

NOTES

INTRODUCTION

1. For the pursuit of a common women's literary tradition, see Woolf, Moers, Heilbrun, Gilbert and Gubar, Showalter, and Mellor et al. Margaret Ezell has been central in reevaluating the canon of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century women's writing by arguing for the importance of manuscript coteries (like the Steele circle), women "whose lives and works lie outside the traditional definitions or categories, both social—women's 'proper sphere'—and literary—what constitutes our definition of 'literature' itself" (*Writing* 130). For anthologies that have contributed to the creation of a "canon" c. 1750–1840, see Hill, *Eighteenth-Century Women*; Lonsdale, Fullard, Breen, Ashfield, Wu, and Robertson.
2. Related to these assumptions are the early, but persistent, claims by Virginia Woolf concerning seventeenth-century "sisters" of Shakespeare who, if they chose to write, became isolated and embattled individuals, victims of a patriarchy that opposed, discouraged, and ultimately silenced such expressions of creativity and intellect, leaving gifted women poets "so thwarted and hindered by other people, so tortured and pulled asunder by her own contrary instincts, that she must have lost her health and sanity to a certainty" (49). In a similar vein, Judy Simons cites Samuel Pepys's destruction of the diary of his wife as indicative of the threat women posed to men as writers, even their life writings (destroying their manuscript writings was equivalent to silencing women and removing them from any meaningful "history" of the family or society) (253). Such a threat, however, is rarely present in nonconformist culture and certainly absent from the Steele circle as it was for Anne Bradstreet, a near contemporary of Shakespeare's "sisters."
3. Amy Culley, building on Ezell, Krueger, Schellenberg, D'Monte and Pohl, and Behrendt, makes a similar point about "the inadequacy of this model [the isolated, solitary genius] for theorisations of women's life writing" and "the influence of familial, social, religious, and political networks on female identity and authorship" (7). For more on women's autobiography in the Romantic era,

- see Stelzig 15–97. For an authoritative discussion of the Unitarian women in the Barbauld circle, see James, *Religious Dissent*; for the poetry and prose of Barbauld, see McCarthy, *Poems*; McCarthy and Kraft, *Anna Letitia Barbauld*.
4. For instance, proceeds from Anne Steele's posthumous *Poems* (1780) were donated to the Bristol Education Society, Mary Scott's *Messiah* to the Bath Hospital, and Elizabeth Coltman's *The History of Jenny Hickling* to the work of the Religious Tract Society.
 5. *A Collection of Hymns Adapted to Public Worship* (1769) included 62 hymns by Steele; John Rippon used 47 in his widely circulated *A Selection of Hymns from the Best Authors* (1787); and a hymnal published in Boston in 1808 included 59, nearly one-third of the total number of hymns in the book. For more on Anne Steele and her hymns, see Broome, Aalders, Sheppard, and Sharpe.
 6. "Lysander" was the Presbyterian minister John Lavington (d. 1764) of Ottery St. Mary; "Lucius" was the Independent minister Philip Furneaux (1726–83) of London. Other participants and correspondents included three Particular Baptist ministers: Caleb Evans (1737–91) of Bristol ("Fidelio"), James Fanch (1704–67) of Whitchurch, and Daniel Turner of Abingdon (1710–98).
 7. Dierdre Coleman notes that such surviving autobiographical poems commemorate "important moments of domestic, familial life in the context of female friendship," creating "records of moments which perished" with diaries and other forms of informal life writings by the author no longer extant (98).
 8. Mary Poovey dismisses late eighteenth-century manuscript circulation of poems among coterie women as "an insincere effort to conform to social standards of female modesty and to avoid infringing on male turf" (38). Ezell notes that by collapsing "creativity into publication" (32), literary historians and feminists have created a women's literary history and, by default, a canon of women's writings privileging published texts divided into genres derived mostly from male writers at the expense of a coterie manuscript culture prominent among women writers like the Steele circle (44–45). For discussions about opening the canon of women's writings to include manuscript prose and poetry, life writings, and other forms of anonymous writing, see Dowd and Eckerle, "Introduction"; Labbe, "Introduction"; Levy; and Justice.

1 A NONCONFORMIST WOMEN'S LITERARY TRADITION

1. The complete poetry, prose writings, diaries, and letters of the 20 women who comprised or were in some way connected with the three generations of the Steele circle can be found in the eight volumes of *NWW*.

2. Between 1661 and 1665, the English Parliament enacted the Clarendon Code (further expanded in 1672 and 1678), which penalized nonconformists by excluding them from certain professions and public offices and from obtaining degrees at Oxford or Cambridge unless they “conformed” or “subscribed” to the doctrines and practice of the Anglican church. After 1747, several Acts of Indemnity by the government effectually absolved nonconformists of these penalties, though the restrictions entailed by the Corporation Acts remained in place. Nevertheless, the fact that these acts were technically the law of the land remained a source of contention for nonconformists throughout the eighteenth century; several attempts were made at repealing them, most notably between 1787 and 1790. The Test and Corporation Acts were officially repealed by Parliament in 1828 (Manning 217).
3. For more on this aspect of nonconformity, see Davie.
4. Derived from John Calvin’s *Institutes of the Christian Religion* (1536), the leading doctrines of Calvinism became known as the “TULIP”: total depravity (or inability) of man; unconditional election (also designated as “unmerited favour”) through grace alone, bestowed solely at God’s pleasure; limited atonement based upon Christ’s substitutionary death; irresistible grace bestowed upon the elect, in which faith is initiated by a divine act; and the perseverance of the saints, in which an individual’s election is fixed and eternal.
5. Smith continues this discussion in “Forgotten Sisters”; see also Briggs.
6. See Caldwell; Hindmarsh.
7. The social, literary, and, in some cases, business lives of the women of the Steele circle reflect Harriet Guest’s argument that arriving at notions of femininity in the eighteenth century was “usually contentious” and “evasively applicable to women or to the cultural circumstances they represent” (66). For the role of “sensibility” in eighteenth-century poetry, see Spacks 249–69.
8. See “On Reading Fordyce’s Sermons to Young Women” by Marianna (“Maria”) Attwater (*NWW* 4: 161–62).
9. Kathryn Sutherland argues that it was not until the 1790s that women writers like Mary Wollstonecraft, Hannah More, Catherine Macaulay, Mary Ann Radcliffe, and Priscilla Wakefield finally turned the focus of women’s education away from the “mere accomplishments” esteemed in the conduct books like that of Fordyce toward “a wider political debate concerning the nature and membership of the state, patriotism, and social ethics” (35, 37).
10. Reeves notes that four items from Rowe’s works were copied out by various members of the Steele circle, and Caroline Attwater Whitaker, elder sister to Jane Attwater, owned volume 3 of Rowe’s *Letters Moral and Entertaining* (1733). Reeves contends that Rowe “served as a role model for this nonconformist circle of literary writers” centered

- upon Anne and Mary Steele (19). To Backscheider, Rowe's special contribution to eighteenth-century women's poetry was "to expand the uses and kinds of religious poetry" that women would thereafter employ as viable means of both aesthetic and religious expression (122).
11. See Rowe's *Poems on Several Occasions* (1696), *Divine Hymns and Poems on Several Occasions...by Philomela and Several Other Ingenious Persons* (1704), *Friendship in Death in Twenty Letters from the Dead* (1728), *Letters Moral and Entertaining* (1728–33), and her posthumous *Miscellaneous Works in Prose and Verse* (1739). For a modern edition of Rowe's poetry, see Marshall; for critical discussions of Rowe, see Marjorie Reeves, *Pursuing the Muses* 19–25; Prescott; Stanton; and Backscheider 113–22.
 12. Dutton shared another connection with the Steele circle. Her admiration for Steele's *Poems on Subjects Chiefly Devotional* was such that after her death (though the exact specifics are unknown) her Bible came into the possession of Anne Steele. Steele eventually bequeathed the Bible to the Broughton Baptist Church; today it resides in the Broughton Collection at the Angus Library, Regent's Park College, Oxford.
 13. See "A Letter to Such of the Servants of Christ, who have any Scruple about the Lawfulness of Printing any Thing written by a Woman," attached to Dutton's *A Brief Account*.
 14. De Fleury gained considerable notoriety among London Calvinists during her pamphlet war with the famed antinomian preacher, William Huntington, between 1787 and 1792. An ardent anti-Catholic and supporter of Lord Gordon's Protestant Association, de Fleury was also sympathetic to the French Revolution, as evidenced in *British Liberty Established, and Gallic Liberty Restored; or, The Triumph of Freedom. A Poem. Occasioned by the Grand Revolution in France, M, DCC, LXXXIX* (1790). De Fleury died at the age of 40 on October 2, 1792, and was buried in the nonconformist burial ground at Bunhill Fields, London. Among her literary friends and patrons was John Collett Ryland, at that time living at Enfield, where he conducted a school for boys that would eventually enroll the poet John Keats. Ryland's former tutor at Northampton, George Dyer, may have met de Fleury during a visit to London c. 1790–91, for she appears to be the "Maria" in his ode "On Liberty," composed late in 1792 about the time of her death. In a discussion of women writers that includes Wollstonecraft, Barbauld, Helen Maria Williams, and Charlotte Smith, Dyer writes: "Or dost thou, near Maria's early tomb, / Clad like the muse of sorrow, drop a tear. / Oh! I will kiss that sacred drop, and roam / To strew the cypress on Maria's bier" (37). Dyer's footnote reads: "A young lady of genius, who died while the author was writing some part of this ode." For more on de Fleury, see Whelan, "For the Hand."

15. Keach was the first Particular Baptist minister to introduce congregational hymn singing as a part of public worship, influenced by his publication of *Spiritual Melody* (1691), a collection of some three hundred hymns. Knollys, on the other hand, wanted hymn singing restricted to a solo song leader.
16. For the writings of a select group of seventeenth-century prophetesses, including Trapnel and Sutton, see Freeman; Mack, *Visionary Women*; for Quaker women in the eighteenth century, see Mack, "In a Female Voice"; for Methodist women preachers, see Chilcote, Culley, and Krueger; for a broader study of women preachers and prophetesses throughout history, see Kienzie, Mayne, and Walker. Anne Mellor argues that the legacy of the seventeenth-century tradition of woman preachers and prophets had established by 1780 "both a social practice and a literary precedent for a woman to speak publicly on both religious and political issues" ("Female Poet" 82–83), a phenomenon to which the contributions of nonconformist women like Anne Dutton, Maria de Fleury, and the Steele circle deserve greater recognition.
17. Barbara Lewalski makes a similar point about seventeenth-century nonconformists, noting that they "shared a broad Protestant consensus in regard to doctrine and the spiritual life, grounded upon belief in the absolute priority and centrality of scripture" (ix).
18. For more on nonconformity and hymn writing, see Rivers and Wykes; on the eighteenth-century hymn, see Watson, *English Hymn* 191–98; Davie, *Eighteenth-Century Hymn*; Marshall and Todd; and Arnold, *English Hymn*; on eighteenth-century English women hymn writers, see Maison.
19. The advertisement is attached to the end of Lee's *Songs for the Year 1795* (London, 1795).
20. Anne Cator Steele writes in her diary on November 17, 1730: "I sat up late to read a relation of some Experiences & great deliverances of one Agnes Beaumont that lived in Bunians time, by which I was affected" (*NWW* 8: 49). Two manuscript versions of the *Narrative* reside now in the British Library. One version, titled "The Wonderful Dealings of God with Mrs. Agnes Beaumont [*sic*] written by her self" (Egerton 2128), was once in the possession of a Mrs. Kenrick of Hampshire, the same county in which Steele lived and may well be the copy she read that night in 1730. Beaumont's *Narrative* did not appear in print until 1760, when Samuel James, Baptist minister at Hitchin and someone known to the Steeles, included a portion of it in his important collection of spiritual autobiographies (mostly by women), *An Abstract of the Gracious Dealings of God*. For modern editions of Beaumont's *Narrative*, see Harrison; Camden; and Barros and Smith 81–93.
21. For more on the role of literary culture among nonconformists in Great Britain, 1650–1850, see Whelan, "Nonconformity and Culture."
22. Stauffer argues, "The diary makes no attempt to see life steadily and see it whole. It is focussed on the immediate present, and finds that

- the happenings of twenty-four hours are sufficient unto the day” (55), an assertion that ignores both the reflective and introspective nature of nonconformist diaries.
23. William Matthews’s comment in 1955 that, apart from religious diaries and a few other exceptions, “diaries are mostly written without reference to other diaries and without influence from them, and so the form has no history except in the most general sense” (ix) seems, like Stauffer’s assessment, far removed from the practices of the Steele circle.
 24. Instead of fragmentation and chaos, Margo Culley sees selection and arrangement of detail in women’s daily diaries, arising “from the urge [by women] to give shape and meaning to life with words, and to endow this meaning-making with a permanence that transcends time” (xi). Penelope Franklin goes even further, suggesting we should replace “fragmented” with “realistic, self-contained, patient, assertive, serious, individual, liberating, constant, accessible, flexible, proud, limited only by one’s imagination” (xxiv).
 25. Similarly, the emphasis placed upon an artificial “text” by the new historicists and poststructuralists, in which the text reveals at best a *constructed* self (but whether the “self” is the author’s construct or the reader’s is not easily ascertained), adds little to an accurate *contextual* reading of eighteenth- or nineteenth-century nonconformist women’s autobiographies. Barros and Smith find some middle ground by defining autobiographical discourse as “the textual account of an actual someone in an actual time and place persuading some situated others of one’s view of what happened” (21), insisting that autobiographical discourse cannot be entirely removed from material culture. They argue that the reader “must identify the writer’s intended audience and place the ‘someone told’ within the contemporary cultural situation to make sense of the life-writing” (25).
 26. Cf. I Samuel 7:12; Revelation 2:17; also the Baptist hymn, “I my Ebenezer raise,” by the Baptist minister John Fawcett (1740–1817).
 27. For more on women and politics in the Romantic period, see Mellor, *Mothers of the Nation*; and Keane. On women and the abolition movement, see Midgley; also Clapp and Jeffrey.
 28. See Richard Polwhele’s poem, *The Unsex’d Females, a Poem* (1798), and Hannah More’s *Strictures on the Modern System of Female Education* (1799), in which she argues that a young woman “should be carefully instructed that her talents are only a means to a still higher attainment, and that she is not to rest in them as an end; that merely to exercise them as instruments for the acquisition of fame and the promoting of pleasure, is subversive of her delicacy as a woman, and contrary to the spirit of a Christian” (2: 11).

2 MARY STEELE (1753–1813) AND THE CALL TO POETRY

1. Anne Steele's hymns first appeared in *Poems on Subjects Chiefly Devotional*, 2 vols. (1760). These volumes were reprinted in 1780 in Bristol, edited by Caleb Evans, who added a third volume, *Miscellaneous Pieces, in Verse and Prose, by Theodosia*, which contained previously unpublished works by Steele. For Anne Steele's complete poetry, prose, and correspondence, including her remaining unpublished poems and meditations, see *NWW*, vols. 1–2, ed. Julia Griffin.
2. For the epitaph on Anne Steele, see "Sepulchral Inscriptions" 321. Holland also gleaned information on Anne Steele from a brief memoir by Caleb Evans inserted at the beginning of *Miscellaneous Pieces*. Other accounts of Anne Steele (not always reliable) include Sheppard iii–xiv; Miller 213; Hatfield 570–72; Ivimey 4: 312; Burrage 46; Duffield 7; Pittman 66–72; Smith, *Songs* 8–13; and Benson 214. Better discussions can be found in Bailey 71; Bonner 261–62; Sale 48–51; Watson 191–98; Watson and Cho; Arnold; James, *In Trouble and in Joy*; and Maisson. The best biographical study is Broome; for a critical discussion of her hymns, see Aalders; see also *NWW* 1: 1–29.
3. For Anne Cator Steele's poetry, c. 1717–23, and selections from her diary, see *NWW* 8: 15–74.
4. See *Essays* 1; *Account* 20, 24, 26. Thomas Steadman writes about the work of the Steeles in promoting the Baptist cause in the West Country during the eighteenth century: "For nearly a century the family of the Steeles ranked high among the friends and supporters of the interests of religion in that part of the country, and of the Baptist interest in particular, to which they manifested a uniform and undeviating attachment. Those of the family who preached, not only gave their labours, but were the principal contributors on all occasions when money was called for, as well as generous givers to all in the neighbourhood or from a distance, who came to solicit pecuniary aid. The places of worship were provided and fitted up principally at their expense. These were not splendid edifices, it is true, but convenient, and adapted to the simplicity of the times, and of the persons who occupied them" (46).
5. The Goddards, a Baptist family, were originally from Bristol. Martha Goddard had been living for some time in Pershore with her sister, who was married to the Rev. John Ash (1724–79), the local Baptist minister and friend of Caleb Evans of Bristol, the latter having been intimate with the Goddards and the Steeles since the late 1760s.
6. William Steele wrote to his new wife on April 25, 1768: "I communicated our Union to my Father & Sister who cordially join'd to felicitate me on the Occasion, but my poor dear Girl on my acquainting her with it burst into a flood of tears & was forc'd to retire, she has

too much Sensibility, but I am satisfied that the tender & affectionate friendship she will find from her new relation will in a little time conciliate her Mind to it, & if I am not greatly mistaken, totally win her heart.” By the time he was ready to add his postscript, Mary had become more reconciled to the union, thanks to some encouragement by her aunt. William Steele adds, “Polly has been talking with her Aunt on y^c subject, seems quite cheerful, & talks of a Bridecake & Favors when you come” (NWW 3: 27, n. 32).

7. Mrs. King was the sister of Dr. William King (1701–69), Independent minister at Hare Court, Aldersgate, London, 1740–69.
8. In July 1776, Russell Scott, Mary Scott’s younger brother, informed John Taylor of Daventry Academy that his sister’s friend had opened a boarding school for girls and had asked Mary “to draw up a Little plan on Education for her use, which she has done; her Health being in so indifferent a state that she could not write without great pain, she desir’d me to transcribe it for her, which I have accordingly done” (NWW 4: 260). Most likely the school was operated by her friend Molly Winsor. On November 9, 1775, William Steele informed Mary Steele that her younger half-sister, Anne, at that time staying at Yeovil, “is very fond of going to School to M Winsor, has been there every day & got a Copy book & begun to make Letters” (NWW 3: 269). Mary Scott may have contemplated opening her own school at some point, but her persistent poor health after 1770 and the needs of her widowed mother after 1774 precluded any such attempt.
9. Palmer was educated at Daventry Academy (1758–62) under Dr. Caleb Ashworth, Anne Steele’s correspondent and admirer. In 1767, after a stint as William Langford’s assistant at the Independent meeting at the Weigh-House, London, Palmer commenced his ministry at Mare Street (the church later moved to St. Thomas’s Square, Hackney), remaining there until his death. Among Palmer’s publications were *The Protestant Dissenters’ Catechism* (1772) and the extremely popular *The Nonconformist’s Memorial*, 2 vols. (1775–78).
10. For Jane Attwater’s poetry, see NWW 4: 200–13; for her correspondence and prose discourses, see NWW 8: 105–202; for selections from her diary, see NWW 8: 203–306.
11. See Caleb Evans, *A Letter to the Rev. Mr. John Wesley, occasioned by his Calm Address to the American Colonies* (1775), *British Constitutional Liberty. A Sermon, preached in Broad-mead, Bristol, November 5, 1775* (1775), and *The Remembrance of Former Days* (1778); Robert Hall, *Christianity Consistent with a Love of Freedom* (1791) and *An Apology for the Freedom of the Press* (London, 1793). For a discerning assessment of Evans’s politics and subsequent influence among Particular Baptists c. 1770–90, see Hayden, “Caleb Evans”; Hayden, *Continuity and Change* 136–41. For Steele’s comments on the war with France and her criticism of Robert Hall’s political “apostasy” in 1803, see NWW 3: 354, 359–61; Whelan, “West Country” 49–51.

12. For more on the politics of the women of the Steele circle, see Whelan, "West Country."
13. Gillian Russell and Clara Tuite, in their introductory essay to *Romantic Sociability* (2002), expose the weakness of Jürgen Habermas's presentation of "public space" in terms of print culture and male activities, suggesting that in the last quarter of the eighteenth century an ideal of "sociability" emerged that crossed all gender lines, an ideal emphasizing "collective activity" over the efforts of the "solitary self" (4).
14. Lucy Kent (1746–1806) was the daughter of Josiah Kent, an overseer for William Steele's farms at Broughton. Lucy Kent moved into Broughton House in the late 1760s and remained there as Mary Steele's companion until her death. Steele addressed several poems to her, including a tribute poem after her death (*NWW* 3: 58–59, 77, 93, 109, 154, 160).
15. *Reminiscences*, 1810, vol. 2, f. 18.
16. Maria Saffery visited Broughton in September of 1810 and 1811, the latter visit occurring just prior to Thomas Dunscombe's death (*NWW* 3: 332; 6: 297, 317).
17. After Mary Steele's death, Anne Tomkins became the primary owner of the Steele estates in Broughton and elsewhere. After some extensive refurbishment, she and her family moved into Broughton House in 1815. After the death of her son William in 1855, the house was sold but eventually repurchased in 1898 by his son, William Steele Tomkins II, who remained there until his death at the age of 93 in 1930 (Broome 241–42).
18. The inscription on Steele's gravestone read: "Mary, relict of Rev. Tho. Dunscombe and eldest daughter of William Steele D. November 14 1813 age 60."
19. Steele's English sonnets rhyme *abab cdcd efef gg*; her other sonnets use either six rhymes (*abba accd efedf* or *abba cddc eedffil*) or seven rhymes (*abba cddc effegg* or *abba accd efefgg*).
20. Steele's most common structural device is the quatrain, which she uses in 60 poems, all rhyming *abab*. Thirty poems are composed in rhyming couplets, and 18 in blank verse, a metrical pattern Steele generally reserved for elevated subjects.
21. A copy of the only surviving portion of Mary Wakeford's diary can be found in STE 11/1/ii, Angus Library, Oxford.
22. "To M. S." and "To M. S. with some Flowers Early in the Spring" (*NWW* 2: 95, 96, 98). This same spiritual emphasis is evident in the only surviving letter from Anne Steele to Mary Steele, attached to a letter by Anne Steele to William Steele IV, January 5, 1763, in which Anne reminds her niece to "devote your blooming Days to [God's] Service" (*NWW* 2: 322).
23. A note attached to a copy of *Danebury* in STE 14/2, Angus Library, Oxford (possibly written by Mary Steele Tomkins), states that

- Danebury* “was written by M^{rs} Dunscombe at the age of 15,” which would have been 1768. Another manuscript version of the poem in STE 5/5/ii, residing in a set of poems by Mary Steele dated “1768,” validates that claim.
24. Wakeford’s surviving poetry (21 poems), though only a fraction of the poetic output of her sister and niece, is easily distinguishable from their poetry, though undeserving of Wakeford’s frequent self-deprecating appraisals. Wakeford began writing poetry at an early age, and by the 1740s was sparring with her sister in poetic dialogues and composing her own hymns. Wakeford’s only publication was a hymn that appeared in *A Collection of Hymns* (223), edited by her friends Caleb Evans and John Ash; the rest of her surviving poems, composed in 1748–49 just prior to her marriage to Joseph Wakeford of Andover, remained in manuscript. Wakeford composed a third poem in 1769, this one addressed to her sister Anne, in which, with considerable wit and affected modesty, she compares her poetry to that of the famed Theodosia. For Wakeford’s biography and complete poetry, see *NWW* 4: 117–50; for her dialogues with Anne Steele and others, see *NWW* 2: 186–201.
 25. Apparently, Mary Scott also had a copy of the poem, though Herbert McLachlan incorrectly attributes the poem to Scott and misidentifies “*Sylvia*” as Anne Steele (76–77).
 26. Fordyce was well aware that the typical boarding school education of young girls was not conducive to producing even the kind of marginally intelligent marriage partner he desired. “And what do they mostly learn there?” he asks “I say, mostly; for there are exceptions, and such as do the mistress real honour. Need I mention that, making allowance for those exceptions, they learn principally to dress, to dance, to speak bad French, to prattle much nonsense, to practise I know not how many pert conceited airs, and in consequence of all, to conclude themselves Accomplished Women!” (*Sermons* 1: 25).
 27. Despite Wakeford’s veiled critique of Fordyce in these two poems, he was widely read by the women of the second generation of the Steele circle. In 1768 Marianna Attwater addressed her first extant poem to Fordyce. “On Reading Fordyce’s Sermons to Young Women” praises the preacher for teaching young ladies to be “studious” and to achieve a “Virtuous Name,” a name that will last long after physical charms have “decay’d.” Fordyce was like a “Guardian Angel” to young women, pointing them, through the aid of religion, to “the safe, the flowery path to Heaven” (*NWW* 4: 161–62).
 28. A portion of the manuscript is missing; the beginning letter of the missing phrase appears to be a “g,” possibly “good for you.”
 29. Steele directed a seventh poem to Scott, “To the Memory of the Amiable Miss Williams, who dyed of the Smallpox, September 14, 1772, addressed to a Friend” (*NWW* 3: 81–83), though the subject

- of the poem is primarily the friendship Steele and Scott shared with Williams, and thus is not a proper friendship poem to Scott.
30. "Danebury Hill" was used as part of the original title of Steele's 1768 manuscript copy (STE 5/5/ii, Angus Library) as well as William Steele's fair copy (STE 5/7) that he carried with him to London and Bristol in 1777. When and by whom the title was shortened to "Danebury" is not known. On top of Danebury Hill is an Iron Age fort, much of which has now been excavated and restored. The outer defenses were reconstructed sometime in the fifth century, during a revival of Celtic culture in the region. Though battles were probably fought at Danebury (the name is a mixture of Celtic and Saxon, meaning "a fortified place") and nearby sites during the Danish occupation, Steele's poem is not based on any known historical event. See Cooke 40.
 31. The same year Mary Steele completed *Danebury* her father remarried, an act she initially resented, but whether it led to *Danebury* remaining unpublished for the next 11 years is unclear.
 32. See Mary Steele's note to Attwater (Attwater Papers, acc. 76, II.A.5, Angus Library, Oxford) (NWW 3: 390, n. 2) where she attributes to her friend the inspiration for the character of Emma in *Danebury*.
 33. William St. Clair contends that during the late eighteenth century "most authors were obliged to operate within a commercial system in which they, their advisers and their publishers attempted to judge what the market wanted and how best to supply it" (161), a system Dilly was not willing to override in this instance.
 34. During the time that Mary Froud lived and worked at the Mores's school in Bristol, Steele and her family visited her and the Mores on several occasions. Mary Steele corresponded with Hannah More and her sister, Martha, c. 1784–86 (NWW 3: 284–86, 305–6), and in 1786 Hannah More journeyed to Broughton House, returning the favor of Mary Steele's visit to Park Street the previous year. While at Broughton, More and Steele climbed nearby Danebury Hill, prompting More to compose the following poem as a memorial of her visit:

Sylvia, forgive thy daring Friend,
 And do not take it ill
 That her presuming hand has plucked
 A wreath from *Danebury Hill*.
 Yet tho' I much admire the gifts
 Thy genius can impart,
 Far rather, Sylvia, would I steal
 One virtue from thy Heart!
 And who, fair Sylvia, do you think
 Could blame the moral theft?
One virtue you could scarcely miss,
 You'd have so many left.

*the Author gathered a branch of juniper on Danebury Hill
 w^{ch} she presented to my amiable Friend with y^e above lines
 (NWW 3: 169)

35. *Danebury* was reviewed in the *Critical Review* 57 (May 1779), 90–91, and the *Monthly Review* 61 (July 1779), 43–44. A copy of *Danebury* belonging to the collections of the Mills Memorial Library, McMaster University, Hamilton, Ontario, provides further evidence for dating the poem as well as a striking example (like Sarah Froud’s copy of *The Female Advocate* or Jane Attwater’s copy of Elizabeth Coltman’s *Plain Tales* and *The Warning* discussed in chapters 4 and 6) of scribal annotations affixed to anonymous publications by members of a women’s manuscript coterie, providing librarians and archivists with a means of proper identification. The McMaster copy bears an inscription on the title page (see image in this chapter) identifying the author as “Miss Steel Hampshire” with a second inscription (“Mary Steele”) at the end of the dedicatory epistle on the following page, with an attached note, “*Broughton* Hampshire 1779 anciently stiled *Brige*.” The hand is not that of Mary Steele, but the copy appears to have been purchased in 1779 and inscribed by someone acquainted with Steele and her literary activities.
36. The creative and social process involved in the composition, editing, transcribing, public readings, and eventual publication of *Danebury* offers fertile ground for Ezell’s call for “a history of authorship that is concerned with the author’s, not the printer’s or bookseller’s, experience of writing in the material conditions of the times,” in which the “relationship between the writer and his or her reader” is not governed solely “by commercial exchange or professional advancement” (*Social Authorship* 12). Coterie authors (like Mary Steele) “controlled the production and circulation of the text and...used [their] writings to cohere social bonds among like-minded readers” (*Social Authorship* 42).
37. For William Steele’s copy, see STE 5/7; for Mary Steele’s fair copy, see STE 5/5/ii, Angus Library, Oxford.
38. Russell and Tuite argue that the parlor became a clear rival to the coffee house in the last quarter of the eighteenth century, a mostly feminine space competing with an almost exclusively male space. “The reconfiguration of the public entailed in the move from the tavern room to the drawing-room,” they assert, “inevitably entailed a reconfiguration of the gender and class dimensions of that public.” In this regard, the “active presence of women as writers and participators” exerted considerable pressure upon the “masculine and homosocial coffee-house model of Romantic literary sociability” (18).

3 MARY STEELE AS WEST COUNTRY WOMAN-POET

1. See also Sitter 83.
2. For Marianna Atwater's biography and poetry, see *NWW* 4: 151–90.
3. Ten years later Steele would return to this same theme in “On a Gentleman saying ‘All Women were Vermin,’ 1783” (*NWW* 3: 128), in which she complains about an unidentified “Swain” who had been chosen a “favorite” (15) of the Muses. Though they granted him “The Effulgence of Genius” (15), “The lightning of Wit, and the polish of Taste” (16), he remains oblivious to their entreaties to exercise his gifts, explaining his coldness and lack of interest by claiming that even the Muses deserve his rejection, for “All women are Vermin” (24). The Swain joins Steele's earlier creations, the “*Lordly Man*” and “*Mirth's mad Vot'rys*” as male types rejected by the “rustic maid.”
4. Born in Dorset, Ash (1724–79) was baptized in the Baptist church at Loughwood and admitted to Bristol Academy in June 1748. In 1751 he was ordained as pastor of the Baptist church at Pershore, where he would remain until his death in 1779. Ash married Elizabeth Goddard, whose sister, Martha, married William Steele in 1768. Ash authored a number of circular letters for the Midland Association of Baptist Churches and was a close friend of Caleb Evans of Bristol, co-editing with Evans the earliest hymnal for use primarily in Baptist churches, *A Collection of Hymns Adapted to Public Worship* (1769), which included numerous hymns by Anne Steele and one by Mary Wakeford. He was also a grammarian of some note, publishing *The Easiest Introduction to Dr. Lowth's English Grammar* in 1760 and *Grammatical Institutes* in 1766. Mary Steele addressed a poem to John Ash in 1777 (*NWW* 3: 107), commemorating his publication of *Sentiments on Education*, which contained an essay on “Female Accomplishments.” For more on Ash, see Taylor; Navest.
5. Angelica Kauffman (1741–1807) was a popular “history painter” and portrait artist in London, c. 1766–81. She became a member of the Royal Academy of the Arts in 1768.
6. After their marriage in December 1791, Joseph and Anne Steele Tomkins lived at Caldecott and Oakley, two large estate homes, in Abingdon. Joseph Tomkins was a banker, but he indulged in other investments and speculations in the early 1800s, one of which forced the family to move to Malpas, Wales, in 1805. They left there in early 1808 for Bath, where they lived for the next two years before moving to Southampton. After Mary Steele's death in 1813, the Tomkinses assumed ownership of Broughton House (after much refurbishment) as well as most of the Steele properties around Broughton. Martha Steele (1770–1834), Mary Steele's youngest half-sister, never married, living most of her adult life with (or very near) her sister Anne.

7. For Steele's letter of admission to the church, a rare document among eighteenth-century nonconformist church records, see *NWW* 3: 196–200.
8. John Froud may have been the "Philario" of Mary Steele's "Sonnet, 1771."
9. For more on the Frouds, see Broome 121; Reeves, *Pursuing the Muses*, 3–10; Whelan, "Mary Scott, Sarah Froud" 443–44. The death dates of Sarah and Mary Froud are not known, but Mary was still alive in 1823. In a letter to William Wilberforce on September 2, 1823, Hannah More comments on a recent publication by her old Bristol friend, Joseph Cottle, concerning a Plymouth Antinomian minister named Hawker. More writes that "My friend Miss Froud who spent a year with the Exmouths of Plymouth saw and heard him often, and confirms all that Cottle has said. She heard him say that the Bishop of Gloucester was 'an enemy to the Cross of Christ,' and another deeply serious minister, was a 'work monger.' He has one of the largest Congregations in the Kingdom" (William Wilberforce Letters, David M. Rubenstein Rare Book & Manuscript Library, Duke University).
10. The poetic context implies a social freedom, but the political context of 1778 cannot be ignored, given that Mary Steele, Mary Scott, and Jane Attwater were avid supporters of the American colonies. See Whelan, "West Country" 45–46.
11. Wollstonecraft argued in *A Vindication of the Rights of Woman* (1792), "The *divine right* of husbands, like the divine rights of kings, may, it is to be hoped, in this enlightened age, be contested without danger" (83). Compare Mary Hays's comment in a letter to William Godwin, October 13, 1795, about finding "satisfaction in the idea of *being free*" shortly after she chose to pay for her own quarters in a house in Kirby Street, near Hatton Garden (not far from Godwin's residence) rather than join her mother and sister in their new residence in Peckham (Brooks, *Correspondence* 403).
12. As Olwen Hufton has noted, in the eighteenth century, living alone was never considered ideal, either for men or women (361). Single women often lived with male relations or with other women, but it was not uncommon for a single woman and single man (usually a widow and widower, but sometimes merely an older woman and a younger man) to live together in the same house. In some cases, widows took in male boarders in their home for financial reasons, and in other cases, they moved in with single men (often widowers) generally assisting them in managing the domestic concerns of the house in exchange for secure boarding privileges. Despite the social and economic obstacles single women faced at this time, Bridget Hill contends that "many managed to be far more than mere passive victims and by sheer persistence made a life for themselves that gave them at least a degree of self-fulfilment and even a measure of

- independence.” For certain, she concludes, “spinster-hood produced many quite exceptional women” (*Women Alone* 125).
13. For more on women coteries, manuscripts, and imagined communities, see Huff 1–16.
 14. Between 1803 and 1805 Mary Steele Tomkins attended a boarding school in south London operated by Sarah Norton Biggs (1768–1834), a friend of Mary Steele (the Nortons were originally from Bristol) and the niece of Thomas Mullett, Steele’s friend and executor, brother-in-law of Caleb Evans and later a close friend of the diarist Henry Crabb Robinson. Mary Steele Tomkins joined the Broughton Baptist Church in 1819 and remained a devoted Baptist the remainder of her life. She married Charles Carpenter Bompas (1791–1844) of Bristol in December 1822 (she was 29); he would later become a prominent solicitor on the Western Circuit, eventually settling in London near Regent’s Park and was the original of Charles Dicken’s “Serjeant Buzfuz” in *Pickwick Papers*. Mary Bompas maintained much of the Steele Collection before passing it on to her daughter, Selina Bompas (1830–1921). For Mary Steele Tomkins’s correspondence with Mary Steele, as well as Steele’s poems to her favorite niece, see *NWW* 3: 163, 352–53, 355–56, 362, 364–65, 368–70, 375–76.
 15. Only one poem by Mary Steele Tomkins has survived in the Steele Collection at the Angus Library, Oxford. “The Noises of Bath” (*NWW* 4: 235–37), composed when she was 13, revealed some promising signs to her mother and her aunt, enough to warrant a note added to the manuscript of the 100-line narrative poem that reads, “This is a poetical fiction as the Child was remarkably quiet but Poet’s must occasionally take a license” (*NWW* 4: 235).

4 MARY SCOTT (1751–93)

1. Archibald transcribed these letters from Seward’s own Letter Books (a microfiche copy can be found in the British Library, RP 4112), omitting a tenth letter to Scott, dated May 18, 1788. For complete transcriptions of Seward’s unedited letters to Scott and Hayley, see *NWW* 4: 280–89, 290–92, 293–301, 302–5.
2. For biographical assessments of Scott that have relied on Seward’s letters, see Holladay iv; Lonsdale 370–71; Blain et al. 959; Todd, *British Women Writers* 596–97; Todd, *Dictionary* 279–80; Sage 562; and Mullan.
3. Previous to Holladay, Herbert McLachlan attributed the dedication of the *Female Advocate* to Anna Letitia Aikin (Barbauld), not Mary or Anne Steele (79).
4. Reeves incorporated into her book materials from the Steele Collection, the same materials Ferguson had previously seen in Yorkshire later

- deposited to the Angus Library, Oxford, along with her own collection of manuscripts (now known as the Reeves Collection), which she eventually split into two deposits, one to the Angus Library, Oxford, and the other to the Bodleian Library, Oxford.
5. "Memorial to Jonas Hanway, Philanthropist" (*NWW* 4: 70–71) first appeared anonymously, with slight variations in spelling and punctuation and a few substantive changes, in the *Gentleman's Magazine* 61 (February 1787): 104. Of the two texts, the version in "Memoir," since it is based on Scott's manuscript, is the better copy-text.
 6. Only 50 copies of this rare volume were printed, primarily for family members. Isabella Scott was the chief author, with Catherine Scott assisting with the manuscripts. For copies of all letters pertaining to Mary Scott, see *NWW* 3: 336–37, 340, 382–83; 4: 259–79, 289–90, 293, 302, 306–9. Only a small portion of the material once owned by the Scott sisters has survived, belonging now to a private collection in London.
 7. McLachlan was associated with the Unitarian College at Manchester for nearly 40 years; he is best known as the author of *English Education under the Test Acts* (1931) and *The Unitarian Movement in the Religious Life of England* (1934).
 8. See also Russell and Tuite; Mee.
 9. Confusion over Scott's identity as a poet, however, involves more than just the poetry of the Steele circle. In a later edition of Colman and Thornton's *Poems by the Most Eminent Ladies of Great Britain and Ireland* (2 vols., London [c. 1785]), two poems, "Dunnotter Castle" and "Verses, On a Day of Prayer, for Success in War" (2: 171–77), appeared under the designation "Miss Scott." Gae Holladay attributed both poems to Mary Scott, arguing that their "content and versification" link them to her (x, n. 2), an assertion repeated in Lonsdale (320) and the entry on Scott in the *ODNB*. Neither poem, however, is by Mary Scott. "Dunnotter Castle" first appeared in *Lessons in Reading: or, Miscellaneous Pieces in Prose and Verse, Selected from the best English Authors* (1780) (208–11), attributed to a "Miss Scott of Benholm," Scotland; the poem (with substantive changes) also appeared in the first volume of the *Lady's Poetical Magazine; or, Beauties of British Poetry* in 1781 (1: 200–3). "On a Day of Prayer for Success in War" (*NWW* 2: 79–80) is actually by Mary Scott's mentor, Anne Steele, having appeared in her posthumous *Miscellaneous Pieces, in Verse and Prose* (1780).
 10. The Scotts also included a copy of the church covenant for the Old Meeting, which opens with a statement on the Trinity (455–56).
 11. In this context, "Unitarianism" (Socinianism) is distinguished from "Arianism," even though the latter is itself a form of Unitarian belief. Arians rejected the traditional view of the Trinity, but still held that Christ, though a subordinate messenger from God, was nevertheless pre-existent and divine; Socinians stressed the essential

humanity of Christ in which his life and death served as an example for all Christians to emulate, rejecting not only the traditional view of the Trinity but also the Atonement, advocating instead a universal redemption. Arianism was considered more congenial to trinitarianism; many congregations that generally adhered to orthodox Calvinism (Particular Baptists and Independents) often had members who were Arians.

12. The phrase is taken from Newlyn's important study, *Reading, Writing, and Romanticism: The Anxiety of Reception* (2000). Schellenberg makes a point illustrative of Scott's situation and creation and publication of *The Female Advocate*: "It is only when we are prepared to let go of gender as our fundamental interpretive category, it is only when we self-consciously rethink the frameworks through which we currently see and do not see mid-eighteenth-century women writers, it is only as we begin to consider women writers and their texts as the participants in literary and publishing networks that they were, that we will be freed of the constraining picture of their working in the shadow of the dominant male writers of their day, condemned to having their literary aspirations shipwrecked on the rocks either of modest acquiescence or of marginalized transgression" (182).
13. For the complete text with notes, see *NWW* 4: 27–46. Two copies of the 1774 edition can be found in the Steele Collection, Angus Library, Oxford, one in STE 14/2 (a volume signed "Mary Steele Tomkins 1816") and one in STE 14/3, each with a few emendations by William Steele.
14. Though she duplicated only two of Duncombe's women, Scott maintained his exclusion of a group of women deemed by many as morally suspect: Aphra Behn, Susanna Centlivre, Delarivière Manley, Theresa Constantia Phillips, Frances Hawes, Lady Vane, and Laetitia Pilkington.
15. Dr. Richard Pulteney (1730–1801), "a well known physician who lives at Blandford," Sarah "Sarissa" Froud wrote on her copy of *The Female Advocate*, providing the only known identification of the recipient of Scott's lines at the end of her poem. Froud's copy now belongs to the Huntington Library. Holladay (iii–xii, especially iv) misread two of Froud's annotations, believing the "Miss Steele" of the dedicatory epistle to be Anne Steele instead of Mary Steele, and "Philander" to be William Steele III (1685–1769), Anne's father. Pulteney, an apothecary in Leicester during the 1750s and 1760s, came to Blandford in 1765 where he gained fame as a botanist. He married Elizabeth Galton in 1779 and in 1782 published *A General View of the Writings of Linnaeus*, which further enhanced his reputation. He was elected a member of the Linnean Society in 1790. The connection between Mary Scott and Pulteney is not known (he may have treated her for her rheumatism or treated her father prior to his death in 1774), but by 1774 he had long been connected to

- the families of future members of the Steele circle in Leicester. In Leicester he attended the Great Meeting (Presbyterian) and knew both Coltman families and the Reids, later becoming a friend to and correspondent of John and Mary Reid. As Samuel Coltman writes in his memoir “Time’s Stepping Stones,” Mary Reid was “the old friend of our family’s so often alluded to in the letters of D^r Pulteney and the sister to D^r Reid; both of them distinguished for talents in the society they frequented” (3: ch. 20).
16. Scott’s cursory statement that her “years of ill health have impaired every faculty of my mind” was noted by the reviewer for the *Gentleman’s Magazine* (376). William Steele’s letters mention Scott’s ill-health on several occasions, suggesting that she had frequent attacks of rheumatism between 1769 and 1774.
 17. For Pulteney, see *NWW* 4: 45–46. Scott added these lines on Canon Seward:

Such HE† who dared “against a World decide,
And stem the rage of Custom’s rapid tide;”
Who kindly bade ATHENIA’S “growing mind,
Take ev’ry knowledge in of ev’ry kind.” (*NWW* 4: 45)
 18. See Mary Wollstonecraft, *Thoughts on the Education of Daughters* (1787) and *Vindication of the Rights of Woman: With Strictures on Political and Moral Subjects* (1792); Mary Hays, *Appeal to the Men of Great Britain on Behalf of Women* (1798); and Mary Robinson, *Thoughts on the Condition of Women, and the Injustice of Mental Subordination* (1799).
 19. Elizabeth Ash (c. 1753–94), Mary Steele’s friend and relation (on her step-mother’s side), though not known to have written any poetry, received an education superior to that of Steele and Scott through her father, John Ash of Pershore, a minister and educator. His publication, *The Easiest Introduction to Dr. Lowth’s English Grammar* (1760), was described in an advertisement by John Collett Ryland, Baptist minister and educator at Northampton, as “originally designed for the Use of his Daughter [Elizabeth], who was then but five Years of Age” (Ash 7).
 20. The reviewer for the *Monthly Review* (1774) considered the introduction of literature into female boarding schools to have done little to elevate young girls, turning them instead into “literary vixens,” though the implication seems to imply a lack of modesty and an “intolerable” assurance among young women not conducive to a good marriage (389).
 21. More’s writings were well known within the Steele circle. In a 1786 letter, Mary Steele quoted from “Sensibility: a Poetical Tribute to the Hon: Mrs. Boscawen” (*NWW* 3: 320), a poem appearing at the end of *Sacred Dramas: Chiefly Intended for Young Persons* (1782). Mary Whitaker (1773–1800), Caroline Attwater Whitaker’s youngest daughter, created a sampler of the poem (Reeves, *Pursuing the*

- Muses* 145–46), and Joshua Whitaker (1801–64), Caroline’s grandson, copied the poem into one of his commonplace books in the 1820s (Reeves Collection, Box 21/1, Bodleian Library, Oxford). Anne Steele Tomkins, Mary Steele’s younger half-sister, owned a copy of the first edition of More’s *Strictures*, now belonging to the collections at the British Library, shelfmark C.109.aa.10.
22. Wheatley, a slave in the household of John Wheatley of Boston (who had provided her an education and eventual freedom), was probably known to William Steele prior to the publication of *Poems*. She had gained considerable notoriety with her poem on the death of the famous British evangelist George Whitefield at Newburyport, Massachusetts, in 1770. The title page bore the following description of Wheatley: “By Phillis, a Servant Girl of 17 Years of Age, belonging to Mr. J. Wheatley of Boston:—She has been but 9 Years in this Country from Africa.”
 23. See Saffery’s poems, “The Philanthropy of Wilberforce” and “To Africa Delivered from Captivity” (*NWW* 5: 204–6).
 24. William Steele had little patience for feigned apologies by his daughter. Once, after she regretted a sloppy letter, he told her “for the future whether the Lines be crooked or strait the paper blotted or the letters illshaped provided they bring me tidings of your Welfare, let me have no more Apologies” (*NWW* 3: 280). He had even less patience when it came to her poems, writing to her in late November 1773 that he found some lines she had sent him “very agreeable” but “don’t for the future call them silly &c lest it should look like fishing for Comp^{ts}” (*NWW* 3: 242).
 25. See Steele’s “On reading Miss Williams’s Poem on Peace” (1783) and “On reading some very illiberal Strictures on Miss Seward’s Louisa in the European Magazine” (1785) (*NWW* 3: 128–29, 135). See also Mary Scott’s “Verses addressed to Miss Seward, on the Publication of her Monody on Major André” (1783) (*NWW* 4: 46–47). Behrendt believes this form of intertextuality was common in women’s writings c. 1770–1835, a “frank acknowledgment of a writing *community*” in which poets “explicitly engage *with other poems*, as well as with their authors” (11).
 26. No correspondence exists between Steele and Seward or Williams, but signed copies of Seward’s *Louisa: A Poetical Novel, in Four Books* (1784) and *Monody on Major André* (1781) can be found in the Steele Collection (STE 14/2, Angus Library, Oxford), along with copies of Williams’s *An Ode to Peace* (1783) and *Peru, a Poem. In Six Cantos* (1784) (STE 14/2 and 14/3). Not long after Steele’s poem on Williams, Jane Attwater and her brother were reading *Peru*, having borrowed Steele’s copy. She writes to Steele on February 7, 1785, explaining how her enjoyment of women’s poetry had become, in many ways, a pleasure best enjoyed in private: “I have to thank you for the books you kindly favor’d me with. Will it be too long if I

- detain y^m a fortnight longer as then I hope to send y^m together. My Bro^r has read Peru but I wish to peruse it myself wⁿ I shall have better opportunity to enjoy it wⁿ alone” (NWW 3: 305).
27. For Scott’s hymns, see NWW 4: 70, 76–104. Scott’s hymn in Kippis’s 1795 *A Collection of Hymns and Psalms, for Public and Private Worship* (Hymn 472) suggests that Scott continued to write hymns after the early 1770s, when Anne Steele copied the hymns that now reside in the Steele Collection.
 28. Elizabeth Scott (1708?–76), sister to the Independent minister and hymn writer, Thomas Scott (1705–75) of Norwich, settled in America in 1751, married first to Elisha Williams, former Rector of Yale College, and later to William Smith of New York. She left some 120 hymns in manuscript (now at Yale University), of which about 30 were published in various hymnals in the eighteenth century, including more than 20 in Evans and Ash, *A Collection of Hymns* (Julian 1019–20), one of which, “The God of Love will sure indulge,” was used at the funeral of Jane Attwater’s mother in 1784 (Attwater Papers, acc. 76, I.A.13, Angus Library, Oxford).
 29. Mary Scott will later reject this view of the death of Christ, as her *Messiah* makes clear, and Mary Steele, though remaining in a Particular Baptist church, will raise serious doubts about the doctrine of “imputed righteousness” in her spiritual autobiography (NWW 3: 179–95).
 30. See also Scott’s “A Hymn of Praise for Temporal and Spiritual Mercies” (NWW 4: 96):

What finite pow’r with ceaseless toil
Can fathom the Eternal Mind?
Or who th’ Almighty three in One
By searching to perfection find? (1–4)
 31. Compare to Bradstreet’s “The Vanity of All Worldly Things” (Ellis 386–88).
 32. See Epistle V of William Hayley’s *An Essay on Epic Poetry; in Five Epistles to the Revd. Mr. Mason* (London: Printed for J. Dodsley, 1782), ll. 365–76.
 33. Another review appeared in the *Critical Review* 65 (1788): 482–83.
 34. In 1782, while her brother Russell was studying at Hoxton Academy, Mary Scott submitted some queries concerning the divinity of Christ to Theophilus Lindsey. Lindsey responded on July 2, 1782, hoping that his “remarks on the passages of Scripture which raised some scruples in your mind, be cleared up to your satisfaction” (NWW 4: 278). Lindsey would later describe Scott to his friend William Tayleur of Shrewsbury as “a very serious, good creature, as appears to me. Both of them [Mary and Russell] were bred stout Calvinists & Trinitarians—the mother offended at their heresy, especially the daughter’s, who, she thinks, and not amiss, has infected her brother” (McLachlan 75). Lindsey and Scott were still corresponding about

- theological matters in November 1783 (*NWW* 4: 278–79), when Lindsey referred her to some passages from the Old Testament that he hoped would satisfy her queries about the humanity of Christ.
35. Moira Ferguson, one of the few commentators on *Messiah*, offers a perceptive linkage of the poem with *The Female Advocate*. In a sweeping conclusion, Ferguson contends, “*The Female Advocate* stamps Mary Scott as a cultural historian who helps to redefine the nation along gendered lines from a progressive Protestant perspective. *The Messiah* reconfigures this gendered commitment into a frontal attack on Roman imperial predation and religious superstition” (“Cause of My Sex” 41).
 36. Not long after Scott’s initial correspondence with Taylor ended, Mary Hays commenced a lengthy and heavily stylized correspondence with her lover, John Eccles. On November 5, 1779, she appears to have accepted Scott’s challenge about expressing emotional attachments to men: “I was a stranger to the sensibility of my soul, till you called forth all its powers; – if it is indelicate to avow an attachment so warm, so animated, yet so pure – of what indecorum have I been guilty! – But it is not! – it cannot be so! . . . I never yet have had cause to repent my frankness – nor do I think I ever shall” (Brooks, *Correspondence* 183).
 37. Edith Alwynne, in Charles Lloyd’s novel, *Edmund Oliver* (1798), has serious doubts about “*the propriety of a female being the first agent*” (2: 225) in making overtures of love in courtship, a comment generally considered aimed by Lloyd at Mary Hays.
 38. Taylor had just sent Scott a letter on May 24, which would not have reached her by the time she composed the above letter. Had it come in time, one wonders if her sentiments might have been changed by Taylor’s declaration, “You see, my dearest, I treat you as a *friend*” (*NWW* 4: 273).
 39. The interior quotation is a paraphrase of a line from Anne Steele’s Psalm XC (*NWW* 1: 317).
 40. In the case of Mary Scott’s death, her mother willed that these funds were to go to Mary’s children, again bypassing her husband. For Mary Russell Scott’s will of May 12, 1780, with codicils dated May 22, 1780, May 19, 1786, and September 24, 1787, see Public Record Office, National Archives, PROB 11/1159/133.
 41. This may explain why so few letters from Taylor to Scott remained in the Scott Collection; on the other hand, it may be that Taylor, after his wife’s death, destroyed much of their correspondence, especially if their letters were often contentious.
 42. See Steele’s pocket diaries, STE 5/17, Angus Library, Oxford.
 43. Scott’s obituary, dated June 4, 1793, appeared in the *Gentleman’s Magazine* 63 (1793): 579. The writer noted Scott’s stature as poet, but in what would become standard practice regarding women poets

after 1790, her artistry was subordinated to the more important roles of “daughter, wife, mother, and sister,” though in her “friendships” (as if Mary Steele might have been the writer) “she was disinterested, sincere, and constant.”

44. The editors of *A Catalogue of Five Hundred Celebrated Authors of Great Britain, Now Living* (1788) included Mary Scott in their list of writers. She appeared only as “Scott” and was tersely described as “a poetess” and summarily dismissed as the “Author of a performance entitled the Female Advocate, which has had between two and three admirers” (unpaginated). By 1844, her two published poems, *The Female Advocate* and *Messiah*, were largely forgotten, her subjects no longer popular topics among Victorian women poets and male literary critics. The writer of the “Memoir” on J. E. Taylor in 1844 dismissed her arguments in defense of women writers and considered her poetry only slightly better than average. “Few of the names,” he writes in *The Female Advocate*,

are now known beyond a narrow circle, and we fear that time has already done something to shew the weakness of her arguments. Her versification, however, is better than her logic. That the poem exhibits the higher attributes of a poetic mind, we cannot affirm, but neither does it in any part sink below mediocrity; and in its general strain it is happy and fluent in its diction, vigorous in its sentiments, lofty in its tone, and in its imagery select and impressive; altogether leaving on the reader’s mind a pleasing conviction of the sincerity and amiableness of the writer. (159)

45. See Mary Steele Dunscombe’s will, Public Record Office, National Archives, PROB 11/1549/507.

5 JANE ATTWATER (1753–1843)

1. For previous commentary on Jane Attwater’s activities within the Steele circle, see the following works by Reeves: *Sheep Bell* 33–4, 46–9; *Pursuing the Muses* 95–124; and “Jane Attwater’s Diaries.”
2. Richard died unmarried at 19 in 1736. Elizabeth married Thomas Phipps, Esq., of Westbury Leigh, near Bratton, in 1743 and died of a miscarriage the following year. Jenny married Philip Gibbs of Trowbridge and had a daughter, Elizabeth Theodosia Gibbs (b. 1755), and a son, James Gibbs (1757–79) (Reeves, *Pursuing the Muses* 17), the latter’s death commemorated in a poem by Jane Attwater (*NWW* 4: 204).
3. For the lives and poetry of Marianna and Jane Attwater, see *NWW* 4: 151–213; for Attwater’s surviving correspondence, prose writings, and selections from her diary, see *NWW* 8: 105–306. Two poems by Gay Thomas Attwater can be found in the Reeves Collection, Box 2, Bodleian Library, Oxford.

4. For more on the Whitakers of Bratton, see Reeves, *Sheep Bell*.
5. Reeves ("Jane Attwater's Diaries" 207–22) first noted some of the pertinent passages related to Joseph Blatch's pursuit of Jane Attwater.
6. £20,000.
7. John Saffery (1762–1825), Baptist minister at Salisbury, 1790–1825.
8. Attwater marked the somber event with some lines composed from her sickbed, which she inserted into her diary on May 26, 1791. See Attwater Papers, acc. 76, I.A.22, Angus Library, Oxford.
9. Attwater attended Anne Steele's funeral service. "Awful indeed is Death," she writes.

I went in to see her dear clay cold corse my heart shudderd at first but when I beheld y^c placid serenity y^t dwelt on her countenance I was not at all shockd deep anguish & sorrow fill'd my heart for y^c loss of such a faithful such a valued Friend on viewing her much lovd form a thousand little kindnesses rush'd into my mind & tender regret y^t now no more would that voice . . . Instruct direct & caution every friend & perform its office silent & cold lies those hands y^t used to be employ'd in acts of kindness & benevolence have ceased to move bound by deaths victorious power[.] (NWW 8: 235, 236)

For Anne Steele's friendship poem to Attwater, "To Mirtilla," see NWW 2: 178.

10. Unlike Mary Steele, there is no record that Jane Attwater or her sisters attended boarding schools, though the absence of such a record does not preclude its possibility.
11. One consequence of Steele's prolonged grief was a correspondence that occurred between her and Caleb Evans of Bristol, beginning on November 15, 1778 (just after Anne Steele's funeral) and continuing through September 1786 (NWW 3: 287–326). Among Dissenters, a number of women writers corresponded with popular preachers, such as Elizabeth Singer Rowe with Isaac Watts and Anne Dutton with George Whitefield. During the 1780s, while Steele and Evans were conversing regularly, Mary Scott and Helen Maria Williams corresponded with Theophilus Lindsey and Andrew Kippis, respectively, both leading Unitarian ministers and educators in London; Mary Hays likewise corresponded with the controversial Baptist minister at Cambridge, Robert Robinson. For the Scott-Lindsey letters, see NWW 4: 277–79, 293; for Hays-Robinson, see Brooks, *Correspondence* 235–63.
12. Edwards's influence in England and Scotland developed in the 1760s, based on such works as *A Treatise Concerning Religious Affections* (1746) and *Freedom of the Will* (1754); Fuller's seminal work was *The Gospel Worthy of All Acceptation* (1785).
13. Though a Particular Baptist, Robert Robinson of Cambridge moved away from Calvinism in the 1780s, just as Scott did, but whether

- Mary Steele moved as far in his direction as her friend remains unclear. But Steele's statement about the coexisting threads of free will and divine sovereignty was echoed a few years after she wrote her spiritual autobiography in a letter by Robinson to Mary Hays. He writes on March 26, 1783, expressing his belief in both "the divine decrees and man's free agency. In my opinion it is extremely difficult to deny either, and there is no difficulty in believing that the concealing of them is possible to God, though far above our comprehension" (Brooks, *Correspondence* 252).
14. Usually spelled "Philander," William Steele's pseudonym.
 15. The love of freedom expressed by Steele and Attwater in their letters and poems from the mid-1770s concerning the American Revolution would revive again in 1789 with the French Revolution, though their responses to events in France reflected their allegiance to the principles of the Glorious Revolution as much as it did contemporary notions of liberty. Anne Janowitz argues that Barbauld's "experience of freedom" develops in London *after* 1789 as a result of her engagement (via Joseph Johnson) with "radical urban print culture" (63). The writings of Steele and Attwater reveal a political radicalism long before 1789. By the same token, Barbauld's love of political liberty and religious toleration and her revulsion to the slave trade may actually have owed less to her life in London and more to her provincial life at Warrington and her immersion, like Steele and Attwater, in the politically vibrant culture of religious nonconformity in the 1760s and 1770s.
 16. See Hannah Towgood Wakeford's "A New Year's Midnight Reflection. By a Lady," Mary Wakeford's "A Reflection the Past Year December 3, 1748," and Marianna Attwater's "At the End of a Pockett Book for a Year 1768" and "Wrote in the Beginning of a Pockett Book for 1769" (*NWW* 4: 111–12, 132–34, 167–68).
 17. See Attwater to Steele, May 31, 1773, and two other letters, *c.* summer 1775 and *c.* 1779 (*NWW* 3: 233–34, 266–68, 295–98).
 18. "The blurred boundaries between writing, speaking, and transcribing the works of others," Amy Culley writes, suggests that women life writers (Attwater's letters and discourses are apropos here) "envisage[d] their texts as an extension of personal encounters and relationships to create a sociable model of living and writing" (12).
 19. Robert Robinson wrote to a friend on November 30, 1766, about the death of Anne Dutton: "You have (no doubt) heard of Dear M^{rs} Dutton's departure.—I saw her a few weeks before she died. . . . O how ravishingly she talked. She was up, and sat by the fire. Her countenance—I won't say serene and composed, but blithe gay, full of a Serenity, or rather full of *Immortality*. . . [M]any were present, ministers and people, but none of us arrived at her height—O how stately looks such a Christian. . . . I had heard, that precious in the sight of the Lord was the *Death* of his saints, and now I saw he was true to

- his word, for he was present by his Spirit in the sickness and death of Mrs. Dutton. . . She then talked for half an hour on the six last verses of the fourth chapter of the first Epistle to the Thessalonians, which also she chose for her funeral sermon. . . Methinks I can't help praying, Let my dear friend, and me, die the death of Mrs. Dutton, let our last end be like hers.—To that end let us try to copy her holy exemplary life, ever redeeming the time. The evil day is at hand" (Whelan, "Six Letters" 355–56).
20. See de Fleury 14, 13; and Dutton, "A Letter to Such of the Servants of Christ, who have any Scruple about the Lawfulness of Printing any Thing written by a Woman," in *A Brief Account*. For more on de Fleury's pamphlet war with the Antinomian preacher William Huntington, 1787–91, see Whelan, "For the Hand of a Woman."
 21. Though Mary Steele's 1775 prose discourse "Thoughts on Discontentment" (*NWW* 3: 171–77) does not possess the sermonic qualities of Attwater's meditations, Steele was not always "silent" in the church, as evidenced by an entry in Attwater's diary on May 2, 1784: "At Broughton in y^e morning h^d M^r Lewis p^{ch} from y^e 5th Chap^r of Gal^s & 6th verse. In y^e afternoon M^r Steele read a sermon—in y^e eve Miss Steele read a Sermon" (*NWW* 8: 239). William Steele reading a sermon in the Baptist meeting at Broughton would not have been unusual; Mary Steele reading a sermon (essentially standing in the *place* of the minister and appropriating his *voice*) was an extraordinary occurrence among Baptist churches at that time, an incident that did not escape Attwater's notice.
 22. For the meditations of Mrs. John Walrond (wife of the Exeter Presbyterian minister John Walrond), composed in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, as well as the meditations of Anne Cator Steele and Hannah Towgood Wakeford, see *NWW* 8: 3–14, 27–33, 87–96; for Anne Steele, see *NWW* 2: 215–56.
 23. Among the sources of meditative prose writings for nonconformist women writers are Anne Bradstreet's "Meditations Divine and Moral" (Ellis 47–76), Elizabeth Singer Rowe's *Letters Moral and Entertaining* (1728–33), and Rowe's posthumous *Miscellaneous Works in Prose and Verse* (1739), the latter two works popular within the Steele circle.
 24. For a selection of Mary Egerton Scott's prose writings, see *NWW* 7: 207–56; for Coltman's *History of Jenny Hickling*, see *NWW* 7: 317–26; for Jane Adams Houseman's popular tract *Religion Without Learning; or, The History of Susan Ward* (1817), see *NWW* 7: 327–37.
 25. Attwater's diary can be found in the Attwater Papers, acc. 76, I.A.1–29, Angus Library, Oxford, and the Reeves Collection, Box 19/1, Bodleian Library, Oxford.
 26. Cf. the death of Evangeline St. Clare in Harriet Beecher Stowe's famous novel, *Uncle Tom's Cabin* (1852), ch. 26.

27. This section of Attwater's diary, beginning in April 1809 and ending just after Annajane's death on July 28, 1809, was separated (whether by Attwater herself or by her descendants is not known) from the main body of Attwater's diary residing in the Attwater Papers, Angus Library, Oxford, and was later found among various loose papers of Attwater now belonging to the Reeves Collection, Box 19/1, Bodleian Library, Oxford. For more on the separation of the Steele, Attwater, Whitaker, and Saffery materials between the Angus Library and the Bodleian Library, see *NWW* 5: xv–xvii; Whelan, *Calendar*.
28. Reeves Collection, Box 19/2/(j.), Bodleian Library, Oxford.
29. In her "Epitaph on Miss Blatch, 1810," one of her last poems (*NWW* 3: 164–65), Mary Steele addresses the deceased child as
 Sweet Excellence! thy opening virtues shone
 Fair as the loveliest morning of the Spring[.] (1–2)
 Her "dying smiles attest," Steele writes, "the sacred Spring from whence those Virtues sprung" (5–6). Tessa Whitehouse, in a 2014 lecture presented at the Dr. Williams's Centre for Dissenting Studies, noted Attwater's use of intertextuality in her recording of the last months of her daughter's life (several handwritten additions and accounts can be found among Attwater's surviving manuscripts) as a means whereby Attwater could perfect her depiction of her daughter's death as exemplary.
30. For the diaries of Sophia Williams and Anne Whitaker, see *NWW* 8: 437–82, 497–515.
31. For Saffery's poetry, prose, and correspondence, see *NWW*, volumes 5–7.

6 ELIZABETH COLTMAN (1761–1838)

1. Pictures of the Coltman house in the Newarke (demolished in 1931) can be found in Skillington.
2. Cooper's manuscript reminiscences formed the basis for Skillington's article; at that time these volumes were owned by Mary Ellen Franklin Rudd (1854–1943), a descendant of Cooper's sister, Elizabeth Cooper Franklin (1817–74). Unfortunately, Cooper's memoir is no longer extant.
3. Skillington writes that the Grews "helped to form in America, a stratum of society which was the counterpart of that to which the Coltmans belonged in England" (33). In 1840 Henry Grew, a Philadelphia minister and grandson of John Grew, came to London with his daughter Mary (d. 1896) and a young Wendell Phillips to attend the inaugural World Anti-Slavery Convention. They also spent three weeks in Leicester at the Coltman home in the Newarke, just two years after Elizabeth Coltman's death. Mary Grew never married, continuing to work for abolition and, after 1863, the crusade for women's rights (Skillington 34).

4. Audley's sister was the first wife of the Rev. John Houseman, evangelical Calvinist vicar at Markfield, near Leicester, and later at St. Anne's Church, Lancaster; through him Audley met Elizabeth Coltman. After Mrs. Houseman's death in 1786, Rev. Houseman remarried, this time to Jane Adams of Langton, the village where he was ministering at that time. Before her marriage, Jane Adams was a friend of both the Coltmans of St. Nicholas Street and the Reids (see Mrs. Elizabeth Coltman to Elizabeth Coltman [Heyrick], a letter copied into Samuel Coltman's "Time's Stepping Stones," 2: ch. 19). Houseman continued his friendship with Elizabeth Coltman of the Newarke, who also became close friends with his new wife, the latter traveling with Coltman on her jaunt through the Lake District in 1796. For more on Audley, see Whelan, *Politics* 241–44; for a biographical sketch of Houseman and the full text of *Susan Ward*, see *NWW* 7: 327–37.
5. Coltman traveled to Paris in 1802, during the Peace of Amiens, at the same time as her friends Dr. John Reid of London and Samuel Coltman of Leicester (no relation); the latter wrote to his sister Elizabeth Heyrick about the journey on October 3, 1802: "Dr. Reid is gone to Paris to study the varieties of the human species—both he & Miss Coltman made overtures to be of our party but we thought we could not be too independent." Coltman MSS, 15D57/63, ROLLR.
6. "To Miss Martha Steele" and "To Miss Anne Steele" (*NWW* 2: 229–30). Coltman composed two other friendship poems during this visit to Broughton c. 1789–91: "To Mrs. Harries, On receiving a Beautiful Vase for Flowers ornamented with a Picture of Abra" (*NWW* 4: 231) and "Written by Eliza, with a Fan to her Friend Miss A—" (*NWW* 4: 232). Mary Wakeford Harries (1760–1824), the daughter of Mary Steele Wakeford of Andover, Mary Steele's aunt, married the Rev. James Lloyd Harries of Andover on February 24, 1789 (thus Coltman's visit occurred after this date but prior to Anne Steele's marriage in December 1791). The recipient of the second poem is either a Miss Atchison, the cousin of Coltman's close friend Mary Reid, or Sarah Attwater (1765–1830), the daughter of Gay Thomas Attwater of Bodenham who, like Coltman and Martha Steele, never married.
7. The bust remained in the possession of the Rudd family of Leicester until 1973, when it was donated by a member of the family to the Antiquities Department of Leicester Museums and Art Gallery. The ledger entry for the bust states that the "bust is a fine portrait in moulded plaster. The head is draped and there is a row of ringlet curls across the forehead. The chamfered plinth bears the inscription in roman capitals "COADE LAMBETH 1792"" (item description, L.H516.1973.0.0). By 1792, Eleanor Coade operated an artificial stone manufactory under her name in Lambeth, producing stone for such important places as Buckingham Palace until her death in 1821.

- Coade stone was popular for outdoor sculptures because of its resistance to weathering. Sarah Holland (1771–1847) married Robert Carr Brackenbury in 1795; they were ardent Wesleyans and their chapel at Raithby remains a Methodist landmark (*NWW* 3: 383–84).
8. Hutton wrote to Mary Ann Coltman on April 23, 1842, after having read a recently published biography of Susanna Watts: “I wish I had been introduced to her [Watts] when I was staying with your Mother in 1802 . . . I was introduced to M^{rs} Alexander and I did not like her . . . And Miss Coltman was introduced to me, and I *dis*-liked her—perhaps very unreasonably. She treated me with a sort of adulation which I felt I did not deserve, and which I could not believe was sincere” (Coltman MSS, 15D57/437, ROLLR).
 9. See her *Narrative of the Riots in Birmingham, July 1791* (reprinted in Birmingham in 1875) and *The Life of William Hutton* (1817).
 10. For Hutton’s correspondence with various members of the Coltman family, some of which was included in Beale’s 1891 and 1895 volumes on Hutton, see Coltman MSS, 15D57, ROLLR.
 11. For archival material on Watts, see the Susanna Watts Scrapbook, DE8170, ROLLR.
 12. Benger’s footnote reads, “Danesbury Tale, the productions of Miss Steele, printed in 1779, with two Odes” (23). How Benger learned of Steele’s authorship of *Danebury* is unknown. Her knowledge of Steele may have come from her Leicester friends, but exactly when she met them is not clear. She knew Mary Reid well enough to take a three-week tour of the Lake District with her in 1802 and saw her often in London thereafter. See Samuel Coltman to Elizabeth Heyrick at York, October 3, 1802, Coltman MSS, 15D57/63, ROLLR.
 13. John Coltman, Jr., was subpoenaed to testify in the treason trials of Thomas Hardy and several other radicals in October 1794. He was accompanied to London by his father and waited two weeks, but was never called to testify. See Coltman, “Time’s Stepping Stones,” 3: ch. 21; see also Patterson 16–20.
 14. Substantial materials on both Coltman families can be found at the ROLLR: Baptism and Burial register of the Great Meeting in Leicester (DG20 427/11 and 17); letters of Robert Hall to Elizabeth Coltman (53°1851/1–2); materials relating to the Coltmans of the Newarke (DE1982/427/1–18); Coltman MSS (letters and papers of the Coltmans of St. Nicholas Street, 1761–1889) (15D57/1–461), which includes Samuel Coltman’s three-volume (unpaginated) collection of letters and memoirs (15D57/448–50), *c.* 1852, titled “Time’s Stepping Stones—or some Memorials of four Generations of a family—by an Octogenarian member of the same.” Other sources on the Coltmans of St. Nicholas Street include Beale; Wykes; and Corfield.
 15. See *Immediate not Gradual Abolition of Slavery; or an Inquiry into the Shortest, Safest, and Most Effectual Means of Getting rid*

- of West Indian Slavery* (1824), *Letters on the Necessity of a Prompt Extinction of British Colonial Slavery* (1828), *Appeal to the Hearts and Consciences of British Women* (1828), and *Apology for Ladies' Anti-Slavery Associations* (1828), all published anonymously.
16. Alicia Cooper noted that, though she was devoutly evangelical, Mary Ann Coltman never joined Harvey Lane, unlike the rest of her family and her friend Elizabeth Coltman. She refused to “adopt a creed, nor be exclusive even in appearance. She believed in one universal Church . . . and allowed a large latitude to all who did not see through her spectacles” Cooper added. Mary Ann Coltman wrote shortly before her death that she “would be considered as dying in union with Friends” (Beale, *Catherine Hutton* 234, 235). Catherine Hutton also had a similar experience, adopting Quaker language (“thee” and “thou”) in many of her letters to Mary Ann Coltman, closing her letter of May 2, 1808, with “Tell her [Elizabeth Heyrick] that I have read Clarkson, and am almost become a Quaker” (Coltman MSS, 15D57/395, ROLLR).
 17. According to Samuel Coltman, “Our Family attended Mr [Hugh] Worthington’s Chapel [the Great Meeting] before the arrival of the celebrated Robert Hall who soon attracted immense congregations—and obtained an influence over the minds of our parents and ourselves, that had the happy result of fixing unchangeably the opinions of most of our family on the most important of subjects” (“Time’s Stepping Stones,” 2: ch. 17).
 18. Nearly all of what we know of Mary Reid comes from Robert Reid’s *Old Glasgow* and five archival sources—Coltman MSS, ROLLR; the Mary Hays Correspondence in the Carl H. Pforzheimer Collection of Shelley and His Circle, The New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations; the manuscript volumes of Crabb Robinson’s Diary, Reminiscences, and Correspondence, Dr. Williams’s Library, London; the letters of Elizabeth Coltman to Anne Steele Tomkins, 1814–15, and some letters of Mary Steele, Steele Collection, Angus Library, Oxford; and the will of Mrs. Reid, Mary’s mother, a copy of which now resides among the Elizabeth Jesser Reid Papers, Bedford College Archives, RF 100/1/1, Royal Holloway, University of London.
 19. After Matthew Reid’s death in 1787, the property went to Mrs. Reid (she died *c.* 1813, her will proved on 7 May 1813 [PROB 11/1544/213]), then to her son, John, who eventually gave the property to his sister Mary *c.* 1814. Upon her death on August 14, 1839, the Glasgow property was passed on to her sister, Jennet Reid Pearce of Leicester. At one point Mary Reid employed the poet/writer Robert Grahame, a friend of Wordsworth, as her Glasgow agent to manage her Washington Street property. She and Grahame professed the same political opinions, and he eventually became her suitor, though Reid, like many of the women in the Steele circle, was proficient at rejecting lovers.

20. John Reid was baptized at the Great Meeting, Leicester, on 9 February 1773, and later studied at Daventry Academy (1788–89) and at New College, Hackney (1789–94) in preparation for a career as a Dissenting minister; he chose medicine instead, completing his degree at Edinburgh in September 1798. He then settled in London and during much of 1799, his sister and mother lived with him. Robinson also wrote in his 1799 Reminiscences that it was “my friend Reid” (1: f. 111) who wrote an epigram about George Dyer’s poems “that I fear was thought just—”

The world all say, my gentle Dyer,
Thy Odes do very much want fire
Repair that fault my gentle Dyer
And throw thy Odes into the fire. (1: f. 109).

21. For the Reid letter and the selection from Heyrick’s diary, see Samuel Coltman, “Time’s Stepping Stones,” 3: ch. 20. For Heyrick to Mrs. Coltman, October 15, 1802, see Coltman MSS, 15D57/64, ROLLR. Catherine Hutton also commented on Coltman’s situation after the loss of her mother, writing to Mary Ann Coltman on June 16, 1803, “I am sorry for Miss Coltman; she has sustained an irreparable loss; but I own to you that if I lived at Leicester the prospect of her quitting it would give me no [regret? pleasure?—paper torn]” (Coltman MSS, 15D57/389, ROLLR).
22. Phillips founded the *Leicester Herald* in 1792, and the next year was convicted of selling and printing seditious materials. He was released in 1795, after which his house in Leicester burned, forcing him to seek refuge for a time with the Coltmans of St. Nicholas Street prior to his removal to London (Coltman, “Time’s Stepping Stones,” 3: ch. 21).
23. Though they did not meet until 1799, Phillips had already published essays by Crabb Robinson.
24. Mary Hays, prior to her notoriety as the author of the controversial novels *Memoirs of Emma Courtney* (1796) and *A Victim of Prejudice* (1799), grew up in the Particular Baptist congregation in Gainsford Street (Blackfields), Southwark, and corresponded with Robert Robinson of Cambridge in the 1780s, becoming friends with his daughters during the same time that George Dyer was a close friend and associate of Robinson’s (Whelan, “George Dyer” 19–22). Through these connections Hays also came to know Mary Steele’s friends from the West Country, the Mulletts and J. J. Evans, all eventually becoming friends of Mary Reid and, in 1799, of Crabb Robinson. By the time Hays had met Reid, Hays had left Gainsford Street and become a Unitarian, attending occasionally at Salter’s Hall to hear Hugh Worthington, as well as the Essex Street Chapel during the ministry of John Disney and the General Baptist congregation in Worship Street led by John Evans (1767–1827), a former student of

- Robert Hall's at Bristol Baptist College in the 1780s. Correspondence between Hays and Worthington, Disney, Evans, and Lindsey can be found in a collection of letters to Mary Hays, 24.93, Dr. Williams's Library, London.
25. The Unitarian bookseller Joseph Johnson, upon his libel conviction in 1798, relinquished his interest in the *Analytical Review*, but the identity of the individual who succeeded him at the *Review* for the next six months has remained a mystery. Derek Roper surmises that Johnson transferred the *Review* to other parties in January 1799, led by Anthony Robinson (23), but he does not identify the actual proprietor.
 26. Edith Morley mistakenly transcribed the name as "Ashley" (*Henry Crabb Robinson* 1: 5), leading to some unfruitful conjectures as to the new proprietor. "Astley" (the correct transcription) has also led to some erroneous guesses (see Brooks, *Correspondence* 549).
 27. The second Mrs. Reid was Elizabeth Jesser Reid (1789–1866), founder of Bedford College for Women in London in 1849, which eventually became a part of the University of London. Despite the important details Robinson's paragraph provides on the Reids, Astley, and the history of the *Analytical Review*, the paragraph was reduced to three words ("my friend Reid") by Thomas Sadler and Edith Morley, a reduction that not only marginalized John Reid but, by association, his sister Mary and her important connection with Mary Hays. See Sadler 1: 62; Morley, *Henry Crabb Robinson* 1:4; Elizabeth Reid Papers, BC RF 103/4/1–30, Bedford College Archives, Royal Holloway, University of London; also Crabb Robinson Correspondence, Dr. Williams's Library, London.
 28. Lloyd's novel, *Edmund Oliver*, appeared in 1798, with one character, Lady Gertrude Sinclair, modeled after Hays, a caricature less pronounced in its ridicule of Hays as Elizabeth Hamilton's Bridgetina Botherim in *Memoirs of Modern Philosophers* (1800).
 29. Robinson's references to Astley occur on August 30, 1812; November 20, 1819; and December 15, 1819, in which he mentions Astley's attempt at becoming a "dabbler in literature," though the reference here is to Francis Dukinfield Astley of Dukinfield Lodge, Cheshire, whose *Poems and Translations* appeared that year. Joseph Astley was worth several hundred thousand pounds when his manufactory failed in 1821. He appears posthumously in Robinson's Diary on June 24, 1850, when Robinson meets Astley's brother, a Unitarian minister in Birmingham, in the home of the antiquarian Joseph Hunter (Diary 2: f. 129; 7: ff. 752, 760; 22: f. 53).
 30. Carl H. Pforzheimer Collection of Shelley and His Circle, Misc. MS. 2191; also Brooks *Correspondence* 504. Brooks correctly describes Mary Reid as John Reid's sister, but misidentifies her father as Crabb Robinson's friend, and her mother as the founder of Bedford College (Brooks, *Correspondence* 504, n. 20).

31. Carl H. Pforzheimer Collection of Shelley and His Circle, Misc. MS., 2192; also Brooks *Correspondence* 505–6; for more on the Fenwicks and Hays, see Wedd. Mary Reid also met William Godwin through Mary Hays, both women visiting him on January 29, 1799. Reid visited Godwin again on March 25, 1805, accompanied this time by Elizabeth Benger. John Reid visited Godwin as well, appearing in Godwin's diary on February 24, 1801 and on June 16, 1803, the latter visit accompanied by Benger.
32. John Reid appears in the correspondence of Dr. Richard Pulteney (see ch. 4), an apothecary and botanist, originally from Leicester who settled at Blandford, Dorset, in 1765, becoming friends with Mary Scott of Milborne Port and even appearing in *The Female Advocate* (1774) (see the Pulteney Papers, Linnean Society, London; *NWW* 4: 45–46). If Robinson was not reading the medical reports of John Reid in the *Monthly Magazine*, Maria Grace Saffery at Salisbury certainly was, writing to her sister on April 4, 1806, with advice on her son's cough based on Reid's article in the April issue (*NWW* 6: 214).
33. Mary Reid appears nearly 30 times in Robinson's Diary between 1811 and 1838, initially in connection with her brother but after 1818 solely in her own right. Edith Morley knew little of Reid, providing only a terse identification: "Miss Mary Reid of Hampstead, an acquaintance of the Aikins" (*Henry Crabb Robinson* 2: 332).
34. "Being on very intimate terms with her cousin, Miss Atchison," Robert Reid writes, "the two young ladies entered into a mutual contract, by which the longest liver of them was to inherit the estates of the one who should first die. Accordingly, on the death of Miss Atchison, Miss Reid succeeded to that lady's fortune, which was pretty considerable" (55). Miss Atchison was the daughter of Rev. John Atchison, Mary Reid's uncle on her mother's side.
35. Robinson's last recorded meeting with Reid occurred on May 22, 1836, by which time she had become an "invalid" (Diary 16: f. 147). Apparently she remained in London, for Robinson attempted to see her again on July 7, 1838, but she was not at home. She died the following year (Diary 17: f. 98).
36. The title may owe something to Joseph Budworth's *A Fortnight's Ramble to the Lakes in Westmoreland, Lancashire, and Cumberland* (London, 1792; 2nd ed., 1795). Coltman's "Journal" is briefly mentioned in Beale, *Catherine Hutton* 97–99, but not in Skillington. For more on Coltman's "Journal," see *NWW* 4: 239–55; Whelan, "Informal Writings" 176–82; also Karl 189–98.
37. Contemporary illustrations of the places Coltman and her traveling companions toured in the Lakes can be found in Powell and Hebron.
38. The first account of a tour by a woman writer was by Celia Fiennes (1662–1741), who traveled through the Lakes in the late seventeenth

- century “on side saddle,” a phrase that eventually found its way into the title of her journal, not published, however, until 1888 (a scholarly edition appeared in 1947). Anne Radcliffe’s *Journey made in the Summer of 1794, through Holland and the Western Frontier of Germany, with a return down the Rhine; to which are added, Observations during a Tour to the Lakes of Lancashire, Westmoreland, and Cumberland* (London: G. G. and J. Robinson, 1795) is generally considered the first significant published account of a tour of the Lakes by a woman writer.
39. Skillington incorrectly identifies her as the *first* Mrs. Houseman, the former Miss Audley of Cambridge, who had died in 1785 and whose brother was briefly engaged to Coltman in the mid-1780s (11).
 40. The drawing no longer exists; for the poem, see *NWW* 4: 233.
 41. For the complete text, see *NWW* 7: 275–89. The copy of *Plain Tales* in the Bodleian Library does not appear as its own entry in the library’s catalogue but rather as part of the entry for Elizabeth Somerville’s *The Village Maid*, both volumes published by Vernor and Hood in 1801. Most likely this copy is the second edition of *Plain Tales*, though the title page does not denote it as such. The a history of charity schools in England at this time, see Jones, *Charity School Movement*.
 42. Shelfmark CBC PZ6.P691 1799. These spellings appear on the “detailed record” affixed to the catalogue entry.
 43. Mary Steele composed a short moral tale for her three-year-old niece, Mary Tomkins, inserted in a letter to her sister Anne Tomkins on February 20, 1797 (*NWW* 3: 344–46).
 44. The historian Catherine Macaulay argued that it “is not reason, it is not wit [but] pride and sensuality that speak in Rousseau, and, in this instance, has lowered the man of genius to the licentious pedant” (129).
 45. For the complete text of the 1810 American edition of *Instructive Hints*, see *NWW* 7: 301–15.
 46. Jane Taylor (1783–1824) and her sister Ann Taylor Gilbert (1782–1866) were the talented daughters of Isaac Taylor (1759–1829), Independent minister at Colchester (and later Ongar) and a noted engraver. Darton and Harvey published the sisters’ seminal work in the history of children’s literature, *Original Poems for Infant Minds* (1804). Mary Steele knew of the Taylors as well. The occasion of her poem, “Written in a blank leaf of the ‘Associate Minstrels,’ presented to my Niece, M. S. Tomkins, 1810,” was a book of poems edited by Josiah Conder (1789–1855) that contained several pieces by the Taylors. The Taylors also became friends of Anne Andrews Whitaker of Bratton and her sister Maria Grace Saffery through a mutual friend from Colchester (see Ann Taylor to Anne Whitaker, June 17, 1812, *NWW* 6: 333–35). For more on the Taylors, see Armitage 47, 56, 204–5; Davidoff and Hall.

47. Among Bicheno's prophetic writings are *A Word in Season: Or, a Call to the Inhabitants of Great Britain, to Stand Prepared for the Consequences of the Present War* (1795) and *The Probable Progress and Issue of the Commotions which have Agitated Europe since the French Revolution, argued from the Aspect of Things, and the Writings of the Prophets* (1797).
48. See also Benjamin Flower's Preface to Robert Aspland's *Divine Judgments on Guilty Nations, their Causes and Effects Considered, in a Discourse delivered at Newport in the Isle of Wight, before a Congregation of Protestant Dissenters* (1804).
49. See Saffery's poem "On Peace" (NWW 5: 77).
50. In Letter XIX Coltman advises her young readers to digest "Locke's *Conduct of the Understanding*, Watts on the *Improvement of the Mind*, Mrs. Chapone's *Letters*, and Miss More's *Essays*," four works which any "judicious parent would wish to place in every juvenile library" (103). As much as Hannah More was revered by various members of the Steele circle—Maria Saffery composed two poems in honor of More (NWW 5: 204–5, 209–10)—not even Mary Steele, whose friendship with More exceeded all others in the circle, could remain completely loyal to her after she embraced loyalist politics in the mid-1790s. Like Coltman, Steele maintained an aversion to the Pitt administration and its policies toward France into the first decade of the 1800s, including in her displeasure another Bristolian from the 1780s, Coltman's pastor, Robert Hall. See NWW 3: 360–61; Whelan, "West Country" 50–51.
51. Coltman's advertisement closes with a short poem not included among her poems in NWW, vol. 4:

To _____
 Ye dearest objects of my earliest care,
 Themes of my eager hope, my ardent pray'r;
 To you, affection dedicates this page,
 Of you alone, solicits patronage.
 O, might some thought, however ill express'd,
 One error chase, one passion lull to rest;
 Raise one bright spark of virtue's sacred fire,
 One pure design, one holy aim inspire;
 Or wake at once the grand resolve, to brave
 All that opposes bliss beyond the grave:
 Though on this form the humble sod be laid,
 For you the last tear pour'd, the last pray'r made;
 The good pursu'd is gain'd, the meed is given;
 O may we share the blest result in—heaven. (v)

52. *A Christmas Box for the Advocates of Bull-Baiting* (London, 1809), and *Bull-Baiting: A Village Dialogue between Tom Brown and John Simms* (London, 1809).

53. *Jenny Hickling* was reprinted by the American Tract Society in 2012.
54. Despite Skillington's identification of Coltman as the author of one of the most popular religious tracts of the nineteenth century, her name remains absent from all catalogue entries for *Jenny Hickling*.
55. See Corfield; Midgley, "Dissenting Voice." One Quaker website not only attributes Coltman's *The Warning* to Heyrick but also mistakenly attributes the sketch of Heyrick's life published in 1862 to "a younger relative, Alicia Cooper" (see entry for Heyrick in "Quakers in the World," at <http://www.quakersintheworld.org/quakers-in-action/146>). For more on Coltman and Heyrick, see Whelan, "Informal Writings" 176–79.
56. Shelfmark 35.d.22.(d.). The copy is the London edition, c. 1805–6, published by Darton and Harvey.
57. The title page for the 1806 edition of *Plain Tales* was changed to *Plain Tales; or, The Advantages of Industry* and unfortunately has been catalogued without connection to the 1799 or 1801 editions, even though the 1806 title page reveals the work to be the third edition. The British Library assigns its copies of *The Warning* and *Familiar Letters* to "Elizabeth Coltman, afterwards Heyrick" (shelfmarks 4224.b.1.(4.) and 1387.g.26). Princeton University's copy of *Familiar Letters* (shelfmark Eng 18 70591) in the Cotsen Children's Library is likewise assigned to Elizabeth Heyrick. The Cotsen Children's Library also owns a copy of an 1807 edition of *Plain Tales* (shelfmark English 18 20328), published by Harris in London under the same title as the 1806 edition but without any authorial attribution. The British Library and Princeton copies are the only known extant copies of *Familiar Letters*. The microfilm copy of *The Warning* used in Early American Imprints is assigned to "Eliza Coltman," though without any other identification; all other known copies, however, are listed under Heyrick, except the copy at the Angus Library, Oxford.
58. Steele's poem is an example of intertextuality that, as Stephen Behrendt puts it, engages in "intellectual and aesthetic 'conversation' . . . with other artifacts of their culture that were not properly 'literary' but nevertheless served as 'texts' in the broader sense" (12).
59. Steele's final extant poem was a short epitaph for the tombstone of her deceased husband, Thomas Dunscombe, in late 1811.
60. The Buxtons were ardent abolitionists living in Walworth, Southwark. Coltman's connections with Buxton provides another link in her friendship with Elizabeth Heyrick, who in 1819 would address her pamphlet, *Enquiry into the Consequences of the Present Depreciated Value of Human Labour*, to Thomas Fowell Buxton.
61. For an account of the demise of Mullett's firm, see Robinson, *Diary* 4: fols. 72–73; also Evans 13–15.

62. One poem, "Mancunium," by Mary Ann Taylor has survived; see Scott and Scott 74; reprinted in *NWW* 4: 237–38.
63. A late poem, "The Refuge," by Coltman belongs to the Susanna Watts Scrapbook (ROLLR, DE8170), signed and dated December 22, 1828, in Coltman's hand. The poem, written for Ellen Ann Noble, the daughter of Dr. Noble, is indicative of Coltman's fervent evangelical Baptist faith at this late stage of her life and is presented below for the first time:

There is a rest a refuge and a tower
 Where faith may dwell in sorrow's darkest hour
 But ere she reaches that serene abode
 The soul must travel a tremendous road
 The gate is narrow—self must be denied
 Passion subdued and Pride be crucified
 Then through humiliations vale she goes
 Trembling and watchful mid a host of foes
 But faith's bright lamp returns the dangerous way
 And gilds the footsteps with perpetual day
 Fierce conflicts force the toiling traveller there
 And the door opens to prevailing prayer
 No more in self she dares the unequal fight
 But trusts the contest to celestial might
 Strong in that power and fixed in that repose
 From grace to grace from strength to strength she goes
 Till from corruptions hated dross refin[e]d
 The Spirit leaves the incumbering clay behind
 Springs to its native clime its loved abode
 And finds a plenitude of bliss with God.

E. Coltman

64. Coltman MSS, 15D57/226, ROLLR.
65. Coltman left instructions for a "walking funeral," and accordingly her great-nieces, accompanied by John Coltman, Elizabeth Heyrick's brother, followed her coffin on foot from the Newarke to the Great Meeting, after which she was buried next to her parents in the non-conformist burial ground in Friar Lane (Skillington 27).

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