

CHATTERTON'S PRECIOUS THINGS: TOKENS OF PROFESSIONAL SELF-PROMOTION

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IF THOMAS Chatterton had been born to Generation Alpha, my children's generation, he would have been one of those obnoxiously attention-hungry, fashionable, razor-sharp social-media influencers. Self-promotion drove Chatterton. Precocious and sensitive, he used whatever literary and visual tropes seemed most popular to his inexperienced but culturally acute eyes. His poetics was gorgeously fashionable and fraudulent, an inchoate grab at whatever professional relationships or commercial opportunities were likely to enhance his literary and pecuniary standing—in other words, to ensure his success. More than anything, he wished to demonstrate his skills as a professional gentleman of letters to those he perceived as his coterie circle of peers, patrons, and publishers.

The material experiment that Chatterton is best known for still is the Rowley manuscripts, with their often-repeated story of antiquarian fraudulence and forgery. But when I began researching Chatterton's poetry and other textual forms, I discovered that his interest in the material was not only some kind of ill-informed, adolescent, historical conmanship; it was all of that, to be sure, but it was also a broad-based, ambitious, and purposeful attempt to harness the power of material things for his own professional advantage. That said, in this paper I do use the Rowley manuscripts as a case study, because they are the most well-developed and frankly entertaining of Chatterton's precious things.

Circulating documents, gifts, and other tokens was Chatterton's preferred means of professional self-promotion. He was fascinated by the symbolic and manipulative possibilities of the material "thingness" of his literary works. Tokens, those physical objects that serve symbolically as a visible or tangible representation of something else (a special feeling or quality, an invitation, or a gift), abound in his works. Chatterton's tokens were sometimes words that represented the physical, sensual and kinaesthetic worlds, and sometimes they took the form of documents, such as letters

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and manuscripts, maps, wills and testaments. Sometimes they were gifts, both symbolic and real.

In the eighteenth century, physical texts such as the love letter, the testamentary will, or the apparently medieval manuscript embodied cultural codes that were both subjectively compelling and systemically authoritative, to Chatterton and his readers alike. These objects had specific physical attributes related to their three-dimensional shapes and their substance, as with folded onion paper tucked inside an envelope, or a rippled and follicled vellum parchment; other meaningful physical elements included visual layouts or formats, as with epistolary or poetic forms, antiquarian tabulations, or cartographic contouring and cartouche. Taken together, these attributes were recognised and understood in ways related to culturally determined beliefs about interiority and truth, authority and authenticity. Sometimes even the words contained by these physical tokens behaved themselves as metaphorical tokens. For example, in his love poem "To Miss Hoyland with a Present," fraudulently penned on behalf of a besotted but less articulate or imaginative friend Mr. John Baker, Chatterton figuratively expressed Baker's devotion and constancy as a physical chain binding him to the young woman. Perhaps, as the title of the poem suggests, the conspirators planned to reinforce this bond in tangible token form, with the gift of a necklace or bracelet. "Accept fair Nymph this token of my Love," Chatterton wrote (line 1), proceeding to unpack all the expected wealth of symbolic meaning relating to the proffered object, the material symbol of love that acts as offering, promise, trophy, and entrapment, all wrapped up in one miniature but metaphorically burdened package. As a chain on her wrist, the poem's speaker muses, the material form becomes a symbol of his trustworthiness, such that the sun itself should not "on his course more constant run, / And cheer the Universe with coming Day, / Than I in pleasing Chains of conquest bound / Adore" (lines 7–10). Despite the syntactical hash, by the end of these lines, the gift of a bracelet has transformed into the heavy but welcome bindings upon a captured heart. Chatterton and Baker together relied upon the woman's trust and belief in the revelatory honesty and promise of hand-written letters and love tokens for success in their endeavour. In complementary fashion, Chatterton's words gained some of their effect through the evocative description of the physical object a reader would recognise as a love token. It was this possibility of individual reader manipulation or compulsion, in response to the physical attributes of his works, that excited Chatterton.

Similarly, Chatterton's Rowley manuscripts depend on the physical attributes and layouts that encode antiquarian authenticity and scholarly authority into these delightfully detailed but fraudulent medieval documents. For example, in the spurious transcription of Rowley's heraldic account of artists and writers in medieval Bristol, shown in Figure 1, everything from the roughly sketched shield and curling, hard-to-decipher script, to the dirtied parchment, to Chatterton's copperplate "transcriptions" down the right margin, speak to the possibility of antiquarian discovery and

professional distinction. Indeed, Chatterton relied upon these kinds of symbolism built into the material forms of his tokens to impel his larger creative narratives.



Fig. 1. Thomas Chatterton, John Chaloner a Monk... and a Native of Brystowe, was a skilled Carveller yn Stones, [Dec 1768–Feb 1769], ink on paper, British Library Add MS 5766A–008 (folio detail) (by permission of the British Library).

I am arguing, then, that in contrast to the prevailing and long-standing critical view of Chatterton as a literary conman, his intention was not primarily to defraud, nor to take part in an intellectually ironic or conniving culture of forgery. Instead, I propose that he saw the exchange of tokens in symbolic and persuasive terms, embodying the power to influence the relationship between poet and reader, and to build consensus with his readers in the pursuit of his own ambitious literary purposes. So, although he constructed fake medieval manuscripts and tried to pass them off amongst first the antiquarian literati of Bristol and then Walpole and others in London, he did so in the spirit of an inexperienced and adolescent publishing opportunist. In Chatterton's fanciful ancestral self-portrait, shown in Figure 2, he depicts himself as a medieval knight called Syr Guallevoyne Chatterton, defender and

builder of cultural relationships, giving his patrons the gift of a gothic church. This drawing beautifully captures in visual symbolic form the larger creative function of the



Fig. 2. Thomas Chatterton, Syr Gualevoyne Chatterton, [1769], ink and water colour on paper, British Library Add MS 5766B–280 (by permission of the British Library).

Rowleyan works and the way Chatterton's imagination worked hard to resolve the uncertain contingencies of his less-than-ideal professional circumstances. His manuscripts and other tangible works were, in this sense, curated from worldly

craving, and shaped by his avid notions of what constituted desirable consumer objects—those shiny baubles of mid-century antiquarian and Georgian literary culture that were his key to professional standing, fame, and monetary security. In this light, Chatterton was not a conman peddling fraudulent antiquarian materials; instead, his material poetics was performative in its construction of valuable cultural things, through which he could enact his own literary, professional or other agendas.

What did Chatterton do with his precious things? His fascination with tokens resided in the ways he could use them to stage encounters, in person or through letters, with the human objects of his admiration, to manipulate, to entertain, and to please them. He saw this exchange of tokens in obligatory terms. My argument is informed by Bill Brown’s “thing theory” (see especially pp. 4, 5–8) and Arjun Appadurai’s notion of the social obligation that comes with faux gifting (3–4), which means that Chatterton’s poetics had features of an economic transaction. Examples of his experimentation with material style as this kind of transactional tool crop up consistently in his oeuvre, and not only in his notorious manuscripts. As we have seen, Chatterton sought to manipulate Eleanor Hoyland’s affections, presumably in exchange for the usual matrimonial promise, through a series of imposturous love letters written not for himself, but on behalf of his friend Baker. Similarly manipulative and full of irony, Chatterton wrote and delivered his own mock testamentary will to his employer, solicitor Mr John Lambert—an extract from which is shown here:

Item I give and bequeath all my Vigor and Fire of Youth to Mr. George Catcott, being sensible he is in most want of it—

Item From the same charitable motive I give and bequeath unto the Revd. Mr. Camplin Senr. all my Humility.

To Mr. Burgum all my Prosody and Grammar likewise one Moiety of my Modesty, the other moiety to any young Lady who can prove without blushing that she wants that valuable Commodity.

To Bristol all my Spirit and Disinterestedness parcells of Goods unknown on her Key since the days of Canynge and Rowley.

.....

My Powers of Utterance I give to the Reverend Mr. Broughton hoping he will employ them to a better Purpose than reading Lectures on the immortality of the Soul.

.....

Item I leave the young Ladys all the Letters they have had from me assuring them that they need be under no Apprehensions from the Appearance of my Ghost for I dye for none of them...

Item I leave my Mother and Sister to the protection of my Friends if I have any

Executed in the presence of Omniscience
this 14th of April 1770
T: Chatterton

Codicil

It is my Pleasure that Mr. Cocking and Miss Farley print this my Will
the first Saturday after my Death

T. C. (“[Will]”)

Chatterton's biographer E. H. W. Meyerstein noted that he would have encountered mock wills in local periodical publications of the time and that he certainly imitated the form (334). Lambert would have been aware of the form too, and would have recognised his apprentice's mockery and all the documentary attributes of statutory truthfulness. Lambert's liability should he ignore a young employee's suicide threat must have weighed heavily upon the older man's mind. Chatterton's twentieth-century editor Donald Taylor argues that the “Will” was a manipulative attempt to alarm Lambert so much that he would “free C from his apprenticeship” (Commentary 1059). The manipulative trickery and fear tactics essential to this work therefore lay in Chatterton's assurance of his employer's responsive cultural susceptibility to the material testamentary form. Lambert did indeed release Chatterton from indenture, thereby likely facilitating his move to London's Grub Street for more glamorous work as a freelance journalist. As a token of exchange similar to the love letter, then, Chatterton's mock will staged an encounter through which he manipulated circumstances for his own ambitious professional purposes.

Chatterton's manufactured fourteenth-century Rowleyan maps, manuscripts, and illustrations were the most comprehensive example of tokens produced for this kind of exchange. The carefully constructed manuscripts communicated with the reader about artefactual antiquity, documentary history, scholarly authenticity, and professional possibility. They imitated the obscurity of antiquity, the mysterious allure of the found artefact, and the implied scholarly ordering and narrativity of historiographical page layouts. The hundreds of handmade folio pages that constitute the apparent antiquity of Rowley's history were designed to teach manuscript handlers how to feel, think, and behave in relation to these artefacts and the cultural goldmine they supposedly contained. For instance, the illustration of “The Owter Walle of the Castle” (Fig. 3) stages for its handlers the direct sensory experience of touching and viewing materials of great age and scholarly significance. Bringing the childhood excitement of treasure maps to mind, drawn in invisible lemon-juice ink, or dirtied and burned at the edges to simulate age and wear, Rowley's parchment and vellum manuscripts are blackened and roughened in what Chatterton himself described as his technique to “antiquate,” or give the appearance of antiquity (Dix 48n31). Adhered together in this composite work, for example, are three pieces of paper—the one on the top left comprises the curly ink-strokes of what Chatterton said was

Rowley's Middle English script, with a copy of a Saxon wall painting collected by Rowley below. The larger piece on the right represents the ground plans for "Brystowe" castle, supposedly sketched by Rowley. Both are pasted onto a larger piece of paper which bears Chatterton's eighteenth-century copperplate script, transcribing his own made-up Rowleyan history.



Fig. 3. Thomas Chatterton, *The owter Walle of the Castle*, [Oct–Nov 1768], ink on paper, British Library Add MS 5766A-031 (by permission of the British Library).

Without yet knowing much more about this folio, the handler senses the promise of touching something old and precious, something worth understanding; this feeling is emphasised by the illegibility of the antique script, the inscrutability of the blotched and cramped line-drawn figures, the mediaevalesque geometry and tracery of axes and ramparts, and the concentric circles and squares in the castle's architectural footprint. Remember that the whole thing was dreamed up and crafted by Chatterton in the middle of the eighteenth century. But Chatterton's material devices support this aura of time-worn venerability. At the same time, his modern annotations nourish the handler's sense of engaging in a scholarly antiquarian conversation. The folio is at once deeply satisfying, intellectually and kinaesthetically, and intriguingly incomplete.

And this was the point. Chatterton wanted to captivate and convince his erudite readers through this representation of historical research practices, applied to his precious fakes. The layered collection and juxtaposition of salvaged paper scraps, and the differences in paper colours that highlight their collection and preservation at different times and places as well as their location in a volume of other such apparently ancient and collectable folio pages, all suggest the cultural significance of the works. Even the contrast between the “original” Rowleyan and “modern” copperplate texts and the pencilled annotations of the fragments “a” and “b” speaks of the need for scholarly transcription and categorisation, as well as other curatorial and critical practices. And then, perhaps, publication to a fanfare of public acclaim. Imagined writers’, scholars’, and booksellers’ hands jostle for primacy in these forms, in the intimate historiographical markings and other critical interactions imposed upon the imaginary text. It is all evidence of a brilliant if callow plan for literary success.

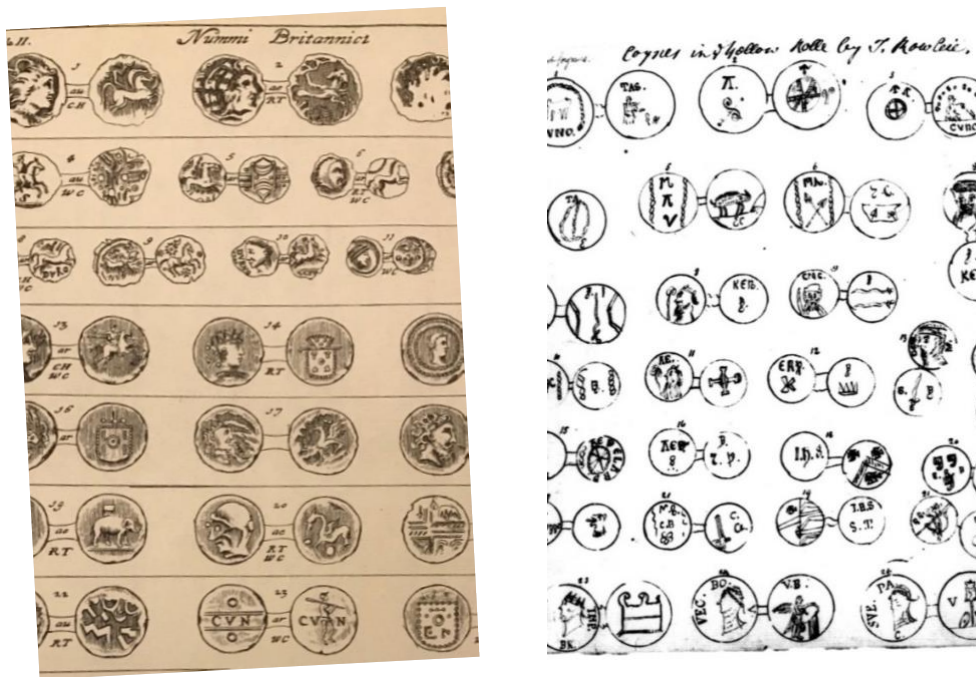


Fig. 4 and Fig. 5. William Camden, “Nummi Britannici” (left), from Camden’s *Britannia*, 1695: A Facsimile of the 1695 Edition Published by Edmund Gibson, *Newton Abbott: David and Charles Reprints*, [1971], *Tabula ii*, p. 88 (by permission of the British Library, photo Kate Sumner); Thomas Chatterton, *Coynes in Yellow Rolle by T. Rowleie* (right), [Oct-Nov 1768], *British Library Add MS 5766B-058* (folio detail), (by permission of the British Library).

Chatterton’s Rowley manuscripts speak to the eighteenth-century empirical culture that valued handwritten manuscripts over printed materials as more authoritative (Groom). Chatterton drew on historical and geographical texts, as well as contemporary antiquarian and historical sources, to add historiographical texture

to his fabricated material remains. Through the pen of his imaginary avatar, Thomas Rowley, Chatterton imitated the visual techniques of early modern antiquarian book illustrations, annotations, and layouts. In other words, he imagined Rowley playing at transcribing and documenting the antique past, despite the anachronism of a fifteenth-century priest using Early Modern curatorial techniques to document Bristol's Saxon and Roman treasures. For instance, in the case of Rowley's illustrations of the ancient coins in the "Cabynet" of his imaginary patron, Bristol merchant William Canynge ("Yellow Rolle" 64, line 32), Chatterton cribbed ideas from Camden's *Britannia*¹ (Fig. 4). Just like in Camden, Rowley's numismatic sketches of Saxon and Roman coins are shown in connected pairs with obverse and reverse views (Fig. 5), complete with a numbering system. The little Saxon English and Latin legends and quirky mint characters were Chatterton's own, but his page layouts were a fraudulent performance of the page proofs of an authoritative antiquarian textbook.

As another example, Figure 6 shows Chatterton's spurious "original" and "transcript" versions of the same imaginary medieval Bristol Castle façade, the "Backe of yGuarders Hall with its Towers." This is one of scores of historiographical illustrations that visually juxtapose Rowley's stained old sketches with new pictorial transcriptions, both with copperplate annotations. His imitation of these layouts demonstrates his understanding of the importance of illustrations in Early Modern chorographic works, not only because of their importance for mapping the known and newly discovered world, but also because collecting them on the page gave them meaning and made them more authentic. In producing such imitations, Chatterton learned that he could work upon the core beliefs held by his educated readers, through the authenticating notations and page layouts of historiographic convention. Chatterton's historiography was a means of inviting his readers into a subjective awareness of his work—his precious historical objects—and of inviting exactly the kind of scholarly interest and engagement that his annotations themselves demonstrated.

I am suggesting, then, that Chatterton's work highlights over and over again the fact of materiality, antiquity, and indecipherability, and that in doing so this work encouraged his readers to physically touch the works, to be touched affectively by them, and to respond in a predetermined way. Luisa Calè argues that in "composite" pages of mid-eighteenth-century bibliographic experiments like Chatterton's manuscripts, visual devices such as annotations and footnotes disrupted the reader's experience of reading, reducing the text to "a series of aphorisms or captions" ("Blake" 456). However, in the disruption that they cause, they also highlight the reading experience itself, as well as the antiquarian's attempt to infuse narrative meaning into otherwise meaningless objects, thereby creating "an imagined past which is available for consumption" (Stewart 143). His tales, poems, and letters concerning priest, poet, and historian Thomas Rowley's relationship with his patron William Canynge, and concerning their joint antiquarian and scholarly projects, constructed a narrative parable of the ways Chatterton hoped his own prospective patrons would value and respond to the Rowley manuscripts.

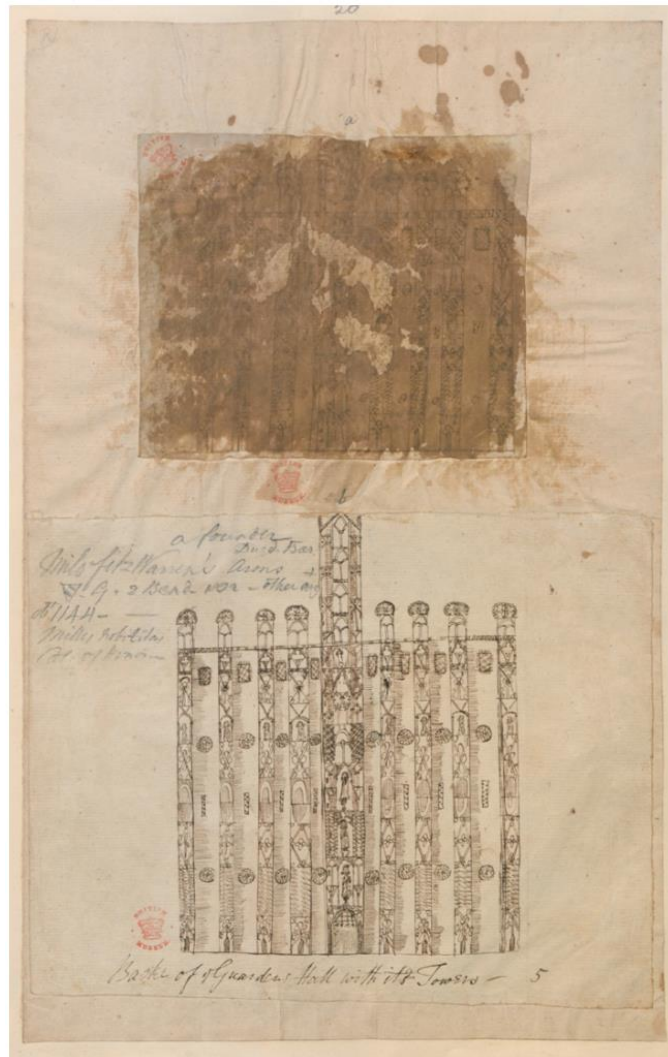


Fig. 6. Thomas Chatterton, Backe of yGuarders Hall with its Towers, [Oct–Nov 1768], ink on paper, British Library Add MS 5766A–035 (by permission of the British Library).

So, specifically, how did Chatterton want his readers to respond? Simply speaking, he would do anything to get himself into print. His creative *modus operandum* involved a campaign to attract the attention of individual men such as Bristol historian William Barrett, cultural critic and antiquarian Horace Walpole, and London publisher James Dodsley, to whom he would send his manuscripts for incorporation into their magazine or journal, or indeed for literal inscription into their works. Particular fragments or pieces of the Rowley works, according to Chatterton’s twentieth-century editor Donald Taylor, had “quite specific jobs to do: they are clearly designed to exploit the particular needs and interests of actual or potential patrons”

(Thomas 52). In this way, Chatterton would offer up to each man specially crafted, pseudo-documentary fragments of such apparent personal interest and significance, and so seductively incomplete in academic terms, that he hoped they would be enraptured, unable to act in any way other than to incorporate them into their own historical research and publications. As if he were creating a museum gallery, or an antiquarian cabinet of curiosities, open to the historical narrativity and extra-illustration of his visitors, Chatterton created a display of cultural and historical antiquities. Their ultimate form and meaning were left wide open to Barrett and Walpole, and others like them, who Chatterton hoped would take his works and alter them from the state of antiquarian ephemera to bound and published books.

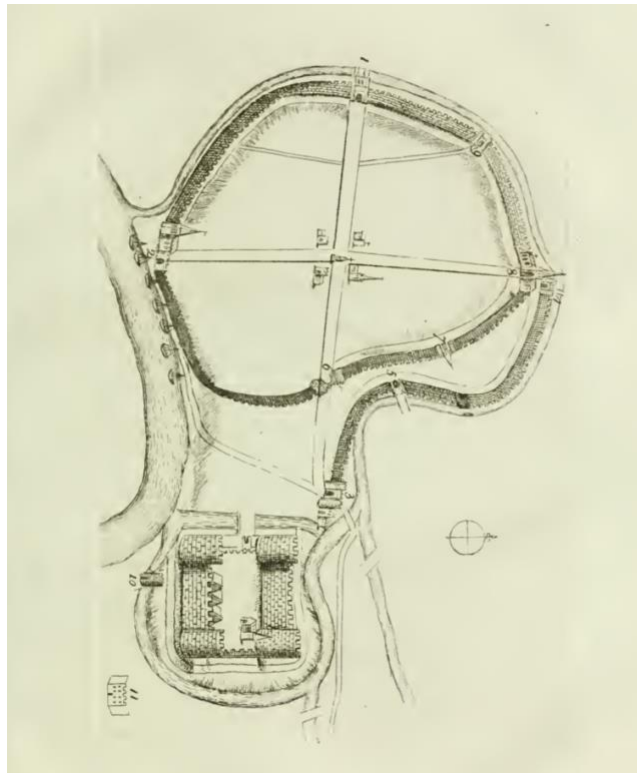


Fig. 7. William Barrett, *The old Plan of the City*, from *History and Antiquities of the City of Bristol*, Bristol, W. Pine, [1789], facing p. 51, copperplate print (by permission of the British Library, photo Kate Sumner).

Most of Chatterton's Rowley fragments constituted an invitation to dislocate and reinscribe his work into new material forms authored by others. He hoped these new forms would give him a chance at immortality through publication, despite the fact that he had to give up on his claim to sole authorship in the process. To this end, for example, Chatterton shared many scores of his medieval histories, poetry, and drawings with his antiquarian mentor William Barrett, as documentary "evidence"

ideally suited to fill the gaps in the gullible man's *History and Antiquities of the City of Bristol*.² Figure 7, for example, shows Barrett's map of Bristol castle in its medieval heyday, published as factual in his *History and Antiquities*. Barrett's map almost exactly replicates the castle footprint imaginatively reconstructed in a sketch by Chatterton (see Fig. 3). It was just what Chatterton hoped for. Barrett's *History* is a bizarre fusion of fact and fantasy, conceived as a history of Bristol, but constructed from a composite of real historical and Chatterton's Rowleyan materials—constructed in much the same fashion as Chatterton's own historiography, except that its nominated author presents it as fact, and its form expresses all the qualities of a traditional published history book. Despite such a presentation, however, the names of Rowley and Chatterton both appear repeatedly in the book's contents pages. Rowley is cited as an historical source throughout the history, and Chatterton's scholarly relationship to the Rowley materials is mentioned too, such that, for example, "the following curious account of this church was given by Chatterton, as transcribed by him from Rowley, which is submitted to the judgement of the reader" (524). Furthermore, Chatterton's Rowleyan poetry, history, maps and architectural illustrations are printed, *verbatim*, in the pages of this so-called history book.

Barrett acknowledged the fact that there would be various "opinions held of these manuscripts ... respecting their authenticity; they may probably be called in question as much as the poems have been, published under the name of Rowley" (524). However, he refused to determine his own position on the controversy, deemed it "unfair in an Historian to have concealed what the public have a right to canvas," and instead chose to call his book a history and leave "every reader of abilities and candour ... to form an opinion of it." He added, knowing at this point in time that the readers were unlikely to be able to see and touch the obvious material fakery of Chatterton's scraps, that the "external evidence of the genuineness of these manuscripts was such, as fully to authorize him to give them to the public, whatever shall be infer'd from the internal evidence" (45–46). Barrett's *History* is thus an odd fusion, or confusion, in which the controversy of the Rowley "forgery" and even the adolescent "forger" himself have been incorporated into Bristol's history—acknowledged as problematic yet still dressed in the pretence of historical truthfulness and scholarly authenticity.

In the context of success with Barrett and increasing ambition for professional success, Chatterton hoped similarly to entice the London-based cultural powerhouse and art historian Horace Walpole to incorporate certain Rowley fragments into his new edition of *Anecdotes of Painting*. Chatterton therefore sent two manuscripts to Walpole—one called "The Ryse of Peyncteynge, yn Englande, wroten bie T. Rowlie. 1469 for Mastre Canynge," and the other (shown in Fig. 8) called "Historie of Peyncters yn Englande bie T. Rowley." Chatterton's manipulative and obliquely patronising footnote to the "pieces" read that "the Person under whose Patronage they may appear to the World, will lay the Englishman, the Antiquary, and the Poet, under an eternal Obligation" (Footnote).³ And this person was of course Walpole,

one of Chatterton's readers. Clearly, he believed that appealing to his targets' egotism was the best way to ensure their commitment to his project. But while Barrett was a willing dupe, Walpole had more discernment. Soon enough, he saw through Chatterton's fakes, despite the disappointment of giving up possibilities any historian would long for, of creating historical narrative from a cabinet of catalogued and described, but as yet undeciphered and unpublished historic artefacts.

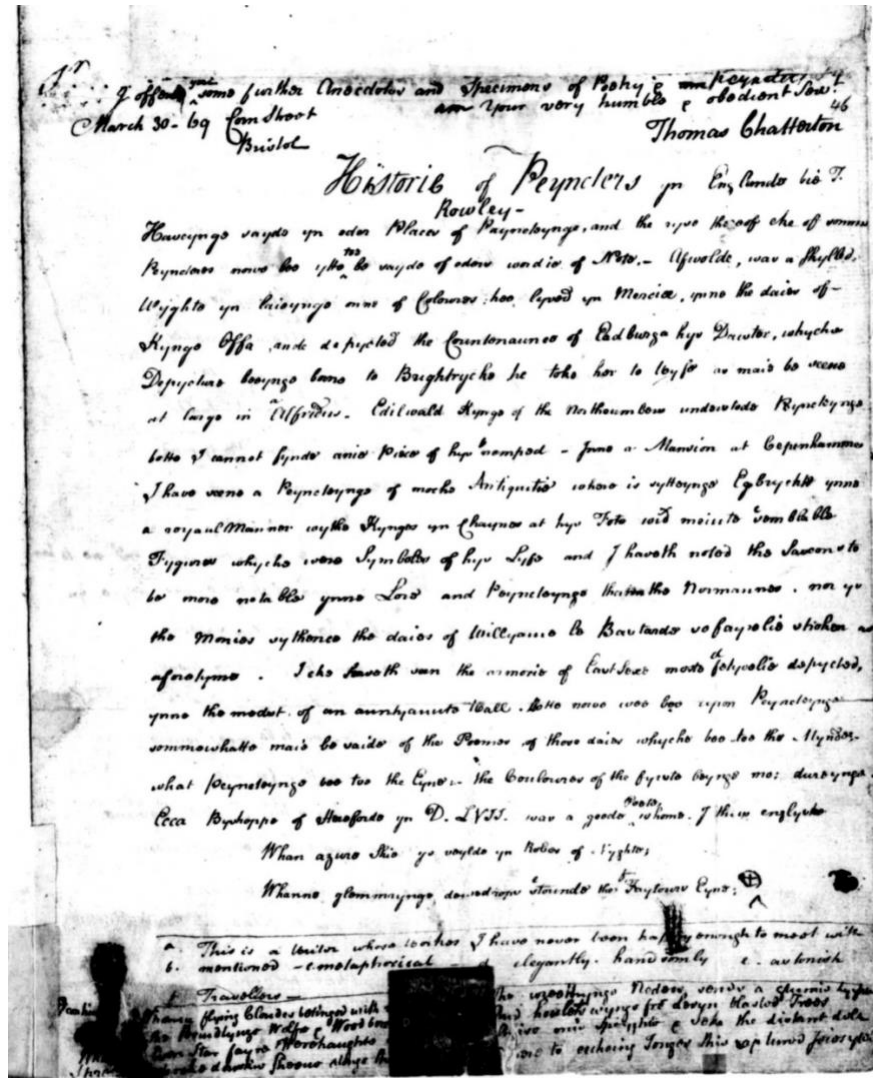


Fig. 8. Thomas Chatterton, *Historie of Peynceters yn Englande bie T. Rowley*, [30 March 1769], ink on paper, British Library Add MS 5766B-108 (by permission of the British Library).

Walpole's rejection of Chatterton's project essentially put an end to Rowley. Walpole clearly believed gothic imitation was his own special province of expertise, and he took a dim view of several other revivalists, such as Langley and his garden

designs. Chatterton was mistaken in believing that Walpole would recognise him as a colleague. The older man was a representative of the elite class of grammar-school-educated gentleman writers, but he had a foot in the fashionable literary camp too, working with the new gothic aesthetic. Consequently, he held all the cultural capital in his hands, and Chatterton held almost none. Walpole's problem with Chatterton was very likely related to the young poet's middle-class background and his social pretensions. While it lasted, however, Chatterton's flagrant audacity was reflected in his practice of physically transforming the ideal of the whole, bound book, "unbinding" it as Calè would argue ("Book"), into antiquarian fragments for use by other gentlemen of letters with greater socioeconomic clout and access to publishing technologies. His plan was daring and profoundly experimental, and perhaps even desperate—but it was his own unique, creative response to his powerful need for recognition. He knew that on his own he could not achieve social sanction and patronage as a man of letters, because of remaining mid-century prejudices regarding his paltry commercial education and socioeconomic background. He therefore needed help. Accordingly, he created personalised gifts that acted as conduits of communication and complicity between himself and his literary coterie, establishing the cultural value of his works and advancing his professional ambitions.

Experimental and blatantly opportunistic, Chatterton gave his composite literary fragments to specific individual gentlemen, in the spirit of faux gifts that come with a social obligation. The obligation Chatterton sought was these gentlemen's investment of time and professional interest. The corporeal quality of the annotated documents he produced demanded the reader's touch, and as works they touched the reader affectively in return, inciting a predetermined response from them. In this way, Chatterton leveraged his small literary curiosities into larger exchanges, in which he willingly gave up his claim to sole authorship in return for access to publishing possibilities he was unlikely to gain on his own.

The relevance of this portrait of Chatterton's professional self-promotion through material poetics lies most simply in contributing to a more robust appreciation of Chatterton's actual creative work, as opposed to participating in the usual critical back-and-forth about his fraudulence and his biography. Importantly, my research also contributes to our understanding of the creative underclasses and literary "failures" of this complex transitional period in British cultural history. The significance of Chatterton's material style lies, I believe, in its expression of his ambition for literary success and, more generally, of the anxious shortcomings of the creative underclasses of the mid-eighteenth century Georgian literary economy. Chatterton was determinedly, desperately trying to write his own literary distinction and success into existence, and he was not alone in this effort. The failure of *his* works, in terms of immediate distinguished celebrity, and also in terms of belonging to what was to become the English literary canon, survives as a record of the more common, unremembered failures of Grub Street journalism and the tragic poets in the period.

When I'm teaching English to young people, or parenting my own two, or thinking about Thomas Chatterton's crazy-brilliant project of literary self-promotion,

I am struck by what persists. Today, young people are still obsessed with fame and fortune over experience and wisdom. They still value looks and power over kindness and truth. They still expose their vulnerabilities stupidly, without realising the longer-term consequences to themselves and others. They still make dreadful mistakes, because we all do when we're young, and the starlight in our eyes blinds us. Mediocrity, cruelty, and crudity tumble together in the tsunami of digital words and images that today's young folk absorb and reproduce. Just as in Chatterton's time, however, gifted philosophers, artists, writers, inventors, and scientists keep surfacing in the flotsam. These survivors are the ones who will create great art that reflects on, or finds, the solutions to today's problems. But not everyone gets to be Greta Thunberg or Grace Tame! Thomas Chatterton reminds us how many individual attempts it takes for society to achieve something worthwhile, and how we must treat with intelligent attention, respect, and sometimes forbearance, the necessary host of so-called failures that pave the way to brilliance.

NOTES

- ¹ Camden's *Britannia* was first published in Latin in 1586. For the Rowley works, Chatterton mined both Camden's 1695 and 1722 English translations for raw historical data, antiquarian imagery, and historiographic formats.
- ² See Meyerstein 129–249; Taylor, *Thomas* 63–72.
- ³ Another instance of Chatterton's self-footnoting is visible at the bottom of Fig. 8.

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