'.

The London Chronicle reported the rebellion as a 'terrible fracas' beginning with two boys who had agreed to resolve a dispute with a fight in Dean's Yard. The boys were followed by the rest of the students, who refused multiple requests by the

schoolmasters for them to return to the school. After the fight was over, a 'sentence of flagellation was passed upon Mr. Doyly, the head-boy, for not having obeyed orders. The sentence was demurred to by the whole school; the consequence of which was a general desertion for the present'.[36] The rebellion was exactly the type of event that Jamie would have embraced: it was a 'battle' in which he was both a participant and an eyewitness, and he was easily able to dramatise it as a literary spectacle for his brother's elucidation and entertainment. In describing the rebellion, Jamie breaks his letter and sets his account separately, as if it were a pamphlet or broadside, titling it: 'Account of the Westminster Rebellion. 24th Novr 1791. Extract of a letter from Deans Yard Nov. 26th'. Given that often 'material employing the form of the letter was composed especially for print, frequently using the conventions, structures, and language of manuscript letter composition as well as evincing the aura of originary manuscript circulation', this 'extract of a letter' within Jamie's letter mimics a printed model that itself is an imitation of a manuscript.[37] This 'news-letter' was 'published' the same day as the newspaper report and works to counteract its incorrect or incomplete account, as well as to indicate its own circulation within a space of authority – the schoolyard.

The proposal of an insider's account is further bolstered with a very orderly opening sentence: 'On Wednesday morning about a quarter before Ten Most of the Boys were at Breakfast Except the Upper and Under third which were wholly in, two or Three of the fellows in the fifth and fourth and several fellows in the sixth'. This painstaking description of the scene suggests that Jamie intends to give Sandy an

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[36] *London Chronicle*, 26 November 1791.

[37] Gary Schneider, *The Culture Of Epistolarity: Vernacular Letters And Letter Writing In Early Modern England, 1500-1700* (Newark: University Of Delaware Press, 2005), pp. 48-9. Although Schneider discusses an earlier period, a search of the *English Short Title Catalogue* yields over two hundred such printed letters between 1780-1800.

accurate and truthful account, not only to answer what had been reported in the newspapers, but also to emphasise the (still intact) social structure of the school. Jamie then reveals that the trouble at school began when 'Morrell, a fellow in the sixth having dropt a ribband [*sic*] out of his pocket, Phillimore, another, pict [*sic*] it up and plagued him about it'. The ribbon dropping and subsequent plaguing clearly propelled the boys into a state of agitation, with Morell, who 'was in a passion' hitting Phillimore, 'who turned about and hit him again'. Given that 'Phillimore' was Joseph Phillimore, later nicknamed 'Philander', the dropped ribbon probably related to a girl, though it is possible that it had a political connotation.[38] The two 'began buffeting one another making a great Row upon which Mr. Wingfield the under master (who presides at the third) […] cried "Get down stairs and fight it out". They all upon this Ran out'. Notably, Jamie does not follow the boys outside; he seems to have no interest in detailing the fight itself in the same way he described the professional boxing match. Instead, he is much more interested in the ensuing battle between the students and the masters, and when the head master Dr Vincent returns with the students, Jamie asserts, 'I will now give you what was said *In the Way of Dialogue*'. Here there is a shift in style, and the letter moves from a fairly straightforward description to a dramatic rendering that essentially places schoolmaster and schoolboy on stage; it is a text that imagines an audience and invites reading aloud. His dialogue begins with Dr Vincent insisting: '"Come hither *Doyly*" (Doyly is the Captain of the School. Doyly came to him). "Fetch me a rod *Wentworth*" (a senior starting up)'.[39]

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[38] Norman Doe, 'Phillimore, Joseph (1775–1855)', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/22137> [accessed 10 May 2014]. I have been unable to identify 'Morrell'. For a discussion of political ribbons, see: Katrina Navicklas, '"That sash will hang you": Political Clothing and Adornment in England, 1780-1840', *The Journal of British Studies*, 49 (2010), 540-64

[39] 'Doyly' was Sir John D'Oyly, who went to Ceylon and was made a Baronet after serving as the first Commissioner of Government in the Kandayan provinces. See: H. M. Stephens, 'D'Oyly, Sir John,

Jamie is not content to simply provide the dialogue; he adds in the crowd's reaction as well, and when Vincent repeatedly calls for a rod, he is answered first with 'Loud Murmurs and Hisses', and then with 'Very loud Groans, Murmurs and hisses and a great many fellows calling out *No No No*'. Meanwhile, the head boy's response, '"Sir I was not at the Battle. I was reading in college and I could not bring them up"' is greeted with 'Loud plaudits'. When Vincent changes the punishment from flogging to merely an 'imposition' of Sophocles, he is, as one might expect from schoolboys, met with 'Very Loud Hisses indeed'.[40] Upon refusing to do the imposition, D'Oyly is supported by 'very loud plaudits indeed from the whole school which was now filled'. Here Jamie's letter works as a multi-layered performance text: the schoolboys watch and respond to a dramatic dialogue, while Sandy is a distant, epistolary spectator of the entire scene.

Jamie then provides a sort of act break, as Vincent storms 'out of school' – essentially exiting the stage. The focus remains on the crowd of boys, and Jamie relates that if, as expected, Vincent 'had gone and taken up a rod himself he would certainly have had his head broke as they were all in a terrible passion about his attempting to flog Doyly'. The boys gather and were 'almost unanimously resolved' to present Vincent with a note (which Jamie sets out separately within his text) requesting that he 'withdraw the Imposition you have set Doyly and entirely drop the affair'. Jamie then adds, 'It was signed by all the fellows in the seventh, sixth, shell

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baronet (1774–1824)', rev. Katherine Prior, in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/8013> [accessed 10 May 2014]. 'Wentworth' may have been Sir Charles Wentworth. See: *The Record of Old Westminsters*, ed. by G. F. Russell Barker, 2 vols (London: Chiswick Press, 1928), II, p. 980.

[40] The OED defines 'imposition' as a literary exercise imposed as punishment; here it was likely a translation.

and fifth, and a great many in the fourth.[41] It was then proclaimed that every fellow was to be in school by 2 o'clock and that no noise was to be made'. Again, Jamie does not seem to have followed the boys as they went into College to compose the note, and I do not think he would have been amongst those that signed it, as he was still in the Under School. He was however, likely present later that day, and he conjures up a certain amount of dramatic tension, revealing: 'We were all in School by 2 o'clock precisely when Vincent came into School. […] There was a dead silence. Not a whisper was to be heard. All ears were listening to every tread of his foot. All eyes were intent upon him'. Surprised by the note, Vincent 'turned Rather Pale' while he read it with every eye 'fixed on him'; afterwards, he made 'an excellent speech' which Jamie confides, 'had not so great an effect upon us as he wished […] yet it curbed our fury and made us cool and temperate'. After D'Oyly once again refuses to do the task set to him, Vincent shouts, '"I vow to God I *never – never* will withdraw the Imposition"'. Jamie then describes in detail the exodus of the Westminsters who even in this moment of crisis maintain a sense of decorum and a respect of hierarchy: 'Doyly, Paul, Levet, Borne, the Seniors and the Seventh first, then the Shell, then the fifth, then the fourth, then the third, then the second, then the first, and Lastly the petty marched without the least Row out of School'. Not content to simply leave school, 'when they were got into Dean's Yard they all began a full chorus of Sira Sira the French Revolution Song and all Ran and got their hats and those that had them sticks'. Here, the song he is referring to must be *'Ça Ira'* which had gained popularity

[41] Jamie's use of 'seventh' form is slightly unclear. In the eighteenth century, Thomas Knipe, who became Head Master after the death of the celebrated Richard Busby, abolished the seventh form; it was not until the late nineteenth century that William Rutherford restored it. Given that boys spent two years in sixth form, though, it seems likely that Jamie was referring to these senior students. At Westminster, 'Shell' refers to both a physical space (a shell-shaped apse at the north end of the schoolroom) and the form that was taught within that space. Other schools, including Harrow and Charterhouse, have forms called 'Shell'. See: Howard Staunton, *The Great Schools of England* (London: Daldy, Isbister & Co., 1877), p. 99-100.

in France the previous year: although it eventually became associated with violence, it was originally a light-hearted song about overcoming enemies of the Revolution.[42] While the school rebellion may not have begun for overtly political reasons, it seems completely reasonable that boys, inflamed with passion at the injustice of the schoolmaster, would have associated themselves with revolution, seeing themselves as rebelling, not against a polity per se, but against the leader they saw as unfair and tyrannical. Yet the fury of the boys is immediately tempered and Jamie reveals that as they left school, 'they then went walking about very quietly'. While this placidity might be construed as ominous, with anger lurking beneath calm schoolboy demeanours, the composure of the boys also works to reverse the roles of authority: the boys project maturity and confidence, and it is the headmaster who is presented as childish and unable to control his emotions and behaviour.

Many of the boys did not return to school the next day, though Jamie confides, 'Papa made me promise and go in on Friday'. Despite going to school, there was not much in the way of schoolwork done:

> We did no business before breakfast as the Masters and Ushers were all consulting together and also the Glass was continually falling from the Great bow windows which they broke with Potatoes and Stones which were continually pouring in. After Breakfast we did a little but not much on account of the Incessant Showers of Stones and Potatoes that were constantly thrown in by the fellows without (not against us for they knew we were forced in but against the Masters).

It is likely that there is a certain amount of literary embellishment in Jamie's description: there would have been no location near the school from where the boys could have been high enough to throw things through the windows, and there are no

[42] Richard Bienvenu, '"Ça Ira"', in *Historical Dictionary of the French Revolution, 1789-1799*, ed. by Samuel F. Scott and Barry Rothaus (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1985), pp. 144-45.

accounts in newspapers or in the Westminster school archives that indicate any damage. The potato projectiles, whether real or fictitious, promote the idea of a 'battle' between boys and masters that threatened both the physical and instructional foundations of the school – with Jamie reporting the action from the scene. It is noteworthy, though, that Jamie specifically emphasises that the rebelling boys understood why the little boys were in school – not because they wanted to be there, but because they had been forced in by their fathers. This passage, therefore, works to manifest Jamie's need and desire to place himself (and by extension) his readers within the social structure of the school, as well as within the rebellion in which he was not actually participating. If in 1762 his father had promoted himself as 'The Cub at New-Market', nearly thirty years on Jamie seemingly aspired to become 'The Cub at Westminster'.

Eventually, D'Oyly's father and 'Lord Stormont, Marquis of Landsdowne, The Archbishop of Cashel and Several other Noblemen and Gentlemen […] met at Vincents house', with the result being a note for D'Oyly 'to Read in the Middle of School'. The rather succinct note, 'There in presence of Dr Vincent and the School declare that though I was right in refusing to do the Imposition I was wrong in going out of School' was read by D'Oyly and thus ended the great Westminster rebellion of 1791. While disaster was seemingly averted, Jamie takes pains to point out to Sandy that had the boys not feared the expulsion of the 'universally beloved' D'Oyly, they would not have let the matter rest so quickly, and 'it would have been the most Serious Rebellion that has ever been known at Westminster. […] Vincent would have been in danger of his life'. And with this dramatic statement, Jamie brings down the curtain on both the Westminster rebellion and his familiar letter, signing it 'I am yours affectionately, James Boswell'. While the letter is addressed to Sandy at Eton, it was

clearly intended for – an indeed read by – a wider audience. A note on the letter's wrapper declares: 'Courtenay said he thought this as well-written as Sallust's Bellum Catilinarium'. While the elder Boswell was a friend of the MP John Courtenay, this is likely a reference to William Courtenay, a fellow Westminster who was a year older than Jamie, and whose father was the Bishop of Exeter.[43] Jamie's writing is actually entirely unlike that of the Roman historian Sallust, who was writing between two civil wars: that of Caesar and Pompey, and of Antony and the future Augustus. Yet the boys may have perceived a connection between their own insurrection and Sallust's *Bellum Catilinae*, which relates the coup attempt of Catiline in 63 B.C. The portrait of Catiline at the beginning of Sallust's work is marked from start to finish by hyperbole: he is portrayed as thoroughly evil – almost as evil as Dr Vincent – and takes pleasure in civil wars, murder, plunder, and domestic upheaval. The work ends with a battle and the death of the enemy, but the cultural problems Sallust describes remain unresolved, just as Jamie insinuates that the tension at Westminster remained even after D'Oyly's apology. This note on the wrapper indicates that Jamie's account circulated amongst his schoolfellows, and reflects what the boys must have been reading, as well as their grave interpretation of the events that transpired at school and their desire to have them recorded by a worthy author – their own Boswell. [44] If, as Gary Schneider argues, letters were 'sociotexts' and that packets containing multiple letters would have been expected to circulate amongst multiple readers during 'all

[43] Barker, p. 221.
[44] For an overview of the *Bellum Catilinae*, see: Ronald Syme, *Sallust* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1964), pp. 60-82. Boys would have encountered Sallust even as they were just beginning to learn Latin (for example, *An Introduction to the Latin Tongue, For the Use of Youth* was first published by Thomas Pote in 1758, and went through thirteen subsequent editions before 1791); Westminster schoolboys would have likely read Sallust in collections like *Conciones et Orationes ex Historicis Latinis Excerptæ. […] In Usum Scholæ Westmonasteriensis* (London: J. & F. Rivington, G. Johnston, & T. Longman, 1770). Individual and collected works by Sallust also would have been readily available: *C. Crispi Sallustii Bellum Catalinarium et Jugurthinum, Cum Versione Libera* (Glocester: R. Raikes, 1789); *C. Sallustii Crispi Opera Omnia* (London: M. Brown, 1790).

stages of the epistolary process, during composition, transmission, and reception', then Jamie's letter to Sandy functioned not just as a familiar letter, but as a series of authorised literary texts meant for circulation within the Westminster community as well as amongst Sandy and his friends at Eton.[45]

The Notebook of Plays

While most of Jamie's surviving works exist in loose quires, there survives a notebook containing incomplete drafts of two plays written at both ends of his schoolboy career: *The Siege of Carthage* and *The Grinners*.[46] The book, which has been written half through, then reversed and written from the other direction, bears copious marks of ownership. On one cover is printed carefully in shaded capitals 'BUNBURY'; below that the date '1780' is changed to '1790'; and below that, printed carefully but in smaller letters, 'French Grammar'. On the other cover can be read 'BUN' written very large, and 'BOSWELL' written less carefully and legibly. There are also several faint scrawls which look like capital B's. While 'Bunbury' might refer to Henry William Bunbury (1750-1811), the artist and caricaturist who moved in the same social circles as Samuel Johnson and James Boswell (Sr), it seems more likely a reference to his son, Sir Henry Edward Bunbury (1778-1860), a contemporary of Jamie's at Westminster.[47] Bunbury acted alongside Jamie in at least one Westminster production, and *The Public Advertiser* noted: 'Mr. Bunbury spoke an Epilogue with some point, excellently. It was called for a second time'.[48] The inclusion of Bunbury's name on the cover is perhaps evidence that Jamie worked on

[45] Schneider, p. 22.
[46] Glasgow, Murray MS 113.
[47] John Sweetman, 'Bunbury, Sir Henry Edward, seventh baronet (1778–1860)', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/3936> [accessed 18 Dec 2012]
[48] *The Public Advertiser*, 16 December 1791.

his plays while he was rehearsing other plays with his schoolfellows. It is also possible that the notebook circulated amongst the boys, with Bunbury adding his own name on the cover. On the paste down of one cover of the book is a seal in red wax showing a head with 'Samuel Johnson L.L.D.' written twice below it. 'Boswell' is written several times both vertically and horizontally; 'James Boswell', upside down, twice, and 'Brother' once. Inside the other cover the name 'Boswell' has been written several times, and the first page of *The Siege of Carthage* contains more pen trials, along with the succinct meditation 'Boswell is a clever fellow / And writes very well / Bow wow wow / Bow wow wow'. It is apparent that Jamie used the notebook as his foul book for plays as well as schoolwork, and its incompleteness does not necessarily mean that the plays were never completed. The fragmentary nature of young Boswell's literary archive is probably due to both the usual attrition of archival material, as well as the all too common inclination for young authors to destroy their earliest works. Jamie must have, at times at least, shared this desire, as manifested by the bond threatening deportation to Botany Bay that his father compelled him to sign.

While neither of the plays in the notebook survives in fair copies, or even completed drafts, evidence exists that Jamie circulated plays in both unfinished and finished form. He dedicated his play *Ajut and Aningait* to his father, who had clearly read the work when he prepared the mock bond forbidding its destruction. Additionally, he circulated a prologue (most likely for *The Rake Reclaimed*) to Sandy in 1793 with the expectation that his brother would compose an epilogue.[49] The fact that Jamie – even within his drafts – includes title pages, dedications, notes to readers, and cast lists also serves as evidence that he anticipated publishing his completed work in manuscript, and was intent on providing a textual experience of the theatre.

[49] *Catalogue* C 345.

His intended or imagined audience might have even expected this type of paratextual material, for Gillian Russell argues that the textual equivalents of theatrical spaces were playbills, prologues, and epilogues, which, whether printed or handwritten, formed 'the main record for private theatricals, as they do for theatre as a whole'.[50] Jamie would have certainly been familiar with texts printed for professional theatres and possibly amateur ones as well, and his own work suggests that he attempted to mimic such texts. A play, for an aspiring young dramatist, would not be a play without the proper accompanying text for his audience, and therefore Jamie made certain that the formal qualities of a theatrical text were in place beginning with his first drafts.

The Siege of Carthage

In March 1789, the elder Boswell wrote to his wife in Scotland asking what she thought of a song (set to the tune of 'Broom of the Cowdenknowes') in Jamie's play *The Siege of Carthage*: 'Despair has seig'd [*sic*] my throbbing breast / And I'm oppress'd with pain / And I can not have any rest / Until I see thee again'.[51] By November of that year Jamie was still working on the play, although apparently nearing completion; in a letter to Sandy, Boswell commented, 'Jamie […] now sits by me, actually at work on the fifth act of his Play'.[52] *The Siege of Carthage* is Jamie's earliest known play, and it dramatizes the defeat of Carthage (in what he calls a comic opera) at the hands of the young Roman general Scipio Aemilianus, also known as Scipio Africanus the younger, in the third and final of the Punic Wars in 146 B.C.[53] Scipio Aemilianus, the second son of Lucius Aemilius Paulus Macedonicus, was just

[50] Gillian Russell, 'Private Theatricals', in *The Cambridge Companion to British Theatre, 1730-1830*, ed. by Jane Moody and Daniel O'Quinn (Cambridge: CUP, 2007), pp. 191-204 (p. 196-97).
[51] *Catalogue*, L 188.
[52] *Catalogue*, L 81.
[53] The most comprehensive source on Scipio Aemilianus is: A.E. Astin, *Scipio Aemilianus* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1967).

seventeen years old when he accompanied his father to Macedonia and fought heroically at the Battle of Pydna. He was adopted by Publius Cornelius Scipio, the eldest son of Publius Cornelius Scipio Africanus (also known as Scipio the Great), and his name was changed to Publius Cornelius Scipio Aemilianus. As a young man, he was brought up with a traditional Greek education, but was also a friend and patron of Terence, as well as the satirist Lucilius. The primary source for the younger Scipio is the work of Polybius, a friend and admirer of both Scipio and his family; other sources include Appian, Plutarch (although his biography of Scipio is lost), Livy, and Cicero, who saw Scipio as both a political giant and a lover of learning. Jamie probably got the inspiration for his play from one of the many Greek and Roman histories available to him, either in school or in his father's library. He was not, however, the first schoolboy to dramatize Scipio: in 1718 Charles Beckingham, a student at Merchant Taylor's School, published *Scipio Africanus*: *a Tragedy*, which was performed in Lincoln's Inn Fields that same year, though its run only lasted four nights, two of which were benefits; it was never revived, and it is almost entirely unlikely that Jamie would have known Beckingham's play. [54] He would, however, have been acquainted with numerous works on which to model his own, as comic operas were hugely popular on the eighteenth-century stage. The genre grew out of earlier ballad operas (the most famous being John Gay's *The Beggar's Opera*), which set lyrics to borrowed tunes, while comic operas were meant to have original songs – although the most popular comic opera of the century, Isaac Bickerstaff's and Charles Dibdin's *Love in a Village*, was a pastiche, containing both old and new tunes. A comic opera may have appealed to Jamie in part because he enjoyed (and was singled

[54] Charles Beckingham, *Scipio Africanus: a Tragedy* (London: W. Mears, J. Browne, and F. Clay, 1718). It is unclear to me as to whether Beckingham, who would have been nineteen at the time, was a current student at Merchant Taylor's School, but students were given a half-holiday so that they could attend the play.

out for) his own comedic performances in Westminster plays. Additionally, for a young author, a genre that often employed stock characters and plots would have provided a ready template from which to work.[55]

The two letters from his father make clear that the surviving draft is not the original one that Jamie wrote over the course of 1789. Although he obviously worked on his fifth act, Jamie's notebook only contains up through what seems to be Act III, Scene 4. Moreover, the notebook contains what is plainly a revision of his earlier work; the verse Boswell sent to his wife is reworked as a song for 'Philomela', lover of the brave Carthaginian 'Allucius':

> My wretched fate I now bemoan
> Tis my Sad Lot to mourn
> My father and my Lover gone
> Have left me here forlorn
> My heart is filld with anxious cares
> Ah how Love racks my breast
> It almost fills me with despair
> And banishes all rest.
>
> (*The Siege of Carthage*, I.6.)

While this is unmistakably a later draft than the original, the handwriting is slightly more youthful than that of the two 1792 drafts of *The Grinners* found in the same notebook. The handwriting of *The Siege of Carthage* bears a similarity to that in the surviving copy of *Ajut and Aningait* written in 1791; the fact that there is a scrap of a song for *that* play that precedes *The Siege of Carthage* in the notebook points to 1791 as the date of composition of this draft as well.

On the first page of his draft, Jamie provides paratext for his readers, with the title 'The Siege of Carthage / A comic Opera / in five Acts / By / James Boswell junr'

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[55] See: Robert Hoskins, 'Theatre Music II', in *The Eighteenth Century*, ed. by H. Diack Johnstone and Roger Fiske, The Blackwell History of Music in Britain (Oxford: Blackwell, c1990), pp. 261-312.

followed by his dramatis personae, which lists fifteen named characters plus various 'soldiers and citizens'; a list of actors is included as well. Four characters named within the play are excluded from this list: two Carthaginian soldiers called 'Pullo Rhodomontado' and 'Thundorando Canonadi'; 'Mirra', a fairly minor Carthaginian woman whose dialogue is mostly relegated to such witty bon mots as '"hold your tongue booby"'; and more surprisingly, 'Gambo', a soldier with a reasonable amount of dialogue who plays a key role in Act II, Scene 3, when he finds a hiding place for the Carthaginian soldiers. These exclusions imply that Jamie copied the dramatis personae from a previous draft, and then later created characters that he did not go back and add.

As with *The Grinners* in the same notebook, Jamie's dramatis personae bears copious signs of revision. The names of two characters are crossed out: 'Publus', possibly meant to be Scipio's adoptive father or grandfather, was to have been played by Charles Bannister; and 'Chear' for whom an actor is not indicated. The list of actors is also amended: 'Indebilus', an elderly soldier still eager to fight the Romans, was originally assigned to Francis Aickin (c.1735-1812), associated with Covent Garden from 1774-92, who was so talented at 'characters of a forthright, blunt, harsh, and finally villainous tendency' that at the end of his career he was known as "Tyrant Aickin'.[56] Jamie crossed out Aickin's name and added that of William Parsons, but then crossed out Parsons's name and returned to Aickin. Richard Suett (1755-1805), a talented comedian and musician who specialised in drunken characters, but also appeared in many comic operas, was first cast as 'Captain', then later transferred to

[56] *Biographical Dictionary of Actors, Actresses, Musicians, Dancers, Managers and other Stage Personnel in London, 1660-1800*, ed. by Philip H. Highfill Jr., Kalman A Burnim, and Edward Langhans, 16 vols (Carbondale and Edwardsville: Southern Illinois University Press, 1975), I, 45-49 (p. 47).

the role of 'Smirko'.[57] Jamie was obviously taking advantage of Suett's talent for drunken characters, since Smirko appears (at least in this version of the play) only briefly, drunkenly entering in the middle of the first scene and asking a wine merchant, 'what do you groan at Friend? I wish I had all your Casks. Id [*sic*] never think of groaning'. Jamie's selection of actors for this play reveals a propensity for peformers known for both their comedic skills and their singing. For instance, in the role of 'Swig', the wine merchant, he cast Charles Dignum (1765?-1827), who appeared primarily as a singer at Drury Lane, giving 'enthusiastic renditions of patriotic songs, sea songs, military songs, ballads, and sentimental favourites'.[58] Similarly, the role of the cowardly, cross-dressing deserter 'Squappo' is assigned to a Mr. Fawcett, which could have been either John Fawcett (d. 1793) or his son, also called John (1769-1837), both of whom specialised in low comic characters requiring singing.[59] Jamie was just as attentive to the casting of his female characters, giving the lead role of 'Philomela' to Anna Maria Crouch (1763-1805), who 'combined extraordinary beauty and grace of person very effectively with a good stage presence and a fine singing voice. […] She played young maidens until the end of her career'.[60] While heavily skewed towards actors associated with Drury Lane, Jamie's cast list for *The Siege of Carthage* contains a mix of actors from both that theatre and Covent Garden and exhibits a working knowledge of current performers.

Underneath the dramatis personae, Jamie carefully describes the 'Order of the Triumph' of the Romans:

> 1stly Lictors with the rods and fasces
> 2dly Trumpeters two and two

[57] Ibid, XVIII, 330-37.
[58] Ibid, IV, 416-20 (p. 417).
[59] Ibid, V, 191-203.
[60] Ibid, IV, 80-88 (p. 86).

> 3dly The Victims crowned with Garlands of flowers
> 4thly A Chariot drawn by 2 horses with the Statues of the household Gods and Images of the Carthaginians
> 5thly another chariot with swords and shields &c of the Carthaginians piled up in a large heap clashing together
> 6 The Golden urns (of the Carthaginians) for Sacraficing [*sic*]
> 7thly The Carthaginian Prisoners (bound) walking two and two
> 8thly 4 officers bearing the Carthaginian crown Sceptre &c
> 9thly Men and Woman singers singing "See the noble Scipio comes"
> 10thly Scipio with a crown of Laurel enwreathed with Gold on his head in his hand and olive branch Seated on a splendid chariot Shining with Gold drawn by four horses adorned with laurel. Led by 2 pages ornamented in like manner
> 11th and Lastly. The horse and foot Soldiers of the victorious army crowned with laurel and Shouting aloud accompanied with Trumpets, French horns, clarinets, cymbals &c playing See the Noble Scipio comes!!

He then also includes the song 'See the Noble Scipio comes' (to the tune of 'See, the Conquering Hero Comes'):

> See the Noble Scipio comes
> Sound the Trumpets beat the drums
> From Shore to Shore let us proclaim
> The Glory of the Roman name
> Rome may now be justly proud
> Shout ye Romans shout aloud
> Sound your Trumpets beat your drums
> See your godlike hero comes[61]

It is unclear if Jamie intended this spectacle to be presented to the reader at the beginning of the play, of if these are just his notes for a later scene. Whether intended as private scribblings or public reading, Jamie's initial notes manifest his authorial commitment to both lavish spectacle and hierarchical order, and they bear a striking resemblance to his 1791 letter about the Westminster rebellion. Although the play is obviously not intended as a satire, since it was originally composed three years earlier, I would propose that the incident at school inspired Jamie to re-visit and revise

[61] 'See, the Conquering Hero Comes' is from Handel's 1746 oratorio *Judas Maccabaeus* and was a popular tune throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

his play about the youthful and triumphant Scipio. A play about a boy leader who guides his troops to victory is exactly the sort of subject that might have interested him and his schoolfellows at that particular moment in time; the procession of victory – and especially the song celebrating Scipio – exalts the same dramatic, youthful, orderly, and song-filled triumph celebrated in Dean's Yard.

While Boswell was clearly biased when he called Jamie 'a genius', what survives of *The Siege of Carthage* is, though not exceptionally sophisticated, genuinely entertaining, featuring a mix of extravagant spectacle, songs, adolescent humour, and sentimental yearning. The play opens with various citizens of Carthage nervously musing on their future, with 'Stitch the cobbler' proclaiming: 'I like […] to make my ends meet, yet I should not like much to meet my end. But I'm afraid we must meet our end and there will be an end of our meat, so we're in a fair way of starving'. Jamie is so taken with this dialogue that he re-uses it in the same play: in Act I, Scene 5 an anonymous citizen declares, 'Countrymen Fellow Citizens and Carthaginians – […] If you don't drive these Romans off soon ye must meet your End, for I have the pleasure to inform ye that there is an end to your meat'. This recycling of dialogue is once again a sign that Boswell added to the play without having carefully read through what he had already written, indicating that a significant period of time had lapsed between the time of his original draft and the later one in the notebook. However, the dialogue also demonstrates Jamie's love of homophones, and makes clear the notion that he was imagining the play being performed while he wrote it, since the humour derives from the words being heard instead of read. Much like his letters of the same year, then, the play offers a chance for its young author to experiment with language and performance.

While the citizens are drunkenly pondering their future, two noblemen, 'Scrutius' and 'Curius' enter, discussing Scipio. Concurring that the Romans will not be victorious because of their leader's age, they claim that while he is skilled in the 'Art of War' and 'was the very devil' at school, his only real experience is 'attacking an orchard' and that he is 'a mere Stripling'. Scrutius asserts: 'Then why should veteran Soldiers fear this Baby? / This upstart Scipio perhaps he's clever / Why so are you and so perhaps am I'. Although rejected by his foes as a harmless baby, Scipio is the calm and rational leader, and projects maturity and confidence – and expectations of future greatness – in his opening speech, telling his army: 'But if Success should wait upon our arms / Let me exhort you Countrymen to use / Your prisoners with mercy and with kindness'. Here the idea of Scipio the 'schoolboy' soldier as a force to be reckoned with again evokes the rebellion at Westminster, along with Jamie's epistolary contention that the schoolmasters had underestimated the boys' ability to overcome adult 'enemies'. Similarly, the character of Scipio also evokes the first number of *The Microcosm*, in which its Etonian authors advise their readers that while they are now just 'puny authorlings', they are also the future leaders of England and therefore should not be dismissed by adults.[62] Thus, Scipio can be interpreted as a stand-in for the Westminsters as a group, or at least the 'Big Boys' who led the rebellion.

Like the men, the Carthaginian women are also concerned with war, although they are more concerned with how it will affect their love lives. Philomela laments: 'Heigho! Well it is a sad thing to be in love when one cannot gratify the passion when these Men will be going to fight and leave us poor forlorn Women'. Her friend Charia agrees, complaining: 'aye aye the Men all prefer nowadays the rumbling of drums to

[62] *The Microcosm* 1, 6 November 1786.

the soft sounds of dearee lovee wont [*sic*] you stay at home to night and don't go out and catch cold'. The women are presently joined by Squappo, who has decided to save himself from harm by dressing as an old woman. Squappo acts as a one-man chorus, providing a description of the fighting for both the women and the audience: 'Oh what a terrible thing a battle is: Trumpets sounding, drums beating, Horses neighing, asses braying, some bauling [*sic*], others squaling, some dying, spears flying, swords clashing, boots splashing, and they were all cutting and clashing'. Through this flamboyant account of an unseen, off-stage battle, the character of Squappo not only serves as a link between male and female views of the battle, but also represents the author himself: just as Jamie seems to have done in the Westminster rebellion, Squappo moves at will both in and out of battle and the private, enclosed spaces of Carthage. He is both seen and unseen, part of the war and simultaneously a bystander; moreover, his love of reporting in rhyme is meant to entertain both those in the play and in the audience.

While the women somewhat comically mourn for their lovers (and themselves) within the city, a different kind of grief is portrayed by those outside of it. As the elderly Carthaginian soldier Indebilus stands at the edge of Carthage watching the city in flames, he cries:

> Is this the Noble Carthage that has stood
> The test of ages and the storms of fortune?
> By heaven it quite unmans me and I must
> Thus play the woman in a flood of tears (weeps).
> (*The Siege of Carthage*, II.2)

Like Squappo, Indebilus moves between gender roles, 'playing the woman' to express his anguish at the destruction of his city by the now triumphant and feared 'upstart' Scipio. While the dialogue here seems rather mature for a thirteen-year old, phrases

like ‘it unmans me’ and ‘I must play the woman’ appear in a variety of eighteenth-century texts, though I have found no direct source for this speech, or for any other in the play. With Indebilus outside the city, his love – and obvious female counterpart – Indebilia takes over as protector of those within the city. She visits Scipio on behalf of the female prisoners and begs for mercy:

> Ill brooks it with our present situation
> To wish for Splendour or the glare of courts
> But still there is a Jewel far superior
> To all the baubles wealth or fortune give
> Virtue the fortress of a Womans charms
> When I consider the licentious
> Which is the close concomitant of War
> And on the other hand the youth and beauty
> Of the fair captives I do tremble for them
> As for myself my age protecteth me
> From every fear in this respect but they
> Who are both young and beautiful and look
> Up to me as a mother are in danger
> For them I do entreat your just protection
> (*The Siege of Carthage*, III.4)

Here Indebilia ‘plays the woman’ in a different manner than her husband, placing herself between the possibly depraved Roman soldiers and the women now held prisoner without the protection of the Carthaginian men. The two elderly Carthaginians, with their inherent goodness, seem firmly rooted in sentimental comedy, meant to move audience members to tears while they simultaneously laugh at the witty dialogue and broad comedy of the other characters.

Unfortunately, this sole surviving draft ends with the exchange between Scipio and Indeblia, leaving the fate of Carthage and its inhabitants unresolved. What survives, while fragmented and imperfect, nevertheless offers a glimpse into the mind of a boy discovering how a play worked in terms of plot and dialogue, and clearly invested in the performance of his work. Written alongside his letters, I would argue

that Jamie saw *The Siege of Carthage* as a vehicle for presenting the emotion, intrigue, and violence of the Westminster rebellion to an even wider audience than the schoolrooms of Westminster and Eton.

The Grinners

There are three surviving drafts of *The Grinners*, including one on a single loose folio sheet, and two in Jamie's notebook; none of his other plays survive in this many drafts. Although the notebook contains drafts and boyish pen trials, it also offers evidence that Jamie intended to publish or circulate his work. An indication of this intent appears at the beginning of the third draft of *The Grinners* (the second in the notebook). Beneath the title, Jamie notes that it is 'Considerably corrected and enlarged (some passages left out from the foregoing copy)'.[63] Slightly further down the page, underneath the dramatis personae, is an impression of the elder Boswell's seal in red wax. The seal perhaps marks this as an 'official' copy of the play that Jamie intended to circulate, or at least share with his father (or perhaps it signifies that he had already shared the play with his family). The announcement of the play's revision, along with the seal and a new prologue all posit the idea that Jamie believed he was nearing completion of the play and viewed this version as perhaps the final draft before producing a fair copy.

While incomplete, Jamie's notebook reveals his interest in recording the literary process, not necessarily focusing on the end result, yet always conscious of readers, both current and future. His notes throughout his drafts of *The Grinners* divulge much to the reader, including, quite helpfully, his source for material and the

[63] Glasgow, Murray MS 113

date of his work. While the first page of the notebook contains random phrases labelled ‘Material for Grinners’, the second page bears the note:

> Upon reading the Spectator No [ ] I was much entertained by the description there given of the grinning match on the taking of Namur and thought that a Farce written on a similar plan would not have a bad affect. I therefore set about and made out a little plot and made other additions which were necessary. I have now begun the Dialogue and am going on pretty well. James Boswell. Dec^{r} 24th 1792 my age being then fourteen.[64]

This note is useful in that it reveals first, that Jamie, like many other schoolboys, read *The Spectator* alongside his schoolbooks. It also suggests how he structured his writing, first outlining a plot, and then working on dialogue; Jamie’s play *The Village Heroine* bears this out, as the extant fragment consists solely of a description of two plots.[65] Finally, the fact that he notes his age as ‘being then fourteen’ implies that he was expecting future readers of his work.

In Number 173 of *The Spectator*, Joseph Addison writes of seeing an advertisement in *The Post-Boy* for competitions in Warwickshire for horses, asses, and grinners. The prize for the grinning contest is a gold ring, which Addison declares ‘should carry for its poesy the old motto inverted: Detur tetriori. Or, to accommodate it to the capacity of the combatants, The frightfull’st grinner / Be the winner’. Addison then relates a story heard in a coffee-house about just such a grinning match which took place upon the taking of Namur. While the competitors included ‘a black, swarthy Frenchman’, the prize ultimately went to a cobbler:

> Giles Gorgon by name, who produced several new grins of his own invention, having been used to cut faces for many years together over his last. […] The whole assembly wondered at his accomplishments, and bestowed the ring on him unanimously; but what he esteemed more than all the rest, a country

[64] Ibid.
[65] *Catalogue*, C 371.

> wench, whom he had wooed in vain for above five years before, was so charmed with his grins and the applauses which he received on all sides, that she married him the week following, and to this day wears the prize upon her finger, the cobbler having made use of it as his wedding ring.[66]

Jamie lifts his plot (or at least his subplot) directly from Addison's essay, as well as three of his characters: one of his grinners (indeed, the winning grinner) is a cobbler named 'Giles Gorgon', who also wins the affections of a country wench named 'Jenny'; one of the other grinners is a 'swarthy black Frenchman' whom Jamie calls 'Afreux'. His re-use of the cobbler Giles Gorgon hints at perhaps a surfeit of cobbler jokes in his literary arsenal; he clearly found cobblers amusing and includes one in *The Siege of Carthage* as well. He also takes advantage of the humour of the name 'Gorgon', and in his second draft Jenny declares, 'do you think I'd marry a filthy cobler [*sic*] and then what a horrible name yours is Giles what a shocking thing it must be to be called Mrs Gorgon'. Jamie clearly had no compunction about borrowing directly from source material, and as manifested in his letters, he was particularly interested in his own dramatization of stories.

The loose fragment, which appears to be the earliest draft of *The Grinners*, introduces its two intertwined plots. The main plot concerns a young man ('Bowman', later 'Merford') who is in love with the daughter ('Lucy', later 'Emily') of a wealthy and eccentric Baronet, 'Sir Gregory Quiz'. A scheme is devised in which Sir Gregory's attention will be diverted by Bowman's roguish friend (first 'Charles', later 'Voluble', then 'Deepish', and finally 'Ned Acid') while his daughter is spirited off and married; the plan is decided to be 'the best scheme that ever was schem'd in the scheming noddle of any schemer in the world'. As the two friends are musing on their strategy, the town crier enters and introduces the sub-plot with the declaration:

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[66] *The Spectator* 173, 18 September 1711.

> Be it known to all women be they maids, wives, or widows; all men be they doctors taylors, or costers; all children be they Girls, boys, or hobbledehoys that this day our good master the Squire makes a wake to awaken the spirits of the village when a leg of mutton will be given to the best cudgeller and two shillings and sixpence halfpenny three farthings and a half will be given to the best grinner.[67]

The fragment ends with the crier's speech. The two subsequent drafts do not include this speech, but do begin with approximately the same entrance, revealing that Jamie had settled upon his plot outline early on and then devoted most of his efforts to developing his dialogue. The play opens as the two friends arrive in the village:

> BOWMAN Here we are arrived quick as the wings of love could carry us.
> VOLUBLE Nay Bowman I must beg leave to disagree with you for I think we came along as a couple of jaded nags and an old broken down postchaise could carry us. I protest I am as sick as a dog. If that be one of the effects of love may my good stars defend me from such a confounded passion. A free heart and an easy stomach for ever'.
> (*The Grinners*, draft 3, I. 1.)

Jamie must have been especially enamoured of this particular dialogue, since he re-uses it in *The Modern Patriot*, a play that is roughly contemporaneous with *The Grinners*. Jamie's interest, especially in his later plays, was the constant revision (and re-use) of his dialogue: all of his plays written between 1792-93 have very similar characters and plots, so recycling dialogue makes sense – and also reveals Jamie's utter lack of interest in originality. While the first draft of *The Grinners* focuses on the basics of plot, the second expands the dialogue, and the third sharpens it, concentrating in particular on the comic aspects. Jamie clearly enjoyed writing the repartee of his two main male characters, and he continually revised it in all three drafts. For instance, in the second draft Deepish claims 'well Jack my good wishes are

[67] *Catalogue*, C 367.

at your service but I think that as we cannot live on our wits we had better adjourn to the Inn for I am most confoundedly hungry'.[68] In the third draft this is expanded and reworked:

> MERFORD I have no scheme but only hope to gain some opportunity of seeing her. […] Thus you see Ned that I feed on hope.
> ACID Aye so you may Jack but I have a grosser appetite and require some more substantial food for which reason I vote for adjournment to the Inn where I will regale myself with a roasted fowl. You may stay here if you like and feed on hope.
>
> (*The Grinners*, draft 3, I. 1.)

Unlike his earlier plays, comic operas that are at turns sentimental, here Jamie seemingly moves towards a different kind of comedy; while much of the play is slapstick driven, his two male leads, with their witty (at least in the eyes of a schoolboy) dialogue, perhaps point a bit more towards a comedy of manners.

While Jamie's finessing of his female characters' dialogue is less evident within his drafts, he certainly intended for Lady Quiz, the sister of Sir Gregory, to be integral to the comic heart of the play, and he writes her as much more farcical than his male leads. In Act I, Scene 2, she denigrates the idea of a grinning match, claiming it does not 'venerate the dignity of your ancestors. Will you never consider how many Quizs [*sic*] have been noblemen?'. When her niece Emily enquires, 'and how many Quizs have been old maids?', she issues the perhaps less than sparkling rejoinder, 'you impudent huzzy [*sic*]', before exiting the stage. Lady Quiz returns in Act II, Scene 1 when, during the grinning contest, she spies Merford and Emily running off to get married. Acid distracts her, claiming, 'mame that's only a sham elopement that the Squire ordered that he might laugh at you when you kickd [sic] up a dust about it. […] Its [*sic*] only Tom the butcher'. Believing Acid, and thus angry

[68] Glasgow, Murray MS 113

with her brother, Lady Quiz decides to play a trick on him, first asking, 'Well brother suppose your […] genteel amusement was to turn out to be serious?'. When her brother responds with confusion and annoyance she grows irate, shouting, 'At first he makes his daughter run away with Tom the butcher and then makes such a racket and piece of work about it'. At this point the second draft ends, but the third provides a continuation of this scene, with the newlyweds Merford and Emily entering the stage. Lady Quiz accosts her niece with: 'you abominale [*sic*] huzzy, to disgrace your family by an alliance with a butcher'. Here Acid decides to play his own joke on Merford, telling him in an aside that Lady Quiz's comment is 'meant as a hit at your being a soldier'. When Lady Quiz derides Merford as 'a fellow that kills sheep and goats', Acid suggests that it is 'all metaphorical: the goats mean the French'. But the joke is revealed when the antagonistic aunt adds, 'and sells meat as dear into the bargain I warrant him'. With this Merford realises that something is amiss, asking his friend, 'how now Acid do we eat the French too? Is that metaphorical?'. Here Jamie seems to be gathering authorial steam with this low comedy scene involving wordplay, jokes about the French, and the exposure of the play's intertwined schemes and deceptions. The play is clearly racing towards a conclusion, yet the third and final draft breaks off here, and although several pages have been torn out of the notebook, it is unclear as to whether they contained more text from the play.

While the play does not survive in complete form, there is still much information to be gleaned about Jamie's plan for it in his paratext. The earliest draft of *The Grinners* includes ten characters under the dramatis personae: 'Sir Gregory Quiz'; 'Bowman'; 'Charles' (crossed out in the draft and changed to 'Voluble'); 'Gorgon'; 'Tosack' (changed to 'Taylor'); 'Clash' (changed to 'Simple'); 'Squall'; 'Lady Quiz'; 'Lucy'; and 'Nanny'. Alongside each character is the name of an actor

or actress. At this initial stage, the names of actors most likely functioned as a sort of shorthand reminder about characters, which would have been helpful since Jamie probably wrote intermittently (yet consistently) around his schoolwork. The actors chosen are likely also be a reflection of Jamie's own theatre experiences – although there is scant information about what specific plays he saw, he was undoubtedly familiar with London theatre in the early 1790s. In addition to attending the theatre, Jamie socialised with actors. His father's journal entry for 5 November 1792 states that Jamie: 'dined at a Mr. Babb's in Westminster, uncle to Mr. Whitfield the actor, with Mr. and Mrs. Whitfield, Mrs. Inchbald, and three Westminster boys who with him were to act in English this winter'.[69] John Whitfield (1752-1814), generally regarded by critics as a capable but often overlooked actor, was perfectly suited to the role of the young lover, as his 'favourite lines, comic or tragic, were of youthful beaux, sentimental lovers, and gallant officers.[70] The extant drafts of *The Grinners* imply that the earliest was written before Jamie's acquaintance with Whitfield. Originally, Jamie cast 'Mr. Davies' as the actor playing Bowman, the male lead, yet even in the first draft the name Davies is crossed out and changed to 'Whitfield', possibly dating the draft to early November 1792.[71] Jamie obviously attended the theatre quite frequently while he was writing his plays and he projected his own work onto the professional stage; significantly, he never cast his plays with his fellow schoolboy actors. His selection of actors exhibits knowledge of current performers on the London stage, with a particular appreciation for comedic character actors. All the actors Jamie casts in *The Grinners* were associated with Drury Lane or the Haymarket (usually both), all active in the 1791-93 seasons, although many had been performing

[69] Danziger, p. 193-94.
[70] *Biographical Dictionary of Actors*, XVI, 39-43 (p. 42).
[71] This might be William 'Kiddy' Davies (1751-1809), who was associated with Covent Garden from 1780-1794. See *Biographical Dictionary of Actors*, IV, 211-14.

there for years, making it nearly impossible to pinpoint exact performances he might have seen.

In his second draft, Jamie deletes or changes four characters and adds one entirely new one – Afreux. The original characters of Taylor, Simple, and Squall are dropped; and that of Nanny is either dropped or changed to Jenny. Nanny has no dialogue in the first draft, making it impossible to judge whether Jamie intended her to be Gorgon's beloved or an entirely different character. Jamie does not include a list of actors in his second draft, instead providing brief character descriptions. For instance, the character Deepish is described as 'a sharp sly fellow and very fond of the sound of his own voice'; while Emily is 'a sprightly young Lady daughter to Sir Gregory; not averse to Merford'. The descriptions propose that Jamie was working out qualities of character that would not necessarily have been manifested by simply assigning an actor to the role. For example, Jenny, the young love interest of Giles Gorgon, is described as 'a young country wench who in reality likes Giles Gorgon but pretends that she does not'. Even in the third draft, Jenny's secret love of Giles is not readily apparent, since she continually insults and rejects him until he wins the grinning match and its prize of a gold ring, upon which she declares to the audience, 'oh he has a beautiful ugly face and that pretty little ring. I think it would fit me better than him. I'll coax him out of it'. The most intriguing description is that of Afreux: 'a black swarthy frenchmen [*sic*] a great advocate for liberty and the rights of man'. None of this love of liberty and rights is discernible within the play, however, and Afreux's part is confined to grinning maniacally and shouting: 'I vill vin de prise begar I vill grin wid de diable himself'. After losing the match to the Englishman Giles Gorgon, Afreux disappears from the play as the crowd shouts, 'Gorgon for ever. Down with the Frenchman'. While Afreux might simply have reflected the popularity

of humorously villainous foreigners on the London stage in the 1790s, 1792 was a year in which Jamie, like many other schoolboys, was fascinated by the French, and found them comically boisterous and eminently mockable until the execution of Louis XVI, when he noted at the top one of his poems, 'A Modern Ramble to Paris' that he then found the French 'objects rather of detestation than laughter.' The poem mocks the political chaos, noise, and brutishness of French life:

> Tis not long ago since I set off from Dover
> And to France with a brisk gale we soon hurried over
> When I landed the parly voos [*sic*] all crowded round me
> And so jostled and squeesd [*sic*] that I thought they would pound me
> […]
> Yet I never could once sleep in peace in my bed
> There was always so shocking an uproar and noise
> All fighting and squabbling men, women, and boys.[72]

While not entirely fleshed out, the character Afreux exhibits the same unruly French foolishness that Jamie decries in his poem of the same year.

In this final draft Jamie forgoes character descriptions and returns to listing actors, reinforcing the idea that his work was nearing a point of performance, or at least circulation for an audience. In the third draft, though, Jamie inserts two minor comic characters, 'Sumph' and 'Snug' (changed within the draft to 'Flint'), and it seems likely that these are adaptations of the first draft's Simple and Squall, although this is just a guess since they have no dialogue in the first draft. Sumph and Flint were to be played by Mr. Suett and Mr. Burton respectively. While Mr. Burton (most probably John Burton, d. 1797?) was a utility actor of little distinction, Richard Suett, apparently one of Jamie's favourite actors, was cast as Simple in the first draft, and although only the briefest dialogue survives for the characters of Sumph and Flint, the

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[72] *Catalogue*, C 375.

choice of Suett may indicate that Jamie was planning to expand their roles, perhaps making use of Suett's musical talent.[73] Of particular interest is Jamie's selection of the actor Ralph Wewitzer (1748-1825) for the role of Afreux. Wewitzer began his association with Drury Lane in the 1791-92 season; his first appearance was as the original French critic in James Cobb's musical prelude *Poor Old Drury!!!*. The following year he originated a number of comic roles, including that of Sotello in Cobb's comic opera *The Pirates*. Over the course of his career, he played over four hundred roles, and while his general forte was eccentrics, 'more than any other actor of his era he was renowned for his dialect characters. […] Wewitzer was popular in pretentious Frenchmen […] amiably drunken Germans and Dutchmen, and other clichéd characters'. Additionally, Wewitzer was 'one of those rare "minor" actors whom writers of comedies kept in mind when turning out the main comedies and farcical afterpieces required as grist for the patent houses'.[74] Wewitzer, as a skilled comedian and singer, was exactly the sort of actor Jamie would have appreciated, yet he is not listed amongst the actors in either *The Siege of Carthage* or *Ajut and Aningait*, both of an earlier date than *The Grinners*. This suggests that Jamie first saw Wewitzer on stage sometime during the summer or autumn of 1792, perhaps in Mrs. Inchbald's comedy *Cross Partners*; Samuel Birch's musical farce *The Mariners*; or Cobb's *The Pirates*.

Jamie continually revised the imagined performance of *The Grinners* while he drafted the text. He first gives the role of Sir Gregory Quiz to Robert Baddely (1733-94), who specialized in playing 'peevish old men in comedy'.[75] Charles/Voluble/Deepish/Acid was originally to be played by Robert Palmer (1757-

[73] *Biographical Dictionary of Actors*, II, 439-442.
[74] Ibid, XVI, 17-33 (p. 20).
[75] Ibid, I, 196-202 (p. 200).

1817), who was at Drury Lane during the 1790-91 season, but by the summer of 1793 had gone to Edinburgh and did not return to London until late August 1794. Tending to play 'eccentrics, gallants, braggarts, and foreigners', Palmer had a propensity for coarse comedy; in 1795 *The London Theatres* declared: 'When vulgar manners are portrayed to view, / Who gives the picture with a touch more true; / than Robert Palmer[?]'[76] Meanwhile, the cheerful and popular John Bannister (1760-1836) was cast as Giles Gorgon, and William Parsons (1736-1795), described as being 'very thin, with a mobile face' and 'talented at portraying country clowns' was given the role of Taylor.[77] However in the third draft, Jamie re-assigns Baddely to the role of the peevish Acid, gives Sir Gregory to Bannister, and shifts Parsons and his mobile face into the role of champion face-puller Gorgon; Palmer drops from the cast all together, implying that the third draft was in progress during the summer of 1793, when Palmer left London for Edinburgh. Moreover, the change of actors suggests that the characters themselves were being revised: for example, Jamie may have settled on Sir Gregory Quiz as a more genially comic character, while Acid was meant to be older and more cantankerous, and Gorgon intended to be more physically humorous. Jamie was also astute in his selection of actresses, choosing first a Mrs Webb, then Mrs Hopkins to play the ill-tempered aunt, Lady Tabitha Quiz. Mrs Webb was most likely Mrs Richard Webb, a popular comic actress whose death in 1793 would have been a good incentive to recast the role.[78] Hopkins (1731-1801) was engaged for thirty-four years at Drury Lane playing a variety of roles, although by the 1780s her 'advancing maturity and girth required her to give up many of the parts in the line of tragic queen for those in the line of stage mother, old eccentric, or dowager'. By the

[76] Ibid, XI, 182-186 (p. 185).
[77] Ibid, XIV, 218-227 (p. 220).
[78] Ibid, XV, 318-322 (p. 320).

mid-1790s critics remarked that her 'shrillness of voice, and the squabbishness of her figure are admirable accompaniments to the peevish expression of her features, and thus as far as natural requisites go, she is perfectly suited to old maids and crabbed aunts'.[79] Miss Clementina Collins (fl. 1776-1837), cast as young Lucy in the first draft, was known for her supporting roles, specialising in 'young secondary or tertiary women in the comic afterpieces'. The character of Nanny is not cast in the first draft, and the third draft does not specify actresses for either of its young female characters.[80]

Moving away from the comic operas of his earliest literary attempts, *The Grinners* perhaps reflects a change in Jamie's own dramatic tastes. Like much of his other work it provides insight into the types of texts and performances he consumed while he was writing, and how he functioned as both author and spectator. The three sets of dramatis personae allow the drafts to be placed in chronological order, and illuminate an editing process that was simultaneously concerned with text and performance. Current performers on the London stage provided just as influential a model for his writing as the older, printed source from which he drew his plot. The drafts, therefore, posit the idea that as with his letters, Jamie wrote for his contemporaries, and saw his plays within the modern marketplace of London.

In conclusion, the archive of Jamie Boswell's schoolboy writing allows us to trace how he worked as an author, and reveals his wide range of influences: political conflicts, boxing matches, school skirmishes, Roman histories, older periodicals, and contemporary plays. Unlike the other two sets of case studies that I examine, Jamie's drafts demonstrate how he conceived his ideas, drafted his plots, and revised his

[79] Ibid, v, 410-413 (p. 412).
[80] Ibid, iii, 394-397 (p. 395).

characters and dialogue; his letters make manifest that his extra-curricular writing was a part of his regular routine, just as his school exercises were. This routine was modelled after and encouraged by his father, whose own inherently dramatic style of writing was undoubtedly an influence. Yet school provided fresh material (as well as a new audience) for Jamie's writing. His family and friends were his primary audience, and as a younger boy he was perhaps less concerned with making a name for himself within a wider sphere than the authors of the schoolboy periodicals examined in the previous chapter. Yet, like the author of *Mirus Omnivagus*, which I will discuss in the next chapter, Jamie was still cognizant of the material aspects of his work, controlling the ways in which both contemporary and future readers read, watched, or performed his work.

The Schoolboy Hermit

The whole design of the subsequent work, being to oblige some of my schoolfellows, I shall satisfy the inquisitive reader concerning the first Circumstances which gave rise to it. – Being at a country Boarding School where we were undisturbed by the noise and tumult of a Town, I was left with three others to spend our Midsummer together, as our Parents lived too far distant to send for us every holiday-time.

Having passed an afternoon in playing at Hide & Seek we went into the School to rest ourselves till supper time, but as we did not like to be totally unemployed we every one began to do something. Amongst the rest one Youth composed some entertaining adventures, which he read over to us so that we began to exert our efforts & compose, upon such subjects as suited us best.

How far I succeeded I leave the impartial reader to judge from the following pages.

– The Author[1]

The above passage is the preface to a carefully confected manuscript novel, *Juveniles Phantasiæ or the Original History, of All the Remarkable and Curious Adventures of Mirus Omnivagus[;] His Shipwreck Upon Two Desert Islands and His Travels over Part of Africa, and to Many Desert Places in the Inland Part of Brasil. Likewise His Aerial Flight to England in his Grand Balloon over Many Unknown Parts*, which relates the Robinson Crusoe-like adventures of Robert Entique (also known as Mirus Omnivagus) who, after learning 'everything he needed to know' by age nine and leaving school, travels the world in both ship and hot-air balloon, gets shipwrecked, builds an island empire, and fights both French pirates and South American Indians, all the while accompanied by a faithful army of ale-drinking monkeys. The volume, containing over one hundred and twenty illustrations, is

[1] Chicago, Newberry Library, Case MS Y 155 .B22, fol. 2^{r}. Further references to this manuscript are given after quotations in the text.

allegedly the work of a schoolboy named Jonathan Banks. However, even a cursory glance at the manuscript conjures up numerous questions. Is this really the work of an eighteenth-century English schoolboy? When, where, how, and why was it created? What – if anything – does it reveal about the author's own reading habits? Who were its intended or actual readers and what does it say about schoolboy manuscript publishing? This chapter will attempt to answer these questions.

The Material Book

The manuscript was purchased in 1951 by the Newberry Library in Chicago from the New York book dealer Richard S. Wormser (who specialized in nautical books), but beyond that there survives no provenance information. There are no bookplates or other identifying ownership marks within the manuscript, and although Wormser's papers are now at the John Hay Library at Brown University, a preliminary search of the records yielded no evidence of his acquisition of the manuscript.[2] The book is octavo in format and comprised of two hundred and thirty-five leaves of laid paper (and about fifty-five thousand words) with an undated (that is, without a watermarked date) Britannia watermark. Watermarks were generally found on medium- to fine-quality paper during the eighteenth century and the Britannia watermark was common. Given the position of the watermarks – on the top inner margin of each leaf – it seems likely that Banks purchased the paper in ready-made fascicles from a stationer. Most British paper did not include a watermarked date until after 1794, when the English Excise Act required dates on paper exported from England; after this many papermakers included a date even on paper meant for

[2] Providence, R.I., Brown University, John Hay Library, Richard Samuel Wormser papers (1935-1974), MS. 2005.25.

domestic sale. While the lack of a watermarked date in the Newberry manuscript proposes a date of composition that pre-dates 1794, the paper might simply have been old stock, although Thomas Gravell claims that '96% of the time the date of use for a sheet of paper was within six years of the date given in the watermark'.[3] The manuscript is bound in a German-style case binding – popular from the mid-eighteenth century throughout the nineteenth century – and covered in paste paper meant to resemble marbled paper, with a printed paper label on the spine reading 'Juveniles Phantasiae'. The manuscript was likely bound by someone other than the author, with the label added by the binder. The text is written in a single hand, using a quill pen and iron gall ink. The use of a quill pen again probably dates the manuscript to the late-eighteenth century, although it was not until the 1820s that steel pens were mass-produced in Britain.[4] The writing is a neat but juvenile round hand, with a slightly idiosyncratic uncial 'd'.[5] There is evidence throughout as to where the writer re-cut or changed pens or had pen problems. On some pages one can see that he is writing rapidly and dipping his pen quite often; on other pages he is much more careful and polished. At the very end of the book someone much younger has attempted to continue the story; the same child has also tried to fill in some of the illustrations throughout the book. **[Figure 2]** The childish annotations and additions imply publication, as they are evidence that the manuscript moved beyond the control of the author; they suggest that the book had a wider (or later) audience than just the author's schoolfellows and that it was clearly read by (or to) younger boys. The

[3] Thomas L. Gravell and George Miller, *A Catalogue of Foreign Watermarks on Paper Used in America 1700-1835* (New York: Garland Publishing Inc, 1983), p. xv. For a general discussion of British paper, see A.H. Shorter, *Paper Making in the British Isles: An Historical and Geographical Study* (Newton Abbot: David and Charles, 1971).
[4] For a brief history of the pen, see: Henry Bore, *The Story of the Invention of Steel Pens* (New York: Ivison, Blakeman & Company, 1890).
[5] For examples of different round hands of the period, see: Joseph Webb, *Webb's Useful Penmanship* (London: [n. pub], 1796).

additions also manifest a desire by the young reader to literally insert himself into the text by inscribing the pages with his own marks of ownership and, by extension, authorship.

The book contains one hundred and twenty-seven illustrations, although it appears that one hundred and fifty-three were intended; the illustrations are meant to be reproductions of drawings that Mirus Omnivagus 'made during his solitude to entertain & amuse himself' (fol.). There are twenty full-page watercolour illustrations with borders and captions: most of these are conjugate with leaves of text, indicating that text and illustration were likely conceived as a unit. Several of these larger illustrations appear to have been copied from elsewhere, as they are more sophisticated, with shadows and reflections not found in the smaller illustrations. Additionally there are eight full-page illustrations that are not watercolours, but are rendered in pencil or ink; there are also eighteen pages where Banks intended to add full-page illustration, indicated by borders and captions, but did not do so. The book also contains seventy-eight small (2x2 inches or 2x3 inches) watercolour illustrations, along with twenty-one in pencil, and eight missing entirely. These small illustrations are placed within the text, as opposed to appearing on facing pages. Most likely, Banks copied out the text on loose quires and created place markers for illustrations by adding captions or pencil sketches. It would have been necessary to paint the full-page illustrations before the book was bound, but he could have added the smaller ones at any time, since he did not paint directly on the page, but instead pasted them into the manuscript. Several of the smaller illustrations are tipped in, rather than pasted, and reveal that the existing manuscript is a fair copy, since some of these illustrations have text on their verso, suggesting either that they were cut from a previous version, that the paper from an earlier draft was simply re-purposed, or a

combination of both these practices. **[Figure 3]** It is also possible that the writer and illustrator were two (or more) different boys, which would explain the need for placeholders within the text, as well as the more refined style of some of the illustrations. The illustrations cover a variety of subjects, from ships to animals to buildings to hot-air balloons; they do not often feature humans in the foreground and men are often represented as little more than stick figures. In addition to illustrated novels (including editions of *Robinson Crusoe*) and chapbooks, Banks would have encountered illustrations in a variety of texts, including travel narratives, geographies, emblem books (notable for their inextricable linking of text and image) and even in writing books; he also would have seen broadsides and prints.[6] The use of watercolours suggests that he had seen coloured illustrations: these could have been either hand-coloured or printed. Of particular note might be Edward Jeffery's modest 1796 octavo edition of Horace Walpole's *The Castle of Otranto* with colour printed plates, which indicates that colour printing had become less expensive, and was no longer exclusive to large format works.[7]

Assessing the Evidence

While the *Mirus* author's identity is obscure, evidence found in the material book, the paratext, and the text itself offers some insights into the life of the author and the period of the text's creation. The material object plausibly suggests that the

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[6] See, for example: William Chinnery, *Writing and Drawing Made Easy, Amusing and Instructive* (London: T. Bellamy, [1750]); William Guthrie, *A New System of Modern Geography, or, A Geographical, Historical, and Commercial Grammar and Present State of the Several Kingdoms of the World* (London: C. Dilly and G. Robinson, 1780); *Harlequin Cherokee, or, The Indian Chiefs in London* (London: Robert Sayer, 1772); and John Wynne, *Choice Emblems, Natural, Historical, Fabulous, Moral, and Divine*, (London: E. Newbery, 1788).

[7] Joan M. Friedman, *Color Printing in England* 1486-1870*: An Exhibition, Yale Center for British Art, New Haven, 20 April to 25 June, 1978* ([New Haven] : The Center, c1978). Friedman claims that Jeffery published multiple novels with coloured plates, but ESTC records only: Horace Walpole, *Jeffery's Edition of the Castle of Otranto, a Gothic Story* (London: E. Jeffery, 1796).

author was a boy probably between twelve and fourteen years old, with the means and opportunity to acquire materials such as paper and paints (as well as a variety of bibliographical models), in either the late eighteenth or the early nineteenth century, a time frame that matches up with the various dates (or suggestions of dates) in the book's prefatory material. It is impossible to know exactly how long the composition of the manuscript took, or why it was left unfinished, yet in his preface to the reader, the young author perhaps offers a clue in his claim that he wrote the book during his Midsummer holiday. Depending on his school, the Midsummer holiday could have lasted up to seven weeks, which certainly would have been enough time for an industrious and creative boy to write and illustrate such a work, and it was perhaps intended as an amusement for other boys upon their return.[8] The reappearance of schoolmates – and schoolwork – may also account for leaving the manuscript in its unfinished state.

The preliminary material provides some information as to the origins of the manuscript, yet even that often serves to obfuscate, rather than clarify the matter of when, where, and by whom the work was created. The preliminaries include the title page with the name 'Jonathan Banks'; an unsigned preface ostensibly authored by Banks; an introduction signed 'the Editor; and a note from person who calls himself 'Phantasior' and claims to have discovered Mirus Omnivagus's manuscript on 'Hermit's Isle'. These paratexts come across as slightly overworked and unnecessary, yet Karen Sánchez-Eppler maintains that books created by children often 'very self-consciously depict their own production: in painstakingly imitating the genre traits and material form of published books the children broadcast their mastery of

[8] The longest holiday I have been able to identify is that of Rugby School. See: Nicholas Carlisle, *A Concise Description of the Endowed Grammar Schools in England and Wales*, 2 vols (London, Baldwin, Cradock and Joy, 1818). II, p. 679.

bibliographic conventions'.[9] Importantly then, the preliminaries here make clear that Banks intended not just to compose a story, but to publish and circulate it; he expected that his readers would anticipate a set of frame texts for this particular type of publication.

Near the bottom of the title page is the author's name: 'Jonathan Banks' followed by the initials 'P.P.' which stand for 'per procurationem', or 'by proxy'. **[Figure 4]** The Virgil quote – 'Multum ille et terris jactatus et alto' ('Long labours by land and sea he bore') – above Bank's name suggests that he was at a school that taught classics as opposed to a charity school or petty school that only provided basic instruction in reading and writing. At the bottom of the title page is the date '17__' which has been partially obscured, although it is unclear as to whether Banks himself meant to obscure it, or if it was scraped off at a later date. The 'Grand Balloon' of the sub-title provides the earliest possible date of composition: the first manned balloon flight occurred in France in 1783, the first English ascent in September 1784, and the first flight across the English Channel in 1785. Moreover, as I will discuss later, I would contend that the French army's use of a balloon for military reconnaissance at the Battle of Fleurus in 1794 might be particularly useful in assigning a date of composition.

The title page as a whole clearly mimics an engraved title page, and perhaps uses as its model John Stockdale's handsome 1790 edition of *Robinson Crusoe* – the first English edition with an engraved title page.[10] Banks was obviously not the only schoolboy author to create a mock title page. James Boswell Jr created a title page for

[9] Karen Sánchez-Eppler, 'Castaways: The Swiss Family Robinson, Child Bookmakers, and the Possibilities of Literary Flotsam', in *The Oxford Handbook of Children's Literature*, ed. by Julia Mickenberg and Lynne Vallone (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), pp. 433-454 (p. 446).
[10] See Daniel Defoe, *The Life and Strange Surprizing Adventures of Robinson Crusoe, of York, Mariner* (London: John Stockdale, 1790). This is a bit of a tenuous connection to make, but Banks was clearly familiar with *Crusoe*, and may have been using that edition as a model.

his manuscript play *Ajut and Anningait*, while Alfred Tennyson's earliest surviving juvenilia, the eight-page story 'Mungo the American' has a manuscript title page that even includes an 'imprint': 'London: Printed by Rees, Orme, Longman & Horst. Lombard Street –'. [11] Later, in mid-nineteenth-century Boston, Massachusetts, the children and grandchildren of Nathan and Sarah Hale produced nearly two hundred small homemade manuscript books for which they made bindings and included the 'publication' information for each volume.[12] Whatever his model or inspiration, Banks's mock title page emphasizes the fact that children valued their books as material objects as much as for their textual content.[13] For a young reader – especially of captivity or shipwreck narratives – the physical object would have been inextricably linked with the text: for a journal to be found, it must first – theoretically, at least – exist, and Michael Seidel even contends that *Robinson Crusoe* is 'not only a primer on how to live on a remote island, but on how to write the experience up'.[14] Moreover, being able to record one's story of survival is seemingly just as important as other skills, like carpentry, gardening, and woodworking needed for self-sufficiency.[15] Writing a story and creating a book, then, would be equally important in the eyes of this particular schoolboy, whose authorial power comes not just from composing a story, but also from inserting himself into 'print' culture with a book clearly intended for circulation, even if only amongst family and friends.

The preface (transcribed at the beginning of this chapter) signed 'The Author / W—n / 1785' explicitly states that the work was written to 'oblige some of my

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[11] The manuscript, written when Tennyson was thirteen or fourteen years old, is now in the New York Public Library, Berg Coll MSS Tennyson.
[12] Sánchez-Eppler, pp. 438-9.
[13] M.O. Grenby, 'Adults Only? Children and Children's Books in British Circulating Libraries, 1748-1848', *Book History* 5 (2002) 19-38 (p. 26).
[14] Michael Seidel, *Robinson Crusoe: Island Myths and the Novel* (Boston: Twayne, 1991), p. 79.
[15] Seth Lerer, *Children's Literature: A Reader's History from Aesop to Harry Potter* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008), p. 146.

schoolfellows'(fol. 2[r]). The preface seems to be written in the true – albeit slightly precocious – voice of the author and not an authorial persona, and contains, in fact, the only mention of 'school' and 'schoolfellows'. While these references might be fictitious, I would propose that they actually *do* indicate a schoolboy author. Although numerous books of the period feature a frame story of *families* reading, performing, and revising texts, these tend to centre on the space of the home and often emphasise adults providing didactic entertainment for young children.[16] Schoolboy-authored texts, on the other hand, nearly always highlight the school as the space of production and circulation, and are often dismissive of the idea that adults might have been involved in their creation. Banks may have seen works printed by schoolboy authors, or may simply have felt the same impulse to demarcate the space of production.

The preface is exasperatingly vague and Banks is not very forthcoming with information: he does not specify his school, and the name of the town and the date are again obscured, with the '8' of 1785 clearly written over another number, which I would suggest is actually a '9'. While 'W-n' might stand for Winchester or Windsor, or even Westminster, Banks's name does not appear on the registers of any of these schools. It is more likely that 'W-n' stands for Wigan or Winstanley, where there was a prosperous Banks family in the late eighteenth century. Thus far, though, I have been unable to explicitly identify this *particular* Jonathan Banks, although in employing searches of various genealogical databases, I have located hundreds of Jonathan Bankses in late-eighteenth-century England. Unfortunately, he does not appear in the directories of Oxford and Cambridge alumni, nor does his name show up in surviving school registers. Given the laxity of record keeping of the period, the

[16] See, for example: John Aikin and Letitia Barbould, *Evenings at Home; or, The Juvenile Budget Opened* (London: J. Johnson, 1792-96).

lack of Banks's name on school registers is not definitive evidence that he did not attend any of these schools. Additionally, the fact that he does not appear in the Oxford or Cambridge registers may be an indication that he was from a Dissenting family. I have estimated the year of his birth to be somewhere between 1777-1782, with the manuscript dating from somewhere between 1790-95 (most likely at the later end of that range), and Banks's age at the time of writing to be about thirteen – obviously if the manuscript is earlier or later the dates will be slightly skewed. I have discounted a number of Jonathan Bankses who, although they fall into the right time frame, seem unlikely candidates based on occupation (for instance, he probably did not become a blacksmith). I would also suggest that he was from northern England, given the locations mentioned in the text; even though *Mirus's* childhood is spent on the east coast of the country, Banks seems much more familiar with the area around Liverpool, where Mirus and his monkeys return a number of times. Although I suspect that Banks's family was from northwest England, the school he attended was clearly *not*, since he claims that his parents were 'too far distant to send for us every holiday-time' (fol. 2^{r}). This distance suggests that Banks was a student at one of the larger, more renowned English schools, which would have accepted boys from all parts of the country. While there were hundreds of endowed grammar schools during this period, many only accepted students from local parishes or boroughs. In fact, many schools even explicitly forbade parents from outside their catchment area from boarding their sons privately in town in order to enrol them.[17] Alternately, the particulars offered up to the reader in the paratext might represent the details not of a single boy, but of a group, marooned in an empty school together. And of course, there is also the possibility that 'Jonathan Banks' is a pseudonym, meant perhaps as

[17] For the policies of individual schools, see Carlisle.

an homage to Joseph Banks, the traveller and naturalist who was instrumental in organising the first balloon voyage in England in 1784, and who maintained close ties with his family seat at Revesby Abbey, where he returned every summer to supervise the estates.[18] Other schoolboys certainly published under other names in print, and James Boswell Jr even occasionally used a pseudonym within his manuscripts. Yet, the name 'Jonathan Banks' is rather mundane for a pseudonym (as opposed to Boswell's 'Gregory Whim', for example), and the young author could very well have indicated that Mirus Omnivagus himself had written the work.[19] The concealment of the date and place, while frustrating to the modern scholar, is perhaps another indication that the manuscript was genuinely written for the amusement of contemporary school friends, who would have found drollness in a false date or obscured place of publication; they certainly would not have needed to see the correct information on paper to know when, where, and by whom the work was created.

After the Preface, Banks switches into a variety of fictitious voices. First is an Introduction with a note from the Editor that reads: 'The following account of this History, which I received from my friend the Author, (who has collected these Memoirs of the Hermit from Papers and Memorandums which he found at Hermits Isle,) I transmit to the readers of this little tract.' There immediately follows a letter from the fictional 'Author,' who ostensibly found the manuscript of Mirus Omnivagus, and who signs his name 'Phantasior'. This layering of authority implies that the work went through many hands before being presented to the reader; in doing so it imitates not just printed books, but scribal publications as well. Phantasior tells of his own travels, beginning on 21 June –83, when he set sail 'from this place,'

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[18] John Gascoigne, 'Banks, Sir Joseph, baronet (1743–1820)', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/1300> [accessed 2 March 2014].
[19] For my discussion of James Boswell Jr's pseudonymous letters to *The Flagellant*, see Chapter 2.

identified as Brierly Hall (fol. 3[r]).[20] The date of this Introduction has been altered twice, with an '8' inked over what looks like a '9' and then what looks to be a much later correction in pencil. Finally, one arrives at the actual narrative, told in the third person, a slightly odd choice, since the introduction just previous states that this is a found manuscript, and most people do not write about themselves using third person pronouns. The likeliest explanation for this overly complex paratext is that Jonathan Banks was quite young and just learning how to write stories by imitating printed books. He would have known that such shipwreck narratives and novels use a variety of literary devices to create a sense of authenticity in their printed form, but he did not entirely understand how these devices worked in conjunction with the story itself; he simply knew that books meant for circulation needed specific components. Here the method of composition employed by Banks can be likened to the way in which boys learned how to write their school exercises by using printed models; instead of school texts, though, the young author imitated popular print culture. There is, in fact, perhaps an explanation for this complicated and confusing paratext to be found in what was surely one of Bank's literary models: Peter Longueville's *The Hermit: or, The Unparalled [sic] Sufferings and Surprising Adventures of Mr. Philip Quarll, an Englishman,* also issued under the title *The English Hermit*.[21] First published in 1727 and reprinted throughout the eighteenth century (including abridged versions), *The Hermit* purports to be the story of an Englishman who inhabits a South Sea Island for over fifty years, eschewing human companionship for that of a series of monkey

[20] There is a Brierly Hall in South Yorkshire, although again, I have not been able to connect Banks to it.

[21] Peter Longueville, *The Hermit: or, The Unparalled [sic] Sufferings and Surprising Adventures of Mr. Philip Quarll, an Englishman* (Westminster: T. Warner and B. Creake, 1727); and *The English Hermit, or The Unparalell'd and Surprizing Adventures of One Philip Quarll* ([Westminster?]: [n. pub.], 1727). Jan Fergus incorrectly identifies *The English Hermit* as an abridgement of *The Hermit* in her discussion of the text in her book *Provincial Readers in Eighteenth-Century England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), p. 172.

attendants. Quarll is discovered on the island by one 'Mr. Dorrington' who is also allegedly responsible for the publication of the book, which is divided into three parts, the first pertaining to the discovery of the Hermit, who tells Dorrington of his history and his life on the island. Dorrington tours the island with the Hermit and his monkey, a nameless and not entirely suitable replacement for the Hermit's previous simian companion, a magnificent creature named Beaufidell who was sadly killed by other (jealous) monkeys. The second part of the book is a history of the Hermit before his shipwreck on the island and includes frothy tales of marriages to whores, an eventual trial for bigamy, and a subsequent escape from English justice via the sea. The third part of the book describes the Hermit's shipwreck and his life on the island with Beaufidell; this final part is ostensibly printed from the manuscript the Hermit gives to Dorrington.

The Hermit's obvious influence over young Jonathan Banks is evident in three ways: it includes a monkey companion; the entire book – including the autobiographical writings of the Hermit – is written in the third person; and it offers up to the reader a confusing set of preliminary texts. There survive two issues of the first edition which offer different presentations of authorship.[22] The title page of issue one names Mr. Dorrington as the person who discovered Quarll on his island, and omits the name of any additional author or editor (only identified at the end of the preface as 'P.L.'). Meanwhile, the title page of issue two excludes Dorrington's name but includes the initials 'P.L.', further identified as Peter Longueville at the end of the dedication to Sir Thomas Seabright (lacking in issue one). In this dedication, Longueville claims authorship of the entire work, yet his preface continues the

[22] There exists very little bibliographical work on *The Hermit*, and I have been unable to ascertain which of these issues was the first and second, so even though I refer to them here as issues 'one' and 'two', this does not imply an order of publication.

pretense of having been given the manuscript by a friend. Nevertheless, he disdains the notion that his friend and the author/compiler of Quarll's tale is Mr. Dorrington. The confusing matter of authorship is perhaps an indication that the story that follows is 'a decidedly clumsy and dull narrative, crowded with unenlivened incidents (for example, the voyage, Quarll's wife's death at sea, a chase by a pirate, and the shipwreck, are all huddled into a page and a half)'.[23] Despite the poor quality of its writing, *The English Hermit* was clearly well-liked amongst schoolboys: according to the ledgers of the bookshop owned by the Clay family, it was the most popular book *not* published by John Newbery purchased by boys at Rugby School during the years 1744-84. The ledger records thirty-five copies sold of an edition costing 1*s*, placing the book joint ninth (with Newbery's *Mother Goose's Tales*) amongst all books purchased by schoolboys. When combined with the ten copies sold of an edition priced at 6*d*, the book moves up the list to number six, just behind Newbery's *Gulliver's Travels*.[24]

The Narrative

Beyond the physical object, the next question is: what is the story about, and does it give us any information about its author and his reading habits? The novel is divided into three general parts, although there are no distinct divisions of these parts, nor are there any chapter divisions. With *Robinson Crusoe* as an obvious model, the first and third parts of Banks's novel might be loosely described as travel narratives, and bookend a middle section which details Mirus's building of an island empire. Within these three parts the story is further broken down into short episodes, some of

[23] Arundell Esdaile, 'Author and Publisher in 1727', *The Library*, 4th ser., 3 (1921), 185-92 (p. 190).
[24] While the one shilling edition remains unidentified, the one costing 6 pence is most likely one of the editions published by John Marshall between 1779 and 1789. See Fergus, p. 167.

only a few sentences. Here the story possibly draws inspiration from chapbooks, which due to constraints of format often did away with elaborate descriptions and details, leaving only the essential elements of the story.[25] But I would also argue that the episodic nature of the story is an indication not just of reading material and inexperienced composition, but also of collaboration amongst schoolfellows, with Jonathan Banks collecting suggestions from his friends and fashioning them into a longer narrative. This collaboration is hinted at in Banks's preface, in which he informs his readers that he had originally conceived of his story while his schoolmates were composing and reading out loud their own 'entertaining adventures' for the amusement of all in the group.

By the 1760s, Rousseau's *Émile* had moved *Robinson Crusoe* firmly into the realm of children's literature, and *Crusoe* was, in fact, a text that invited reading aloud, performance, and collective extension or revision of the work. Robinsonades written by adults often drew upon a Lockean model of education for stories in which children and parents (or older siblings) participate in conversation or dialogues in which the children are prompted to come to their own conclusions on the moral subject at hand.[26] For example, *The New Robinson Crusoe*, a translation of Joachim Campe's *Robinson der Jüngere*, relates the story of the Billingsley family, whose children not only read, comment on, and act out scenes from *Robinson Crusoe*, but also write letters to Crusoe himself. The letters highlight the moral pedagogy of both Defoe's *Crusoe* and Campe's revision. In one letter, young Edward Billingsley writes

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[25] Geoffrey Summerfield, *Fantasy and Reason: Children's Literature in the Eighteenth Century* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, c1984), p. 30. See also: Cohen, Michèle, '"To think, to compare, to combine, to methodise": Girls' Education in Enlightenment Britain' in *Women, Gender, and Enlightenment*, ed. by Sarah Knott and Barbara Taylor (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), pp. 224-42.

[26] Andrew O'Malley, *Children's Literature, Popular Culture and Robinson Crusoe* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), p. 29.

to Crusoe: 'I am sorry that you are so unfortunate. If you had staid at home, these misfortunes would never have happened.' Upon reading all the letters out loud, Mr. Billingsley informs his children that Robinson Crusoe is dead, but that he is 'writing his history, and shall take care to have [their] letters printed along with it'.[27] It is also notable that in the 1790s – the likely moment of Mirus's creation – after reading *Robinson Crusoe* aloud, the family of the Swiss pastor Johann David Wyss began to improvise their own version of the story, with Wyss eventually producing over eight hundred manuscript pages of what would be published in 1812 as *The Swiss Family Robinson*. Sánchez-Eppler argues that the production of this manuscript was a collaboration amongst the family and that 'there is every reason to suspect that the boys suggested incidents and animals as the story unfolded'.[28] The story of Mirus Omnivagus's adventures mimics these adaptations of *Crusoe,* yet discards the didacticism so omnipresent in adult-authored or edited texts.

The opening episode of the novel provides background information on Mirus Omnivagus, who was born the son of a clock and watchmaker near Grimsby (fol. 7[r]).[29] Mirus's childhood in Lincolnshire may be again be a reference to Joseph Banks, while his father's profession may be an allusion to John Harrison, a carpenter and clockmaker from Barrow upon Humber, who invented the marine chronometer.[30] A boy who was interested in science and popular scientific writing would be familiar with these names and places, and might have been inclined to insert himself – and Mirus, who is quite accomplished at engineering, ballooning, etc. – into the same

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[27] Joachim Heinrich Campe, *The New Robinson Crusoe; An Instructive and Entertaining History, For the Use of Children of Both Sexes* (London: John Stockdale, 1788), II, p. 23, 26.
[28] Sánchez-Eppler, p. 436.
[29] Throughout the text, Banks uses the names 'Mirus Omnivagus' and 'Robert Entique' interchangeably, although 'Mirus' is much more prevalent, especially as the story progresses; for consistency I use 'Mirus' throughout this chapter.
[30] Andrew King, 'Harrison, John (*bap*. 1693, *d.* 1776)', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/12438> [accessed 2 March 2014].

milieu as these men. The details of Mirus's own education are compressed into a brief passage: at the age of three he was 'put under the care of an able & diligent Master, who […] put him into the Classics. […] He next entered upon the French tongue with great facility having got such a clear insight into the Latin and Greek'. This description possibly follows what Banks's own curriculum, yet Mirus so greatly excels in his studies that by the age of nine he 'had learned everything he needed to know,' and left school (fol. 7a). His childhood also reveals an aptitude for escaping difficult situations through the sheer ineptitude of his enemies (which continues throughout the story). For example, one day when Mirus is nine, he is waylaid by two highwaymen who mean to rob him, but are thwarted when they drop their weapons because their hands are so 'benumbed by cold' due to their having 'been outside for a long time' (fol. 10^{r}). This passage, while brief, represents a moment of independence for Mirus, as it is the first time he has been allowed to travel alone (to visit a friend) and the first time he encounters any sort of danger. It is also the first 'action' scene illustrated in the novel. **[Figure 5]** The style of this illustration is typical of many others in the book, offering a distant perspective of Mirus being chased on horseback by two men. The lack of buildings or other people in the image accentuates the notion that Mirus is alone and without any assistance; the leafless trees along the road further underscore this desolation. Because the figures are so small, the men (and Mirus) lack any distinguishing characteristics – they are essentially faceless. The one detail that has been painstakingly added to the illustration is that of two tiny guns that lay at the feet of the highwaymen's horses, emphasising the defeat of the would-be robbers, who wave their arms helplessly in the air as Mirus successfully races away from them. All three figures wear similar clothing (long coloured coats and black hats) and

it is perhaps notable that all the European men (including French pirates) are similarly dressed throughout the entire novel.

Soon after his experience with the highwaymen, Mirus goes off to Hull (obviously a reference to *Crusoe*) to become a ship carpenter, but is soon 'pressed as being a fit person for his Majesty's service'. He is about eleven years old at this point. Mirus's impressment is clearly indicative of a boy's fantasies of going off to sea, but it may also point to his familiarity with an impress system very much on public view. By the 1740s, press gangs had actually established headquarters in towns and made their presence known in attempts to attract volunteers. Such centres were known as rendezvous, or 'rondies,' and identified themselves with a Union Jack. Boys as young as Mirus would probably not have been impressed, but might have perhaps entered the navy through the Marine Society (founded in 1756), which cared for poor boys before placing them on ships. [31] It seems unlikely that Jonathan Banks was poor, or that he had any experience whatsoever with any type of hard labour, but he was probably familiar with such public impressment centres, which existed in numerous towns including Hull, Chester, and Liverpool.

The First Adventure

There are nine episodes and fifteen illustrations detailing Mirus's first travels away from home, which read more like a catalogue of adventures rather than an actual cohesive story. Early on there are numerous mentions of very specific places (including the Azores, River Gambia, Ascension Island, and River Bravagal), clearly meant to lend veracity to the narrative, but which fall away as the story progresses.

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[31] Denver Brunsman, *The Evil Necessity: British Naval Impressment in the Eighteenth-Century Atlantic World* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2013), p. 69, 26, 42.

These geographical details imply that Banks read travel narratives like those of Joseph Banks or James Cook, but he probably also had access to an atlas, or even more likely, a geographical textbook, which would have offered maps of the world with brief descriptions of each country and its people.[32]

Each episode generally begins with either Mirus's ship sinking or his being taken captive, and ends with him escaping, usually by clinging to a tree – the native peoples Mirus encounters never seem to have mastered the concept of looking up. Very loosely following the plot of *Crusoe*, Mirus is in short order captured by cannibals who transport him by elephant, then captured again in Madagascar and sold as a slave in Barbary. He makes a brief stop in Brazil, and finally returns to Grimsby where he is married to a nameless but worthy young woman who bears him two sons, Thomas and William. One day when Thomas is six years old, he is kidnapped, causing Mirus to rather inexplicably leave his family and join a ship bound for New Mexico; this return to the sea marks the end of part one of the story.

This first section is the most lightly illustrated, with six watercolours (four of which are full page), seven pencil sketches, and two blank spaces. Half of the watercolours are of ships, with the other three featuring an army, highwaymen, and Mirus atop an elephant. The pencil sketches are more action orientated: Mirus swimming, being taken prisoner, killing a lion, escaping in a boat, hiding from cannibals, sailing a canoe, and wheeling a 'machine' across a plain. The two blank spaces are uncaptioned, but occur in passages about crossing a river on elephant and Mirus's experience as a slave. The writing here, like the rest of the book, is certainly juvenile: major events are often described in only one or two sentences and there is a

[32] See, for example: Richard Turner, *A New and Easy Introduction to Universal Geography: In a Series of Letters to a Youth at School* (London: S. Crowder, [1795?]). Turner's textbook, published in ten editions between 1780 and 1800, includes numerous copperplate engravings.

complete dearth of editing, as well as a lack of character development, interiority, subtlety, and – at times – punctuation. Yet the text and illustrations also possess both a youthful charm and an enthusiasm for adventure, and perhaps make manifest a desire on the part of the young author to include every possible event – no matter how brief or outlandish – that his protagonist might encounter. Banks's novel, in fact, bears a strong resemblance to its early eighteenth-century predecessors, not just in its plot, but in its sense of marvel: the imaginative quality of the text is an example of what J. Paul Hunter claims is 'the genre's response to a widespread taste for surprise and wonder, a modern substitute for an older lore that admitted metamorphoses and transformations, fairy godmothers and houses made of cake'.[33] In a youthful author's mind, the possibilities might seem endless: if Crusoe can discover a single set of footprints in the sand, why should not Mirus discover a tree at the exact moment he needs one to escape from cannibals? I would argue that the novelistic form – and the possibilities of wonder it offered – allowed (and even encouraged) Banks to engage with the panoply of printed sources that he and his friends encountered, and to add his own authorial voice to the mix in order to create a literary work for his schoolfellows' amusement.

Although the plot might best be described as both convoluted and flimsy, there are nevertheless certain themes that emerge in Banks's writing, all of which lend credence to the idea that the young author was indeed composing his text in an English school for the amusement of his school friends. Foremost, Banks repeatedly turns to motifs of hospitality, civility, and order. These themes underpin both an interest in and an anxiety about spaces, including that of the school, as well as

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[33] J. Paul Hunter, *Before Novels: The Cultural Contexts of Eighteenth-Century English Fiction* (New York: Norton, 1990), p. 33.

territory outside of England. This interest is evident on the title page, which claims that Mirus visited 'Two Desert Islands', 'Many Desert Places', and 'Many Unknown Parts'. Banks consistently describes foreign peoples not by their appearance or their land or the conditions in which they live, but by their lack of civility. For instance, Mirus's first captivity is at the hands of 'cannibal Hottentots' who lead him to a 'Craal' and subject him to insults from 'the rabble'. The use of 'Hottentots' here is noteworthy, since it is likely that Banks derived his ideas of them from a number of sources. He may very well have owned or used a geography textbook that offered brief descriptions of countries and their inhabitants. He also may have read travel writing that described encounters with the Khoikhoi people of south-western Africa. In his description of Mirus's encounter, Banks fashions him as an innocent, and his arrival in Africa might be deemed what Mary Louise Pratt calls the 'anti-conquest'.[34] Mirus has no desire to conquer or enslave the Khoikhoi, nor does he have a particular desire to interact with them or even to describe them. In this sense, his writing is similar to the late eighteenth-century accounts of South Africa by Anders Sparrman and William Paterson, who were both naturalists intent on describing the landscape, and within whose accounts the Khoikhoi 'are interchangeable; none is distinguished'.[35] Unlike Sparrman and Paterson, Banks does give a voice to the inhabitants, but Mirus does not engage them in conversation, and he claims that they only hurl what he perceives as insults (which are not transcribed for the reader). This first captivity is also illustrated with a small watercolour of Mirus on an elephant surrounded by his captors. **[Figure 6]** Although Mirus does not textually describe his

[34] Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (London: Routledge, 1992), p. 39.
[35] The earliest English editions of Sparrman and Paterson are: Anders Sparrman, *Voyage to the Cape of Good Hope* (London: G.G.J. and J. Robinson, 1785); and William Paterson, *A Narrative of Four Journeys into the Country of the Hottentots and Caffraria* (London: J. Johnson, 1789).

captors, his illustration reveals them to be black, and apparently unclothed and featureless, while Mirus (also still featureless), rides atop an elephant and wears a coat and hat. Like the earlier illustration of the highwaymen, the background is empty, once again highlighting Mirus's predicament. Although Mirus is meant to be the captive, his dress, along with his position, high above the crowd, implies superiority over his captors.

While he very likely read at least some travel writing, Banks may have had other literary sources as well: Joseph Addison's Mr. Spectator uses Hottentots to 'represent the most uncivilized society possible', and later novelists, including Henry Fielding, Samuel Richardson, and Tobias Smollet, feature characters who are pejoratively likened to Hottentots.[36] Banks looks upon the people he calls Hottentots (even cannibal Hottentots) not as beasts, but as both a socially inferior and 'uncouth or disorderly' mob.[37] Moreover, he also probably saw them as distinctly un-English, given that 'throughout the eighteenth century, the English regarded Scottish, Irish, and Welsh populations as "Hottentots" of sorts and degrees'.[38] Mirus's maiden voyage and captivity implies that the young author was absorbing into his own writing – even in its nascent stages – both national discourses and literary models, and manifests an anxiety about what happens when one leaves home for the first time (much like the earlier encounter with the highwaymen).

After escaping from the mob of jeering cannibals, there is a return to social order and civility when Mirus quickly makes his way back to the Sloop of War to which 'he belonged' and the crew fired a round of their guns and spent the remainder

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[36] *The Spectator* 631, 10 December 1714. Quoted in: Linda E Merians, *Envisioning the Worst: Representations of "Hottentots" in Early-Modern England* (Newark, University of Delaware Press, 2001), p. 135;119-120.
[37] 'rabble', *OED Online* <http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/156993> [accessed 26 February 2014].
[38] Merians, p. 137.

of the day 'in mirth' (fol. 17ᵛ). The ship displays a hospitality lacking in his captors, and the sense of belonging it offers posits it as a metaphor for Banks's school, itself an analogue for Banks's own family, with whom he was *not* spending his summer holiday. Mirus's happiness is short-lived, however, and within a day the ship is wrecked near Cape Romain (on the south coast of Madagascar) and he and three others are taken hostage. The captives are 'exposed to all manner of insults & fixed to a post in the principal part of the Village'. They are saved, though, when a storm comes on which makes their captors run way, leaving Mirus and the others 'bound, to bear the inclemency of the weather. Some travellers coming by more civil than the others unbound them & gave them as much provision as they could well spare' (fol. 18). While the 'travellers' here are not specifically named as being British, they certainly seem to be so, given that they so readily communicate with Mirus and provide him with comfort. Pratt points out that the writing of Sparrman in particular often compares encounters between indigenous peoples and travellers to 'the humble peasant gladly sharing his subsistence with the enlightened man of the metropolis, who essential superiority is accepted'.[39] As a schoolboy sailor, Mirus is entirely unthreatening, yet he clearly finds the behaviour of his hosts unacceptable by English standards. Through these anonymous travellers, then, Banks delineates a type of civility that is distinctly British; it is this civility that distinguishes Mirus from the foreign peoples he encounters and connects him to a specific place, even when he is removed from that place.

Mirus and the others then 'offered their service to an East India man & were accepted, so they all set sail next morning rejoicing at their escape from that Island'. However, in the midst of their jubilation the ship is attacked, and they are taken into

[39] Pratt, p. 53.

Barbary and sold for slaves. Mirus and one of his companions are sold to a kind master. This master, though, 'had a brother to whom he committed the management of their affairs, who was of a very lordly disposition, & used them ill, making them carry burdens above their strength to the Quay, for exportation' (fols. 18^{v}-19^{v}). Fortunately, Mirus's master is not only altruistic, but conversant in English: in a secret midnight meeting in a garden, he explains that he only acquired slaves in order to free them and he provides Mirus with directions to an 'English Vessel'. Mirus's period of enslavement only takes up a single short paragraph within the text, and given that Banks claims that Mirus's first adventure outside of England only spans a year and a half, it could not have lasted that long temporally either. In this passage, there is also space left for an illustration, though it is completely blank. While several of the illustrations in this section are incomplete, the ones directly following this (for example, Mirus killing a lion) are at least sketched out in pen or pencil. As with his lack of descriptions of his previous captors, Mirus (and by extension Banks) seemingly has no visceral response to captivity. Unlike other published British tales of Barbary captivity, Banks offers no details of capture or the harsh conditions in which captives were held, nor does he make manifest any angst Mirus may have felt about his situation. Here Banks probably drew inspiration from Robinson Crusoe's captivity in Morocco. W.R. Owens points out that Daniel Defoe's own description of Crusoe's two-year enslavement is lacking in detail, in part because Defoe could assume that his readers would already be familiar with other published accounts of Barbary captivity.[40] Using Defoe as his model, Banks knew that his readers would expect a tale of Barbary captivity, just as they expected certain paratexts like a title page or a letter from the 'editor'. But while he may have expected his readers to fill in

[40] W.R. Owens, 'Defoe, Robinson Crusoe, and the Barbary Pirates', *English*, 62 (2013), 31-66 (p. 57).

the horrors of captivity, it is apparent that he himself could not envision it. In Banks's youthful imagination, slavery entails lifting heavy objects and being separated from an English ship. The text makes manifest a young author unable to articulate the political, religious, and moral aspects of captivity and captivity narratives; it is plausible that Banks either used chapbook editions of such narratives or read 'adult' editions at a very superficial level, paring everything down to tales of adventure. Furthermore, Banks is less concerned about grasping the nuances of captivity than in setting up Mirus's daring escape, which offers the most detailed account in the novel thus far:

> As they went along they heard the roaring of the Beasts on every side, which rather struck a tremor into them. […] Several Creatures attacked them tho' by the swiftness of the horse they escaped them until a Lion […] endeavoured to meet them & throw the horse down, but Mirus collecting his courage & taking good aim, opposed the spear to the Lion's mouth, by which it penetrated its heart & with a hideous groan that made the hills echo, it expired (fol. 20).

Banks's intensification in his attention to detail here suggests that this is what he enjoyed writing and what he thought his school friends might have wanted to read: while a tale of captivity in Barbary might have been anticipated, a victorious battle with a lion (featuring precision sword skills and a dramatic death) would likely have been savoured by boy readers.

After escaping the wild animals, Mirus boards an English ship, which before returning to England, intends 'to touch at some part of South America' and within two months lands on the coast of Brazil. After disembarking, the crew is immediately set upon by savages, though Mirus escapes by 'nimbly slipping behind some shrubs' (fol. 22^{v}). In this brief escapade, Mirus escapes both 'Indians' and 'cannibals' by hiding behind more bushes, but also by building a 'machine' (essentially a cart covered with

twigs and leaves) that he wheels across a plain (fol. 24[r]). This short passage foreshadows Mirus's later, much more extended encounter with South American Indians in the third part of the novel; it also provides the first instance of the young author's love of machines and inventions meant for the use of escape, which is also fully realised in the final part of the story, when Mirus constructs a 'Grand Balloon'.

Upon making his way back to the shore, Mirus encounters a French army 'going to take some English fort by surprise'. He 'durst not go along with the French, lest he should be condemned for a galley slave for life' and instead takes a nap, imagining an English ship. As he wakes, he notices a ship in the distance that is indeed English and returns him to Grimsby 'where he found his father & Mother still living; he was received with much joy as tho restored to life from a supposed death, having been above a Year and a half from England' (fol. 29[v]). This final paragraph of the first part of the novel offers the first reference to the French, who repeatedly attack Mirus's island in the ensuing section. It is noteworthy that while the Africans Mirus encounters early on pose no real physical harm and instead mostly just insult him, the French are presented as much more threatening. In the 1790s, boys would have encountered news of the French in newspapers, pamphlets, prints, novels and plays, as well as in texts such as Mary Wollestonecraft's *Original Stories from Real Life*, in which prisoners kept in the Bastille 'live entirely alone; have not the pleasure of seeing men or animals; nor are they allowed books. – They live entirely in comfortless solitude'.[41] Matthew Grenby also claims that many 'history and geography textbooks were equally political' and 'could not but have raised questions

[41] Mary Wollstonecraft, *Original Stories from Real Life* (London: J. Johnson, 1791), p. 27.

about current events'.[42] Given the profusion of French-related texts (no matter what their politics), it is understandable that a boy might view the French as an omnipresent enemy. As alarming as the French might be, though, Banks consoles himself – and his readers – with a reminder that Mirus needs only to fall asleep and imagine England in order to return home to safety; it is through his own authorial power to conjure an English ship that Banks quells his anxieties.

The Second Adventure

The second part of the novel contains twenty-five episodes (although these are often less distinct than those of the first part) and seventy-three illustrations: forty-six watercolours, eighteen pencil or ink sketches, and nine blanks. The section again begins with a brief litany of place names, moving quickly from the Cape of Good Hope, then passing Sunda, Macassar, and Batavia. With storms brewing near the 'Marian Isles' (that is, the Marian Islands, an archipelago located between Japan and New Guinea) Mirus's ship is driven off course and damaged; while Banks does not specify where the ship has landed, it seems likely that it is on one of these islands. While the ship is being repaired, Mirus sets off alone to retrieve water, falls asleep, and awakens to find that the ship has sunk and he is the only survivor. After a brief period of grieving his misfortune, he goes exploring and finds several villages that are eerily uninhabited – despite the fact that all the houses contain furniture, as well as 'pictures pasted up to the wall & all sorts of utensils'. Confronted with this emptiness, 'he went to look for a Pantry to get something to satisfy his appetite' and fixes tea, although he is forced to make do 'without Sugar or Cream' – a 'hardship' that is

[42] M.O. Grenby, 'Politicizing the Nursery: British Children's Literature and the French Revolution', *The Lion and the Unicorn*, 27 (2003), 1-26 (p. 7).

indicative of Banks's youth and perhaps his own socio-economic status (fol. 33). This empty town is possibly a substitute for the deserted school in which Banks was ostensibly writing; it mirrors the isolation the boys left behind for the holiday must have felt, yet it also opens up the possibility of adventure, removed from the watchful eyes of adults.

After his meal, Mirus wanders into a garden and 'to his great astonishment found the Bones of a man & child, which seemed to have lain there a long time'. As he walks along he encounters other houses with 'skeletons laying all over the floor many of their bones broken by beasts, feeding on them' – a scene he finds 'exceedingly gloomy' (fols. 34^{v}-35^{r}). He soon finds a house that has recently been inhabited, as evidenced by the non-skeletal cows and horses grazing in the fields outside it. In this house there is a letter, which reads:

> To any Person who may be cast or left upon this Island: Wonder not at seeing the Villages & Towns all left desolate. A fatal Epidemic disorder seized here till many of the Inhabitants being killed the rest fled & left. The Island has at present, not a living Creature in it. You are very welcome to the utensils, Cattle &c belonging to this house which I hope is free from contagion as we burned much Tar pitch in it.
> Yours &c.
> A.R. (fol. 36^{v})

The letter, with its welcoming hospitality and notice of disinfection, defines the town as a safe place; it of course makes Mirus rather hungry, and he 'went into another room & found a large stock of white & brown Sugar, Tea of various kinds, Raisins, & rice' (fol. 37^{r}). The 'disorder' caused by the epidemic is gone, and a wide range of neatly stored provisions is presented. Mirus sets off to the now deserted town and takes 'a hat, shoes, thread, stockings, a clock & many other things which he thought would be useful'. He also stocks up on 'milk, butter, a dozen fruit pies & loaves of

bread, sugar, apples, and seeds', along with '3 pair of shoes, 5 suits of clothes ready made, 2000 yards of Scarlet Cloth, 3000 of Blue & 1000 of a kind of brown – 10 pieces of Irish linen [and] 200 yards of Canvas' (fol. 39). The finding of the letter and subsequent shopping expedition is again suggestive of *Robinson Crusoe*. The Moroccan episode, which foreshadows Crusoe's 'captivity' on his island and the 'methodical, organized way he copes with life', includes the stockpiling of 'not only food and water, but with other items whose usefulness in these circumstances is not immediately apparent'.[43] Similarly, after Crusoe is shipwrecked on his island, he repeatedly returns to the wreck in order to gather supplies, including food, tools, and books.[44] Throughout his novel, Banks carefully catalogues the food Mirus eats (with a particular predilection for fruit pies), and Sánchez-Eppler notes that the 'presumed deprivations of island life come integrally linked to the telling of stories and the consumption of sweets'.[45] Mirus's provisions and supplies, though, do not have any particular connection to island life and instead seem particularly English (for example, at one point he finds some gooseberry trees).

Mirus builds a ship, packs everything up, and is immediately shipwrecked again. Of this disaster Banks writes that Mirus had been so unfortunate in his many attempts at escape that 'he resolved to live content here' (fol. 46^{v}). This particular island is a place of safety and play for which Mirus can claim ownership. As Edwin Everett Hale points out, 'enterprising girls and boys generally have some opportunity for playing Robinson and Friday […] separated from the rest of the world, for the convenience of hut-building, but still not so wholly insulated but one can go to dinner

[43] Owens, p. 58.
[44] Daniel Defoe, *Robinson Crusoe*, ed. by Michael Shinagel (New York: Norton, 1994), p. 42, 52.
[45] Sánchez-Eppler, p. 442.

when the bell rings'.[46] Comfortably installed in a cave, Mirus begins to explore his island. Occasionally, supplies like gunpowder or gooseberry trees simply wash up on the shore; in fact, the island is sort of a magical place – the magnetic centre of the universe. Mirus begins to master the island, building a shelter and planting a garden. He observes wild animals, including 'Tygers', hares, beasts that 'look like very small English horses', and 'very shy' apes and monkeys (fol. 56^{v}). One day, Mirus is surprised to see a monkey riding a horse and collecting fruit. He sensibly invites the monkey home for dinner, names him Simia, and the two become constant companions (fol. 62^{v}). 'Simia' is simply the Latin word for 'monkey' or 'ape', suggesting that Banks and his friends were learning Latin at school, and may have found amusement in the name. At first, the Mirus-Simia relationship is much closer to the one portrayed in *The English Hermit*: although Mirus immediately informs the reader of Simia's name, at first he refers to Simia as 'it' or 'the Monkey', and has him performing relatively mundane tasks like collecting food or building a fire. Simia does not develop as anything more than a servant until Mirus's son Thomas is coincidentally shipwrecked on the same island. With Thomas's arrival, it becomes clear that Simia is a monkey of both intelligence and feeling: after listening to Mirus and his son 'discourse about their Friends in England' he 'capered & pranced so that it waked them by 4 o'clock in the morning' (fol. 71^{v}-72^{r}). The family reunion is fleeting, though, when pirates arrive on the island and take Thomas by force; it is Simia who escapes to tell Mirus the tale. Here Simia is elevated from a pet or servant to a genuine companion – or even a schoolmate. Later, in the winter months, Mirus and Simia 'staid within, minding domestic occupations, reading or the like – making pies,

[46] Edward Hale Jr, *The Life and Letters of Edward Everett Hale*, 2 vols (Boston: Little Brown, 1917), II, p. 183. Quoted in Sánchez-Eppler, p. 442

loaves &c'; and Mirus reveals that he 'employed his time in reading to Simia, (who could understand English pretty well) & finding amusing histories of the Roman or Grecian Empires' (fol. 85[r]). Christopher Flint maintains that 'Crusoe reacts almost immediately to a hostile and desolate environment as if he had only to turn it into an English estate in order to survive'; similarly, Mirus transforms his island into both an estate and a school, with Simia as the sole initial student.[47]

In the spring, Mirus decides to build a battlement to protect his island. Simia devises the idea of engaging more monkeys to help with the job and persuades five to give it a try. At the end of a successful day of work, Mirus gives each monkey a glass of ale and sends them back into the woods (77[r]). These monkeys recruit eighty more, all apparently eager to partake of the hard labour and ale, which Mirus provides for them along with dinner. Here, Banks distances himself from the idea of the monkeys as slaves or captives, notably marking *Simia* as a single-monkey press gang and overseer, while setting up Mirus as a kind and hospitable master, always eager to provide food and drink, thus rendering the monkeys perpetually intoxicated both with alcohol and a happiness and a desire to work. Banks seems so thoroughly convinced of the monkeys' keen enjoyment of ale, though, that one wonders if he had encountered them eating or drinking as part of a menagerie or a show; Richard Altick writes of one such show that featured a West African baboon 'resembling a man […] taking a glass of Ale in his hand like a Christian'.[48] But this inventive scene also expresses how a young boy might have interpreted eighteenth-century press gangs as offering friendly, alcohol-fuelled opportunities for willing labourers with no threat of force or brutality.

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[47] Christopher Flint, 'Orphaning the Family: The Role of Kinship in Robinson Crusoe', *ELH*, 55 (1988), 381-419 (p. 388).
[48] Richard D. Altick, *The Shows of London* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press, 1978) p. 38.

While monkeys were present in England in shows and even on stage, their eighteenth-century associations have traditionally been viewed as much more continental. In France, exotic pets were common and monkeys gained popularity in the late eighteenth century and often 'provided fodder for satirists' who used them to mock the excesses and disorderliness of the French.[49] Sale-ads for monkeys 'occasionally stressed their animals' resemblance to humans or their abilities to perform human services'.[50] Banks's tale depends heavily on the monkeys' ability to perform human tasks, and indeed Mirus's life depends on it. Banks's portrayal of Mirus's relationship with the monkeys is, I think, slightly difficult to completely and accurately comprehend, and this is the section of the novel that would perhaps benefit the most from a definitive identification of Jonathan Banks: had he seen activities of the slave trade in Liverpool? Did members of his family own slaves? Were they abolitionists? On one hand, it is possible that Banks was merely expanding on the man-monkey relationship depicted in *The English Hermit*: while an army of five thousand *men* would negate Mirus's status as a hermit (and would require the writing of dialogue), an army of monkeys allows him to technically remain a hermit while still embarking on an ambitious project of island expansion and fortification. That said, Mirus obviously sees the monkeys as a source of replaceable, free labour, although he attempts to diminish this notion of slavery by continually emphasising that it is the monkeys', own decision to serve him, in part because he treats them so well. In some ways, this relationship mirrors discussions of slavery in sentimental novels that posit an idea of 'happy slavery'.[51] Unlike these novels, though, there is no

[49] Lousie E. Robbins, *Elephant Slaves and Pampered Parrots: Exotic Animals in Eighteenth-Century Paris* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2002), p. 123.
[50] Ibid, p. 131.
[51] For a discussion of sentimental novels and slavery, see: Markman Ellis, *The Politics of Sensibility* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), pp. 87-128.

explicit attempt at a rationalisation of the slavery, and Mirus never muses on why the monkeys are happier working for him. While there is no threat of physical punishment in the novel, Banks is always careful to contrast the monkeys' hard labour and participation in battle with descriptions of feasting and drinking. Yet the monkeys are nameless (aside from Simia, and later, Fidus) and indistinguishable from one another, and Mirus shows no emotion as thousands of monkeys are killed over the course of the novel.

As soon as the monkeys have been recruited, Simia informs Mirus that a ship is approaching the island. Banks writes:

> Mirus gave sticks, clubs & the like to all the Monkies, ordering them to follow him. They went to the sea shore & saw the Men coming to land in the boat. […] [Mirus] gave the Signal to the Monkies & they laid about the men unmercifully, who were not able to make any resistance being stunned before they could recollect themselves (fol. 77).

All but one man is killed; he 'begged hard to be spared' and is allowed to return to France (fol. 78^{r}). Banks may have intended to play up the monkeys' savagery here, and they can even be interpreted as representations of young people *not* in school, for Keith Thomas maintains that 'the lower classes at home, like the savages abroad, were often seen as 'childish' creatures, living in a state of arrested development, needing the mature rule of their superiors'.[52] Yet the monkeys' ferocity towards the French and their ability to follow orders also seems to mark them as distinctly non-French.

Mirus rewards the monkeys for their mercenary ways with a 'jovial' dinner of '6 Hares, a turtle, large Sallad [*sic*] &c' (fol. 78^{r}). He then divides the monkeys into

[52] Keith Thomas, 'Age and Authority in Early Modern England,' *Proceedings of the British Academy* 62 (1976), 205-48 (p. 210).

lookouts and builders and sets them to work. Within a few days they are attacked by another French ship, and the monkeys, despite being relatively untrained, 'soon overtook it & […] poured a broadside in'. Despite a fierce battle, the monkeys, 'overpowered by numbers more skilled in the act of war were taken Captive & carried off' (fols. 80^{r}-81^{r}). Here Banks conflates 'monkey' with 'powder monkey', described by the OED as both 'a minor attendant or functionary' and 'a boy employed to carry gunpowder from the powder magazine to the guns, esp. on board a warship'.[53] Both definitions were still in use in the 1790s, and it is easy to see how a young boy's imagination might transform the idea of powder monkeys into literal monkey sailors.

Banks does not keep his readers in suspense for long concerning the monkeys' fate, revealing that a few months later they returned in the same ship, this time with the Captain as *their* captive. He writes that they 'told him that this Captain tried to sell them all for slaves, but could get no person to purchase them & one time when the Sailors were all on shore they took the opportunity & weighed anchor' (fol. 91^{r}). Mirus and the monkeys celebrate with ale and pies, although he 'kept the Captain chained, till he could see another ship to send him off in, but nevertheless treated him very kindly.' This inversion of man and monkey as captor/slave, insinuates that the monkeys are *not* slaves – of Mirus or of anyone else – and are not only capable of brute force, but are savvy and skilled enough to outsmart their captors and to relate their own tales upon their return. Additionally, the monkeys ostensibly have their own social networks through which to broadcast their newfound skills and social status, and soon 'a different tribe of Monkies, nearly of the stature of Men, & of a very beautiful colour arrive'. Banks reveals that they:

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[53] 'powder monkey', *OED Online* <http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/149156> [accessed 5 March 2014].

> fell a chattering with such a din that he could make nothing of them. He told Simia to bid them be silent & ask them what they wanted. By Simia's answer Mirus found that they wanted to be with his other Monkies in the Ship & do what they could for him. So giving them direction he took them to the Vessel & left them to be instructed in the Ropes, Sails &c by his former ones. Having left them for two Months under their tuition he went himself & after examining them, took a sail out of the dock, with two Ships, putting Simia aboard one while he steered the other. He tried their skill in pursuing, tacking about & flying (fol. 92).

For a young writer, the monkeys allow a modicum of control, both physically and textually. Simply from a literary standpoint, the monkeys would also have been easier for Banks to 'control', since they do not require dialogue, even though they clearly communicate with both humans and other animals in the story. While the lack of dialogue is probably just an authorial choice (or weakness), the notion of a voice that is acknowledged – but not transcribed – is similar to Mirus's encounter with the Hottentots, and their insults. While the monkeys are extraordinarily clever, Mirus (and by extension Banks) is clearly their physical and intellectual superior. In one sense, the monkeys are the embodiment of schoolboys, eager to learn, hard-working, yet slightly mischievous and in need of an authority figure to keep them in line; Banks positions Mirus as a schoolmaster, or at least an older boy, whose role is to prepare his young charges for examination.

While the monkeys are teaching one another ship manoeuvres, Mirus is not idle, and using his store of gold he fashions 'several Trumpets, French Horns, & other musical instruments' and 'resolved to try to teach the Monkies music'. He selects twenty for this purpose:

> Having taught them to sound [their instruments] he taught them their notes, after which he gave them a short lesson to learn separately & tried how they act'd in concert, he found their progress much better than he expected tho' they often made discords which was likely.

> While 8 of them were learning from these wind Instruments he made Violins, Bass Viols as well as Drums, Oboes, Flutes, Kettle Drums &c. He gave to the rest of the, some of these Instruments & having as before taught them their Notes & the corresponding one on Paper, gave them likewise some short pieces to learn. He kept them practising for a week & then tried them together, he was much pleased with their quick perception & perceived also that the sounds pleased them very much which made them more eager to learn (fol. 105).

Banks's monkey band may have been a reference to one of the porcelain monkey orchestras that were sold in England and on the Continent beginning in the mid-eighteenth century, but he also seems familiar not just with music and musical instruments, but with musical instruction as well. This familiarity suggests that Banks had received his own musical training, which would have been supplied separately (and at additional cost) from his regular schooling.

The monkeys' schooling is put to good use when Mirus meets a French castaway and 'perceiving that he was no cheat, but a ship wreck'd person he invited him home to partake with him'. Eager to entertain his guest, he summons his monkey band:

> As soon as they were all in Order, [Mirus] brought his Guest out & shewed him how docile the Monkies were, after this he ordered them to play a March & take a turn round the wood. The Frenchman was surprized to see what order & regularity they kept & how well they marched, and said it excelled many bands in the French Army.

This particular Frenchman proves to be a 'very entertaining Companion', but after five months he accidentally falls into the sea and is drowned (fols. 110^{v}-111^{r}). Throughout the text, Mirus continually emphasises the orderliness of his monkeys – it is not only an order instilled by him, but an inherent trait that stands in contradistinction to the French. The monkeys are not just a military force or a band, but a decidedly English military force or band. This Englishness is further reinforced

when Mirus remembers his store of red and blue cloth and decides to make trousers and red coats for his growing monkey army – now numbering around one thousand – and selects fifty monkeys to be tailors. These uniforms are another way of instilling order in the monkeys, and in clothing them he further erases any identity they have and asserts himself as their superior. But the uniforms may also point to Banks's source material. Linda Colley maintains that some captivity narratives are especially concerned with clothing: for example, during the three year captivity of Lieutenant John Lindsay, the son of a Scottish peer, 'he recorded how he and other British officers spent their time making hats, trousers, neckcloths, waistcoats and the like from material they begged and bribed for'.[54]

While the tailors are busy sewing, Mirus employs 'others in cutting down a sufficient number of sticks […], & then disposed them into 10 Companies putting some of the old ones in each company to direct the rest. He […] found that they kept their ranks & followed the Standards very exactly' (fol. 116^{r}). In fact, the monkeys handle their little sticks so well than he provides them with actual guns and 'exercised them in the Ships also, taking those on board that had not before been. He took 3 Companies on board (one in each Ship) putting a few of the most experienced to direct the others lest the vessels should be entangled' (fol. 117^{v}). Here Banks seemingly recreates a pedagogical structure that he knows well, setting the monkeys in the nautical equivalent of the school room, in which older boys instruct the younger ones, with the master seated at the head of the room. I would suggest that on the island, just as in real life, success is based on the ability of the 'students' to perform in front of a public, whether that public is a single French sailor, Mirus, or their fellow

[54] Linda Colley, 'Going Native, Telling Tales: Captivity, Collaborations and Empire', *Past and Present*, 168 (2000), 170-93 (p. 179).

monkeys. The monkeys not only learn new skills, but they learn how to acquire knowledge – by watching and imitating others. The creation of these English schoolboy-sailor-monkeys perhaps suggests a fantasy in which boys – without the aid of adults – admirably and ably defend England from the French.

Mirus's army continues to grow, and he even acquires a companion, Fidus (a 'very beautiful monkey'), for Simia (fol. 120^{r}). The island is repeatedly attacked by the French, and the monkeys – now divided into 'three Companies mounted on Leopards, Tygers & Goats, and also two Companies on foot' are courageous in battle, although they occasionally require 'a little rum punch, to spirit them up' (fol. 124^{v}). Eventually, Mirus is driven from the island – thirty-three years after his arrival – and he steers his monkey laden ship to 'some port of America', thus ending the second section of the novel.

The Third Adventure

The novel's third, and final, section is perhaps its strangest, with the most extended passage of the work, as well as an oddly introspective ending (or conceivably a non-ending). It is made up of twenty-one episodes and includes sixty-five illustrations, including forty-eight watercolours, four pen or pencil drawings, and seventeen blanks. Only forty-five of the illustrations are included in the section proper: eighteen illustrations with captions have been gathered at the back of the text, although these all seem to have been intended for this final section. The section begins with Mirus and his monkeys landing somewhere vague along the coast of South America, only to be 'set upon by about 30 savages'. This South American landing and subsequent attack mirrors the episode at the beginning of the story. This time, however, the savages kidnap Mirus, Simia, and Fidus and force them into

separate ‘Indian wigwams’ where they are kept confined for ‘about a month’ so they cannot communicate with one another (fol. 138^{v}). Luckily, the hundreds of monkeys left on board the ship quickly organize into a search party, dividing themselves into twenty companies, emphasising their years of training at the hands of Mirus and Simia, and perhaps more importantly, mimicking schoolboys who might also instinctively organise themselves into the school forms to which they belong. One company, mounted on horses, encounters the savages who have captured Mirus; upon their meeting, the monkeys ‘civilly enquired’ as to whether they had seen their missing friends (fol. 139^{v}). This passage echoes Mirus’s early captivity at the hands of the uncivil Hottentots in the first section, as well as the brutal and disordered French in the second section. With these savages, though, Banks conflates the most threatening aspects of both his previous enemies, emphasising the contrast between Mirus’s hospitality towards genuinely shipwrecked travellers to his island and the utter inhospitality of the Indians. The monkeys are too well-trained and clever to take the Indians at their word and therefore follow them, carrying out a daring rescue that involves tying the Indians to trees – though releasing them when a heavy storm comes on – an incident that itself is a reversal of Mirus’s early captivity in Madagascar.

The Indians, though, are not pleased with their treatment, and viciously pursue Mirus and his monkeys in the lengthiest and most confusing passage in the novel. The monkeys build hundreds of canoes and set off by boat as well as by foot. They set up a camp and discover ‘nitre & sulphur’ which they ‘convert into gunpowder, squibs, &c’, and with these they attack the savages who quickly retreat. Soon afterwards, Mirus is joined by ‘American monkies’, with the army eventually consisting of thirty thousand members. A monkey army of this size could only foreshadow more attacks, and Mirus and his army are ready for the confrontation, which ‘was sustained on both

sides with great courage and almost equal success by both parties' (fol. 160[r]). At the end of five days of fierce battle, Mirus's troops have been whittled down to eight hundred and forty three monkeys, while he 'had slain no less that 11 or 12000 of the Indians, who had fresh troops continually coming to their aid' (fol. 164[r]). Mirus's captivity, and the ferocity of attacks perpetrated by the Indians were undoubtedly influenced by one or more of the numerous published narratives about Central and South America.[55] Yet with his extended narrative in America, Banks seems to be indulging a youthful desire to write about battles, gunfights, and explosions, all of which not only provide a final showcase for his monkey army, but also offer a handy method with which to dispose of all but the most essential monkeys.

Finally, this small group is able to return to the ship and make their escape, landing in Peking, where Mirus enjoys the 'Curiosities of China' (fol. 165[r]). Given that Peking is not located on the coast of China, Banks may not have had access to a map, or at least he did not consult one. Nevertheless, Mirus and the monkeys continue on with several extremely minor adventures of only a sentence or two (for example, seeing elephants; finding elephant teeth; Fidus falling in the water) before returning to Liverpool, where Mirus 'bought a good house & resolved to retire' (fol. 172[v]). The monkeys, meanwhile, encounter Mirus's son Thomas and tell him of his father's whereabouts. Mirus is thus – very briefly – reunited with his wife and sons, and is particularly enchanted with the 'order and neatness' of his wife's house and gardens. Within one sentence of this reunion, though, his wife dies, and Mirus resolves to take his 'materials, provisions, his Sons & Monkies on board his Ships, once more set sail to live at his Island the remainder of his final days' (fol. 175). While Mirus's actions

[55] For example, John Cockburn's *The Unfortunate Englishmen* was published in nine editions between 1740 and 1794, while *The Surprizing Adventures of John Roach* went through five editions from 1784-88.

can be seen as emulating Defoe's 'suppression of familial discourse' and 'continual abolishing, substituting and resurrecting of familial relations', they also seem indicative of a boy's experience of travelling between home and school.[56] Especially for a boy whose family lived far away, visits home might be increasingly brief and superficial, with family members fading into the background while school and schoolfellows offered a place to return each term, with a continued sense of belonging that would only increase each year as a boy got older and moved up in the school's social hierarchy.

Once arrived at their island, which has been severely defaced, the group restores its buildings and gardens and begins building a hot air balloon. As soon as Mirus finished sewing the silk, he 'filled two casks with Iron water & vitriol, & connected them with it. The air generated so fast that, it was presently full & required much ballast to keep it down' (fol 178^{v}). Mirus's very first balloon ascent, then, is successful and offers sustained flight; he has no need to experiment in order to fly wherever he chooses. In 'constructing' his balloon, Banks would have had many textual and visual models from which to choose. After the first English balloon ascent in 1784, England was gripped with 'balloonomania', which Paul Keen describes as 'a cacophony of overlapping events, activities, debates, literary texts, and endless paraphernalia, from the spectacle of the flights themselves to indoor displays to scientific treatises to real and fictitious travelogues to fashion trends to broadsheet ballads to satirical prints to novels, poems and plays, all circulating in different ways and appealing to an unruly blend of audiences'. There were toy balloons to be had, as

[56] Flint, p. 382.

well as a variety of accessories, including fans, china, and snuffboxes.[57] Balloons even appeared on stage: Elizabeth Inchbald's *The Mogul Tale*, a two-act farce popular through the end of the eighteenth century, incorporated a balloon in both plot and performance.[58] Mirus decides to improve upon the balloon by attaching eagles to reins, which would allow him to better steer, and he trains twelve for this purpose (fol. 179[r]). **[Figure 7]** The illustration of the balloon is the only double-page spread in the book and its details match Banks's textual description. The balloon itself is very round (as opposed to an elongated or teardrop shape) with alternating panels of red, yellow, and blue silk. The balloon sits atop a small structure meant to shelter Mirus and his companions from inclement weather and pirate attacks. On the roof of this structure sit the iron casks used to power the balloon, as well as a little cage for extra eagles. At the front of the balloon six eagles are harnessed together, with the two lead eagles tethered directly to the balloon above and behind them, allowing the driver maximum steering control; there is also a walkway that can be raised and lowered so that Mirus can walk out mid-flight to change out eagles in case one should become tired or injured.

While 'balloon madness' continued through the end of the eighteenth century, Banks's false date of '1785' in his preface places his work squarely in the heart of the phenomenon. Yet Banks is concerned not only with the spectacle of the balloon, but the science of it. Throughout the novel, Mirus is fascinated with 'machines', including carts covered with leaves for camouflage, a diving bell, and boats with wheels; the balloon, though, is by far his most elaborate invention, and represents a particularly independent form of travel. Just as Mirus is able to control his monkeys, a young boy

[57] Paul Keen, 'The "Balloonomania": Science and Spectacle in 1780s England', *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 39 (2006), 507-535 (pp. 508-510).
[58] Elizabeth Inchbold, *The Mogul Tale* (Dublin: printed for the booksellers, 1788).

might have thought he could control a balloon on his own, or with a small crew, as opposed to the large crew needed to man a ship. In reality, balloons were impossible to steer, leading some to question the shape of the vessel, producing balloons shaped like birds or fish. One such design, displayed in London in July 1785, was shaped like a fish, but used four eagles meant to help the driver steer the craft; in reality the balloon only managed to ascend eight feet.[59] While Banks may have run across a reference to this balloon, he may also have been influenced by much older images of flying machines drawn by birds. Francis Godwin's 1638 book, *The Man in the Moon*, featured in the text as well as its frontispiece, a large, kite-like structure with a seat for a single man; the machine is powered by birds, who fly it to the moon. Similarly, the anonymously authored 1723 *Voyage to Cacklogallinia*, a satire on the South Sea Bubble in which a car is flown to the moon by six-foot tall chickens, also contains an elaborate frontispiece.

Like everything else in Mirus's life, his balloon is built for maximum comfort, and unlike real balloons, it flies and steers perfectly. Yet the balloon is put to the test when French pirates arrive on the island, destroying his house, warehouse, and stables, and cutting down every tree. The pirates also quickly build two balloons, although Mirus manages to shoot down both of them. Thanks to the eagles, Mirus and his sons escape, 'skimming along above the clouds' while directing Simia below them in a ship packed with supplies (fols. 182-3). Banks's description of a French and British balloon battle may provide the best internal evidence of a date of composition of the novel as 1794-95, when a French balloon invasion seemed a legitimate threat, although as early as January 1784, Benjamin Franklin warned of the possibilities of the use of balloons in war, writing that five thousand balloons (holding two men each)

[59] Altick, p. 85. Quoted in Keen, p. 516.

might 'do an infinite deal of mischief, before a Force could be brought together to repel them?'.[60] In December of that same year, there appeared a satirical print titled 'The Battle of the Balloons' with two French and two British balloons poised for combat, complete with guns and broadside cannons. It was not until ten years later, though, in March 1794, that the first balloon regiment, the Corp d'Aérostiers was founded outside of Paris, and in June of that year the French army used a tethered balloon for military observation at the Battle of Fleurus and later at the Battle of Liège. By the mid-1790s, then, a number of sources, both textual and visual, implanted the idea of a balloon invasion in the British imagination.[61] This fear of balloon invasion was clearly on the mind of the young author, yet the single, brief encounter with French balloon pirates suggests that Banks was less interested in the balloon in battle, and much more intrigued by it as an especially independent mode of travel, which while somewhat at odds with Mirus's repeatedly expressed desire to be a hermit, nevertheless offers the opportunity to observe – and to be observed – at a safe distance; it is spectatorship without any participation.

Mirus, with his sons and monkeys, flies (and sails) towards Cape Horn, then over the Andes, Jamaica, and Cuba, before crossing the middle of North America and Canada and finally arriving in Greenland. The trip to Greenland is quick, with just enough time for Mirus's son William to fall 'an unhappy victim to the inclemency of the weather'; upon his death Mirus immediately erects a monument which declares that while William's body 'in a short time may be the food of Bears or other ravenous beasts', his soul is already ascended above these lower these ruinable skies, into the presence of Him who sits upon the Throne' (fol. 190^{v}). Here, Banks may have been

[60] Benjamin Franklin, *The Ingenious Dr Franklin; Selected Scientific Letters of Benjamin Franklin*, ed. by Nathan G. Goodman (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1931), p. 104.
[61] Richard Holmes, *Falling Upwards: How We Took to the Air* (London: Routledge, 2013), pp. 30-33.

using both the Isaac Watts poem *The Atheist's Mistake* and 1 Corinthians 15:42 as sources.[62] This monument marks not just the death of William, but also a shift in the narrative, with Banks moving towards a conclusion, disposing – usually tragically – of every character except Mirus. Upon their return to Liverpool from Greenland, Mirus's remaining son Thomas is married off to 'a Lady of great fortune & abilities' (fol. 192^{r}). The balloon is lost when it is struck by lightning on a weekend trip to Dublin, and Mirus, Simia, and Fidus once again take to the sea, leaving England forever to return to their island home. Although the trio engages in several rather indistinct battles with pirates, the genre of this final section shifts from adventure story or epic to pastoral, with the remaining battles being those of man (or monkey) versus nature. Fidus dies after catching a cold while venturing out to feed the cattle during the winter; shortly thereafter Simia is buried in a rockslide, where Mirus finds him 'crush'd to pieces' (fols 199^{v}-201^{v}).

The remainder of the novel is an endless repetition of the seasonal work Mirus does to survive on his island. He prepares for winter and endures the cold and the dark, although he 'does not want for anything', having prepared well (fol. 203^{3}). In spring and summer he tends to his crops and animals, then attends to the harvest and readies for winter once again. He amuses himself by playing music (sometimes to his sheep), reading, writing, and making pies. In the novel's final paragraph, as Mirus prepares for one more winter he notices that a group of song birds have come to the island. He is so charmed with their singing (to which he has so long been a stranger) that he tries every day – to no avail – to catch a few. As winter comes, he brings his animals home, but in the novel's final line Banks laments that 'the tuneful Songsters are all by this time gone off & he hears not one' (fol. 208^{r}). This final sentence is

[62] Watts, Isaac, *Horæ Lyricæ. Poems, Chiefly of the Lyric Kind* (London: John Lawrence, 1706).

followed by additional writing by a much younger child who attempts to continue the story for a few sentences; this continuation, along with the collection of incomplete illustrations gathered at the back of the book, makes the novel seem rather unfinished, yet there is a certain poignant completion to the text. Banks obviously needed his novel to end somehow, and his killing off of his characters articulates a certain determination to wrap up loose ends, although the fact that he continues his account for several pages implies that he was not in a rush to finish the story. The repetition of Mirus's seasonal work schedule is undoubtedly meant to express the passage of time; and with Mirus finally alone, he can become a genuine hermit, writing the memoirs that Banks, in his preface, offers to the readers of his 'little tract'.

To return to the questions posed at the beginning of this chapter, the exact identity of the author of *The Remarkable and Curious Adventures of Mirus Omnivagus* remains unknown, which impedes an attempt to place his work in a specific context (unlike the work of George Canning, Robert Southey, and James Boswell Jr in previous chapters). Yet Banks clearly *was* a young boy, testing his authorial voice in a genre that allowed for the impossible and improbable, and permitted its young author to manifest myriad interests and anxieties. The careful, material construction of the book, with its attention to paratext and illustration, implies that the novel was intended to circulate, and the marginalia reveals that the book did indeed have multiple readers. Although the story is not explicitly set in a school, I would argue that Bank's daily life at school nevertheless informed his writing. Like the plays of James Boswell Jr, Banks's novel is imperfect, and at turns charming, frustrating, humorous, wondrous, compelling, and unreadable. Yet Banks's work offers a contrast to that of Boswell, who is specifically interested in the writing of dialogue and reuses the same basic plots over and over. Banks, on the other hand,

is obsessed with plot, and is more interested in what his characters do than what they say. As with Boswell, though, Banks's novel is most useful in that it elucidates the world not just of one particular schoolboy author, but that of a schoolboy reader, opening up a new way of looking at how boys consumed a vast array of textual and visual sources, and then shifted from consumers to producers of texts.

Conclusion

In the fourth number of *The Trifler*, its Westminster author writes of his apprehension in publishing a periodical, lamenting the 'trespass I was committing on the patience of my patrons, and how ridiculous a light I had set myself in by the feeble efforts of my pen, wholly unequal to the arduous enterprise I found myself engaged in'. Yet a dream in which the Goddesses of Judgment and Taste look favourably on the first number of *The Trifler* inspires the young 'Authorling' with 'fresh courage to prosecute my plan and to do my best endeavours towards rendering this paper as acceptable as lies in my power at the hands of my schoolfellows, my patrons, and the public in general'.[1] This thesis has examined the extra-curricular writing of eighteenth-century English schoolboys – specifically, boys who self-identified as authors and strove to present their best endeavours to their schoolfellows, their patrons (who might be schoolmates, schoolmasters, family, or friends), and to a broader public.

The project builds on other research that has been done on the history of education and schools; authorship; and print and manuscript cultures; as well as children's literature, a field of study that mostly concerns literature written and published by adults for children. My work contributes to current scholarship through the careful assessment of the corpus of printed and manuscript works explicitly written by schoolboys in the long eighteenth century, as well as through three case studies of schoolboy authors who self-published their work. Two of these case studies concern boys whose work has been heretofore entirely unexamined, despite the fact that there is a wealth of archival material concerning their writing.

[1] *The Trifler* (London: Messieurs Robinsons, 1788), pp. 43-4.

My decision to focus on boys who self-published is significant, because there were many schoolboy works of the period that were controlled by adults: printed editions of occasional verses, school speeches, and adult-edited periodicals all presented schoolboy writing to the public. Yet the writing of schoolboys tended to be subsumed beneath that of adults within these publications, and reviews of such works often responded directly to schoolmasters, leaving the boys themselves out of the critical conversation. While this project might have concentrated on the representation of the schoolboy author as enabled by adults, it instead recentres the focus on boys themselves.

Over the course of the eighteenth century, print culture and authorship in England changed greatly. While the focus of this thesis is schoolboy writing, its argument is anchored in an account of authorship at the end of the eighteenth century, and the school as a space for the incubation of new writing. Opportunities for authors to see their work in print expanded and schoolboy authorship grew with the century; boy writers, in fact, embraced genres (such as periodicals and novels) that were themselves in their adolescence. While it is possible to look at schoolboy authorship as a microcosm of eighteenth-century print culture, it is important to note that schoolboys did not eschew manuscript publication. Many boys circulated work in manuscript, sometimes as a prelude to publishing it in print; sometimes to counteract writing that appeared in print; and sometimes because print publication was simply not an option. While scholarship on manuscript productions of earlier periods, such as Harold Love's formative work on seventeenth-century scribal publication, is helpful in contextualising later manuscripts, there remains, in general, further work to be done about eighteenth-century manuscript culture. I believe that my investigations of

schoolboy coterie publishing open up new ways of thinking about manuscript publication throughout the eighteenth century.[2]

While my case studies examine a number of genres, I have chosen to exclude a discussion of what one might call fugitive occasional poetry (that is, poems by individual boys printed in periodicals) because, although it is the most expedient and ubiquitous form of publication across the century, it is also the most conventional, and lacks the facets of juvenile thinking that appear in the other works I analyse. Additionally, it is difficult to ascertain provenance for such poetry: with the exception of the small collection of letters between Robert Farren Cheetham and John Finchett, I have found no archival material about how such poems found their way into print.[3] The three case studies I explicate – a trio of periodicals from Westminster and Eton, the plays and letters of James Boswell Jr, and a manuscript novel by Jonathan Banks – fit together not just because they were written by boys in English schools within a narrow time frame at the end of the eighteenth century, but because they all evidence collaboration and disclose sites of production. Collaboration was a compelling mode for many of the authors I discuss, and even as the Romantic idea of solitary genius was beginning to emerge in the late eighteenth-century, these boys often wrote together, in part because of their training at school and at home. Boswell and his older brother Sandy wrote prologues and epilogues together while at different schools; and while the exact identity and writing habits of Jonathan Banks remain unknown, he states in his preface that his novel began as a communal effort amongst his schoolfellows left on their own during a summer holiday. All three periodicals, *The Microcosm*, *The Trifler*, and *The Flagellant*, make no secret of the fact that they were

[2] Harold Love, *Scribal Publication in Seventeenth-Century England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993).
[3] Chester, Cheshire and Chester Archives, ZTCP/7/1.

collaboratively authored, yet their schoolboy authors often viewed themselves as a single authorial entity. For example, Robert Southey wrote only one number of *The Flagellant* (the fifth), yet he later recollected that when the first number, written by his friend Charles Grosvesnor Bedford, appeared in print, he thought of himself as a published author. It is notable as well that many of these boy authors continued to work collaboratively throughout their lives: George Canning and John Hookham Frere published *The Anti-Jacobin* a decade after *The Microcosm*; Robert Southey wrote collaboratively throughout his life, particularly with Samuel Taylor Coleridge; and Boswell worked with Edmond Malone to edit his father's work as well as that of Shakespeare.[4]

Each work I consider within the case studies also specifically announces its place of origin as the school. The three periodicals all immediately establish themselves as being written by schoolboys: *The Microcosm* opens its first number by offering readers a textual view of Eton boys at work and at play; *The Trifler* presents stories about Old Westminsters; and *The Flagellant* distinctly markets itself as 'avowedly written by Westminster boys' even as it criticises school life. Meanwhile, Boswell's letter to his brother about the Westminster School rebellion assigns authority to a text that circulates within the schoolyard while denigrating adult-authored accounts of the rebellion that appeared in newspapers. Finally, although Banks offers no substantive information about his school, he nevertheless chooses to begin his novel by informing his reader that the work first took shape at 'a country boarding school'. Furthermore, the boys describe (or imply) their daily life at school

[4] *The Anti-Jacobin; or, Weekly Examiner* (London: J. Wright, [1797-1798]); *The Life of Samuel Johnson* (London: T. Cadell and W. Davies, 1811); *The Plays and Poems of William Shakspeare, With the Corrections and Illustrations of Various Commentators*, ed. by Edmond Malone and James Boswell (London: R. C. and J. Rivington, 1821).

to varying degrees. Even when the works ostensibly take place outside of school – on an island or the besieged city of Carthage – the experiences of the schoolroom often permeate the boys' writing.

The Audience for Schoolboy Writing

The fact that schoolboy writing was published throughout the eighteenth century implies that there was a continuous market for it. Yet, the rise in schoolboy-authored publications in the 1780s and 90s suggests that by this time the market for such work had expanded, or at least evolved into a number of sub-markets. Here, though, I think it is important to note the distinction between numbers of *works* published and numbers of *copies* printed. Most schoolboy writing published in standalone editions was printed at the expense of the author, probably in very small print runs. As such, most works survive in just a handful of copies; while survival rates are not always a reliable measure of the size of an edition, here I would suggest that the number of extant copies probably does accurately reflect modest print runs. Additionally, there is scant material evidence as to who owned or read schoolboy writing and why they purchased it or what they thought of it. Still, though, readers would have encountered schoolboy writing on a regular basis in bookshops (for even provincially produced works often had a London distributer) as well as in the pages of newspapers and magazines. This audience might not have specifically purchased schoolboy works, but certainly would have read them or read about them. The proliferation of schoolboy writing and the intensification of interest in it was, I would argue, driven not only by changes in print culture, but also by shifts in cultural, political, and social ideologies, all of which engaged interest in schoolboy publications, pushing boy authors into the larger public sphere.

Some explanation for the rise in schoolboy-authored works can be linked to the expanded opportunities for publication, with the desire for novelty at the end of the eighteenth century coinciding with a moment in which it was materially easier to publish. Schoolboy writing was, in general, not commercial but instead published either in periodicals or else on commission – a notable exception being *The Microcosm*, for which the Etonian authors sold the rights to the publisher Charles Knight; the fact that the periodical went through four editions suggests that there was a commercial market for it, likely related at least somewhat to George Canning's rise in politics.[5] Non-commercial publishing was of course not limited to boys, but was common for adult writers as well; in fact, in the period between 1780 and 1830 there were five thousand new books of poetry and three thousand new works of prose fiction published, yet only a handful of authors made any considerable amount of money from their writing.[6] It is therefore likely that from the beginning of the century on, the largest market for schoolboy writing would have been that which was typical for all vanity publications: family and friends. Readers interested in local history or provincial printing also would have been a target audience (for example, the Oxford antiquarian Anthony Wood owned a copy of *Votivum Carolo*, published in 1660 by the boys of Woodstock School).[7] And indeed, the idea of a 'local' audience or market might be extended to former students, who would have wanted to support current students while also remembering their own school days.

Periodicals were perhaps the most significant factor in creating new audiences for boys, with print runs much greater than standalone schoolboy editions. Just

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[5] For a discussion of the publication history of *The Microcosm*, see Chapter Two, 'Puny Authorlings: Three Schoolboy Periodicals, 1786-1792'.
[6] William St. Clair, *The Reading Nation in the Romantic Period* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2004), p. 172.
[7] Bodleian Library, Wood 319 (10).

browsing through the pages of periodicals readers would have encountered – without searching it out specifically – occasional schoolboy poetry, descriptions of school plays and performances, and reviews of schoolboy works that encouraged the purchase or at least the reading (or discussion) of such publications. These reviews would have been especially important in creating a larger market for provincially published works, bringing boys to the attention of a national audience: Robert Farren Cheetham's first collection of poems, published in Manchester in 1795, was favourably reviewed in *The British Critic*, leading him to publish a second collection the following year.[8]

Changes in the audience for schoolboy works were certainly not all related to the expansion of print culture, though, and might also be attributed to changing social, cultural, and political ideologies of the period. By the 1780s there was an interest in printed works by formerly unheard voices, including those of slaves and the labouring classes. Yet schoolboys were clearly not marginalised, nor did their work function as part of a larger debate regarding new claimants of rights. Similarly, schoolboy writers did not position themselves as children or as 'primitive' writers, and instead aligned themselves with a long tradition of writing and performance within public schools, while at the same time marking themselves out as developing authors. I would suggest that schoolboy writing appealed to a market that was interested both in the tradition of classical education in England, as well as in what one might call literary speculation: the reading and collecting of the writings of the future leaders of Britain (which the authors of *The Microcosm* claimed to be, and, in fact, came to be) as well as its future great authors. There was already an interest in the educational pedigree of writers in earlier eighteenth-century biographies, and in his *Life of Addison* Samuel Johnson

[8] *The British Critic*, October 1795, p. 421.

writes: 'Not to name the school or the masters of men illustrious for literature is a kind of historical fraud […] I would therefore trace him through the whole process of his education'.[9] Later, James Boswell lamented that Johnson's own friends had not saved his earlier literary efforts so that 'he might have been almost entirely preserved'.[10] This turn in literary history to school history mirrors a cultural fascination with 'origins' and serves as a precursor to Romantic thinking that 'understood literature as having a history that could be recuperated in the life of the individual, and […] made childhood central to defining what literature was, what experiences it could offer, and what cultural work it could do'.[11] Schoolboy authors captured readers interested in both England's past and its future, and as Laurie Langbauer asserts, even within their own writing they 'provided ways for critics to theorize the juvenile tradition, supplying the potential someday to rewrite it back into the past'.[12] Schoolboy-authored works not only allowed readers the opportunity to create histories for new and emerging authors, but they also allowed a specific subset of readers (that of former schoolboys) the chance to reflect on their own histories and remember – in the same manner that one might recall a ballad or a story from childhood – their school experiences, serving as a reminder of the communities created through school life and thereby creating a kind of sentimental history of public education.

Schoolboy authors must have intrigued (or provoked) all those involved in debates about the nature of education, considering that the issue of public versus private education was contested in England throughout the eighteenth century, most

[9] Samuel Johnson, *The Lives of the Most Eminent English Poets*, 4 vols (London: C. Bathurst, 1781), II, pp. 345-6).
[10] James Boswell, *The Life of Samuel Johnson, LL. D.*, 2 vols (London: Charles Dilly, 1791), p. 4.
[11] Anne Rowland, *Romanticism and Childhood* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012, p. 149.
[12] Laurie Langbauer, 'Prolepsis and the Tradition of Juvenile Writing: Henry Kirk White and Robert Southey', *PMLA*, 128.4 (2013), 888-906 (p. 890).

vociferously in the latter part of the century with around two hundred educational treatises published in English during that time.[13] Locke and Rousseau, most famously, argued against public education, and many British radicals, including Thomas Day, Richard Lovell Edgeworth (and later his daughter Maria), and Joseph Priestly promoted private education and decried, to varying degrees, public education, which relied heavily on rote memorisation and corporal punishment, both of which they saw as impediments to learning and served only to force children to conform to existing social norms. The Edgeworths in particular wrote against rote memorisation, which they believed to be a harmful practice to young minds and which they claimed produced unoriginal thinking.[14] On the other side of the debate were schoolmasters such as Vicesimus Knox and George Chapman, who argued that public education encouraged healthy intellectual competition, sociability, and the cultivation of particularly masculine traits such as courage and spirit.[15] Given that schoolboy-authored works often promoted the origins of their creation or were dedicated to their schoolmasters (and were occasionally published by them), they essentially functioned as advertisements for how well the young writers had been taught and implied success both in the schoolroom and in future endeavours. I would argue, then, that one of the most eager markets for these works, after friends and family, would have consisted of those readers who believed in the value of public education or those (like Knox) who believed that the model of classical education provided by schools could also be used at home. Perhaps this particular market saw schoolboy-authored works as a template for what might be accomplished by industrious and eager students in a variety of

[13] Stephen Bygrave, *Uses of Education: Readings in Enlightenment in England* (Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 2009), quoting: Roy Porter, *Enlightenment: Britain and the Creation of the Modern World* (London: Allen Lane, The Penguin Press, 2000) p. 343.
[14] Rowland, pp. 184-86.
[15] For a concise overview of educational debates of the period, see Woodley, pp. 21-39.

educational environments. I would also argue, though, that negative critical responses to schoolboy writing often used the language of those who advocated private education, remarking that schoolboy writing lacked originality and was of poor quality. These reviews often directly admonished the schoolmaster for allowing such writing to be published, and they possibly served as a tacit criticism of public education.[16] While negative reviews discouraged the purchase (and even the publication) of works, they nevertheless pushed boy authors into a larger sphere of debate.

Alongside questions about education in the late eighteenth century was a concern in the idea of literary genius, particularly in the untutored or 'nobly wild' original genius. At the heart of this debate was Thomas Chatterton (1752-1770), the charity school boy who wrote both mock ancient and modern works and whose death at the age of seventeen turned him into a cult figure for the Romantics. Chatterton's works were published throughout the 1780s and 90s, and he was a continuous source of inspiration for other young poets.[17] While he was not a schoolboy in the sense that this project focusses on, the fact that he wrote both imitative and original works and was the object of intense debate probably fostered interest in other juvenile productions. It is, I think, a curious coincidence that 1787, the year that saw the publication of Edward Rushton's *Neglected Genius: or, Tributary Stanzas to the Memory of the Unfortunate Chatterton,* was also the year in which the first collected edition of *The Microcosm* was published, garnering so much popular and critical

[16] For a particularly scathing review of *Musae Berkhamstediensis*, see: *The British Critic*, February 1796, p. 195.
[17] For an analysis of Chatterton and his relationship to literary of the eighteenth century, see: Daniel Cook, *Thomas Chatterton and Neglected Genius, 1760-1830* (Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillan, 2013).

interest.[18] At this particular moment in time, readers would have been interested in debates about literary genius, comparing works by schoolboys and other juvenile writers (and in fact, after 1787 there is a rise in the publication of standalone schoolboy volumes).

Finally, I would argue that a significant market for printed schoolboy publications was other schoolboys, who either knew the author, wanted a model for their own writing, or simply enjoyed the idea of seeing work by someone their own age in print. If children had the opportunity to read and purchase literature written for and marketed to them, why should they not want to read works written by other young people? If boys enjoyed participating in manuscript coteries within their own schools, they would have wanted printed 'souvenir' copies of that work to take with them as they went off to university, where they could circulate it within new groups of readers. Similarly, boys were probably also eager to read the work of other boys at different schools, comparing it that of themselves and their friends and creating a community of readers across schools.

Summary

In summary, this thesis gives an account of the rise of the schoolboy author in late eighteenth-century-England. Schoolboys drew upon their curriculum, new genres and technologies (such as colour printing), and older forms of manuscript publication to respond to events at school, at home, in England, and abroad. While their writing was often modelled on that of adults, boys merged traditional methods of composition and sociable criticism learnt at school with changing literary and cultural tastes and

[18] Edward Rushton, *Neglected Genius: or, Tributary Stanzas to the Memory of the Unfortunate Chatterton*. ([London]: J. Philips, George Yard, [1787]).

practices. The boy writers of this period anticipate the next generation of schoolboys, who by the mid-nineteenth century would produce school periodicals of their own, along with memoirs of their school days.[19] These later boys would look back upon their predecessors with a certain amount of reverence, with the editors of the 1839 Manchester School periodical *The New Microcosm* telling readers: 'Lest our attempt should appear too bold, let it be remembered that our predecessor, "The Microcosm," written by youths of our own age, at Eton, has obtained a station with the *Spectator*, *Rambler*, *Mirror*, &c. among the Standard Essayists of our language.'[20] A continuation of this project, then, might follow this path through the nineteenth century and examine the growth of the schoolboy author as an industry within print culture. But the project might also look backwards to investigate the causal engines of schoolboy authorship in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, in particular the vernacularisation of the curriculum and of school performances. Finally, as I continue to search for manuscript publications, my work questions the nature of the archive itself: What gets saved? Who saves it, and why? Did boys function as their own archivists and curators? Boswell's juvenila, perhaps the largest collection of extra-curricular manuscript writing by an eighteenth-century schoolboy, survives because his father had an interest in preserving his work, and because the Boswell family papers have been archived and catalogued at Yale. Conversely, I suspect that Banks's manuscript novel survives because it became detached from family papers, placed on a bookshelf, and forgotten about, only to be sold off at a later date. As more archival material by and about schoolboys is discovered and examined, the better scholars and librarians might come to understand the practices and conventions of

[19] William N. Weaver, '"A School-Boy's Story": Writing the Victorian Public Schoolboy Subject', *Victorian Studies* 46:3 (2004), 455-487.
[20] *The New Microcosm* (Manchester: Cave and Sever, 1840), p. 1.

schoolboy literary culture, as well as how to preserve and catalogue it within the archives.

Appendix A

Bibliography of Printed Schoolboy Works and Selected Manuscripts, 1660-1798

In compiling this bibliography, I have omitted publications that label themselves as retrospective, since I am concerned only with work published while the authors were still in school. While I have included works that use the pseudonym 'a Schoolboy', I have excluded those that are clearly satirical publications by adults. I have included a few items about which I am unsure of authorship, and have marked these with an asterisk (*). There are two lists of printed material: in the first, entries are arranged chronologically, and I have followed Old Style dates for pre-1752 publications. Works that were published simultaneously within different publications are counted as a single entry. Each entry is preceded by an item number consisting of the year of publication, followed by a sequential number indicating its order of publication within that year; works whose exact dates of publication are unknown are arranged alphabetically by title. When the publisher of a work is unclear, I have substituted the name of the printer. The second list is organised by school, with entries then arranged chronologically; these entries are marked with the same number they have been assigned on the chronological list, so that they can be cross-referenced. The list of manuscript material is arranged by repository and it includes, along with extra-curricular works, some correspondence and school exercises as well.

1660.1 Woodstock School, *Votivum Carolo, or, A Welcome to his Sacred Majesty Charles the II. From the Master and Scholars of Woodstock-School in the County of Oxford* ([Oxford: [H. Hall], 1660)[21]

1672.1 *Ludus Ludi Literarii: or, School-Boys Exercises and Divertissements. In XLVII Speeches: Some of them Latine, But Most English; Spoken (and Prepared To Be Spoken) in a Private School about London, at Several Breakings Up, in the Year 1671* (London: Thomas Parkhurst, 1672)[22]

1713.1 Whitgift Grammar School, *Verses on the Peace; By the Scholars of Croyden School, Surrey. Spoken in Public, May 13, 1713* (London: A. Baldwin, 1713)

1719.1 [Acrostic], *Delphick Oracle,* October 1719, pp. 29-30[23]

1731.1 *The London Medley; Containing the Exercises Spoken by Several Young Nobleman and Gentlemen, at the Annual Meeting of the Westminster Scholars, on the 28th of Jan. 1730-31, at Westminster-School* (London: J. Roberts, 1731)

1731.2 'A Prologue to an English Play acted at Bury School Decem. 1731', *Gentleman's Magazine,* December 1731, p. 537

1732.1 *A Dramatic Piece by the Charter-House Scholars: In Memory of the Powder- plot* (London: J. Brotherton, 1732)

1733.1 'An Epitaph on the Late Mrs. Oldfield, by One of Harrow School', *Weekly Register,* 6 January 1733, p. 659. Also printed under the title 'An Epitaph on the late Mrs. Oldfield', *London Magazine, or, Gentleman's Monthly Intelligencer,* January 1733, p. 34

1733.2 'Prologue to Phormio, As It Was Acted By the Gentlemen Educated at Cadington-School Hertfordshire', *London Magazine, or, Gentleman's Monthly Intelligencer,* January 1733, p. 33

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[21] Francis Gregory (1623–1707), the schoolmaster of Woodstock School also served as master at Woodstock from 1654 until sometime after 1660, when he became master of the free school at Witney, Oxfordshire; this perhaps explains why copies of verses spoken at both Woodstock and Witney Schools are found in a seventeenth-century manuscript miscellany by Richard Enock, a student at Trinity College, Oxford (BL Sloane MS 1458).

[22] This may have been published under the auspices of Richard Swift, who ran a private grammar school in Mill Hill, near London. See: Mark Burden, 'A Biographical Dictionary of Tutors at the Dissenters' Private Academies, 1660–1729', Dr Williams's Centre for Dissenting Studies (2013), <http://www.english.qmul.ac.uk/drwilliams/pubs/dictionary.html> [accessed 1 August 2014]

[23] The editor writes that the author is 'a Scholar at present in Westminster School […] a Youth but of 14 Years of Age'.

1733.3 'Epilogue to the Eunuch of Terence, Acted By the King's Scholars, Feb. 6. Before the Gentlemen Educated at Westminster-school, Being the Day of their Annual feast', *Grub-Street Journal*, 15 February 1733, p. 500

1734.1 'Prologue to the Play of Volpone, Acted by the Young Gentlemen of Bury-School, Nov. 5', *Gentleman's Magazine*, November 1734, p. 624

1734.2 'Prologue to the Pseudolus of Plautus, Acted by the Scholars of Bury-School, Nov. 6', *Gentleman's Magazine*, November 1734, p. 624

1734.3 Demea, 'An Epilogue To the Adelphi of Terence, Acted by the King's Scholars at Westminster-school, on Nov. 28, and Dec. 6', *Grub-Street Journal*, 10 January 1734, p. 705. Also printed in *London Magazine, or, Gentleman's Monthly Intelligencer*, January 1734, p. 38

1734.4 'Prologue to the Eunuch of Terence, Lately Acted by the Young Gentlemen of Cadington-school in Hertfordshire', *Grub-Street Journal*, 10 January 1734, p.706. Also printed in *London Magazine, or, Gentleman's Monthly Intelligencer*, January 1734, p. 38

1735.1 'Written in a Book at a School Where Some Young Gentlemen Had Copied Their Poetical Exercises', *London Magazine, or, Gentleman's Monthly Intelligencer*, April 1735, p. 217

1735.2 'A Copy of Verses Spoke by a School-Boy in Praise of Farinelli, After an Oration Against Him', *Gentleman's Magazine*, June 1735, p. 326

1738.1 'The Following Epitaph Was Wrote Lately by a Lad at School, not 16', *London Magazine and Monthly Chronologer*, December 1738, p. 627

1739.1 Delicatulus (i.e. William Collins), 'Sonnet', *Gentleman's Magazine*, October1739, p. 545

1739.2 Amasius (i.e. William Collins), 'To Miss Aurelia C-r, on her Weeping at her Sister's Wedding', *Gentleman's Magazine*, January 1739, p. 41

1743.1 Granger, J, 'On Cock-Fighting on Shrove-Tuesday. A School Exercise', *London Magazine and Monthly Chronologer*, November 1743, p. 564

1744.1 'The Grammar-School', *London Magazine and Monthly Chronologer*, October 1744, p. 512[24]

1746.1 Acklom, Jon. 'On the Present Rebellion. Written by a Young Gentleman of Beverly School', *The Museum; or, The Literary and Historical Register*, July 1746, p. 297-300[25]

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[24] Noted that it was 'spoken before the Governours of Merchant Taylors School' and signed 'Cook, of Merchant Taylors' School'.

[25] This is likely Jonathan Acklom (1731-1812), whose family owned Wiseton Hall in Nottinghamshire.

1748.1 B-n, 'Extempore Verses on a Celebrated Boarding-school in the City of Worcester', *Universal Magazine of Knowledge and Pleasure*, June 1748, p.281

1748.2 'Prologue to Ignoramus, Acted at Westminster School in December 1747', *Gentleman's Magazine*, January 1748, p. 36. Also printed in *Newcastle General Magazine*, January 1748, p. 2294

1751.1 'An Invitation into the Country; address'd to Miss ------ of West Smithfield. By a School Boy', *Gentleman's Magazine*, December 1751, p. 568

1751.2 'Verses Delivered by the Boys of Harrow school, To Sir John Rushout, For a Play', *Scots Magazine*, December 1751, p. 583. Also printed as 'Verses Deliver'd by the Boys of Harrow School, To the Hon. Sr J--N R--SH--T, for a Play', *Gentleman's Magazine*, December 1751, p. 565

1753.1 'Prologue to the Tragedy of Cato Acted on the 12th Instant, by some Young Gentlemen of the Free Grammar School at Derby, For the Benefit of the Orphan of the Late Usher; Written by One of Them aged 16', *Gentleman's Magazine*, March 1753, p. 140

1755.1 'Spoken Extempore by a Young Gentleman of Westminster School', *Universal Magazine of Knowledge and Pleasure*, August 1755, p. 81

1756.1 'The Game of Cricket. An Exercise at Merchant Taylor's school', *Gentleman's Magazine*, October 1756, p. 489. Also printed in *Newcastle General Magazine*, October 1756, p. 530

1757.1 *Prologue and Epilogue to the Andrian of Terence, as spoken at Westminster School: Translated into English Verse by a Young Gentleman* (London: [n. pub.], 1757)

1757.2 *The Prologue, Interludes, and Epilogue to the Heauton-Timoroumenos of Terence, Acted by the Young Gentlemen of Beverley School, at Christmas,1756* (Hull: G. and J. Ferraby, [1757])

1758.1 'An Epilogue, Addressed to the Ladies at a Rehearsal of Terence's Andrian; Which Was Afterwards Performed by the Young Gentlemen of the Grammar School at Reading', *Universal Magazine of Knowledge and Pleasure*, October 1758, p. 202

1759.1 'A Stanza, Written by a Scholar of Merchant Taylor's School on His Birth Day, Feb. 3, 1759, When He Was 10 Years Old', *Gentleman's Magazine*, February 1759, p. 82

1761.1 'Ode Spoken at Merchant-Taylors School', *Edinburgh Magazine*, June 1761, p. 316. Also printed in *London Magazine, or, Gentleman's Monthly Intelligencer*, June 1761, p. 326

1761.2 ‘Prologue and Epilogue to the Andria of Terence, Performed Lately with Applause by the Young Gentlemen of Westminster-School’, *London Magazine, or, Gentleman’s Monthly Intelligencer*, December 1761, p. 668

1762.1 ‘On the Death of a Friend and School-fellow’, *Edinburgh Magazine*, July 1762, p. 353

1763.2 ‘Prologue and Epilogue to the Troades of Seneca, and Ignoramus Abbreviatus, performed as a public Exercise at Merchant Taylors School’, *Royal Magazine*, February 1763, p. 102

1763.2 ‘Written by a Young Gentleman of Merchant Taylors School, and Spoken by Him Before a Polite and Learned Audience, on the Last Public Examination-day’, *Universal Magazine of Knowledge and Pleasure*, May 1763, p. 265

1765.1 ‘The Castle-Top. Written by a Lad at Winchester School’, *Gentleman’s Magazine*, May 1765, p. 232

1765.2 [Ryland, John], *An Oration by a Schoolboy Twelve Years of Age; Composed for the Juvenile Philosophical Society* (London: T & J.W. Pasham, 1765)[26]

1766.1 ‘The Guinea. An Exercise at School’, *Gentleman’s Magazine*, December1766, p. 589

1766.2 [Ryland, John], *The Plagues of Egypt, by a School-Boy Thirteen Years of Age* (Northampton: [n. pub.], 1766)

1770.1 ‘Prologue, Spoken by Mr. Price, One of the Young Gentlemen that Performed a Part in the Tragedy of Abradates and Panthea, at St. Paul's School’, *Universal Magazine of Knowledge and Pleasure*, December 1770, p. 378[27]

1772.1 ‘The Moon. Spoken by one of the Young Gentlemen at Merchant-Taylor’s School, Oct. 21, 1772’, *Gentleman’s Magazine*, October 1772, p. 486

1772.2 Valpy, Richard, *Poetical Blossoms: or, A Collection of Poems, Odes, and Translations. By a Young Gentleman of the Royal Grammar School, Guildford* (Guildford: printed for the author, [1772])[28]

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[26] John Ryland (1753-1823) was an English Baptist minister who taught at his father’s school in Northampton from ages fifteen to twenty-five.

[27] This may have been Eli Morgan Price (1754-?), who entered St. Paul’s in 1768 at the age of fourteen, and went on to Trinity College, Cambridge in 1771. See: Robert Barlow Gardiner, *Admission Registers of St. Paul's School, from 1748 to 1876* (London: G. Bell, 1884), p. 139.

[28] Richard Valpy (1754–1836) attended schools near his home in Jersey and in France before transferring to Southhampton Grammar School and later Guildford Grammar School. In 1781 he became headmaster of Reading School, raising the number of boys there from twenty-three to one hundred-twenty by 1791. At Reading he was renowned for his love of flogging and insistence that the boys take exercise, but also for adapting English plays for his students to perform, along with those in

1773.1 ‘Answer to the Arithmetical Question, in the Miscellany of Oct. 18, by Master Lathy, Pupil at Gittisham-School, Devon’, *Weekly Miscellany, or, Instructive Entertainer*, 4 October 1773, p. 120

1774.1 Alphenor, ‘Verses Written by a Young Gentleman on One of his Intimates Leaving School’, *London Magazine, or, Gentleman’s Monthly Intelligencer*, June 1774, p. 297

1774.2 S., H., ‘A Retrospect of School’, *Town and Country Magazine, or, Universal Repository of Knowledge, Instruction, and Entertainment*, December 1774, p. 661

*1774.3 Eton Scholar, *Britannia: A Poem* (London: W. Harris, and J. Matthews, 1774)

1776.1 M, ‘Verses Publickly Repeated on Leaving a Grammar School in the North’, *Town and Country Magazine, or, Universal Repository of Knowledge, Instruction, and Entertainment*, May 1776, p. 272

1776.2 Scriblerus, ‘Verses on Leaving School’, *Town and Country Magazine, or, Universal Repository of Knowledge, Instruction, and Entertainment*, August1776, p. 439

1777.1 [Polwhele, Richard], *The Fate of Lewellyn; or, The Druid’s Sacrifice. A Legendary Tale. To which is added, The Genius of Carnbre, a Poem. By a Young Gentleman of Truro School* (Bath: Printed for the Author, 1777)[29]

1779.1 ‘Verses Written by a Young Gentleman of Doctor Benson’s School, on the Death of a Beloved Class Fellow’, *Hibernian Magazine, or, Compendium of Entertaining Knowledge*, March 1779, p. 178

*1781.1 Man in the Moon, ‘From a Winchester School-Boy, to his Friend at BATH’, *London Magazine, or, Gentleman’s Monthly Intelligencer*, February 1781, p. 92[30]

1783.1 ‘Prologue to the Tragedy of King Lear, Performed at Mr. Newcome’s School at Hackney’, *Gentleman’s Magazine*, May 1783, p. 429

Latin and Greek. He later became widely known for his Greek and Latin textbooks. See: T. A. B. Corley, ‘Valpy, Richard (1754–1836)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/28057> [accessed 12 Jan 2015].

[29] Richard Polwhele (1760–1838), was a poet, theologian, and literary critic who published a number of works before he turned twenty. Throughout his life Polwhele was also a contributor to the *Gentleman’s Magazine*, and from 1799 to 1805 he was a frequent contributor to the *Anti-Jacobin Review*. See: W. P. Courtney, ‘Polwhele, Richard (1760–1838)’, rev. Grant P. Cerny, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* <[http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/22483> [accessed 12 Jan 2015].

[30] A variation in manuscript is found in Leeds, Brotherton Collection, MS Lt q 20.

1783.2 A School-Boy, ‘On the Death of a Favourite Rabbit’, *Scots Magazine*, July 1783, p. 379

1783.3 *Ode to Peace, Translated from the Greek (With Additions) in 1782, by a Young Gentleman, Now at Macclesfield School* ([Wrexham: R. Marsh, 1783])

1786.1 *The Microcosm* (Windsor: Printed for the Author, 1786; reprinted 1787, 1788, 1790, 1809, 1825)

1786.2 Browne, John. *Poetical Translations from Various Authors. By Master John Browne, of Crewkerne, Somerset; A Boy of Twelve Years of Age* (London: Rev. Robert Ashe, 1786)

1788.1 *Prolusiones Poeticae: or, A Selection of Poetical Exercises, in Greek, Latin, and English: Partly Original and Partly Translated* (Chester: J. Fletcher, [1788])

1788.2 *The Trifler* (London: Messieurs Robinsons, 1788; reprinted 1788)

1789.1 A School-Boy, ‘A Pastoral’, *Town and Country Magazine, or, Universal Repository of Knowledge, Instruction, and Entertainment*, November 1789, p. 521

1789.2 A School-Boy. ‘Damon and Thyrsis, A pastoral’, *Town and Country Magazine, or, Universal Repository of Knowledge, Instruction, and Entertainment*, December 1789, p. 570

1790.1 *Poems, by a Young Gentleman, at Eton School (under sixteen years of age)* (Windsor: G.S. Dunning, [1790?])

1791.1 A School-Boy. ‘On a Redbreast, Which Has Built Its Nest in the King's School, Chester’, *Gentleman’s Magazine*, June 1791, p. 564

1792.1 ‘An Epilogue spoken at the annual Exhibition on Tuesday Night the 20th of December, 1791, at the Rev. Mr. Langfield’s School, at Beamister, by a Youth of Ten Years of Age’, 16 January 1792, *Weekly Entertainer, or, Agreeable and Instructive Repository*, p. 78

1792.2 *The Flagellant* (London: T. and J. Egerton; E. Jeffrey, 1792)

*1792.3 Light, Launcelot, *A Sketch of the Rights of Boys and Girls. By Launcelot Light, of Westminster School; and Laetitia Lookabout, of Queen's Square, Bloomsbury* (London: J. Bew, [1792])

1793.1 ‘An Occasional Prologue, spoken to the Play of Timon of Athens, performed by the young Gentlemen of Mr. Weatherdon’s Boarding School, in Newton Abbot, on Tuesday, December 4, 1792’, *Weekly Entertainer or, Agreeable and Instructive Repository*, 7 January 1793, p. 22

1793.2 ‘Elegiac Epitaph on a Canary, Written by a School-boy’, *Weekly Entertainer or, Agreeable and Instructive Repository* 11 March 1793, p. 235

1793.3 *The Amusement of Leisure Hours; or, A Selection of Fugitive Pieces. By a Scholar of Blackheath School* (London: Printed for the Author, 1793)

1794.1 *Musae Berkhamstediensis: or Poetical Prolusions by Some Young Gentlemen of Berkhamsted School* (Berkhamsted: W. Mcdowall, 1794; reprinted 1799)

1795.1 Tennison, Charles, ‘Introductory Address to the Speeches in Lincoln School, Feb. 12, 1795’, *Gentleman’s Magazine*, March 1795, p. 240[31]

1795.2 *A Paraphrase on the Rev. Dr. Watt’s Celebrated Distich, on the Study of Languages. Addressed to the Young Gentlemen of the English Grammar School. By One of Their School-fellows* ([London?]: [n. pub.], [1795?])

1795.3 Mathete (i.e. Cheetham, Robert Farren), *Poems* (Manchester: G. Nicholson and Co, 1795)

1796.1 Cheetham, Robert Farren, *Odes and Miscellanies* (Stockport: J. Clarke, 1796)[32]

1798.1 ‘Elegy on the Death of a School-fellow’, *Monthly Visitor, and Pocket Companion*, May 1798, p. 78

[31] This is probably Charles Tennyson D’Eyncourt (1784-1861), uncle of Alfred Lord Tennyson. See: G. C. Boase, ‘D’Eyncourt, Charles Tennyson- (1784–1861)’, rev. H. C. G. Matthew, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/7582> [accessed 5 April 2015]

[32] Cheetham attended schools in both Chester and Manchester and died shortly after leaving Brasenose College, Oxford in 1801. See: *England, Select Cheshire Bishop's Transcripts, 1598-1900* <http://www.ancestrylibrary.com/ > [accessed 8 September 2014].

Works arranged by school

Berkhamsted School

1794.1 *Musae Berkhamstediensis: or Poetical Prolusions by Some Young Gentlemen of Berkhamsted School* (Berkhamsted: W. Mcdowall, 1794; reprinted 1799)

Beverley School

1757.2 *The Prologue, Interludes, and Epilogue to the Heauton-Timoroumenos of Terence, Acted by the Young Gentlemen of Beverley School, at Christmas, 1756* (Hull: G. and J. Ferraby, [1757])

Blackheath School

1793.2 *The Amusement of Leisure Hours; or, A Selection of Fugitive Pieces*. *By a Scholar of Blackheath School* (London: Printed for the Author, 1793)

Bury School

1731.2 'A Prologue to an English Play acted at Bury School Decem. 1731', *Gentleman's Magazine*, December 1731, p. 537

1734.1 'Prologue to the Play of Volpone, Acted by the Young Gentlemen of Bury-School, Nov. 5', *Gentleman's Magazine*, November 1734, p. 624

1734.2 'Prologue to the Pseudolus of Plautus, Acted by the Scholars of Bury-School, Nov. 6', *Gentleman's Magazine*, November 1734, p. 624

Cadington School

1733.2 'Prologue to Phormio, As It Was Acted By the Gentlemen Educated at Cadington-School Hertfordshire', *London Magazine, or, Gentleman's Monthly Intelligencer*, January 1733, p. 33

1734.4 'Prologue to the Eunuch of Terence, Lately Acted by the Young Gentlemen of Cadington-school in Hertfordshire', *Grub-Street Journal*, 10 January 1734, p. 706. Also printed in *London Magazine, or, Gentleman's Monthly Intelligencer*, January 1734, p. 38

Charterhouse School

1732.1 *A Dramatic Piece by the Charter-House Scholars: In Memory of the Powder-plot* (London: J. Brotherton, 1732)

King's School, Chester

1791.1 A School-Boy. 'On a Redbreast, Which Has Built Its Nest in the King's School, Chester', *Gentleman's Magazine,* June 1791, p. 564

Free Grammar School at Crewkerne

1786.2 Browne, John. *Poetical Translations from Various Authors. By Master John Browne, of Crewkerne, Somerset; A Boy of Twelve Years of Age* (London: Rev. Robert Ashe, 1786)

Free Grammar School at Derby

1753.1 'Prologue to the Tragedy of Cato Acted on the 12th Instant, by some Young Gentlemen of the Free Grammar School at Derby, For the Benefit of the Orphan of the Late Usher; Written by One of Them aged 16', *Gentleman's Magazine,* March 1753, p. 140

Doctor Benson's School[33]

1779.1 'Verses Written by a Young Gentleman of Doctor Benson's School, on the Death of a Beloved Class Fellow', *Hibernian Magazine, or, Compendium of Entertaining Knowledge,* March 1779, p. 178

Eton College

*1774.3 Eton Scholar, *Britannia: A Poem* (London: W. Harris, and J. Matthews, 1774)

1786.1 *The Microcosm* (Windsor: Printed for the Author, 1786; reprinted 1787, 1788, 1790, 1809, 1825)

1790.1 *Poems, by a Young Gentleman, at Eton School (under sixteen years of age)* (Windsor: G.S. Dunning, [1790?])

Royal Grammar School at Guilford

1772.1 Valpy, Richard, *Poetical Blossoms: or, A Collection of Poems, Odes, and Translations. By a Young Gentleman of the Royal Grammar School, Guildford* (Guildford: printed for the author, [1772])

Hackney School[34]

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[33] I have been unable to identify the location of this school.

[34] Hackney School was a large and fashionable private school that flourished under the reign of Henry Newcome, who was master from 1721 until his death in 1756. The school became famous for its theatrical performances which were produced beginning in 1730 (see list of manuscripts in this section). After Newcome's death the school passed to his sons and by 1819 the school had closed; it eventually became part of the London Orphan Asylum. See: *A History of the County of Middlesex,* ed.

1783.1 ‘Prologue to the Tragedy of King Lear, Performed at Mr. Newcome’s School at Hackney’, *Gentleman’s Magazine*, May 1783, p. 429

Harrow School

1733.1 ‘An Epitaph on the Late Mrs. Oldfield, by One of Harrow School’, *Weekly Register*, 6 January 1733, p. 659. Also printed under the title ‘An Epitaph on the late Mrs. Oldfield’, *London Magazine, or, Gentleman’s Monthly Intelligencer*, January 1733, p. 34

1751.1 ‘Verses Delivered by the Boys of Harrow school, To Sir John Rushout, For a Play’, *Scots Magazine*, December 1751, p. 583. Also printed as ‘Verses Deliver’d by the Boys of Harrow School, To the Hon. Sr J--N R--SH--T, for a Play’, *Gentleman’s Magazine*, December 1751, p. 565

Lincoln School[35]

Tennison, Charles, ‘Introductory Address to the Speeches in Lincoln School, Feb. 12, 1795’, *Gentleman’s Magazine*, March 1795, p. 240

Macclesfield School

1783.3 *Ode to Peace, Translated from the Greek (With Additions) in 1782, by a Young Gentleman, Now at Macclesfield School* ([Wrexham: R. Marsh, 1783])

Manchester School

1795.2 Mathete (i.e. Cheetham, Robert Farren), *Poems* (Manchester: G. Nicholson and Co, 1795)

1796.1 Cheetham, Robert Farren, *Odes and Miscellanies* (Stockport: J. Clarke, 1796)

Merchant Taylors’ School

1744.1 ‘The Grammar-School’, *London Magazine and Monthly Chronologer*, October 1744, p. 512
Note: ‘Spoken before the Governours of Merchant Taylors School’ and signed ‘Cook, of Merchant Taylors’ School’.

1756.1 ‘The Game of Cricket. An Exercise at Merchant Taylor’s school’, *Gentleman’s Magazine*, October 1756, p. 489. Also printed in *Newcastle General Magazine*, October 1756, p. 530

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by J.S. Cockburn, H.P.F. King, and K.G.T. McDonnell, 12 vols (London: Institute of Historical Research , 1995), X, pp. 148-165.

[35] This was probably Louth School. See: Carlisle, I, p. 822.

1759.1 ‘A Stanza, Written by a Scholar of Merchant Taylor’s School on His Birth Day, Feb. 3, 1759, When He Was 10 Years Old’, *Gentleman’s Magazine*, February 1759, p. 82

1761.1 ‘Ode Spoken at Merchant-Taylors School’, *Edinburgh* Magazine, June 1761, p. 316. Also printed in *London Magazine, or, Gentleman’s Monthly Intelligencer*, June 1761, p. 326

1763.1 ‘Written by a Young Gentleman of Merchant Taylors School, and Spoken by Him Before a Polite and Learned Audience, on the Last Public Examination-day’, *Universal Magazine of Knowledge and Pleasure*, May 1763, p. 265

Reading School

1758.1 ‘An Epilogue, Addressed to the Ladies at a Rehearsal of Terence's Andrian; Which Was Afterwards Performed by the Young Gentlemen of the Grammar School at Reading’, *Universal Magazine of Knowledge and Pleasure*, October 1758, p. 202

St. Paul’s School

1770.1 ‘Prologue, Spoken by Mr. Price, One of the Young Gentlemen that Performed a Part in the Tragedy of Abradates and Panthea, at St. Paul's School’, *Universal Magazine of Knowledge and Pleasure*, December 1770, p. 378

Truro School

1777.1 [Polwhele, Richard], *The Fate of Lewellyn; or, The Druid’s Sacrifice. A Legendary Tale. To which is added, The Genius of Carnbre, a Poem. By a Young Gentleman of Truro School* (Bath: Printed for the Author, 1777)

Westminster School

1719.1 [Acrostic], *Delphick Oracle*, October 1719, pp. 29-30
Note: The editor writes that the author is ‘a Scholar at present in Westminster School […] a Youth but of 14 Years of Age’.

1733.3 ‘Epilogue to the Eunuch of Terence, Acted By the King’s Scholars, Feb. 6. Before the Gentlemen Educated at Westminster-school, Being the Day of their Annual feast’, *Grub-Street Journal*, 15 February 1733, p. 500

1731.1 *The London Medley; Containing the Exercises Spoken by Several Young Nobleman and Gentlemen, at the Annual Meeting of the Westminster Scholars, on the 28th of Jan. 1730-31, at Westminster-School* (London: J. Roberts, 1731)

1734.3 Demea, ‘An Epilogue To the Adelphi of Terence, Acted by the King’s Scholars at Westminster-school, on Nov. 28, and Dec. 6’, *Grub-Street Journal*, 10 January 1734, p. 705. Also printed in *London Magazine, or, Gentleman’s Monthly Intelligencer,* January 1734, p. 38

1748.2 ‘Prologue to Ignoramus, Acted at Westminster School in December 1747’, *Gentleman’s Magazine,* January 1748, p. 36. Also printed in *Newcastle General Magazine,* January 1748, p. 2294

1755.1 ‘Spoken Extempore by a Young Gentleman of Westminster School’, *Universal Magazine of Knowledge and Pleasure*, August 1755, p. 81

1757.1 *Prologue and Epilogue to the Andrian of Terence, as spoken at Westminster School: Translated into English Verse by a Young Gentleman* (London: [n. pub.], 1757)

1761.2 ‘Prologue and Epilogue to the Andria of Terence, Performed Lately with Applause by the Young Gentlemen of Westminster-School’, *London Magazine, or, Gentleman’s Monthly Intelligencer*, December 1761, p. 668

1788.2 *The Trifler* (London: Messieurs Robinsons, 1788; reprinted 1788)

1792.1 *The Flagellant* (London: T. and J. Egerton; E. Jeffrey, 1792)

*1792.2 Light, Launcelot, *A Sketch of the Rights of Boys and Girls. By Launcelot Light, of Westminster School; and Laetitia Lookabout, of Queen's Square, Bloomsbury* (London: J. Bew, [1792])

Whitgift Grammar School

1713.1 Whitgift Grammar School, *Verses on the Peace; By the Scholars of Croyden School, Surrey. Spoken in Public, May 13, 1713* (London: A. Baldwin, 1713)

Winchester College

1739.1 Delicatulus (i.e. William Collins), ‘Sonnet’, *Gentleman’s Magazine,* October 1739, p. 545

1739.2 Amasius (i.e. William Collins), ‘To Miss Aurelia C-r, on her Weeping at her Sister’s Wedding’, *Gentleman’s Magazine,* January 1739, p. 41

*1781.1 Man in the Moon, ‘From a Winchester School-Boy, to his Friend at BATH’, *London Magazine, or, Gentleman’s Monthly Intelligencer*, February 1781, p. 92

Woodstock School

1660.1 Woodstock School, *Votivum Carolo, or, A Welcome to his Sacred Majesty Charles the II. From the Master and Scholars of Woodstock-School in the County of Oxford* ([Oxford: [H. Hall], 1660)

King’s School, Worcester

1748.1 B-n, ‘Extempore Verses on a Celebrated Boarding-school in the City of Worcester’, *Universal Magazine of Knowledge and Pleasure*, June 1748, p. 281

Unnamed Schools

1672.1 *Ludus Ludi Literarii: or, School-Boys Exercises and Divertissements. In XLVII Speeches: Some of them Latine, But Most English; Spoken (and Prepared To Be Spoken) in a Private School about London, at Several Breakings Up, in the Year 1671* (London: Thomas Parkhurst, 1672)

1735.1 ‘Written in a Book at a School Where Some Young Gentlemen Had Copied Their Poetical Exercises’, *London Magazine, or, Gentleman’s Monthly Intelligencer*, April 1735, p. 217

1735.2 ‘A Copy of Verses Spoke by a School-Boy in Praise of Farinelli, After an Oration Against Him’, *Gentleman’s Magazine*, June 1735, p. 326

1738.1 ‘The Following Epitaph Was Wrote Lately by a Lad at School, not 16’, *London Magazine and Monthly Chronologer*, December 1738, p. 627

1743.1 Granger, J, ‘On Cock-Fighting on Shrove-Tuesday. A School Exercise’, *London Magazine and Monthly Chronologer*, November 1743, p. 564

1762.1 ‘On the Death of a Friend and School-fellow’, *Edinburgh Magazine*, July 1762, p. 353

1765.1 [Ryland, John], *An Oration by a Schoolboy Twelve Years of Age; Composed for the Juvenile Philosophical Society* (London: T & J.W. Pasham, 1765)

1766.1 ‘The Guinea. An Exercise at School’, *Gentleman’s Magazine*, December 1766, p. 589

1766.2 [Ryland, John] *The Plagues of Egypt, by a School-Boy Thirteen Years of Age* (Northampton: [n. pub.], 1766)

1774.1 Alphenor, ‘Verses Written by a Young Gentleman on One of his Intimates Leaving School’, London Magazine, or, Gentleman’s Monthly Intelligencer, June 1774, p. 297

1774.2 S., H., ‘A Retrospect of School’, *Town and Country Magazine, or, Universal Repository of Knowledge, Instruction, and Entertainment*, December 1774, p. 661

1775.1 Melmoth, Courtney, ‘Ode to a School-Fellow’, *Weekly Magazine, or, Edinburgh Amusement*, 11 May 1775, p. 209

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1793.1 ‘Elegiac Epitaph on a Canary, Written by a School-boy’, *Weekly Entertainer or, Agreeable and Instructive Repository*, 11 March 1793, p. 235

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1795.1 *A Paraphrase on the Rev. Dr. Watt’s Celebrated Distich, on the Study of Languages. Addressed to the Young Gentlemen of the English Grammar School. By One of Their School-fellows* ([London?]: [n. pub.], [1795?])

Selected Manuscripts

Birmingham Archdiocesan Archives
XSC/1/7
Seventeenth-nineteenth century student work from Sedgley Park School, Wolverhampton. Includes dialogues, exam work, handwriting exercises, Latin verse compositions, orations, poetry, prose compositions and translations.

British Library
Additional 29,539
Prize Poems and other verses written by scholars of St. Mary's College, Winchester, c. 1770-1820. Among the names of the authors are: J[ohn] Graham, [Peter] hall, J[ohn] Bartholomew [Archdeacon of Barnstaple], P[eregrine] Bingham, J[oseph] Warton [Head Master], [Sir] R[obert] H[arry] Inglis], R[obert] Grant, C[hristopher] Liscomb [Bishop of Jamaica], Chandos Leigh, P[hilip] N[Nicholas] Shuttleworth [Bishop of Chichester], [Charles Brinsley] Sheridan.

Additional 47554 Vol. LIX
Coleridge Papers. Copies, in the hand of Sir John Taylor Coleridge, of poems, many of them written at Eton or Oxford, mostly by nephews of Samuel Taylor Coleridge, 1791-1823.

King's 315
Exercitia Etonae habita in solenni Scholarium Electione, quum interesse dignaretur qua est erga literatos omnes voluntate, Wilhelmus maximae, spei Princeps, Cumberlandiae Sux. Latin and English pieces in prose and verse declaimed at an election of scholars at Eton in presence of William, Duke of Cumberland (c. 1726).

Sloane 1458
Late seventeenth-century miscellany of Richard Enock, student at Trinity College, Oxford. Includes ms copy of Woodstock School's *Votivum Carolo*, as well as verses by scholars at Witney School, Oxford.

Cheshire and Chester Archives and Local Studies Service
DCC/16/95
Verses 'upon Mr. Pinchbeck's return to Chester, by a schoolboy', [18th c.?].

ZTC/478-531
Records of City of Chester Town Clerk. Correspondence between former schoolmates Robert Farren Cheetham and John Finchett (who became Clerk of Chester) from 1792-95 discussing Cheetham's new school in Manchester, as well as Cheetham's poetry and Finchett's attempts to have it published in the Chester newspaper.

Cumbria Record Office and Local Studies Library, Whitehaven
D PEN/York

Papers of the Pennigton Family of Muncaster. Includes ‘A Book of School-Exercise Done at The Free Grammar School at St. Bees.’ c.1690; as well as miscellaneous correspondence, writings, notes and verse, c. 1765-1835.

Folger Shakespeare Library
W.a.166
Poetical miscellany of Robert Butler, 1769. Butler was a pupil at Eton, 1767-1772; many of the poems, including several by ‘Butler’, are in *Musae Etonenses*.

Y.d.309
Essays on a quotation from Shakespeare, ca.1765. Two essays on the same subject, by boys, named Bresthweite and Armetriding, said to have been students at Westminster school.

University of Glasgow (Special Collections)
MS Murray 113
Notebook used by James Boswell the younger while he was at Westminster. Contains drafts of plays written in 1791-92.

Gloucestershire Archives
D1086/F99
Prose and verse compositions by Winchester schoolboys, 1737-1739. Apparently used as examples to be followed in Matthew Hale’s own work.

D1086/F171
Volume used by Matthew Hale for Latin and English verse composition as schoolboy, 1740.

Hackney Archives Department
D/F/TYS/70/14
‘Plays performed at Mr Newcome’s School at Hackney’. Includes copies of prologues read before the plays that were performed (c.1780 1829) and some cast lists.

Harvard University (Houghton Library)
MS Eng 265
Robert Southey Collection, 1792-1835. [Notebook of original compositions] [Westminster, etc.], 1792. Many of the pieces were intended for publication in *The Flagellant*.

Hertfordshire Archives and Local Studies
DE/P/F483
Verses in the hand of Edward Spencer Cowper entitled ‘Thomsoniana. The Schoolmaster discharged, or the History of a Seal. A Tale. In the Style of Peter

Pindar' [n.d., late 18th c.]. Reverend Dr.Thomson was the schoolmaster in charge of Edward Spencer Cowper and his elder brothers when they were at school in Kensington.

University of Leeds (Brotherton Collection)
Lt 12
Mainly poetical miscellany or commonplace book, in two hands, one c.1728-1750, the other seemingly that of George Scott, c.1766-1779. Includes 'A translation of a copy of Latin verses, spoken by a Westminster scholar at a late election'.

Lt 33
Anthology of Latin and English verse and prose exercises composed by pupils of Salisbury Cathedral School, in a single hand, early eighteenth century.

Lt q 20
'Verses upon several occasions by several hands', 1732-41.

Lt q 51
Miscellany of autograph and some copied verse, several pieces related to Tonbridge School, in a single hand, c.1750. Compiled by George Weller.

Longleat House, Warminster, Wiltshire
PO/VOL. XIX 1700-1748
Verses, apparently collected by Margaret, Duchess of Portland, and her mother Henrietta, Countess of Oxford; arranged alphabetically according to the first lines. Among them are verses recited at Westminster School.

Manchester University, John Rylands Library
BAG/11/2/1-58
Bagshawe Family Muniments. Includes school exercises, notes and verses, [18th – 19th c.].

University of Oxford (Bodleian Library)
Dep.e.291, Notebook 1739-40, fol.79
Warton Papers. Notes and verses by Joseph Warton while he was at Winchester College.

Newberry Library
VAULT Case MS Y 155 .B221
Banks, Jonathan, *Juveniles Phantasiae, or, The Original History of all the Remarkable and Curious Adventures of Mirus Omnivagus*, [W—n, 1795?].

Norfolk Record Office
Colman MSS Collection COL/5/12
Guild-day orations of Norwich Grammar School, 1738-1747. In English and Latin verse and prose.

Staffordshire and Stoke-on-Trent Archive Service, Staffordshire Record Office
D260/M/E/429/7/3
Records of the Littleton Family of Teddesley and Hatherton, Barons Hatherton. Volume contains verses and exercises for a school child. A note at the front in the hand of the 4th Baronet gives its history.

Yale University (Beinecke Library)
Gen MSS 89
Boswell Collection. Contains James Boswell the younger's juvenilia, including drafts of plays and letters to his father regarding his literary compositions.[36]

[36] While there is an online inventory of the Boswell Collection [http://hdl.handle.net/10079/fa/beinecke.boswell], an easier and more comprehensive method of searching the collection is through the printed catalogue: M.S. Pottle, C.C. Abbott and F.A. Pottle, *Catalogue of the Papers of James Boswell at Yale University* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993).

Appendix B:
Illustrations

Figure 1: *The Rival Candidates*

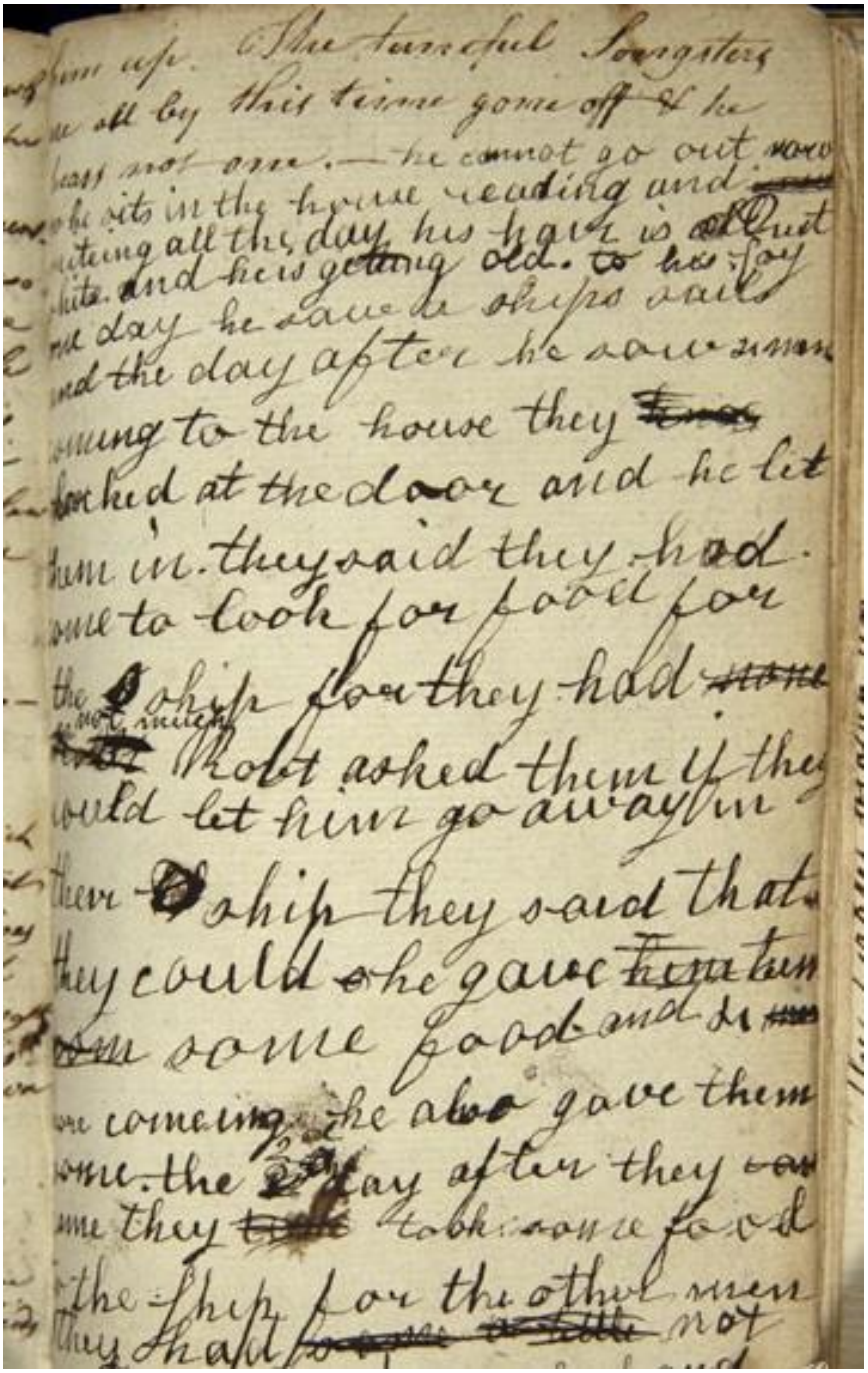
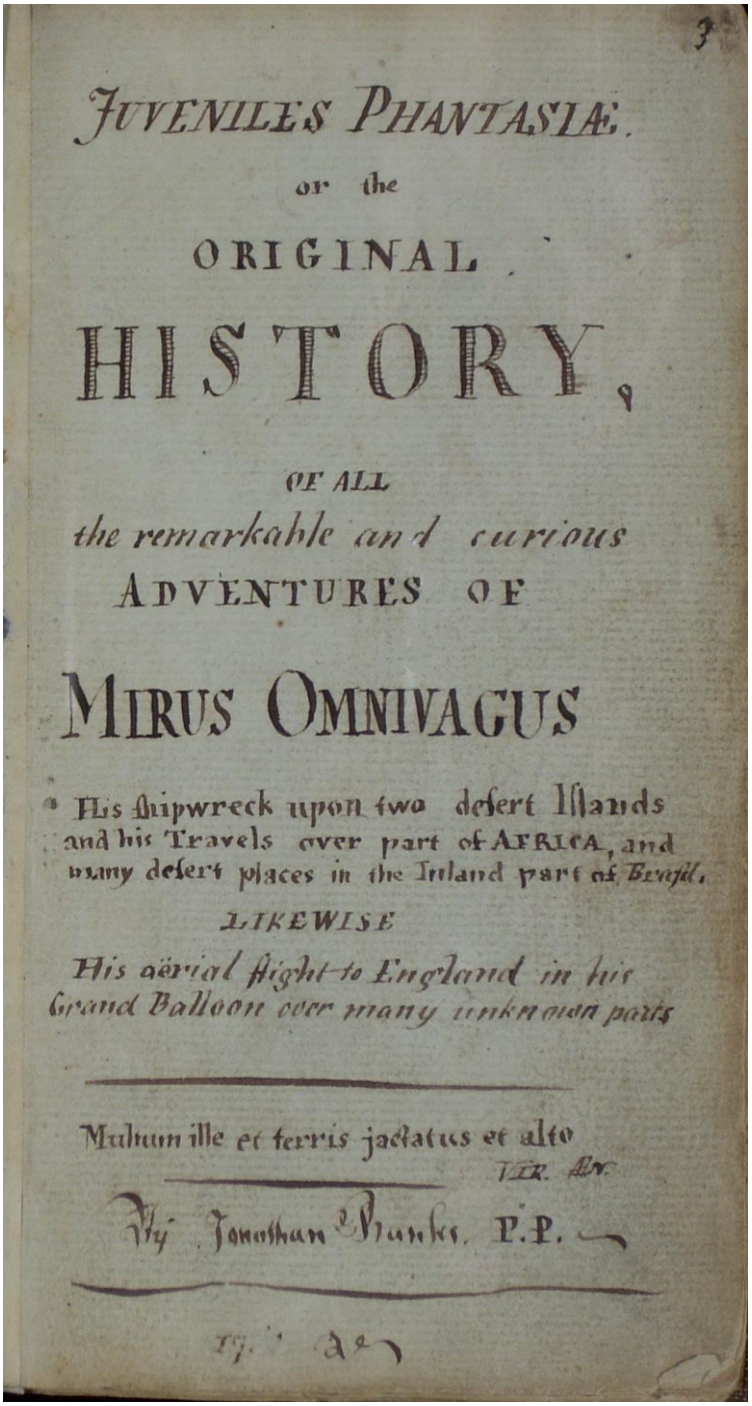


Figure 2: *A Child Annotator* Newberry Library

Figure 3: *Evidence of re-use* Newberry Library



JUVENILES PHANTASIÆ.

or the

ORIGINAL

HISTORY,

OF ALL

the remarkable and curious

ADVENTURES OF

MIRUS OMNIVAGUS

His shipwreck upon two desert Islands and his Travels over part of AFRICA, and many desert places in the Inland part of *Brasil.*

LIKEWISE

His aërial flight to England in his Grand Balloon over many unknown parts

Multum ille et terris jactatus et alto

VIR. Æn.

By Jonathan Punkes. P.P.

Figure 4: *Title Page* Newberry Library

Figure 5: *Highwaymen and Mirus* Newberry Library

Figure 6: *Mirus Captured by Cannibals* Newberry Library

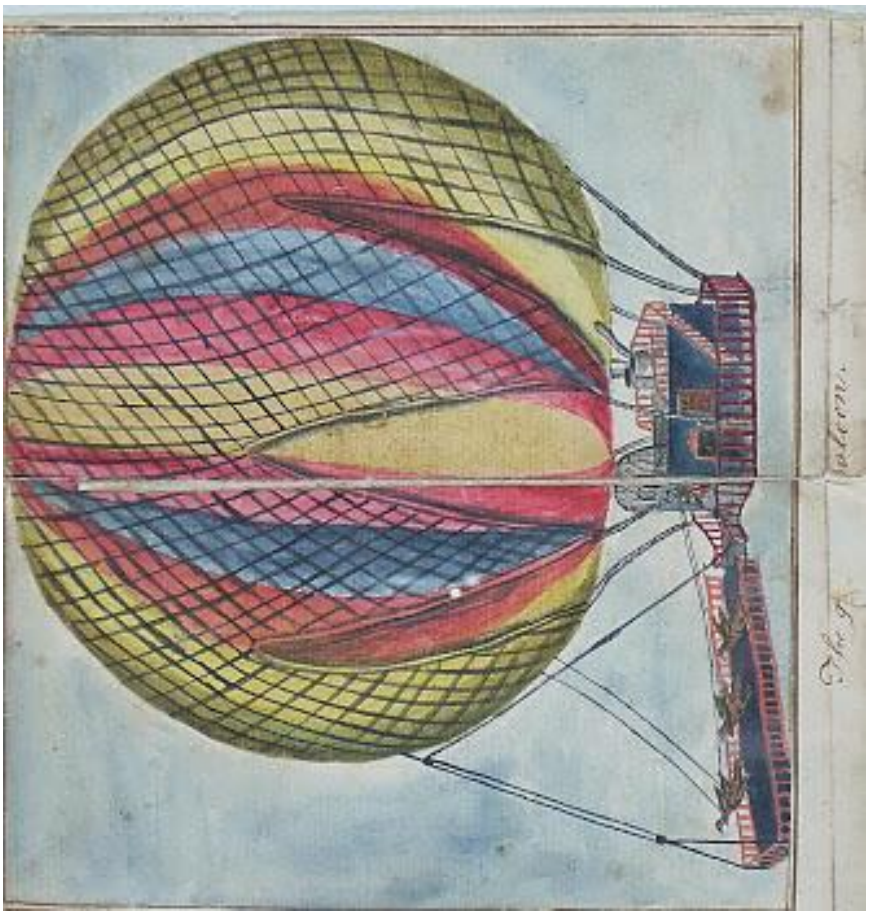


Figure 7: *The Grand Balloon* Newberry Library

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