



*Poetry and Song in the Age of Revolution*

# **THE REPUTATIONS OF THOMAS MOORE**

## **POETRY, MUSIC, AND POLITICS**

Edited by  
Sarah McCleave and Triona O'Hanlon



# The Reputations of Thomas Moore

This collection of eleven chapters positions Moore within a developing and expanding international readership over the course of the nineteenth century. In accounting for the successes he achieved and the challenges he faced, recurring themes include: Moore's influence and reputation; modes of dissemination through networks and among communities; and the articulation of personal, political, and national identities. This book, the product of an international team of scholars, is the first to focus explicitly on the reputations of Thomas Moore in different parts of the world, including Bombay, Dublin, Leipzig, and London as well as America, Canada, Greece, and the Hispanic world. Through this collection, we will understand more about Moore's reception and appreciate how the publication and dissemination of poetry and song in the romantic and Victorian eras operated in different parts of the world – in particular considering how artistic and political networks effected the transmission of cultural products.

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## **Poetry and Song in the Age of Revolution**

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Poetry, Music, and Politics  
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Poetry, Music, and Politics

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Tríona O'Hanlon**

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# Introduction





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# 1 The Role of Community, Network, and Sentiment in Shaping the Reputations of Thomas Moore

*Sarah McCleave*

This opening chapter considers the different kinds of agency that shaped Moore's reputations in the evolving nineteenth-century marketplace. Moore's reputations, founded on his ability to appeal to particular communities, flourished through networks operating in an intersection of political and cultural concerns. Arguably, his appeal lay in his skilled cultivation of sentimental responses in his readers.<sup>1</sup> This mastery is particularly evident in two of his most commercially successful works – the *Irish Melodies* (1808–1834) and *Lalla Rookh* (1817).

## Terms of Reference

My use of the term “community” is influenced by Charlotte Guichard's description of the *amateur's* role in promoting art in eighteenth-century France: “communities [are groups] in which the language of taste functioned as a social bond, creating new ‘societies’ around objects and nurturing the production of knowledge in all fields” (522). Individuals articulated their taste through actions, including the collection of art works or corresponding with artists (521–22). This expression of “taste” is an element within a social dynamic, Guichard suggests, adding that “In eighteenth-century France, taste was prescriptive, since its function was to create sociability and a sense of community” (532). For this present study, however, there is an important distinction to be made, which Guichard articulates. While her amateurs were operating within a “monarchical artistic system” (542), the communities that consumed Moore's cultural products were increasingly engaged in the public spheres of print and theatre. As the nineteenth century advanced, cultural consumption was increasingly facilitated by network activity, rather than being led by a centralised community such as a court or an academy.

Regarding the concept of “network”, this chapter draws on Ulfried Reichardt's model of network theory. Moore's reputations were forged by two types of networks: (1) organisations whose very purpose was to exchange and circulate cultural products such as publishing companies or theatres<sup>2</sup>; (2) particular networks arising from political conviction who exchanged or promoted cultural works as part of a wider series

of exchanges. Both display characteristics identified by Reichardt in his definition of “network” (19–21). The publishing industry exchanged and produced “concrete objects”; the political networks involved “abstract constructions of systematic relations”; both conform to Reichardt’s “defining point”, with “no centre, [and they] are adaptive, flexible, and time and context-dependent” (21). Reichardt further proposes a conceptual model that offers a “decisive shift . . . from autonomous object to system . . . An entity can no longer be understood in isolation, as an ‘individual’ case, . . . but has to be conceived of as being constituted within a context, through exchanges with persons, media, . . . environment . . . and within processes” (32). And so, Moore’s reputations are founded on the exchanges of his works through networks whose processes witness the “intersections of humans [arrangers, writers, publishers, musicians] . . . media [print, live performance], objects [books, scores], and technologies [engraving, letter-case, lithography]” (Reichardt 33; specific examples added).

The ideas of Guichard and Reichardt suggest the influence of Pierre Bourdieu – although they appear to draw on different aspects of his theories.<sup>3</sup> Guichard’s notion of “taste communities” (531–41) – and in particular her development of the concept, “taste as knowledge” (534–37) – elaborates on Bourdieu’s observation of the formative roles of education (and levels thereof) as well as social “class” in developing “cultural competenc[ies]” that determine the tastes of individuals and social groups (Bourdieu 1–2). Reichardt’s emphasis on “systematic relations” (rather than on individual works of art) perhaps finds a parallel in Bourdieu’s notion of “embodied social structures”, and, with this, in the “principles” that underpin the notion that “agents are . . . the subjects of acts of construction in the social world” (Bourdieu 467). I will now examine the structures that underpinned the exchange of cultural products – with Thomas Moore as my case study – in the nineteenth century.

### **Moore and Nineteenth-Century Publishing Networks**

Over the course of the nineteenth century, publishing networks expanded considerably – largely in response to increasing numbers of literate readers (Eliot 293), including a substantial North American market that desired a supply of European material. This situation offered opportunities and challenges for publishers. Technological adaptations – such as favouring lithography over engraving to produce illustrated volumes at lower cost – were relatively straightforward to effect; the expanding public demand for formats such as magazines or periodicals was clearly an opportunity (Wald 246; Barnes 30–48). With this expansion came threats, too, as for most of the century international copyright law remained a development heavily promoted by some, but not yet a reality (Barnes; Mumby 41–45). As James J. Barnes reveals, it was relatively

easy for foreign firms to create pirated copies at competitive prices. Customs laws provided a limited control on personal patterns of consumption and transportation (Barnes 95–115). Some publishing houses set up offices in more than one country<sup>4</sup>; agents, too, were active in negotiating particular agreements between firms based in different locales (Barnes).

Moore's own publishing history demonstrates the adaptive skills of publishers. His first extended work, *The Odes of Anacreon* – published with the London-based publisher John Stockdale in 1800 – was the product of a precisely defined social network. The future medic Thomas Hume, a Dubliner in Moore's social circle, drew on his contacts to secure Moore a contract; Hume also assisted with the compilation of the some 350-strong subscription list, an essential support for a book that was sold for the princely sum of one pound and one shilling. Moore was able to count several dukes, earls, and baronets amongst the subscribers, and was even granted permission to name the Prince of Wales as the dedicatee (R. Kelly 73–81). Through to the 1830s, this model – “quality” editions, supported by subscription, and naming an influential dedicatee – was pursued by publishers such as James Carpenter, Thomas Longman, and the Power brothers, William and James – each of who had copyright privileges for certain of Moore's works. As COPAC evidences, a single work by Moore might be enhanced by a network of publications – such as songs to lyrics from the *Odes of Anacreon*, *Lalla Rookh* (1817; see below), the *Loves of the Angels* (1823), and even his *Life of Sheridan* (1825). While one publisher (normally Longman) would issue the poetry or prose, Moore's music publisher (normally James Power) would issue the associated musical publications. Most probably Power and Longman undertook these activities as a coordinated network, as their joint publication of the lyrics to Moore's *Irish Melodies* from 1821 suggests (see below). Network – which enhanced Moore's reputation – also extended to musical performance, as Moore would promote his musical works by performing at private parties and in the London clubs (J. Burns, “Give them life”).

Publishers also expanded the creative network associated with Moore by adding illustrations to his works. *Lalla Rookh* is a particularly rich example. In 1817, Longman produced a volume of illustrations for *Lalla Rookh* drawn by Royal Academician Richard Westall (Heath and Westall); by 1826, these illustrations were added to Longman's editions of the text (Moore and Westall). By 1838 Longman also issued *Lalla Rookh* “Illustrated with engravings from drawings by eminent artists under the superintendence of [engraver] Charles Heath” (Moore and Heath). The engraver Edmund Evans set the illustrations for Longman's *Lalla Rookh* from 1846 (Moore and Evans); variants of this edition were disseminated by several publishers, including Carey and Hart of Philadelphia (1846), Francis & Co. of New York and Boston (1849), and Routledge, Warne and Routledge (between 1860 and 1868). Longman

alternated production of these distinct editions – adding one with a single image by Daniel Maclise (Moore and Maclise, between 1849 and 1880), as well as a further edition with sixty-nine illustrations drawn by John Tenniel and engraved by the prolific Dalziel brothers (Moore and Tenniel, between 1861 and 1880). In 1860 Day & Son of London produced *Paradise and the Peri* with colourful lithograph illustrations (Moore, Jones, Warren and Warren). By using reputable or high-profile artists as agents in the production of *Lalla Rookh*, publishers enhanced Moore's reputation while broadening the market for his work. Lavishly illustrated editions, or “gift books” were in themselves a product of network (author, illustrator, engraver or lithographer, printer); as Lorraine Janzen Kooistra observes, “the gift-book's author-function was a corporate entity” (Kooistra 28). Gift books, whose popularity peaked in the third quarter of the nineteenth century, were a “high art” product that also contributed to the process by which “poetry became middlebrow – a commodity for mass consumption” (Kooistra 40).

Variety was one form of network adaptation, pricing was another. When Longman issued the ten-volume *The Poetical Works of Thomas Moore* (MCP) under the poet's supervision in 1840 and 1841, each volume was priced at five shillings. In contrast, Longman's ten-volume “People's Edition” of *The Poetical Works of Thomas Moore* of 1859, produced in a tighter layout on lower-quality paper, was priced at one shilling per volume.

The publishing industry further adapted as the nineteenth century progressed. Regarding Moore, as early as 1819 a proliferation of pirated editions (normally produced abroad), translations, and works in homage to or inspired by him served to expand and enhance his reputation.<sup>5</sup> By the 1880s, however, Moore is represented increasingly through anthologies, where the tastes and agendas of individual editors dictate his posthumous reputations. While this process sometimes promoted Moore's reputation (Caraher, “When Thomas Moore was the Headline Act”), most twentieth-century anthologies of literature accord Moore a very minor status (Caraher and McCleave). He fared better in anthologies of popular song.<sup>6</sup> Indeed, Moore's conflicted position in his native Ireland is already evidenced in the publications of the Young Ireland movement of the 1840s (see Benatti in the present volume). The reception of Moore's *Irish Melodies* evidences controversy from their publication through to our own time. Below I prefer to explore his reputation in the domestic song market by considering it as an “intersection . . . of humans . . . media, objects, and technologies” (Reichardt 33).

### Thomas Moore and the Domestic Song Market

The domestic song market is a network born of the mutual interests of the publishing community and amateur musicians. Song is among the

most portable of cultural objects, as individual works can readily be extracted (including separating the lyrics from the music), translated, arranged, and presented afresh in collected works, anthologies, and magazines. Entirely new poems or songs that draw on older works for models are also part of this network of exchange. The genre of song was to prove very useful for Thomas Moore's reputation, since

Songs for solo voice with pianoforte accompaniment were the dominant form of chamber music for the European domestic music market in the first half of the nineteenth century. Between 1817 and 1880, some twenty-three separate lyrics from Moore's *Lalla Rookh* were set by composers based in London, Dublin, and America during Moore's lifetime and into the later Victorian period. (McCleave, 'The Tales and Travels of Lalla Rookh', n. pag.)

The activities of the network in which Moore's songs thrived are outlined below.

Around 1800,<sup>7</sup> Moore began publishing individual songs with the London-based firm of James Carpenter. Although Moore is credited on the title-pages with both the lyrics and music for these early efforts (M.L. O'Donnell 163–64), he had already been introduced to his future collaborator – the composer Sir John Stevenson – at a Dublin party in a fortuitous act of local networking (R. Kelly 75–76). Since the older and well-established Stevenson had already published several songs with the Dublin-based publisher William Power between 1802 and 1805 (COPAC),<sup>8</sup> it is reasonable to assume that it was he who recommended Moore to that publisher; around 1805, Stevenson's setting of Moore's "The Maid of Marlivale" was published by the firm of William Power, and also jointly by William and his London-based brother James.<sup>9</sup> Thomas Moore was to provide lyrics for the first number only, but its success meant he was retained for the entire series. These publications demanded a numerous team to deliver – engravers of the music, title-page, dedication, and the illustrations; designers for the changing title-page images and the illustrations; and printers to deliver the letterpress lyrics as well as any preface or advertisement. And so, a network was established that went on to publish seven numbers of the *Irish Melodies* in parallel London and Dublin editions between 1808 and 1818 (for a tabular record of known personnel, see McCleave, "The Genesis of Thomas Moore's *Irish Melodies*" 66–69).

By 1821, with the publication of the *Irish Melodies*' eighth number, this network fractured as James Power obtained sole copyright over Thomas Moore's musical works. And yet, Moore's lyrics were set by his usual collaborator Stevenson for William Power in Dublin (technically a pirated edition); a new collaborator Henry Bishop set the eighth number, as well as exclusive editions of the ninth and tenth numbers, for

James Power in London (for further detail see Hunt, “Moore, Stevenson, Bishop, and the Powers”; also McCleave, “The Genesis”).

This fracture ultimately expanded the network circulation of Moore’s music. The London-based firm, Cramer Addison and Beale (fl. 1824–1844) secured the copyright to Moore’s musical works from James Power’s widow in the late 1830s; it issued individual songs. With another network fracture, we find Addison and Hodson (fl. 1844–1848) publishing entire numbers from Moore’s *Irish Melodies* and *National Airs* as well as individual songs from across his *oeuvre*. Between 1856 and 1863, the firm of Addison, Hollier, and Lucas published numerous individual songs by Moore, as did Cramer, Beale, and Chappell. The latter also commissioned the London-based composer George Alexander Macfarren to arrange all the *Irish Melodies* (Moore and Macfarren). This was part of a wave of collected, freshly arranged, or edited editions of the *Irish Melodies* that emerged between 1859 and 1861, involving the publishers J.A. Novello (Moore and Balfe), J. Allen and the Musical Bouquet Office (Moore and Montgomery), and the Dublin-based James Duffy (Moore and Robinson). In the final year of copyright (1858), Addison and Longman issued *The Harmonized Airs from Moore’s Irish Melodies* (Moore, Stevenson and Bishop).<sup>10</sup>

Apart from these collected editions, the majority of the *Irish Melodies* were also published as single songs, either in their original guise or in the Macfarren arrangements. Many also attracted instrumental arrangements; after copyright expired, new vocal arrangements also proliferated. Recent collation of much of this activity documents the extent of Thomas Moore’s reputation in the musical sphere while offering researchers a platform to explore this phenomenon further (McCleave and O’Hanlon, ERIN). The reach of the *Irish Melodies* also expanded when the lyrics began to be published separately. In 1821, an alliance of Longman (copyright publisher to Moore’s poetry and fictional work) with Moore’s music publisher James Power saw the publication of the lyrics alone to the *Irish Melodies*. This adaptation was most probably in response to previous, pirated initiatives in Paris (Galignani, 1819 and 1820) and also in Dublin (William Power, 1820). While this did not stem a tide of European and American editions of the lyrics in English and in translation (see McCleave, “Moore’s Irish Melodies in Europe”), the several editions by Power and Longman presumably granted them some profit. Although Moore’s pocket did not benefit from these foreign editions, his international reputation grew accordingly.

Publishing activity regarding songs set to lyrics from Moore’s *Lalla Rookh* was most intense while James Power (d. 1836) held copyright. As previously noted,

Most [of these songs] were composed by active professional musicians such as George Kiallmark, Thomas Attwood, and John

Clarke-Whitfield, all who included song-writing as part of a busy professional portfolio of activities. Moore's tremendously popular poem would have been an attractive association for them. It also stimulated responses from amateur composers in high society, such as one Lady Flint as well as John Fane Lord Burghersh. . . . Moore's correspondence gives no clues as to how any of these people became involved in setting these particular pieces, but it seems likely that James Power may have commissioned some of these settings while in other cases the composer may have approached the poet or the publisher. (McCleave, "The Tales and Travels of Lalla Rookh")

While it is difficult to determine in most cases where the initial connection lay, notably all the composers who set Moore for James Power – with the exceptions of Thomas Welsh (c.1780–1848) and the shadowy figure of Lady Flint – had prior or subsequent works issued by that publisher (COPAC). Networks proliferate.

The Power copyright seems to have quelled pirated editions of Moore's music in Europe (another dampener may have been the sheer expense of investing in engraved plates), but publishers in the United States were undaunted. Some of the American networking of songs from *Lalla Rookh* involved new settings to Moore's lyrics – including R. Taylor's setting of "Come hither, come hither" for G.E. Blake of Philadelphia, or R.W. Wyatt and S. Wetherbee's setting of "Bendemeer's stream" for G. Graupner of Boston. Yet how the settings of Moore, such as Stevenson, Kiallmark, and Clarke-Whitfield – to name but three examples – came to be published in Philadelphia (G.E. Blake; Klemm), Boston (James L. Hewitt; G. Graupner; E.W. Jackson), Baltimore (George Willig), and New York (Firth & Hall; E.S. Mesier) is beyond the scope of the present study to determine (for a tabular record of the phenomenon see McCleave, "The Tales and Travels of Lalla Rookh"). Moore's reputation in America was surely enhanced through this exchange.

### Thomas Moore and Choral Societies

By the 1840s, the principal musical response to Moore's *Lalla Rookh* changes from individual songs to larger-scale works suitable for the newly popular choral societies. These institutions, whose activities were supported by music publishers, facilitated a widespread and repeated exposure to music inspired by Moore's "oriental romance". This phenomenon continued in a sustained way into the early years of the twentieth century (McCleave and O'Hanlon, "Project ERIN and the Response of European Composers").

The first and most famous choral work set to Moore's *Lalla Rookh* was Robert Schumann's *Das Paradies und die Peri* (Leipzig 1843); this was subsequently performed in other German-speaking cities or towns



(from 1843), America (from 1847), Dublin (1854), London (1856), and Paris (1869) – sometimes in English (H.W. Dulcken) or in French (Victor Wilder) translation. Schumann's setting of an adapted version of Moore's tale of the Peri helped establish his own reputation (Daverio 267; 284); it also seems to have planted a seed at the Leipzig Conservatory – of which Schumann was a founding member – that saw further settings of Moore by British musicians who trained there. John Francis Barnett composed a cantata, *Paradise and the Peri* (Birmingham Triennial Musical Festival, 1870). Over the following years, *The Musical Times* records repeated performances of this work at Crystal Palace, and also by choral societies in South Norwood, Brixton, and Frith, as well as in far-off Madras ("Brief Summary" 38). In 1877 Frederic Clay's setting of W.G. Wills's *Lalla Rookh* premiered at the Brighton Festival. Loosely based on Moore's love story between the princess and her poet, this cantata features added characters and a series of imagined interactions, ending as in Moore's original with a wedding. The poet's beguiling song, "I'll sing thee songs of Araby" was an immediate hit: COPAC reveals various single-sheet publications as well as arrangements – for men's chorus by A.D. Woodruff (New York, 1910); for piano accordion by T.W. Thurban (London, 1934); it was also translated into Swedish as "For dig en sang jag qvada ma" (Stockholm, 1900) (COPAC). This is a clear example of cultural network in operation.

In the musical networking of Thomas Moore's *Lalla Rookh*, the change in emphasis from domestic song to larger-scale works for chorus and orchestra mirrored a broader societal shift in amateur music-making. While after 1840 fewer musical works inspired by *Lalla Rookh* were composed, the three orchestral works previously discussed would have demanded large forces to perform, and with repeated performances over the years would have reached a wide audience. Moore's creative output was the spark behind each exchange. The scale of network was expanding.

### Moore's Popular Touch: Community and Sentiment

Moore's reputations were enabled by the networks who exchanged, adapted, and performed his works, and established by the responses of communities of readers, auditors, and performers. Through his craft, Moore himself was an agent in the building of his reputations; his remarkable popular appeal is suggested by notable evidence of network activity until around the time of the First World War (COPAC). This appeal is arguably based on Moore's extraordinary capacity for establishing sympathy – for characters in *Lalla Rookh*, and for the Irish nation through his *Irish Melodies*. Moore commands sympathy by adopting sentimental language and creating pathetic situations; through these strategies he cultivates a sense of community.

Moore's skill in this respect was not unique: Kristie Blair considers the place of "sentimentality and community" in popular Victorian poetry, featuring Henry Wadsworth Longfellow's *Evangeline* (1847) and Alfred Tennyson's *Enoch Arden* (1864) as case studies. In these, certain protagonists demonstrate appropriate feelings that become models for communal emulation (Blair 4–5). In Moore's *Lalla Rookh*, Azim's enduring demonstration of faith in Zelica is one such model. He neither rejects nor reproves her upon learning of her liaison with the veiled prophet; after Zelica's death, he attends her grave continuously until his own demise. Hinda's rejection of her father's sectarian values is another role model. Moore's characters promote the communal sentiments of faith and tolerance.

### Sentiment and Song in *Lalla Rookh* and the *Irish Melodies*

Sympathy is an important ingredient in the stimulation of sentiment. As Joe Sutliff Sanders explains, "Sympathy is, for current scholars, that process by which people achieve a synchronicity of feeling" (43). Song has a special place in Moore's attempts to invite sympathy and build communities, especially in *Lalla Rookh* and the *Irish Melodies*. In the former, the songs have two lyric origins: either as purpose-written lyrics within the text or as a passage set by a composer but not intended as a song.

Moore's first song occurs in the "The Veil'd Prophet", when the unwilling Zelica is sent to seduce Azim. She – who has altered so much that he does not recognise her – performs "There's a bower of roses by Bendemeer's stream". The singer/narrator remembers a bower from childhood; she wonders whether the roses still bloom, and the nightingales sing. The third verse offers a sadly sentimental reflection on the passing of youth:

No, the roses soon wither'd that hung o'er the wave,  
But some blossoms were gather'd, while freshly they shone,  
And a dew was distill'd from their flowers, that gave  
All the fragrance of summer, when summer was gone. (MCP 6: 78)

The song's lyrics mirror Zelica's own beliefs that it is not possible to return to the community of one's childhood. Azim notes that this maiden may have been sent "To wake unholy wishes in this heart", but the "vestal eyes" of the singer arouse in him the sentiment of pity instead (MCP 6: 78–79).

Shortly after this episode, a further appeal to his senses is made by a troupe of dancing maidens, who sing "The Spirit's Song" in chorus. Moore's lyrics describe the somatic responses that Love can inspire:

A Spirit there is, whose fragrant sigh  
Is burning now through earth and air: