

Joanna Baillie (1762–1851)
by Daniel R. Mangiavellano

Joanna Baillie was born in Lanarkshire, Scotland, on 11 September 1762 to the Rev. James Baillie and Dorothea Hunter.¹ Along with sister Agnes (b. 1760) and brother Matthew (b. 1761), Joanna spent her childhood in Scotland playing outdoors with the children of her father's rural parish. A reluctant reader, young Joanna was an imaginative pupil at home and at school; she played pranks with her schoolfellows, delighted in ghost stories, and enjoyed acting—once playing Hamlet in a home theatrical, much to her mother's chagrin. According to Lucy Aikin, young Joanna was “addicted to clambering on the roof of the house, to act over her scenes alone and in secret.”² At Miss Macdonald's Boarding School in Glasgow (and with encouragement from Agnes), Baillie learned to enjoy reading and was subsequently drawn to, among other books, an illustrated copy of *Bell's Edition of Shakespeare's Plays* and Milton's closet drama, *Comus*. Lifelong support and companionship from sister Agnes, brother Matthew, and an ever-widening literary circle that included Sir Walter Scott, Maria Edgeworth, Samuel Rogers, and Anne Home Hunter (to name a select few) provided the intellectual backdrop for a literary career that spanned the first fifty years of the nineteenth century.

While still in her teens, the Baillie family relocated to Glasgow in 1775 when Rev. Baillie was appointed Professor of Divinity at University of Glasgow. He held the professorship for only three years until his death in 1778, rendering Dorothea, her two teenage daughters, and Matthew (newly matriculated as a Snell Exhibitioner at Balliol College, Oxford) dependent upon the support of Dorothea's oldest brother, Dr. William Hunter.³ A celebrated anatomist and medical doctor, Hunter opened a new anatomy theater and medical museum on Great Windmill Street, Soho. He made available his home at Long Calderwood, Lanarkshire, to Dorothea's family, where they lived frugally until William's death in 1783. Relocating again to London, the Baillies now relied upon financial assistance from Dorothea's other medical brother, Dr. John Hunter—famous for revolutionizing treatment of gunshot wounds and venereal disease, though rumored to have employed graverobbers to supply corpses for William's burgeoning anatomy theater. While in London, Dorothea, Agnes, and Joanna kept house for Matthew Baillie who, having graduated from Oxford in 1779, launched his own thriving medical practice.⁴ Much has been made of the influence of Baillie's medical family upon her literary career, particularly the influence of Dr. Matthew Baillie himself. As Frederick Burwick notes of this connection in relation to her “Plays on the Passions” series: “Joanna Baillie enters into the very same province of aberrational psychology that Matthew Baillie had begun to explore in his 1794 lectures on the nervous system. She, too, seeks to ground her analysis of behavior on empirical observation, and to identify the symptoms which foreshadow an impending emotional crisis.”⁵ Dr. Baillie regularly negotiated on his sister's behalf with publishers and printers early in her career, having become an influential author, himself. Not only did he serve as Physician Extraordinary to George III, but his *Morbid Anatomy of Some of the Most Important Parts of the Human Body* (first published in 1793) went into multiple English and American editions between 1793 and 1838, and it was subsequently translated into German, French, Italian, and Russian during the same period.⁶

Settling in London, Baillie's intellectual circle expanded beyond her medical family—thanks largely to her aunt, the poetess Anne Home Hunter (Dr. John Hunter's wife). Already

composing poetry and crafting early drafts of plays that would later appear in the “Plays on the Passions” series, Baillie formed life-long friendships with the banker-poet Samuel Rogers, Anna Laetitia Barbauld and her niece Lucy Aikin, Mary Montgomery, and William Sotheby, to name a few. Through these acquaintances she would eventually meet William Wordsworth, Robert Southey, Lord Byron, and most significantly to her development as a playwright, Sir Walter Scott. With Scott, Baillie enjoyed a long, warm exchange of encouragement and candid criticism of in-progress manuscripts, gossip about mutual friends, and a shared concern for the welfare of each other’s family. In a letter emblematic of the tone of their correspondence, Baillie playfully dodges imaginary charges of plagiarism by commenting on the shared themes between their work:

Do you know! I have a Tragedy at home in which a Wife discovers the guilt of her Husband, by the dying confession of a servant who was present at the crime, and I have scenes afterwards between her & the husband in which she tries to discover whether he is really guilty or not. Don’t after this think, if you should see it, that I have borrowed the idea from you [...] and if you should ever work up this part of your piece more fully, it may be an amusement to us some time or other to compare the two plays in this respect together. I will not let you beat me on my own ground if I can help it; but, if it must be so, I will less grudgingly yield the victory to you than any other Poet I know of.—⁷

The familiarity of the letter, by and large, characterizes the openness of their correspondence that would only end with Scott’s death in 1832.

But before Scott would influence her development as a playwright, Baillie launched her career with an anonymously published poetry collection titled, *Poems; wherein it is attempted to describe Certain Views of Nature and of Rustic Manners* (1790). This early poetry collection is largely credited with influencing the intellectual trajectory of Wordsworth’s “Advertisement” to the *Lyrical Ballads* in 1798, and illustrates the descriptive power of Baillie’s verse. Jonathan Wordsworth notes that for Baillie, “writing a free blank verse, willing to use both the shortened line and the extra syllable, [she] creates a poetry that moves more easily than Burns’s Spenserians, and has the same power of tender observation.”⁸ History tends to remember Baillie primarily for her playwrighting as opposed to her poetry, though these early poems showcase an ease with blank verse that drives some of the most powerful speeches in her plays. One even detects in the elaborate subtitle (“To point out, in some instances, the different influence which the same circumstances produce on different characters”) suggestive connections to her interest in human nature and passion she would develop more fully in the “Plays on the Passions” series beginning in 1798.

After the publication of *Poems*, Matthew Baillie married Sophia Denman, prompting Dorothea, Agnes, and Joanna’s move to Colchester and eventually on to Hampstead. During this eventful decade for Baillie, her first attempt at dramatic writing occurred accidentally. Years later, she recalls “seeing a quantity of white paper lying on the floor which from a circumstance needless to mention had been left there [...] it came to my head that one might write something upon it...that the something might be a play. The play was written or rather composed while my fingers were employed in sprigging muslin for an apron and afterwards transferred to the paper....”⁹ Believing *any* writer’s claims about creativity and literary production is tricky

interpretive business—and Baillie’s account is no different—though such a comment reminds us of the fine line women walked between acceptable domesticity and the ambitions underwriting their own literary production.

And this was a balancing act Baillie managed with great skill throughout her life. In 1798, she published anonymously Volume 1 of *A Series of Plays*. In a radical break with dramatic tradition, Baillie focuses each play on a specific passion that serves as a lens into human nature. The collection included *Basil* (a tragedy on love), *The Tryal* (a comedy on love), and Baillie’s most anthologized play, *De Monfort* (a tragedy on hatred). The accompanying “Introductory Discourse” to *A Series of Plays* explains the purpose of such dramatic experimentation in relation to the “sympathetic curiosity” people naturally exhibit for one another. “Sympathetic curiosity”—a combination of analytic curiosity and Adam Smithian fellow-feeling (from his *Theory of Moral Sentiments*)—motivates our desire to make connections between physiological markers (a quivering lip, a furrowed brow) and corresponding mental states (sorrow, frustration). Baillie finds in Smithian sympathy a larger investment in mankind, since “[f]rom that strong sympathy which most creatures, but the human above all, feel for others of their kind, nothing has become so much an object of man’s curiosity as man himself. We are all conscious of this within ourselves, that like every circumstance of continually repeated occurrence, it thereby escapes observation.”¹⁰ In short, the success and longevity of Baillie’s dramaturgical experiment hinged on adapting the passions and scenarios that elicit the pleasurable sympathetic curiosity of audience members. Staging such passions ultimately serves an important didactic function: spectators learn how to be better civil servants when their sympathetic curiosity drives their interaction with the world around them.

Throughout her long career, Baillie insisted that her plays were fit for stage production and should not automatically be relegated to the privacy of the closet. Her most-staged play, *De Monfort*, focuses on the hatred motivating the jealousy De Monfort feels for his rival, Rezenvelt. Hostilities come to a head between the two when De Monfort believes that Rezenvelt courts his sister, the noble Jane De Monfort. The play was first performed on Drury Lane in 1800 with real-life brother and sister actors John Kemble as De Monfort and Sarah Siddons as Jane De Monfort: the actress reportedly asked Baillie to craft more roles for her like Jane De Monfort. As multiple letters attest, Baillie took a keen interest in any production of her plays regardless of the prestige of the venue—exhibiting a similar excitement for plays staged on Drury Lane as for those acted in barns at rural festivals.¹¹

Overall, the critical reaction to Volume 1 was mixed, and Baillie would be particularly resentful of the first of multiple stinging reviews by Francis Jeffrey of the *Edinburgh Review*, who she referred to sarcastically throughout her life as the “Northern Critic.” In an 1803 review, Jeffrey dismissed Baillie’s experiment as “extremely injudicious” and rejected sympathetic curiosity as an “unfortunate” and “arbitrary system.”¹² Baillie voiced her frustration with Jeffrey’s reviews in the privacy of letters to family and friends, though Lord Byron’s satire of Jeffrey in *English Bards and Scotch Reviewers* provided the kind of public response that, perhaps, many poets and playwrights of the period privately fantasized writing themselves. Despite Jeffrey’s ambivalence for Volume 1 (in particular) and the “Plays on the Passions” series (in general), *A Series of Plays* remains Baillie’s groundbreaking contribution to what critics and historians celebrate as the *annus mirabilis* of 1798-9, with Baillie’s radical experiment in dramatic subject and passion

running alongside that of Wordsworth and Coleridge's experiment in poetic subject and language with the *Lyrical Ballads*.¹³

Theater managers were resistant to stage Baillie's plays because, as Peter Duthie notes, among other reasons, an emerging middle class audience's "thirst" for variety made them "seek out more and more non-verbal performance. Along with opera, pantomime performances—'dumb show'—a direct descendant of the Italian touring *commedia dell'arte*, and spectacle were the order of the day [...] Audiences could gorge on a smorgasbord of quickly-crafted tragedy, comedy, or a ballad opera intermixed with farce or pantomime."¹⁴ But Baillie pressed on with the "Plays on the Passions" series into a second volume in 1802, which included *The Election*, *Ethwald*, and *The Second Marriage*; and Volume 3 followed in 1812 with the plays *Orra*, *The Dream*, *The Siege*, and *The Beacon*. Baillie titles both prefaces to Volumes 2 and 3 "To the Reader," but their topic—the suitability of her plays for stage production—are clearly directed at stage managers as opposed to a general reading public. In the preface to Volume 3, Baillie strikes a noticeably argumentative tone when making the case for a complete overhaul of the architecture of the theater. She calls for smaller theaters and stages that would enhance acoustics for audiences, that would strike a cleaner balance between light and shadow during performances, and that would help actors avoid the ridiculousness of "exaggerated expression."¹⁵ That such recommendations fell on deaf ears is hardly surprising, but we find in Baillie a willingness to defend the integrity of her "acting plays" and a series of acute observations related to the realities of practical, successful stagecrafting.

As Baillie continued to publish the "Plays on the Passions" series between 1798 and 1812, she pursued other dramatic projects, including publishing two editions of *Miscellaneous Plays* (1805), with the popular *The Family Legend* appearing in the second edition. She also contributed many song lyrics to George Thomson's songbook with titles including, "Song Written for a Welsh Air, Called 'the New Year's Gift'" and "Hooly and Fairly. (Founded on an Old Scotch Song)." After the death of their mother in 1806, Joanna and Agnes would live together for the rest of lives in the suburbs of London, remaining geographically close and emotionally inseparable from Matthew and Sophia Baillie and their two children, Elizabeth Margaret and William. Visitors to Joanna and Agnes would note that neither sister, despite a long residence in London, lost her Scottish brogue, and that their shared love for Scotland never flagged.

In 1810, Sir Walter Scott advocated on behalf of the stage production of Baillie's *The Family Legend: A Tragedy, In Five Acts* in Edinburgh, with Scott writing the "Prologue" and Henry Mackenzie composing the "Epilogue." The play was a wild success and prompted a Scottish revival of *De Monfort*. Five years later, Lord Byron would attempt (unsuccessfully) to revive *De Monfort* on the London stage. Given Byron's enthusiasm to stage *De Monfort*, it would seem that Baillie should be predisposed to like him, though she ultimately resented his insensitive treatment and infamous divorce from her close friend and confidant, Anne Isabella Milbanke.¹⁶

The sporadic staging of her plays throughout her life did little to deter Baillie's creativity or literary output. In 1821, she continued experimenting with genres and published a collection of historical verses titled, *Metrical Legends of Exalted Characters*. In this collection, Baillie spotlights historical figures like William Wallace, Griseld Baillie, and Christopher Columbus in

a combination of fiction, history, and biography that re-presents their lives and remarkable achievements. Two years later, Baillie edited *A Collection of Poems, Chiefly Manuscript, and from Living Authors* with a list of contributors that reads like a “who’s who” of first-generation British Romantic poets: including Sir Walter Scott, Anne Home Hunter, Robert Southey, William Wordsworth, Anna Laetitia Barbauld, and Felicia Hemans (among other notable poets). Certainly, one could consider *A Collection of Poems* among the earliest anthologies of British Romantic poetry, with Baillie giving equal footing to the poetic contributions of female poets as to their male counterparts.

As she neared completion of this editorial work in 1823, Matthew Baillie died of tuberculosis after an extended, exhausting attendance at Windsor that his devoted sister referred to as his “grievous Thralldom.”¹⁷ Matthew’s death was an irreparable loss to this close-knit family, and as Judith Slagle suggests, Baillie “seems to have lost much of her early endurance and to have chosen a more private life, probably because Matthew had been one of her earliest champions and the loss was hardly bearable.”¹⁸

Into the 1830s and 40s, Baillie began the long process of bringing together her published work into a collected edition to hand down to her heirs, while at the same time expanding beyond poetry and playwriting with the publication of a tract arguing against Trinitarian religious doctrines. Her *A View of the General Tenour of the New Testament Regarding the Nature and Dignity of Jesus Christ* reflects her Unitarian beliefs and emphasizes Christ’s humanity. Her purpose was to “lay before the reader all the texts, as they follow one another, in the Gospels, the Acts of the Apostles, and in the Epistles, which appear to me to have any reference to the nature, dignity and offices of Jesus Christ; leaving him to draw from them what conclusions his honest judgment shall dictate.”¹⁹ Wading into such religious debates, while worrying old friends like the Tory Sir Walter Scott, was encouraged by American Unitarians like Andrews Norton in New England who would also advocate on behalf of her publication in America.²⁰ This tract tells us much about Baillie’s sense of religious tolerance, and keenly illustrates her vibrant intellectual range in the later part of her life. Not only did she publish *A View of the General Tenour* in 1831, but she continued writing for the stage with the publication of the extensive 3 volume *Dramas* (1836), produced the poetry collection *Fugitive Verses* (1840), and continued publishing historical sketches with *Ahalya Bae: A Poem* which appeared in 1849. By mid-century Joanna Baillie had not only outlived most of her contemporaries, but she continued to work in multiple genres and modes with the same energy as with her earliest poetry and playwriting in the 1790s.

Throughout her long life, Baillie was a consistent advocate for women’s writing, and she cultivated friendships with prominent British and American women writers of the early and mid-nineteenth century, including extensive correspondence with writers featured on the Chawton House Library Women Writers Biography Series including Maria Edgeworth, Felicia Hemans, and Anna Seward. Admiration for Baillie’s contribution to the theater was forthcoming throughout the century in poems in celebration of her literary achievements and through dedications and prefaces acknowledging incurred intellectual debts. As early as 1811, fellow Scot Mary Brunton dedicated the novel *Self-Control* to Baillie, sheepishly claiming that “this trifle claims affinity with the Plays on the Passions—Your portraitures of the progress and of the consequences of passion,—portraitures whose exquisite truth gives them the force of living examples,—are powerful warnings to watch the first risings of the insidious rebel.”²¹ Margaret

Holford Hodson dedicated *Warbeck of Wolfstein* to Baillie in 1820, and Felicia Hemans dedicated *Records of Woman* to Baillie in 1828, as “a slight token of / grateful respect and admiration.”²² In a poetic tribute to Baillie in 1841, Hartley Coleridge elevated Baillie to the status of “our Island’s Tragic Queen.”²³ Clearly, female writers were eager to acknowledge Baillie’s influence on their own work, and a new generation of male writers would celebrate her contribution to the British literary landscape.²⁴

Even as Hartley Coleridge confers royal literary status upon Baillie, Margaret Fuller’s memoir offers a snapshot of “paying court” to the elderly Baillie. Fuller remembers,

I found on her brow, not, indeed, a coronal of gold, but a serenity and strength undimmed and unbroken by the weight of more than fourscore years, or by the scanty appreciation which her thoughts have received. We found her in her little calm retreat, at Hampstead, surrounded by marks of love and reverence from distinguished and excellent friends.²⁵

Closing in on her 90th year, Baillie completed what she lovingly referred to as her “monster” book, the complete *Dramatic and Poetical Works of Joanna Baillie* in early 1851. The collection brought together a half-century’s worth of literary production in the form of plays, poetry, songs, historical sketches, and religious writings into two volumes.

In February 1851, Baillie died at the age of 89, leaving Agnes to live another ten years to the age of 101. As Jeffrey Cox notes and as countless critics have echoed, Joanna Baillie was “the most respected and arguably the most important playwright in England” in the first half of the nineteenth century.²⁶ Baillie’s legacy—which has been the subject of excited critical attention with help from feminist and new historicist critics—consists of an extraordinary literary output coupled with a consistent advocacy for women’s writing in the first half of the nineteenth century.

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¹ For an extensive biographical treatment of Joanna Baillie, see Judith Slagle's *Joanna Baillie: A Literary Life* (Madison: Fairleigh Dickinson UP, 2002) and Margaret Carhart's *The Life and Work of Joanna Baillie* (New Haven: Yale UP, 1923). See also Slagle's "Evolution of a Writer:

Joanna Baillie's Life in Letters" in Thomas C. Crochunis (ed.), *Joanna Baillie, Romantic Dramatist* (New York: Routledge, 2003), pp. 8-26.

² Lucy Aikin, "Recollections of Joanna Baillie" in Philip Henry Le Breton (ed.), *Memoirs, Miscellanies and Letters of the Late Lucy Aikin* (London: Longman, Green, Longman, Roberts, & Green, 1864), p. 9.

³ A Snell Exhibitioner—named after philanthropist John Snell—has been awarded since 1699 and funds students from the University of Glasgow to pursue postgraduate work at Balliol College, Oxford. See ELG Stones's "The Life and Career of John Snell (c. 1629–1679)." *Stair Society Miscellany II* (1984), pp. 148–220. See also the official "Balliol College Archives and Manuscripts page" for more on the Snell Foundation, as well as a comprehensive list of its Exhibitioners from 1699 to 2000: <<http://archives.balliol.ox.ac.uk/History/snell.asp>>. Matthew Baillie followed in the footsteps of such notable Scots as the mathematician James Stirling and Adam Smith, whose *Theory of Moral Sentiments* (1759) would influence Joanna Baillie's concept of sympathy and human nature in her "Plays on the Passions" series.

⁴ For more on Dr. Matthew Baillie's life, works, and medical career, see Franco Crainz, *The Life and Works of Matthew Baillie* (Santa Palomba, Italy: Pelitiaassociati, 1995).

⁵ Frederick Burwick, "Joanna Baillie, Matthew Baillie, and the Pathology of the Passions" in Thomas C. Crochunis (ed.), *Joanna Baillie, Romantic Dramatist* (New York: Routledge, 2003), p. 51. For critical attention to connections between Joanna Baillie and Dr. Matthew Baillie, see also Dorothy McMillian's "'Dr' Baillie" in Richard Cronin (ed.), *1798: The Year of the Lyrical Ballads* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1998), pp. 68–92. For connections between Baillie and nineteenth-century neurology, see Alan Richardson's "A neural theatre: Joanna Baillie's 'Plays on the Passions'" in Thomas C. Crochunis (ed.), *Joanna Baillie, Romantic Dramatist* (New York: Routledge, 2003), pp. 130-48. See also James Allard's *Romanticism, Medicine, and the Poet's Body* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2007).

⁶ See Franco Crainz, "The Editions and Translations of Dr. Matthew Baillie's *Morbid Anatomy*." *Medical History* 26 (1982), pp. 443–44.

⁷ Joanna Baillie to Sir Walter Scott, 4 April 1808. Cited in Slagle's *Collected Letters*, pp. 234–35.

⁸ Jonathan Wordsworth. "Introduction" in *Poems (1790)*, (Oxford and New York: Woodstock Books, 1994), n.pag. See also Duthie's "Appendix D" for more on William Wordsworth's appropriation of lines from Baillie's *De Monfort* in "There Was a Boy." See also Breen, *The Selected Poems of Joanna Baillie, 1762-1851* (Manchester: Manchester UP, 1999), pp. 1-21, for links between Baillie's early poetry and biography: "Baillie was therefore, with Stephen Duck and Robert Burns, among the first of eighteenth-century poets to empathize with her subjects—in her case, the smallholding farmers and village laborers whom she had observed as a child at Bothwell and Hamilton as well as during adolescence on her mother's family estate at Long Calderwood near Glasgow" (p. 7).

⁹ Quid. in Slagle's *Life*, p. 66. This quotation is from an unpublished autobiographical memoir Baillie wrote for her nephew William Baillie and referred to in Slagle's *Life*, footnote 45 on p. 48.

¹⁰ Joanna Baillie, "Introductory Discourse" in Peter Duthie (ed.), *The Plays on the Passions*, (Ontario: Broadview, 2001), p. 67.

¹¹ For Baillie's response to an operatic staging of *The Election*, see Joanna Baillie to Anne Millar, 30 June 1817, cited in Slagle's *Collected Letters*, pp. 1126–28.

¹² Francis Jeffrey, *Edinburgh Review* 4 (July 1803) in Peter Duthie (ed.), *The Plays on the Passions*, (Ontario: Broadview, 2001), p. 438.

¹³ For more on the collaborative efforts underwriting the *Annus Mirabilis*, see Emily Sun "Poetry, Conversation, Community: *Annus Mirabilis*, 1797–1798" in Charles Mahoney (ed.), *A Companion to Romantic Poetry* (Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell, 2011), pp. 302–17.

¹⁴ Peter Duthie, "Introduction." *The Plays on the Passions*, (Ontario: Broadview, 2001), p. 41. See also Slagle's *Life* for discussion of Richard Brinsley Sheridan's hostility to Baillie's drama which may have accounted for her limited theatrical production of her plays at Drury Lane, pp. 93–4.

¹⁵ Joanna Baillie, "To the Reader," *A Series of Plays*, Vol. 3. (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, and Brown, 1821), p. xix.

¹⁶ For Baillie's description of Byron's "staunch friendship" of her plays, see Joanna Baillie to Sir Walter Scott, 2 October 1815, cited in Slagle's *Collected Letters*, pp. 339–41. For more on the Byron-Baillie relationship, see William Brewer "Joanna Baillie and Lord Byron." *Keats-Shelley Journal* 44 (1995), pp. 165–81.

¹⁷ For context of this "grievous Thraldom," see Joanna Baillie to Sir Walter Scott, 28 November 1810, cited in Slagle's *Collected Letters*, pp. 274–78. See also Dr. Baillie's short autobiographical memoir transcribed in Crainz wherein he describes the circumstances of his conscription as George III's Physician Extraordinary: "In the year 1810 [...] His Majesty said to me 'Dr Baillie I have a favour to ask of you which I hope you wont [*sic*] refuse me, viz that you will become my Physician Extraordinary_' I bowed and made the best acknowledgement in words that I could. His Majesty said 'I thought that you would not refuse me, and therefore have already given directions that your appointment should be made out_' A few days afterwards [...] His Majesty said to the other Medical Gentlemen in my presence 'I have made Dr Baillie my Physician Extraordinary against his Will but not against his Heart_' (Crainz, pp. 35–36).

¹⁸ Slagle's *Life*, 168.

¹⁹ Joanna Baillie, *A View of the General Tenour of the New Testament Regarding the Nature and Divinity of Jesus Christ*, (London: Richard and J. E. Taylor, 1838), p. 4.

²⁰ For more on Baillie's friendship and correspondence with American publisher and Harvard professor George Ticknor, see Bruce Graver's "Joanna Baillie and George Ticknor" in Thomas C. Crochunis (ed.), *Joanna Baillie, Romantic Dramatist* (New York: Routledge, 2003), pp. 27–47.

²¹ Mary Brunton, *Self-Control* (London and New York: Pandora, 1986), p. v.

²² Felicia Hemans, *Records of Woman: With Other Poems*. Ed. Donald H. Reiman (New York and London: Garland Publishing, 1978).

²³ The poem is quoted in its entirety in Slagle's *Life*, pp. 274-75. Hartley Coleridge's comments extend those of Edgar Allan Poe's 1835 comment calling Baillie the "first literary lady in England."

²⁴ More privately, Sir Walter Scott named a garden after Baillie at Abbotsford called "Joanna's Bower." See Joanna Baillie to Sir Walter Scott, December 1815; Joanna Baillie to Sir Walter Scott, 24 July 1816, cited in Slagle's *Collected Letters*, pp. 342–44, 355–57.

²⁵ Margaret Fuller Ossoli, *Memoirs of Margaret Fuller Ossoli*, V. 2 (Boston: Phillips, Sampson and Company, 1852), p. 183.

²⁶ Jeffrey N. Cox, ed. *Seven Gothic Dramas 1789–1825* (Athens: Ohio UP, 1992), p. 50.