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Poetry in the 'Age of War'**Poetry in the 'Age of War'****Chapter:** (p.1) Poetry in the 'Age of War'**Source:** British Poetry and the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars**Author(s):** Simon Bainbridge ([Contributor Webpage](#))**Publisher:** Oxford University Press

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Abstract and Keywords

This chapter focuses on the writing of the 1790s and illustrates the role that poetry played in the effort to mobilize Great Britain against France and to resist that mobilisation. If poetry was linked to other cultural forms in this struggle over the war in the decade that followed the French Revolution, it was also a form for which special claims were made, often presented in gendered terms. Poetry's links with 'fancy,' 'imagination,' and 'feeling' were seen to make it crucial for representing the war and poets constantly called on these faculties as vital to their own representational strategies and to their readers' ability to respond to their visions of conflict. While poetry's feminised powers were frequently invoked, the wartime reconceptions and reformulations of poetry were often presented as a need for poetry to become more manly, a major factor in the remasculinisation of poetry in the romantic period.

Keywords: poetry, Great Britain, France, French Revolution, war, poets, romantic period

IN 1810–11, Captain Adam Ferguson was with Wellington's British army in the Iberian peninsula, fighting the French. The Peninsular War was the latest stage in the conflict which had begun in 1793, initially against the forces of the Revolutionary state and subsequently against Napoleon Bonaparte's imperial army. After nearly twenty years of global fighting seen as unprecedented in nature, scale, and intensity, the war looked no closer to the resolution it would, eventually reach at Waterloo in 1815. On one occasion, Ferguson and his men were posted to a position exposed to the enemy's artillery and the soldiers were ordered to lie prostrate on the ground. But that day Ferguson had received, a secret weapon, *The Lady of the Lake*, the latest best-selling, poem by Walter Scott. As he read aloud to his men the battle scene in canto VI, the effect on morale was instantaneous. As Scott's biographer Lockhart comments, 'the listening soldiers only interrupted him by a joyous huzza, whenever the French shot struck the bank close above them.' (LWS III. 286–7).¹ So popular did *The Lady of the Lake* become with 'the rough sons of the fighting Third Division', Ferguson told Scott in a letter from Lisbon of 31 August 1811, that he had 'nightly invitations' to read and illustrate passages of it, and on behalf of his 'messmates of the Black-cuffs' he had written to London for a copy of the music used, in a stage adaptation of the poem (the song, 'Hail to the Chief', would become the Presidential anthem for the

United States of America). If Scott could help in obtaining the music, Ferguson added, 'I need not say that on every performance a flowing bumper will go round to the Bard' (LWS 111. 284).

(p.2) These extraordinary scenes of the readings cheering, sieging, and toasting of *The Lady of the Lake* demonstrate poetry's power in mediating, recreating, and imagining war during the conflict with France. Waller Scott, the best-selling and most, popular poet of the war years, had a crucial part in this process; his metrical romances, with their spectacular pageants of assembling armies and single combats of knights in armour, transformed the imagining of war, presenting it as heroic, picturesque, and shaped by the conventions of romance at a time when war was seen to have taken on a new form, to have become modern. But Scott's pivotal role comes during a period when, as Betty Bennett has argued, war was 'perhaps the principal poetic subject' and in which the favoured poetic figures of 'the beggar, the orphan, the widow, the sailor and soldier and veteran, the country cottage ... were largely derived from the war experience' (BWP pp. ix, 47), Poetry played a major role in the ways in which the wars came to be understood, shaping history through narrative and scripting wartime identities and attitudes through deployment of figures such as those listed by Bennett. And while poetry was one of the key forms of cultural practice that mediated the wars to the British public, the wars were influential in shaping poetic theories and practices in the romantic period. Writing in wartime, poets reconceived their poetic identities and literary authority, emphasizing and questioning poetry's power in facilitating, the imagining of war, This opening chapter, which will focus primarily on the writing of the 1790s, will begin by illustrating the role that poetry played in the effort to mobilize the country against France, and to resist that mobilization, But if poetry was linked to other cultural forms including song, theatre, and the visual arts in this struggle over the war in the decade that followed the French Revolution, it was also a form for which special claims were made, an area which will be examined in the second section of this chapter, poetry's links with 'fancy', 'imagination', and 'feeling' were seen to make it crucial for representing the war and poets constantly called on these faculties as vital to their own representational strategies and to their readers' ability to respond to their visions of conflict. As I will argue in the third section, the special claims made for poetry were often presented in gendered terms, While poetry's feminized powers (and powers to feminize) were frequently invoked, the wartime reconceptions and re-nidations of poetry were often presented as a need for poetry to become more manly, a major factor in the remasculinization of poetry in the romantic period. Finally, as an introduction to the major poetic (p.3) transformation in the imagining of war during the conflict, the fourth section will investigate some of the key tropes used to represent the war in the 1790s and the attempts made by several writers to fill the role of national bard prior to Scott.

'The Age of War'

An anonymous poem entitled 'The Spinning Wheel', published in the *Gentleman's Magazine* in April 1794, just over a year after the outbreak of war between Britain and France, forcefully characterizes the world-wide political situation and the role that poetry plays in it:

In this, dread season, when the rage of War
And din of Anarchy confound the world,
When madding Nations scorn the scepter'd sway
Of ancient Rulers, mock the sacred form
Of Justice, and imbrue their hands in blood;
Mid this wild uproar, can a single voice
Be heard, that neither sounds the martial trump,
Nor swells the frantic mob's tumultuous strife,

Nor mourns thy fate, poor Louis! but descends
From Europe's dangers to the Spinning-wheel?²

Similar claims for war as the dominant and defining context of the period, and the central theme of the writing produced during it, were made throughout and after the conflict's, twenty-two-year duration. For example, in the year of, France's declaration of war on Britain, a writer in the *Analytic Review* described it as treated by 'every hireling scribbler' (*BWP*, 6), while of the culminating action of the wars, the battle of Waterloo in 1.815, Francis Jeffrey noted that 'All our bards ... great and small, and of all sexes, ages, and professions, from Scott and Southey down to hundreds without names or additions, have adventured upon this theme',³ Betty T. Bennett's estimate that there were over 3,000 short poems on the war published in newspapers, periodicals, and magazines supports such contemporary claims (*BWP* p. ix). Over 200 individual volumes of poetry with titles referring to the war, battles, or military or naval figures, were reviewed in periodicals between 1798 and 1820, a count which obviously excludes those works not reviewed and. does not give any idea of the number of war poems contained in collections of (p.4) verse with non-specific titles.⁴ Similarly, some brief examples of the popularity of particular writers or forms of writing will help give a sense of the position of war in the poetry of the period. In 1797, the *Anti-Jacobin* declared the key poet figure of these years to be the 'Jacobin poet' who celebrated Gallic victories while deploring the devastating effect of war on the British poor.⁵ During the period of the invasion crisis, from 1797 to 1805, poetry, along with, other forms of writing, was seen as almost exclusively devoted to the French threat; as the *Gentleman's Magazine* commented, '[i]n poetry or prose the universal, object of patriotic Britons is, to pursue and expose the Invader of the rights of human kind'⁶ The *Gentleman's Magazine's* own poetry section published well over sixty patriotic invasion poems during the six months from July to December 1803. Nelson's victory and death at Trafalgar in 1805 stimulated a huge outpouring of verses., and the year also witnessed the publication and phenomenal success of *The Lay of the Last Minstrel*, the first metrical, romance by Walter Scott, who was described by his son-in-law and biographer John Lockhart as 'the "mighty minstrel" of the Antigallican war' (LWS, III. 54). Scott's reign as 'the Monarch of Parnassus', as Byron called him (BLJ III, 219), ran for much of the rest of the war, and the martial and anti-Gallic nature of his metrical romances was matched, in shorter pieces by other writers which proved almost as popular. For example, in 1809 John Murray published John Wilson Croker's *The Battles of Taffvera*, which went through eight editions in its first year (a number exceeded only by Scott in the period 1809–10), Murray declaring that it had achieved greater success 'than any short poem he knew, exceeding Mr Heber's "Palestine", or "Europe", and even Mr. Canning's "Ulm" and "Trafalgar"'⁷ The Peninsular War, the setting for Croker's poem, was also the subject of important early works by two poets who would continue to write about war after Waterloo and come to rank among the best-selling and most widely read poets of the nineteenth century, Lord Byron and Felicia Hemans.

(p.5) The dominance of war as a poetic subject, and its popularity with both writers and readers, should come as no surprise given the extent to which the war defined Britain during the romantic period. An anonymous lyric entitled 'The Age of War', of 1798, the year of Wordsworth's and Coleridge's *Lyrical Ballads*, powerfully characterizes the martial nature of the epoch:

This is THE AGE OF WAR the age
When, ev'ry bosom swells with rage,
And burns with military fame,
When Mamiucks, Pr—sts, and foplings arm,
Whilst Europe sounds the loud alarm,
And pride her children's breasts inflame.
(*BWP*, 215)

Modern historians have concurred with such contemporary characterizations, Clive Emsley writing that 'if there was a common experience shared by all Britons in the last decade of the eighteenth and the early years of the nineteenth centuries, it is to be found less in the changes resulting from the industrial revolution and more in the demands of war',⁸ Britain had experienced a series of wars throughout the eighteenth century but the Revolutionary and Napoleonic wars, conducted on a global stage and engaging most of Europe, were seen, as unprecedented; looking back in 1822, the Prime Minister, the Earl of Liverpool, asked 'Who that contemplated the character of the late war could for a moment think of comparing the events of that war, and the state of things growing out of it, with the events and effects of any former war?'⁹ The war was described during the period as 'the most extensive and expensive war that ever raged' and as 'unprecedented in the annals of the world'.¹⁰

The British war effort was indeed huge, '*prima facie* at least as big as France's', according to Geoffrey Best, with the regular army expanding from 40,000 men in 1793 to 250,000 in 1813 and the navy from 45,000 sailors in February 1793 to 145,000 in 1812.¹¹ These regular armed forces (p.6) were supplemented by volunteer forces which at the height of the invasion crisis of 1803 numbered as many as 400,000 men.¹² It has been estimated that during this period of invasion crisis, from 1797 to 1804, as many as one in six, or even one in five, of all adult males was involved in the armed forces in either a voluntary or an enrolled position.¹³ Such a war effort was extremely expensive, in terms of both money and men, and put a huge strain on the society that had to support it. The wars have been estimated to have cost the British about £1,500,000,000, reckoned by Eric Hobsbawm to have been 'between three and four times' what they cost the French.¹⁴ They have also been estimated to have cost 315,000 British lives, which, as Best argues, by one statistical method can be presented as a higher proportion of servicemen than that lost in the first world war.¹⁵ As David Gates has shown, the casualty rate of the wars was high, with 18,596 dying in 1794 on active service and 40,639 men discharged 'on account of wounds or infirmity' over the next two years. The attrition rate remained high throughout the Napoleonic wars, 16,000–24,000 casualties being incurred each year.¹⁶ Such casualty rates effect, more than the unfortunate individuals, of course, and Jordan and Rogers have estimated that as many as one in four families had a direct involvement in the wars;¹⁷ it is striking how many of the women writers of the period, including Charlotte Smith, Jane Austen, and Felicia Hemans, had husbands, brothers, or sons who fought in the wars. Even for those without relatives involved in war, its presence was evident in everyday life in a huge range of forms including returning, (and often wounded) soldiers and sailors, the drilling and encampments of militia and volunteer forces, illuminations and celebrations of victories, the building of barracks and Martello towers, invasion scares, sea battles and naval manoeuvres, captured French officers, increased taxes, and developments in fashion.¹⁸ As in the poem, 'The Age of War', many texts of the period testify to the extent to which British society was militarized (p.7) during these years, and especially during periods of invasion crisis.¹⁹ For example, Mary Robinson frequently ridicules the warlike aspirations of the society in which she lives, satirizing 'Schoolboys, smit with Martial spirit' in 'January, 1795' and 'Tradesmen, leaving shops, and seeming. I More of *war* than profit dreaming' in 'The Camp' of 1800.²⁰

If the Revolutionary and Napoleonic wars were felt to be unprecedented in their scale and intensity, writers on both sides of the channel presented them as a new kind of war altogether. As early as 1791, Brissot described the nascent French republic as undertaking 'a. new crusade, a crusade of universal freedom', while an anonymous British pamphlet of 1793 described the war as being fought against 'An Enemy of a. new kind ... who fights not merely to subdue States, but to dissolve society—not to extend Empire, but to subvert Government—not to introduce a particular Religion, but to extirpate all Religion',²¹ This sense of the wars as a new kind of conflict, changing in nature from limited to total and fought for ideological rather than territorial reasons, would gain its most powerful and influential expression in Clausewitz's *On War*, published

posthumously in 1832–3. Clausewitz described the new military French Republic of 1793, produced by a series of *levées en masse* that created the ‘Nation in Arms’, as a force that ‘beggared all imagination’:

Suddenly war again became the business of the people—a people of thirty millions, all of whom considered themselves to be citizens ... The people became a participant in war; instead of governments and armies as heretofore, the full weight of the nation was thrown, into the balance. The resources and effects now available for use surpassed all conventional limits: nothing new impeded the vigour with which war could be waged²²

The emphasis of Clausewitz and the historians who have followed his argument for a radical change in the nature of war and the advent of the ‘Nation, in Arms’ has been strongly contested by others who have seen the transformation of conflict as anticipated in the wars and invasion threats of the eighteenth century, who have questioned the extent to (p.8) which the Revolutionary and Napoleonic wars themselves were ‘total’ and who have argued that even if such transformations can be detected during the period, they had no lasting effect on British or European society once the wars had finished.²³ However, while there has been disagreement over such issues, there has been a much greater consensus on the increased role of propaganda and of writing that sought to address the newly expanded nation in the years after the revolution and in the importance of public opinion in the conduct of war. As Emsley writes; ‘Besides the perceived need, simply because of the Revolution, to address people who were generally outside the political nation, in both Britain and France the new kind of war unleashed by the Revolution, itself required a new kind of mass support. This, in turn, contributed to the propaganda directed towards those previously outside the political nation’²⁴

As the characterization of contemporary verse in ‘The Spinning Wheel’ quoted earlier both argues and illustrates, poetry was very much part of this address to the newly expanded political nation and played a major role in the ‘Revolution Controversy’ or pamphlet war of the 1790s,²⁵ While important claims would be made about poetry’s uniqueness and distinctiveness in representing the war, it also needs to be seen as part of the larger cultural contest over the war enacted in a variety of forms including broadsheets, songs, newspapers, magazines, caricatures, and the theatre.²⁶ Intended for a variety of different readerships (and (p.9) audiences), poetry on the war was widely circulated throughout the years of the conflict with France, distributed as broadsides, sung in meetings and taverns, printed in newspapers and magazines, recited in theatres, as well as published in pamphlets and individual volumes. Indeed, in debates over the use of broadsides for ideological purposes in the 1790s, poetry was often seen as a more powerful, medium than prose because its metre, rhyme, and frequent association with popular and traditional tunes were seen to make it especially memorable for the ‘lower class of people’.²⁷ Writing in 1840, Douglas Jerrold provides a fascinating account of the role of the broadsheet seller and the ballads he sold in the mediation of the war to the public:

During the war it was his peculiar province to vend half-penny historical abridgements to his country’s glory; recommending the short, poetic chronicle by some familiar household air, that feed it in the memory of the purchaser. ... No battle was fought, no vessel taken or sunken, that the triumph was not published, proclaimed in the national gazette of our Ballad-singer ... It was he who bellowed musk into news, which, made to Jingle, was thus., even to the weakest understanding, rendered portable. It was his narrow strips of history that adorned the garrets of the poor; it was he who made them yearn towards their country, albeit to them so rough and niggard a mother.²⁸

If Jerrold’s retrospective account testifies to the role of the broadsides in making the wars comprehensible and memorable to a broad readership, Betty T. Bennett has argued that ‘the chief medium of publication of

war poetry were the magazines and newspapers, which provided poets concerned with the war a steady outlet for their encomiums, their warnings, their arguments' (*BWP* 9)²⁹ Nearly every important literary periodical had a poetry section and it was common practice for newspapers to include poetry on a regular basis. There were frequently overlaps (p.10) between texts published in broadsheet form and those printed in newspapers and magazines. For example, the broadsheet ballad 'Millions be Free: A New Song, Tune—"To Anacreon in Heaven"', part of the Bodleian ballad collection, was also printed in a less radical version as 'An Ode on the Restoration, of Freedom to France' in the *Gentleman's and London Magazine* in January 1793.³⁰ The broadsheet version of this poem, 'Millions be Free', written in the context of the French decree of November 1792 offering 'fraternity and assistance to all peoples who seek to recover their liberty'³¹ concludes each stanza by looking forward to the spread of revolutionary ideology with a variant of the couplet — 'While FRANCE rises up, and proclaims the DECREE, I That tears off our Chains, and bids MILLIONS BE FREE'. The 'Ode' ends each stanza with 'That tears off *their* our chains, and bids millions be free' (emphasis added), which like its title ('An Ode on the Restoration of Freedom to France') and certain subtle but significant changes in tenses, allows the poem to be read as a celebration of the Revolution in France without the broadsheet's call for the future spread of revolutionary freedom. The 'Ode' version illustrates Michael Scrivener's argument that ambiguity was a necessary feature of much of the radical verse published in newspapers and magazines, enabling a text to satisfy different factions or 'sides' (*PR*.28–9), whereas the anonymous broadsheet version was able to present a more direct and extreme message. As this suggests, texts could shift in status and meaning as they were adapted for different forms of production and different audiences, in this case existing in both the relatively elevated form of the ode, to be read by an individual magazine reader, and as a new set of lyrics to a traditional tune, achieving its fullest realization in a communal performance at a political meeting in an alehouse or at a demonstration (*PR* 26). Much war poetry of the period has this dual status; many songs written for a specific occasion were republished in the poetry sections of newspapers and magazines, while new sets of words were published in the hope they would be adopted for such purposes or with the aim that the tune to which they were set would heighten their impact on the reader.³² Bellicose war poetry particularly calls on this traditional link with song, often concluding by asking the reader to sing British victories, British heroes, 'Rule Britannia' or 'God (p.11) Save the King'.³³ Similarly, radical and anti-war groups, which often had their origins in dissenting circles, made particular use of the form of the hymn, the words of which would be published in sympathetic newspapers or journals.³⁴ In this context, it is unnecessary and reductive to make too careful a distinction between 'poetry' and 'song', given that the same text could be experienced in these different ways, though it is important to bear in mind how different realizations of the text may have an impact on its mediation of the war.

In its broadside form, 'Millions be Free' also provides an excellent example of the musical dimensions of war poetry and shows how particular tunes were appropriated and reappropriated by different sides in the war debate,³⁵ Set to the tune of the well-known drinking song 'To Anacreon in Heaven' (now best-known as 'The Star Spangled Banner'), the ballad's radical politics and especially its implied invitation to the French to 'tear off' Britain's 'chains' made it a target for songs that sought to reappropriate its popular tune and parody its sentiments. The punningly titled 'Song. The REPUBLICANS to the DEVIL. Tune, "To Anacreon in Heaven"', published in the *Gentleman's Magazine* in June 1794, did this by parodying the structure of the original song, presenting 'A few Rebels from Britain' as offering their petition 'To Satan in Hell, where he sat on his Throne ... I That he for his friends would Republicans own, I And proclaim them, his fav'rite sons of seditio' (*BWP*, 113). As the title tells us, the 'Rebels' are destined to go 'to the DEVIL' and the 'Song' ends with a series of rousing toasts, invoking the source's bibulous spirit to confer communal identity through singing and drinking. In another version, 'Song. Tune, "To Anacreon in Heaven"', published in the *European Magazine* in July 1794, which celebrates Howe's naval victory of the 'Glorious First of June' of 1794, each stanza ends

with a pun on the admiral's name—'And Gallia from henceforth will ne'er forget How, (*BWP*,116)—suggesting that even if all assembled, didn't know the words, they could still join in with this final exclamation. 'Song. The REPUBLICANS to the DEVIL" stresses the importance of singing the right song or the right version of a particular song—'Whilst thus we agree I Let our song ever be I May Britons be Loyal, (p.12) United, and Free' (*BWP* 115), So vital was singing to the war effort, that in yet another version the war becomes primarily a battle of songs;

... [we] mean to live happy, while frantic you sing
Your fav'rite *Ca ira*,
And hymn *Marseillais*,
For the true Briton's song shall be 'God save the King'. (*BWP*,213)³⁶

conflating the defence of the country with participation in the song, the text enables the singers to prove themselves 'true Britons' and to perform the nation's final triumph through the singing 'with one heart and voice' of the conclusion (*BWP* 214), The association of national and political identity with the act of singing was emphasized in later versions of the song when it became known as 'The Briton's Song' (*BWP*, 213).

As well as its links with the ballad and song tradition, poetry had strong connections to theatrical and visual culture, which also mediated the war to the British public, frequently calling upon a deep-rooted Francophobia which held a strong place in the popular imagination. The theatre provided one arena for the singing of patriotic songs and the performance of bellicose poetry. As Gillian Russell has argued in an excellent study of the interrelation between the theatre and the war, the various elements of 'an evening's entertainment at the theatre consisting of music, song, interlude, occasional addresses, afterpieces, pantomime, pageants, and spectacle ... considered together. «.... reveal the extent to which the whole enterprise of the theatre at this time was dedicated to the commemoration of the war and the enhancement of patriotic values'.³⁷ Theatrical performances offered another source for the newspapers' poetry columns', providing a wide range of materials from elevated addresses through prologues and extracts from plays to songs, some of which were also issued as broadsides.³⁸

Similarly, poetry and visual culture were frequently mutually reinforcing in their constructions of the war. The interrelation of the two forms is well illustrated by the republication in the government-controlled newspaper *The Star* in December 1793 of David Garrick's two (p.13) inscriptions written to accompany William Hogarth's pair of prints, *The Invasion*³⁹ These prints had been published in March 1756, shortly after the outbreak of the Seven Years War with France, and Garrick's verses read like a collection, of the clichés of French and English national identity;

FRANCE
With lantern jaws and croaking gut
See how the half-starv'd Frenchmen, strut,
And call us English dogs;
But soon well teach these bragging foes,
That beef and beer give heavier blows,
Than soup and roasted frogs.
The Priests inflame'd with righteous hopes,
Prepare their axes, wheels and ropes,
To bend the stiff-neck'd sinner;
But should they sink in corning over,
Old Nick may fish 'twixt France and Dover,

And catch a glorious dinner.

ENGLAND

See John, the soldier, lack, the tar,
With sword and pistol arm'd for war,
Should Mounseer dare come here!
The hungry slaves have smelt our food,
They long to taste our flesh and blood,
Old England's beef and beer!
Britons, to arms, and let 'em come,
Be you but Britons still strike home,
And lion-like attack 'em,
No power can stand the deadly stroke
That's given from, hands and hearts of oak,
With Liberty to back 'em. (*BWP*, 97–8)

The republication of these verses illustrates the extent to which at the outbreak of the war in 1793 there already existed a powerful set of ideas about British and French national identities that could be easily invoked (p.14) through stock, images and phrases. Garrick's lines appeal to what J. E. Cookson has termed a 'Protestant and francophobie nationalism',⁴⁰ providing a verbal equivalent to Hogarth's collection of visual stereotypes and fully exploiting the symbolic power of food which during the eighteenth century had 'taken pride of place in symbolic pictorial propaganda against French despotism', according to Michael Duffy.⁴¹ To construct England as warlike, Garrick also draws on the language of the songs and ballads that were becoming popular in the middle of the eighteenth century. The phrases 'Britons, strike home' and 'Britons, to arms' can be found in a number of the broadsides and folk-songs of the eighteenth century and his reference to 'hearts of oak' anticipates his own song 'Hearts of Oak' of 1759, the so-called 'Year of Victories', which would give a crucial statement of bellicose British identity defined against France.⁴²

If the nature of the French state had changed significantly since Garrick's and Hogarth's attacks on the French as hungry and emaciated as a result of the 'taxes of a despotic King and the tithes of a parasitical clergy',⁴³ the construction of England and France as natural enemies was one that was frequently invoked, as one poem put it:

Listen how France is still the foe
Of Britain's Constitution!
Kings, or Republicans, we know
In this, no Revolution.⁴⁴

The poetry of the 1790s often stresses the continuity of the French threat, even if Hogarth's and Garrick's embodiment of it in the figures of priests with 'their axes, wheels and ropes' are replaced by sansculottes with their guillotine. For example, a widely read poem of 1793, 'A Word to the Wise, A New Ballad on the Times',⁴⁵ presents the French 'Mounseers' (echoing the word used by Garrick) as threatening 'Englishmen' in various ways, including stealing their food, teaching them to dance, talking in clubs, murdering women and priests, destroying the institution of marriage, and indulging in wife-swapping and cannibalism. With its (p.15) presentation of dance teachers as a kind of advanced guard, the poem draws on eighteenth-century anxieties about French fashions and interests making England, 'a province of France'. The French national stereotypes are again contrasted with the 'beef and plumb-pudding' fed John Bull and the figures of the soldier and the sailor, while national stereotypes are further represented as contrasting national femininities;

the 'fish-wives' of France juxtaposed with the women of England:

But our ladies are virtuous, our ladies are fair.
Which is more than they tell us your French-women are;⁴⁶

Despite its reference to France's 'new-fangled nonsense', 'A Word to the Wise' calls on traditional ideas and images to represent what is seen as a familiar threat.

Just as anti-Gallican and pro-war writers and editors had a range of sources from which they could draw in their representations of the war, so too did 'the friends of peace', the various groupings who held a variety of anti-war convictions during the period.⁴⁷ For example, a feature of the early issues of the *Cambridge Intelligencer*, which was founded in July 1793 and gained a 'national reputation as it promoted anti-war opinions',⁴⁸ was its republication of earlier poems of anti-war protest, such as John Scott's 'The Drum', first published in his *Poetical Works* (1782) and widely reprinted (BWP 80). Opening with 'I Hate that drum's discordant sound', the poem is structured by the contrasting responses to the recruiting drum of 'thoughtless youth', lured to sign up 'To fight and fall in foreign lands', and the poet, horrified at war's 'catalogue of woes':

To me it talks of ravaged plains,
And burning towns and ruin'd swains,
And mangled limbs, and dying groans,
And widow's fears, and orphans moans,
And all that *Misery's* hand bestows,
To fill a catalogue of woes.

(p.16) This 'catalogue of woes' provides a list of anti-war tropes that would be deployed time and again in the poetry of the 1790s. The continued power of 'The Dram' during the wars is illustrated by the pro-war, patriotic parody of it. beginning 'I love that drum's inspiring sound', published in the *Gentleman's Magazine* in 1804 (BWP 330). Like its republication of 'The Drum', the *Cambridge Intelligencer's* publication of a sixteen-line extract from a poem by Bielby Porteous, who became Bishop of London in 1787, written when he was a student at Cambridge in 1759, shows how the anti-war sentiment of the opening years of the war drew on the eighteenth-century enlightenment critique of international conflict. Printed under the title 'The Bishop of London's Opinion on War', the lines present a powerful critique of war as the product of kings' 'Ambitions':

— — — ONE murder makes a Villain,
MILLIONS a Hero: Princes are privileged
To kill, and numbers sanctify the crime.
Ah! Why will kings forget that they are men? (BWP, 84)

Porteus's enlightenment argument that war was the product of monarchs' ambition has parallels with the critiques of war in Paine's *The Rights of Man* and Godwin's *Political justice*. Such ideas were widely repeated in poetry of the 1790s, often with echoes of Cowper's famous passage from *The Task* describing war as 'a game' played by kings; as one poem puts it, 'Despots delight in war, to them 'tis sport, I A Royal Game—their subjects lives the stake'.⁴⁹ But whereas much loyalist poetry sought to emphasize the continuity of the French threat to Britain, even if presenting that threat in an altered form, radical poetry frequently emphasized that this was a new kind of conflict, fought for political reasons rather than between monarchy and in doing so it frequently adopted a militant tone. Several poems published in the early years of the war present it as a war of 'Liberty' against 'Tyrants' and of patriots against mercenary slaves, while feminized personifications of France, Liberty, and Freedom frequently become giant, martial figures who overwhelm the

monarchical forces of oppression.⁵⁰ In such poems, war, in the form of the military triumphs of France, becomes the means for world-wide political change.

As these examples from the early years of the war illustrate, poetry (p.17) played a major role in the way in which the war was mediated to the British reading public and was linked with other cultural forms such as music, the theatre, the visual arts, and political, prose. If the early 1790s were the decade in which the poetical contest over the war's meaning and its conduct was at its fiercest, poetry continued to play a key part in the decades that followed, as I will show. But while poetry was part of this broader milieu, it was also claimed as a form which had particular powers in representing war, especially through its association with the imagination and sensibility. It is these particular powers that I will, examine in the next section of this chapter.

The Poetic Imagining of War

The battle scene from canto VI of Scott's *The Lady of the Lake* that Captain Ferguson read to his soldiers is important not only as an example of the role of poetry in mediating war, but as an illustration of what was seen as poetry's particular power in representing war through its appeal to the 'fancy' or 'imagination'. In this poem, the imprisoned highland chieftain Roderick Dhu asks the minstrel Allan-Bane to sing him an account of the conflict that has already taken place between his own clansmen and the army of James V. Dhu's request emphasizes how the poetic account of the battle that follows will provide the raw materials for his imaginative realization of the battle and operates as both a tribute to Scott's own poetic powers (especially as a poet of battle) and as a set of instructions to the reader on how to imagine war:⁵¹

'Fling me the picture of the fight
When met my clan the Saxon might.
I'll listen, till my fancy hears
The clang of swords, the crash of spears!» (VI, 14)⁵²

The imaginative response to the poet's picture of war will transport the reader to the battlefield itself, as Dhu believes it will transport him from his prison cell: (p.18)

'These grates, these walls, shall vanish then,
For the fair field of fighting men,
And my free spirit burst away,
As if it. soar'd from battle fray.' (VI. 14)

The power of poetry is such that it enables the hearers or readers to experience the soaring excitement of battle as if they themselves were participants in it. The implication of the anecdote about Ferguson and his soldiers is that Scott's poetry enabled them to imagine themselves as involved in one form, of 'battle fray' even as they endured the more modern bombardment of the French artillery.

While Scott crucially transformed the way in which conflict was imagined during the Napoleonic period, as I will argue his emphasis on poetry's power in enabling the reader to imagine battle exemplifies one of the era's key ideas about the representation of war. As a number of critics have observed, for the majority of the population, war, at least in the form of battle, was something that took place outside their immediate experience. Mary A Favret has put this case most forcefully in her essay 'Coming Home: The Public Spaces of Romantic War', in which she sees print culture as protecting the population from the conflict, arguing that in 'the years between 1793 and 1815 when England was almost constantly at war with France, publicity raised a paper shield—a shield of newspaper reports, pamphlets, songs and poems—against the destructive

violence of war'.⁵³ Denied the empirical, contact with war', the population experience it only through the mediating, filtering, and altering forms of intellectual, and. verbal conventions which 'shield', 'cloak', and even make 'invisible' 'the first major European war in. the era of the public sphere' (539). In this book I want to counter Favret's argument by stressing that writers were acutely aware of this sense of distance between the reading public and the war and that they saw the imagination as the means of bridging this gap and of making war visible. For example, when the publication of the Wickham-Barthélemy correspondence in April 1796 brought to an end Coleridge's hopes that negotiations between Britain and France would lead to peace, he responded by publishing in *The Watchman* extracts from *An Accurate and Impartial Narrative of the War* describing the British campaigns of 1794–5, prefacing them with the (p.19) comment: 'The horrors of war must therefore be re-commenced.—Let those who sit by the fire-side, and hear of them at safe distance attentively peruse the following'.⁵⁴ Here Coleridge places his faith in an eyewitness account of the treatment of the wounded and of the casualties of war to bridge the gap between the safety of the fireside and the scene of war, but in much of the war writing of the period it was through the 'imagination' or 'fancy' that readers could themselves become eyewitnesses to the conflict. For example, in his *Enquiry Concerning Political Justice*, first published in 1793, William Godwin gave the imagination a crucial role in. the process by which his reader could, come to a proper assessment of the moral status of war:

We can have no adequate idea of this evil unless we visit, at least in imagination, a field of battle. Here men deliberately destroy each other by thousands, without resentment against, or even knowledge of, each other. The plain is strewn with death in all its forms. Anguish and wounds display the diversified modes in which they can torment the human frame, Towns are burned; ships are blown up in the air, while the mangled limbs descend on every side; the fields are laid desolate; the wives of the inhabitants exposed to brutal insult; and their children driven forth to hunger and nakedness.⁵⁵

Like Godwin, writers aware of the distance between the site of reading and the scene of war frequently responded to it by invoking the 'fancy' or the 'imagination' as a means of realizing conflict and transporting their readers to the battlefield.

While the period was witnessing the gradual emergence of a distinction between 'fancy' and 'imagination'.⁵⁶ the terms remained interchangeable in. most poetic usage well into the opening decades of the nineteenth century (as the example of Scott illustrates), and were used to mean 'the power of forming ideal pictures; the power of representing things absent to one's self or others', as Johnson had defined both terms in his *Dictionary*.⁵⁷ The currency of such a definition in the war years is illustrated in a lecture on the imagination of 1796 in which. William Jones commented: 'The word, we render *imagination*, has the sense of *forming* (p.20) and *figuring*, as a potter forms the clay, or a seal gives the impression; and when applied, to the mind, denotes its faculty of receiving and forming images. When it receives them it is passive; when it forms them it is active ... the use of the imagination is to give us pictures and. images of truth'.⁵⁸ As here, the workings of fancy or the imagination were most frequently presented as a process of picturing. For example, Coleridge, who outlined the eyewitnessing role of the 'truth-painting Imagination' in envisioning the miseries of slavery that would be confirmed by the 'fleshly eye', referred in his 1795 lecture 'On the Present War' to his power to 'picture to [the audience's] imaginations the loathsome pestilence that has mocked our Victories in the West-Indies'.⁵⁹

It was the power of the imagination or fancy to form images or to picture what was absent that made it such a crucial faculty for those writing about war for readers distant, from the scene of battle. The invocation of the imagination was not limited to poetry, as we have seen from Godwin, nor was it restricted to any particular political position. If Godwin and Coleridge called on their readers in the early years of the war to imagine

'scenes of horror' as part of their critiques of war,⁶⁰ writing after the war William Napier calls on the reader's imaginative powers of mentally imaging war as a means of appreciating the bravery of the British troops who stormed Badajoz: 'Let any man picture to himself this frightful carnage taking place in a space of less than a hundred yards ...,and he must admit that a British army bears with it an awful power'.⁶¹ While writing at the beginning and end of the wars and with very different perspectives on the wars, these writers shared, the conviction that with the aid of detailed descriptions their readers will be able to use their imaginations to picture to themselves the scene of conflict. Yet as these contrasting examples illustrate, much of the writing on war was a contest over how the war could be imagined, a contest in which a number of the (p.21) writers examined in this book were fully engaged and in which poetry was seen as a powerful weapon. Moreover, while these writers used poetry as a means of defining the imagining of war, war itself becomes a subject that shapes and in some cases defines the activity of imagining in the romantic period. These issues will be of particular concern in later discussions of Charlotte Smith, Samuel Taylor Coleridge, Robert Southey, Lord Byron, and Felicia Hemans, but the rest of this section will show how poetry came to be seen as the form that was best suited for the imagining of war.

It could be argued, that the imagining of war is a crucial part of British national identity, as constructed by literature and culture.⁶² In the opening speech of Shakespeare's *King Henry V* (a play frequently restaged during the wars), the Chorus invokes the audience's 'imaginary forces' and asks them to 'make imaginary puissance' in response to the staged representations of events that take place on '[t]he vasty fields of France'.⁶³ This speech emphasizes the inadequacy of such staged enactments of war without the addition of the audience's powers of the imagination and during the eighteenth century poetry came increasingly to be seen as the form most suitable for such imaginative work, as James Engell has shown in his outstanding study of the subject, *The Creative Imagination*, Engell gives an important role to Joseph Warton and to his poem 'Ode to Fancy' in the development of this association between poetry and the imagination, arguing that it 'announced that England needed a new poetry and that this poetry should be inspired by and based upon a faith and confidence in the creative imagination'.⁶⁴ As J. Walter Nelson has argued, Warton, s poem also marked an important development in the poetic treatment of war.⁶⁵ While war poetry had taken a number of forms in the eighteenth century, one important development was the use of war as a subject that could be used to stimulate emotion,⁶⁶ In his 'Ode (p.22) to Fancy', the first of his *Odes on Various Subjects* (1746), Joseph Warton had called on 'Fancy 'the 'Parent of each lovely Muse' to 'Animate some chosen swain.'whose 'unequall'd song' would 'O'verwhelm our souls with joy and pain; I With terror shake, with pity move'.⁶⁷ Here poetry becomes a source of the emotions and effects of the sublime and the sentimental, and one of the crucial locations for what Warton presents as a new type of poetry was the battlefield:

Now let us louder strike the lyre,
For my heart glows with martial fire,
I feel, I feel, with sudden heat,
My big tumultuous bosom beat,
The trumpet's clangours pierce my ear,
A thousand widows, shrieks I hear,
Give me another horse, I cry,
Lo! the base Gallic squadrons fly;
Whence is this rage?—what spirit, say,
To battle hurries me away?
Tis Fancy, in her fiery car,
Transports me to the thickest war,
There whirls me o'er the hills of slain,

Where Tumult and Destruction reign;
Where, mad with pain, the wounded steed
Tramples the dying and the dead;
Where giant Terror stalks around,
With sullen joy surveys the ground,
And, pointing to th'ensanguin'd field,
Shakes his dreadful Gorgon-shield! (85–6)

As for Roderick Dhu in *The Lady of the Lake* more than sixty years later, Fancy has the power to transport the poet (and by extension the reader) to the 'horrid scene' of conflict, taking him from the fringes of battle with the non-combatant widows and fleeing French 'to the thickest war'.

Warton's poeticization of war proved, extremely influential, both in making conflict a fitting subject for imaginative writing and in creating a particular representational register, complete with personifications, (p.23) classical references, and poetic diction, that was frequently invoked in poetic imaginings of war half a century later ('ensanguin'd field' remains one of the most popular terms for the battlefield throughout the war). For example, Mary Julia Young rewrote the poem as her own 'Ode to Fancy', published in the *Gentleman's Magazine* in January 1794, in which she considers suitable subjects for her 'Muse':

Or shall she mount Bellona's ear.
And drive amidst the din of war,
Fearless of the whizzing ball,
Though dying heroes round her fall?⁶⁸

'Fancy, enables the woman poet to place herself in the thick of war, where 'wading through th'ensanguin'd plain' she can 'View the pride of manhood slain,. However, rather than the sublime of Warton's poem, gestured to in the opening description of battle, Young's response to the battlefield is ultimately elegiac, offering to 'sing a requiem to the silent dead', and reveals both the generic constraints placed on her as a woman poet and the role that sensibility had come to play in. responses to the sufferings of war, Warton's imaginative poetics of war are part of a national as well as a cultural project; he ends his poem 'O let each Muse's fame increase, I O bid Britannia rival Greece!' (88) and it is noticeable that the one discernible event in his picture of war as chaotic and destructive is the fleeing French forces. Yet Warton's poem provided a poetic imagining of war that was called on for anti-war poetry.⁶⁹ For example, in 'To Horror' the youthful radical Robert Southey calls on horror to transport him to various scenes ('some old sepulchre's moss-cankered seat', a 'wide waste hill' Greenland, a shipwreck, the battlefield, a deathbed, Africa). The battlefield is crucial to this imaginative tour:

Dark HORROR! bear me where the field of fight
Scatters contagion on the tainted gale,
When to the Moon's faint beam,
On many a carcase shine the dews of night,
And a dead silence stills the vale
Save when at times is heard the glutt'd Raven's scream.
Where some wreck'd army from the Conquerors might
Speed their disastrous flight,
(p.24)
With thee fierce Genius! let me trace their way,
And hear at times the deep heart-groan

Of some poor sufferer left to die alone,
His sore wounds smarting with the winds of night;
And we will pause, where, on the wild,
The Mother to her frozen breast,
On the heap'd snows reclining clasps her child,
And with him sleeps, chill'd to eternal rest!⁷⁰

Southey's poetic technique of calling on horror to transport him to the field of fight clearly draws on Warton, but if Warton used it primarily to evoke the uplifting experience of the sublime, Southey uses it for an explicitly political purpose, emphasizing the experience of revulsion of 'horror'.⁷¹ Whereas Warton describes the battle in full flow, displacing the damage of war onto the 'wounded steed', Southey focuses entirely on the aftermath of battle and the suffering of the wounded, also introducing two key figures of anti-war poetry, the mother and child. Southey also locates his imagining of war within a broader political context. He links his anti-war position with a critique of slavery in the poem's final stanza, and whereas Warton moves easily away from the 'thickest war', Southey's next scene of horror after the battlefield is the deathbed of the individual responsible for war: 'Where he whose murderous power afar / Blasts with the myriad plagues of war'. Though, probably written in 1791 prior to the outbreak of the war with France,⁷² Southey published 'To Horror' in *Poems* (1797), where it becomes an important part of the anti-war strand of that volume (in which it was followed by two of Southey's best known anti-war poems 'The Soldier's Wife' and 'The Widow') and he heightened the poem's attack on war and linked it to the current conflict by attaching to it a lengthy footnote which presented a 'picture of consummate horror' in the form of the eyewitness account of the campaign of the British expeditionary force in Flanders in 1793–5 that Coleridge had quoted in *The Watchman*.⁷³

If the imaginative grand tour of the sublime ode provided one means of transporting the poet and reader to the battlefield, another poetic (p.25) means of paying an imaginative visit to the scene of conflict was provided by the sub-genre of 'The Field of Battle' poem, a category which I have named after Thomas Penrose's highly popular mid-eighteenth-century work of that name.⁷⁴ Penrose's poem remained popular throughout the romantic period; it was republished in the *Gentleman's and London Magazine* in May 1794 and *The Courier* in January 1800 and included by Thomas Campbell in his *Specimens of the British Poets* (1819), as well as being widely adapted.⁷⁵ 'The Field of Battle' tells the story of Maria who, 'By duty led, for every vein, / I Was warm'd by Hymen's purest flame', has followed Edgar to war and now searches for him 'o'er the sad scene of dreariest view', the battlefield, which is presented in gothic and gory terms, presided over by the 'war-fiend' and 'with various carnage spread'.⁷⁶ Here she learns that he has been killed in the conflict and finds his body 'Half buried with the hostile dead, / And bor'd with many a grisly wound'. The poem concludes by suggesting Maria's madness; unable to bear the sight of Edgar's body, she is left 'to worse than death—and deepest night!' Within a romantic framework, structured by Maria's love for Edgar, the poem uses the woman on the field of battle as a means of presenting the scene of conflict to the reader. Maria is both the idealized romantic female, seeking to comfort and nurse her 'warrior' and providing support on the battlefield (she presses the hands of the wounded and dying), and the focal point for the viewing of the 'carnage' and 'horrors' of the blood-soaked scene, registered through her sight—'On many a corpse she cast her gaze'—and her hearing—'And turn'd her ear to many a groan!' Maria, like the Muse of Mary Julia Young's; 'Ode to Fancy' which, 'wading through th'ensanguined plain, / I View[s] the pride of manhood slain', becomes a figure for the poetic experiencing of the battlefield and 'terror' inspired by war.

Penrose's 'The Field of Battle' provided a poeticization of battle that was frequently drawn on in the period. For example, it was the model for 'The Wounded Huzzar' by Thomas Campbell, who wrote both a number of popular patriotic poems on the war such as 'Ye Mariners of England' and 'Battle of the Baltic' and other, more

sombre pieces such as 'The Soldier's Dream', 'Hohenlinden', and 'The Wounded Huzzar' itself, (p.26) which while focusing on the destruction of conflict, tend to contain the violence of war within a romantic framework or displace it onto the natural surroundings. Written in 1797 and published in *The Pleasures of Hope* in 1799, 'The Wounded Huzzar' recounts the journey of 'Fair Adelaide' to the banks of the 'dark-rolling Danube' in search of her wounded husband, who dies in her arms (ll. 2, 1)⁷⁷ Campbell removes the gory and gothic elements of Penrose's original, employing a far more euphemistic language to describe war's damage ('From his bosom that heaved the last torrent was streaming' (l 9)), and makes the passion of love and war equally important elements of his hero ('dim was that eye, once expressively beaming | That melted in love and that kindled in war' (ll. 11.-12)). While the poem ends with Henry's death—'he sunk in her arms—the poor wounded Huzzar' (l 24), Campbell lessens the potential rhetorical force of the narrative by not describing Adelaide's reaction to his death.

Yet if 'The Field of Battle' provided Campbell with a form for emphasizing war's pathos without condemning war itself, it was made to serve a different function by anti-war poets. Robert Southey particularly used the imaginative visit to 'The Field of Battle' to give his reader an adequate idea of the evil of war. His debt to the 'field of battle' form is clearly seen, in his Common-Place Book plan for a poem which runs simply: 'Poitiers, The field of battle. The distant wife'.⁷⁸ This plan would become his poem 'The Victory', published in the *Morning Post* on 5 September 1798.⁷⁹ The poem begins with one act of imagination, as the boy Henry speculates on what must have been the feelings of Edward the Black Prince after the battle of Poitiers (a victory constantly alluded to in the patriotic poetry of the period, such as that which was pouring forth on the battle of the Nile when Southey's poem was published). Henry declares; 'I could for such a moment's joy | Be well, content to die!' But this act of martial and self-glorifying imagining is answered by a second voice in the poem, which instructs Henry to accompany him on an imaginative tour of the battlefield: (p.27)

Come with me in thy spirit, boy!
To view the field of fight—
There, Henry, shall thy young, heart learn
To form its wishes right.

Henry becomes a figure for the reader's imaginative viewing of the horrors of the battlefield, such as the raven that 'upon his mangled prey, | Stands idle, gorg'd with blood'. These horrors culminate and the poem concludes with a figure familiar from Penrose:

Look, Henry—what is vnder form
Slow moving o'er the plain?
It is the widow'd wife that comes
To search the field of slain.
Long shall the widow live to mourn,
And long her tears shall roll—
And wouldst thou have at thy death-hour
Her curses on thy soul?

Southey adopts 'The Field of Battle' as a way of imagining war that counters the martial imaginings he implies are essentially childish.

As these versions of the 'Ode to Fancy' and 'The Field of Battle' illustrate, throughout the 1790s poetry was adopted as a form through which the imagination could 'paint', 'picture' or 'portray' war. For example, Elizabeth Moody opened her collection of 1798, *Poetic Trifles*, with a poem entitled 'Thoughts on War and

Peace' in which she presented her poetry as undertaking, just such an imagining of war:

From Nature's gentlest bosoms Fancy strays
O'er the wide havock of contending bands;
Her glowing pencil each sad scene portrays,
The murdere'd legions and the pillage'd lands.⁸⁰

The picturing of war through the poetic imagination was used by both those who sought to celebrate war and those who wished to condemn it. Depictions of war's horrors were a standard element of pro-war poetry, emphasizing the bravery of those who fought and the ability of leaders to rise above the chaos of battle. For example, in a poem celebrating the battle of the Nile, 'On Rear-Admiral Lord Nelson's Victory', the levied Dr Edward Dupre calls for a Miltonic 'Seraph voice' to help him 'paint the fury of the fight, | And all horrors of that dreadful night' and includes reference to the consequences of Nelson's orders: 'The Chief ... | Calmly (p.28) directs the thunder where to pour: | Loud shrieks are heard, and, ting'd with hostile gore, | The sea runs purple on the frighted Shore'.⁸¹ But it was anti-war writers who particularly exploited poetry as a form that facilitated the imaginative visit to the battlefield, frequently making the viewing of the scene of conflict the starting point for their critique of war. For example, in 'Reflections on a Field of Battle', published in the *Monthly Mirror* in May 1797, the poet 'Valdarno' begins by presenting an act of viewing a battlefield (presented in the language of Warton's 'Ode to Fancy')—'When the philanthropist, with pensive eye, | Observes the horrors of th'ensanguin'd plain'—which stimulates the poem's anti-war statements: 'How must he comment of this waste of breath, | This senseless slaughter of the human kind' (*BWP*, 191). The culmination of the poetic imagining of war as a series of scenes or pictures as a means of anti-war protest was Joseph Fawcett's collection of 1801, *War Elegies*.⁸² In 1795, Fawcett had published *The Art of War: A Poem*, over a thousand lines of anti-war blank verse in which he had criticized the argument that modern war was 'civilized'.⁸³ As Fawcett explained in his 'Preface' to *War Elegies*, whereas in *The Art of War* he had attempted the 'delineation of the *aggregate* calamity of War', in this later collection he presented eleven poems which focused on the 'image of *individual* distress, illustrative of the evils of war (p. iii), the titles of which read like a list of the key tropes, figures, and narratives of the anti-war poetry of the previous decade: 'The Battle', 'The Siege', 'Famine', 'Victory', 'The Mourning Maid', 'The Despairing Mother', 'Winter', 'The Recruit', 'The Impress', 'The Soldier's School', and 'The Penitent'. Fawcett's explanation of his poetic method, and particularly of his change of approach since *The Art of War* 'provides a valuable account of the techniques of much anti-war poetry of the period: 'In my former mode of treating (war), it was my aim to argue, as well as paint. In this, I have little more than endeavoured to paint, and to produce somewhat of a dramatic effect. In reading the first, it is necessary to reflect; the reader of this is only required to feel' (p.29) (p. vii). Throughout the volume, Fawcett emphasizes the importance of his reader's visual capacity, calling on the reader 'to contemplate, with an eye aroused from the torpid tolerance (into which custom lulls its-sense) of a practice humanity cannot endure, an eye awake and open upon its object, the undisguised deformity of War' (pp. v-vi). And it is the reader's visual sense which provides access to the heart: 'Let him open his heart to the pictures of individual wretchedness these little pieces place before him' (p. vi). Fawcett's imaginative poetic is emphasized by the poems themselves, which constantly invoke the reader's viewing of the scenes of war. In the volume's opening poem, 'The Battle', poetry initially gives the reader a bird's-eye view of the conflict; 'Borne by the buoyant muse, aloft ascend, | And view the wide combustion from on high!' (5). This view point gradually moves closer to the action:

With the descending muse, reduce thy post;
And, hov'ring o'er the field with nearer flight,
Trace the distincter forms of either host, (6)

Like Roderick Dhu's instructions to Allan-Bane, Fawcett's poem provides a step-by-step guide for the imagining of war, though unlike Scott's minstrel, Fawcett focuses in on those suffering in the battle, as he instructs the reader to 'Fix on that agonizing form thine eye, I Tossing and twisting with contorting pain!' and to 'See [the] wounded steeds' (7, 8). For the reader following Fawcett's instructions, there is no escape from the horrors of war: 'The troubled scene denies thine eye repose, I In vain it looks e'en to the peaceful dead' (8). Fawcett's appeal to the visual imagination through poetry is also important in that it seeks to counter the official ways in which the war was mediated to the reading public in Britain. At the conclusion to 'The Battle' he writes:

Official, apathy's cold pen relates
This harrowing scene, and fells what numbers bled:
And the vast sum of all these tragic facts.
Serenely as recorded, shall be read. (10)

The poetic imagining of war provides an alternative means of reading and writing battle. Fawcett reinforces the overall claim of this poem, and of the volume as a whole in a note to this stanza in which he provides a prose equivalent to his poetic strategy, arguing that the cold reports of the newspapers disguise the individual histories of war, in which each statistic: (p.30)

stands for a long pathetic story (which, if told at length, could not fail to bring tears into all eyes) of a dying man, extended on the cold, uncurtained, unpil-lowed, unattended, conch of earth; trampled on, or passed by, with savage neglect, instead of being surrounded with soothing ministers to his final necessities; and encompassed, instead of the silence of the chamber of death, with scenes of tumult and distraction! Who, that contemplated, in the sum of the slain, at the conclusion of a battle, an accumulation of such affecting pictures as this, could read the tragical amount, without a horror that should cause his head to swim, and strike a sickness into his heart? (11)

Fawcett's collection of poetic pictures emphasizes the link between imagination and sensibility that is generally made in much of the writing of the period, seen in Coleridge's comment to fellow poet William Lisle Bowles in 1797 that 'The base of our politics is, I doubt not, the same. We both feel strongly for whomever our imaginations present to us in the attitude of suffering.'⁸⁴ In much poetry, the imagining of war is frequently presented as leading to a sympathetic identification with war's victims, as in 'An Hymn for the Fast Day, To Be Sung by The Friends of Mankind', published in *Politics for the People*:

Methinks we hear the cannons roar,
And see a sea of human gore,
We hear our brethren's dying cries,
We feel the pangs,—and sympathise, (PR, 89)

As this Hymn suggests, representations of suffering on the battlefield were central to- anti-war poetics, contrary to influential recent arguments that the British, reading public was protected, from the horrors of war by print culture. After all, the *Anti-jacobin* identified the portrayal of the physical damage of war as one of the central features of Jacobin poetry: 'we are presented with nothing but contusions and amputations, plundered peasants, and deserted looms'.⁸⁵ To use the terms of the texts themselves, the war poetry of the period is a poetry of piercing and boring,⁸⁶ of wounding and bleeding,⁸⁷ of mangling, shattering, breaking, (p.31) maiming and scarring,⁸⁸ of agonizing pain and groaning,⁸⁹ and of dying.⁹⁰ The 'horrid scene' of 'The Field of Bailie', strewn with 'Slaughter'd men and mangled cattle',⁹¹ becomes the crucial site for the representation of war's damage, whether represented in the poetic diction of the eighteenth century as

'th'ensanguin'd plain' and 'the blood-empurpled plain', or in the graphic terms used to describe the scene of conflict in January 1795, 'Belgia's reeking plain' where 'Alternate horrors rise and reign!'⁹² Rather than, protecting, the British public from the destructive violence of conflict, much of the poetry of the period aimed to make the reader feel war's pain and suffering; war poetry was more like a paper bullet than a paper shield.

Martial Maidens and Trembling Muses: War, Poetry, and Gender

If the battle scene of Scott's *The Lady of the Lake* illustrates poetry's mediation of war to the British public and the importance of the imagination in the process, it also raises the issue of the relationship between war and gender. Prior to the battle of Beal' an Duine with James V's Saxon army, Roderick Dhu orders that the non-combatant Highlanders be placed on the island in Loch Katrine both for their own safety and to act as an inspiration to the warriors:

Within Loch Katrine's gorge we'll fight,
All in our maids', and matrons' sight,
Each for his hearth and household fire,
Father for child, and son for sire,
Lover for maid beloved!—(IV. 8)

Dhu motivates his men by constructing the battle as fought on behalf of familial relations and to protect the domestic sphere, and particularly as one fought under the inspirational gaze of women. While the (p.32) non-combatants include the very young and very old, wartime roles are broadly constructed along gendered lines. But during the battle, when the Saxon army find themselves unable to reach the Highland force above them on the ridge, they decide to attack this island, vulnerable due to the absence of men; as Moray tells his troops, "none are left to guard its strand, I But women weak, that wring, the hand" (VI. 20). To enable the rest, of the Saxon force to reach the island, a soldier swims to it to capture a boat, as Allan-Bane describes:

he nears the isle, and lo!
His hand is on a shallop's bow.
Just then a flash of lightning came,
It tinged the wave and strand with flame;
I mark'd Dyocraggan's widow'd dame,
Behind, an oak I saw her stand,
A naked dirk gleam'd in her hand:
It darken'd; but, amid the moan
Of waves, I heard a dying groan;
Another flash!—the spearman floats
A weltering corse beside the boats,
And the stern matron o'er him stood,
Her hand and dagger streaming blood. (VI. 20)

Read within the poem's historical framework, the 'stern matron's' violent act could be taken as an example of the fierce, uncivilized nature of the Highlanders. But while the melodramatic flashes of lightning produce tableaux of before and after the killing, suggesting the difficulties of presenting a woman's act of violence, Scott's description of "Duncraggan's widow'd dame" stresses her familial identity as both a widow and a mother, forced in the absence of men to protect her 'brood' and 'den' (VI. 20). In such a context, it is not hard to read the scene as allegorical of the French invasion threat to the British island and of the symbolic need for the whole nation to become warlike. As Scott wrote in a letter of 1808 advocating the sending of more

British troops to reinforce those in the Spanish Peninsula, 'Tell Mr Canning that the old women of Scotland will defend the country with their distaffs, rather than that troops enough be not sent to make good so noble a pledge' (*LWS*, III. 131–2). As in *The Lady of the Lake*, while women remain defined by their feminine role, the crisis of war paradoxically enables them to participate in the masculine activity of fighting from which constructions of femininity would normally have excluded them.

As much recent theoretical work has shown, war is inextricably linked (p.33) to the production, reproduction, and circulation in society of ideas about gender and gender roles.⁹³ It has been argued that, after biological reproduction, war is the activity where the division of labour along gender lines has been the most obvious and where sexual difference has seemed the most absolute and natural. As Scott's description of the battle of Beal' an Duine illustrates, war both polarizes and pressurizes ideas of manliness and femininity.

Constructions of martial masculinity, which link virility and aggression and make war the ultimate testing ground for manhood, are complemented by a vision of domestic femininity, associated with peace, the home, and children, which requires protection, inspires men to fight and rewards them for their heroics. The war poetry of the Revolutionary and Napoleonic wars frequently exhorts individuals to enact these gendered roles. For example, Nathaniel Bloomfield in his *An Essay on War, in Blank Verse*, published at the height of the invasion threat in 1803, writes that at this time of crisis:

The most humane, the most pacific men,
Must arm for War, or lose all they hold dear:
The sorrows of the Aged, Infant cries,
And Female Tears, resistlessly prevail:
Can gentlest natures be in love with Peace,
When Love, most tender Love, excites to War?⁹⁴

Yet, as these lines suggest, while women (along with children and the old) are frequently represented as requiring the protection of men they also become both a justification for, and a stimulation to, fighting. It is this role of 'excit[ing] to war' that women are often called on to play in the poetry of the period, as in 'The British Heroes' published in *the Anti-Gallican* of 1804, which presents the 'British fair' as 'Like Sparta's matrons nobly great'—a popular analogy during the war years—as the (p.34) nation's 'Wives, mothers, daughters vie | Who most shall heroes animate | To conquer or to die'.⁹⁵

Yet, if in these examples the crisis of the war prompts a reinforcement of gendered roles, its sense of emergency can also produce questionings, negotiations, or transgressions of them. In Shakespeare's play, Henry V urges his men 'unto the breach' by reminding them that when 'the blast of war blows in our ears, it is necessary to 'Disguise fair nature with hard-favoured-rage' (3.1.1–34). While Henry was specifically addressing the issue of what is becoming to 'a man', his exhortation raises the broader issue of how war can demand of individuals that they play a role that will, disguise their 'fair nature', an argument applicable to women as well as men. Such acts of disguising or stepping beyond what is constructed as the natural role as the result of war are frequently presented in the poetry of the period. While this poetry is full of highly conventional constructions of women's wartime roles, such as the Spartan mother who sends her son to war or the romance heroine who buckles on her lover's armour, it is also heavily populated by martial maidens and women warriors, such as Southey's eponymous heroine Joan of Arc and his Adosinda (*Roderick, the Last of the Goths*), Scott's Edith (*The Lord of the Isles*), Byron's maid of Saragossa (*Childe Harold's Pilgrimage*, I.) and Hemans's Ximena (*The Siege of Valencia*), all of whom will be examined below.⁹⁶ Much lyric poetry of the period, such as that which treats the recurring figure of the woman on the field of battle, similarly complexifies the normal gendered division of wartime roles. In all these cases the enactment of a

specific role demanded by the emergency of war enables women to move beyond what is perceived to be their natural role, a process which can be presented as either only a temporary necessity before the natural role is resumed or a more radical questioning of the construction of such roles.

The broader dimensions of the interrelation between war and issues of gender are illustrated by the opening of the 1804 poem 'The British Heroes':

The war's begyn, the British fair
All weakness overcome;
The harp and lyre beneath their care,
Now hail the sprightly drum. (*BWP*, 335)

(p.35) Another example of the crisis of war causing women to transcend their nature, the poem presents this transformation of gender in terms of national identity and poetic forms. As we shall see, the nation is frequently presented through figures such as Britannia or Mother England and the wars frequently prompted poets to redefine such gendered symbols.⁹⁷ If there was a call on the nation to be more warlike, this was frequently symbolized in the representation of martial maidens and warrior women, such as those listed above. But for some writers the pressure of war was such that the nation needed to be regendered, to be made manly, if it was to survive the threat from France (as I shall be arguing in my discussion of Wordsworth's sonnets in Chapter 4). War not only plays a crucial role in the forging of Britain and British national identity, as Linda Colley has influentially argued, it also shapes the gendered forms through which the nation, and national identity came to be understood. If 'The British Heroes, illustrates what is seen as a necessary redefinition of gender roles at national level, it links this to a wartime reconception of poetry; the martial muse of the 'sprightly drum', at once the call, to volunteers and the beat of war poetry, supersedes the lyric strains of the 'harp and Jyre', now deemed unworthy of the reconstituted 'British fair', As these lines suggest, not only did poetry mediate war to its public but poetry itself was mediated by the theatre of war which it addressed, Constructions of literary and poetic authority have been the focus of much excellent work on the romantic period, in recent years particularly emphasizing the role of gender and the sexual politics of authorship, but they have rarely taken the war into account, despite war's powerful pressure on gender roles and its offering of an arena for the acting out and negotiation of these roles.⁹⁸ I will be arguing that the war plays a major role in shaping poetic ideas and practices in the romantic period, particularly in terms of what Gary Kelly has described as the 'remasculinisation' of literary culture in the period.⁹⁹

(p.36) Kelly argues that in 'certain respects Romanticism ... was a remasculinisation of a literary culture seen as having become, in the last decades of the eighteenth century, "merely" feminine' and that 'the remasculinisation of literature and especially poetry was pursued vigorously by men poets, led in the late 1790s and 1800s by Wordsworth and Coleridge, and then by Byron and Shelley.'¹⁰⁰ The war, I will argue, played a crucial role in this transformation of conceptions of poetry from a feminine to a masculine pursuit.¹⁰¹

The feminization of poetry in the early stages of the war is evident in much of the writing of the 1790s about the relation of the two activities, The feminine figure of the Muse was frequently used to represent poetry, especially in elevated forms or with any aspiration to literary value, and to define it as antithetical to war. Through such feminizing, representations, poetry was seen to transcend party politics but to be unable to deal with the manly subject of war, as in Peter L. Courtier's 'Ode to Peace' of January 1796 in which he asks the reader to 'Forgive the Muse' because 'Peace is her darling theme':

Wilting from Devastation's reign she turns,
With trembling nerves and bitterness of soul,

To scenes for which with ecstasy she burns! (*BWP*, 168–9)

Such representations of the trembling Muse are not new to the period,¹⁰² but the regularity with which they occur does provide one index of the increasing perception of poetry as feminized. If Courier presents poetry as turning away from war, other writers presented the conflict as hampering, threatening, and potentially destroying the Muse. One poet comments that ‘War, horrid War, untunes the trembling strings, / And loads Imagination’s flagging wings’, while in *The Art of War* Joseph Fawcett presents the Muse as having a ‘long time lain / Beneath the suffocating weight’ of war.¹⁰³ In Amelia Alderson’s ‘Ode on the Present Times, 27th January 1795’, ‘pale Fancy’ dies when envisioning the war-produced threat of famine to Britain (*BWP*, 142) and ten years later the (p.37) *Gentleman’s Magazine* was still using this construction of poetry as feminized and forced into retreat by international events when characterizing the literary scene: ‘The din of war, and the clang of arms, has been so loud and incessant that the Muses have trembled within their bowers, and retired to weep over the actions of Heroes and Statesman!’¹⁰⁴

Some writers exploited this gendered opposition of war and poetry, as in Ann Yearsley’s ‘To Mira, on the Care of her Infant’ in which she makes the construction of different wartime roles part of a feminized poetic, grounded in the home, childcare, and educations implicitly critical, of masculine violence:

We are not made for Mars; we ne’er could bear
His ponderous helmet and his burning spear;
Nor in fierce combat prostrate lay that form
That breathes affection whilst the heart is warm:
No: whilst our heroes from our home retire,
Well nurse the infant, and lament the fire.¹⁰⁵

But for other poets war threatened to overwhelm poetry and to render it irrelevant, an anxiety expressed by Elizabeth Moody in the ‘Preface’ to her collection of poems of 1798, *Poetic Trifles*:

I am well aware that this is no period favourable to the Muse.

This is no time for calm, familiar talk,
Like man and maidens in an evening, walk.
War is our business. POPE’S HOMER

At a season, therefore, like the present,—when the monster WAR is sounding his terrific alarms;—when the spirit of discord is in the air, and pervades every Atmosphere,—when it not only stimulates the combatants in the field of *battle*, but in the field of *Literature*,—when the fiend POLITICS is sharpening the pen to make it like a two-edged sword; and the Pamphleteer builds his hopes of Celebrity on the basis of Spleen and Acrimony—How I presume to ask, may the compilation of a few harmless Numbers be expected to engage the public attention?¹⁰⁶

Here Moody locates, poetry within the context of the ongoing pamphlet war of the 1790s, and suggests the tension between the dominating political concerns of the decade and poetry’s supposed ability to transcend (p.38) such historical crises. While displaying the diffidence required of a woman poet in the later years of this decade (especially in a volume beginning with a poem entitled ‘Thoughts on War and Peace’), Moody’s comments raise a number of the major concerns of this book. How could poetry, ‘a few harmless numbers’, engage the attention of the reading public in wartime? Was there a role for it when confronted with ‘the monster WAR’? If poetry was constructed, as feminized, particularly in its elevated forms, in a period when the nation was demanding manliness-embodied in the active figures of the soldier, the sailor, the volunteer,

and even the nation itself, how could poets—be they men or women—speak on international events with authority? And at a time when ‘*Literature*’ itself was becoming defined by the field of battle, what would be the impact on poetry of more than two decades of conflict between Britain and France?¹⁰⁷

‘Horror’ or ‘Glory’: The Poetic Contest over War in the 1790s

While the battle scene from *The Lady of the Lake* has proved useful in introducing the major claims and areas of enquiry of this book, Scott himself has a crucial role to play in its argument and structure as the writer who transformed the imagining of war through poetry during the Napoleonic wars, a transformation which we might very broadly categorize as a shift in the representation of conflict from horrific to picturesque. In a review of *The Vision of Don Roderick* of 1811, the *Eclectic Review* argued that Scott’s poetic attitude to war was very different from the prevailing modes of the time:

Instead of adopting the mild and pacific tone, by which modern poetry as well as philosophy is distinguished, instead of deploring the calamities of war, exciting a sympathy with the sufferings of mankind, and invoking a just indignation against the wanton contentions of governments, he has taken up the ancient function oft bard, to celebrate military prowess, and set off pride, ferocity, and revenge.¹⁰⁸

The Eclectics characterization of what distinguishes ‘modern poetry’ continues the radical critique of the traditional links between verse and war that was a particular feature of debates over the role of poetry in the (p.39) 1790s. These attacks on the martial construction of poetry were made on several grounds; it profaned the ‘pure gift of poesy’¹⁰⁹ it prostituted poetry for ‘the support of great, but guilty men’¹¹⁰ it threw a ‘splendid disguise’ over ‘the most odious and deformed of all the practices by which the annals of what is called civilized society have been disgraced’,¹¹¹ and it ‘raised | The aspiring spirit to hopes of fair renown | By deeds of violence’.¹¹² While making Scott the target of an updated version of these arguments’ the *Eclectic’s* characterization of the dominant tone, techniques and effects, of ‘modern poetry’ provides a valuable introduction to some of the major modes of poetic writing on the war. Scott’s poetic transformation of war will itself be the subject of a later chapter, but in this section I want to use the *Eclectic Review’s* characterization of ‘modern poetry’ to introduce these poetic modes and also to argue that prior to Scott’s phenomenal success there was seen to be a need for just such a ‘martial poet’ to inspire the nation in the war against France.

If poetry was a form which could transport readers to the scene of war and assist them in imagining battle, it also brought home the ‘calamities of war’ in a number of ways, especially through the figures of returning soldiers and sailors telling their tales of the conflict, and through its examination of the broader impact of war on the economic and social condition of Britain. As we have seen from the example of John Scott’s ‘The Drum’, anti-war poetry presented a ‘catalogue of woes’ and registered the ‘Effects of War’, to use the title of a poem by ‘Pacificus’ of 1793 published in the radical provincial newspaper the *Cambridge Intelligencer*, in November 1793 (*BWP*, 96–7). This poem employs many of the key tropes used to bring war home and is structured, like ‘The Drum’, by the ‘amazing change’ of war in which conflict is presented as initiating a fall from innocence into experience that constitutes not only a change in world-view but in the world itself.¹¹³ Like Scott, Pacificus opens with a portrayal of the eagerness of the army departing for war, presented from the point of view of the non-combatant—‘With glittering arms I saw the soldiers march | With hearts elate, and footsteps light as air’—but rather than following the army overseas, the poem examines the war’s impact on those left behind: (p.40)

Post, after post, soon brings a heavy tale,
Though gloss’d with victory, fatal to the peace

Of fathers, mothers, children, wives, and friends.
Dead, is the hand that long with labour fought
To feed the little offspring hovering round:
Vanish'd the hope that sooth'd a parent's age;
Sunder'd the ties of faithful wedded love,
And the dear long-tried friend forever gone. (*BWF*, 96)

As mentioned above, it has been estimated that one in four families was directly involved in the wars and like much of the poetry of the 1790s 'Effects of War' emphasizes that while war is fought abroad its effects are felt at home. Much of this poetry focused on widows and orphans, calling on their tears and sighs as the ultimate indictment of war» a technique with biblical and classical precedent.¹¹⁴ Already an important figure in the literature of sensibility, the widow was used in numerous poems to represent the cost of conflict, as indicated by the title of Elizabeth Moody's 'Anna's Complaint; or, The Miseries of War; written in the Isle of Thanet, 1794' (*BWP*, 149–50). This ballad is one of many that describes the grief of women for their loved ones killed in the war, which frequently culminate in their own deaths, the subject of a fascinating essay by Mary Favret.¹¹⁵ The widow also became the subject of the writing of some of the most ambitious poets of the decade, including Charlotte Smith, William Wordsworth, and Robert Southey, whose work will be examined in the next two chapters. These writers made particular use of one of the sub-genres of war poetry in the period, the 'ruined cottage' poem which figures war's impact on the domestic sphere through the image of the increasingly dilapidated building, often a symbol for the widow herself.¹¹⁶ Poets also used the 'ruined cottage' form to represent the more general social and economic crisis caused by conflict, what one such poem presents as 'sickness, want, I Famine, and (p.41) all the complicated woes, I That haunt the desolating steps of war'. This poem uses the 'piteous scene' of 'yon wretched hovel! once the seat I Of industry and health, content and love' to represent war's economic impact: 'commerce sickens, and the toiling hand I Of industry droops lifeless, unemploy'd' (*BWP*, 108–9).

If Pacificus's 'Effects of War' illustrates the way in which much poetry of the 1790s presents the impact of conflict on the domestic sphere, he also includes one of the major poetic figures used to bring the war home to the reader, the returning soldier, describing the return of a 'shatter'd remnant', devastated both numerically and physically, with 'sickly face and mangled limb' (*BWP*, 96). The returning soldier, often wounded or discharged, is a major figure in the war poetry of the period, with a number of precedents in eighteenth-century writing, and is used to figure the damage done by war both to those who participated in it and those they left behind: soldiers frequently return in these poems to find their loved ones destitute or dead.¹¹⁷ Robert Merry's poem 'The Wounded Soldier', written *circa* 1795 and printed in *The Spirit of the Public Journals* in 1799, illustrates this fusion of war's damage to the soldier and to the home in startling fashion (*BWP*, 242).¹¹⁸ Merry had been an enthusiastic supporter of the cause of the French Revolution, celebrating it in a tavern Ode read before 1,500 people, and his poem emphasizes the high casualty rate of the war's early years, as the soldier comments 'Our bravest legions moulder'd fast away, I Thousands of wounds and sickness left to die' (*BWP*, 244). Merry's 'wounded soldier' journeys home, the damage of war registered in his body; he 'feebly mov'd along', 'as with strange contortions lab'ring slow', has a 'hollow and dejected eye' and despite his youth displays a 'helpless prematurity of age' (*BWP*, 243). He is psychologically as well as physically scarred, with a 'tortur'd heart' (*BWP*, 243). Gaining 'the summit of his native hill', the soldier contrasts his past happiness with his present condition, and his reminiscences of his recruitment and his time campaigning lead him to curse 'this warfare of the world' (*BWP*, 242–4). Like many such (p.42) poetic figures, including those of 'The Drum', the soldier's innocence had made him vulnerable to the rhetoric of the 'gaudy' recruiting sergeant: 'And as his tongue of war and honour spake, I I felt a wish to conquer or to die' (*BWP*, 243). His experience of warfare has been a process of disillusionment as well as suffering, with war producing the

‘wreck of reason and the waste of life’ and has also seen him gain a sense of political awareness, realizing that the war in which he fought was one in which the ‘savage heart’ ‘sent the *slave* to fight against the *free*’ (*BWP*, 244). Reaching his parent’s cottage, the soldier is aware that his presence will alter the nature of the home—‘must ye too endure I That I should gloom for e’er your homely mirth’—and that as a result of his disfigurement and maiming his and Lucy’s ‘cherish’d fondest hopes be vain’ (*BWP*, 243). The soldier’s fears of his effect on the domestic sphere are horribly literalized in the conclusion to the narrative:

But when he enter’d in such horrid guise,
His mother shriek’d, and dropp’d upon the floor:
His father look’d to heav’n with streaming eyes,
And LUCY sunk, alas! To rise no more. (*BWP*, 245)

When wars are fought not to protect the home but to stifle ‘fair Freedom’s call’, the ultimate cost of conflict is the home itself (*BWP*, 244). The returning soldier brings home the war in a double sense in the poetry of the period; he is both a physical reminder of war’s damage and the bearer of its ‘mournful tales’ to those distanced from the battlefield. In Pacificus’s ‘Effects of War’, for example, the returned soldier has to break the news of his fellow soldiers’ deaths to their relatives:

If aught can damp *his* joy [at returning home], it is the tale,
The mournful tale, that he is doom’d to tell,
Of his lost comrades, in the fatal field,
Blasting the lingering hope, that yet surviv’d,
And bade the anxious bosom daily watch,
For *his* return, who was its only joy.
(*BWP*, 96)

The soldier ‘doom’d to tell’ his ‘mournful tale’ might appear to anticipate Coleridge’s *Ancient Mariner*, ‘forced’ to tell his tale, and both suggest something of the psychological necessity of tale telling for those traumatized by the sudden deaths of comrades. John Clare’s ‘The Wounded Soldier’ particularly recalls the *Ancient Mariner*; ‘I’ll sit me (p.43) down and hear his woful tale ... I He tells his woful tale to all he meets I And now he’ll tell his woful tale to me’.¹¹⁹ But the soldier’s reporting of the deaths of his fellow men is also presented as a social responsibility and narratives of ‘A broken soldier, maim’d and scar’d’ appearing at the widow’s ‘cottage gate’ and breaking the ‘fatal unexpected news’ are common in the period (*The Widow*, *BWP*, 268).

The returning soldier was a troubling figure, socially, psychologically and politically, especially if, as in James Gillray’s print *John Bull’s Progress* of 3 June 1793, he could be made to figure the state of the nation in wartime.¹²⁰ In this Hogarthian series of drawings, John Bull joins the army and is reduced from rotund contentment, drinking beer by the fireside of his home, a hive of industry and activity, to an emaciated cripple with only one eye and one leg who returns to an impoverished and desolate family. A number of poems seek to reassure the public about this unsettling figure, such as Burns’s ‘When wild War’s deadly Blast was blawn’ of 1793, which instructs the reader:

The brave poor sodger ne’er despise,
Nor count him as a stranger;
Remember, he’s his country’s stay,
In day and hour of danger.¹²¹

Other poems rewrite returning soldier narratives to contain the troubling implications of the figure. One such

piece, 'The Soldier's Return', published in the *Scat's Magazine* in April 1804, reads like a rewriting of Merry's 'The Wounded Soldier' as a returning soldier worries that his sudden reappearance might produce a similarly fatal effect on his loved ones:

What could I do?—If in I went,
Surprize might chill each tender heart;
Some story, then, I must invent,
And act the poor maim'd soldier's part. (*BWP*, 323)

(p.44) The soldier disguises himself as a maimed veteran (indeed, his eye-patch and faked amputated leg particularly recall Gillray's soldier in *John Bull's Glorious Return*):

I drew a bandage o'er my face,
And crooked up a lying knee,
And found that e'en in that blest place
Not one dear friend knew ought of me. (*BWP*, 323)

The soldier tells his 'feign'd story' to his family and sweetheart who believe him dead, pretending to bring news that 'Hall's [*sic*. Hal's?] not far behind' before pulling off his face patch to reveal his true identity (*BPW*, 323). The poem ends with the father declaring, amidst the joyful reunion:

'A wedding first I'm sure we'll have:
'I warrant we'll live this hundred year—
'Nay, may be, lass, escape the grave.' (*BWP*, 324)

'The Soldier's Return', then, repeatedly invokes the tropes of anti-war poetry only to present them as fictions; the soldier's injuries are lies and his story 'feign'd'. Published in the year after the breakdown of the Peace of Amiens and during the period of invasion crisis, 'The Soldier's Return' reclaims an anti-war figure for patriotic purposes, making the returning soldier a figure in a comic narrative of war that ends in marriage rather than the grave. Yet it is a narrative shadowed by its tragic other, in a poem of illusions, the father's exclamation that he and his wife may 'escape the grave' strikes a note of romantic fantasy that emphasizes that it is the soldier's own escaping of the grave that is the poem's real illusion.

Merry's and Pacificus's poems establish a link between the tales of war told by returning soldiers and poetry's own tale-telling power and remind us that *The Eclectic's* characterization of modern poetry saw its display of the 'calamities of war' as having a particular affective and rhetorical aim, 'exciting a sympathy with the sufferings of mankind, and invoking a just indignation against the wanton contentions of governments'. This combination of witnessing, feeling, and speaking out against the sufferings caused by war was frequently called on in the antiwar writing of the 1790s; Southey, for example, uses it to construct his poetic identity in 'The Soldier's Funeral' when, after an attack on those who justify the war, he concludes: (p.45)

O my God!
I thank thee that I am not such as these
I thank thee for the eye that sees, the heart
That feels, the voice that in these evil days
That amid evil tongues, exalts itself
And cries aloud against the iniquity, (*BWP*, 232)

Similarly, Merry and Pacificus conclude their poems by combining the exciting of sympathy and the invoking

of indignation along the lines suggested by *The Eclectic*. Merry ends 'The Wounded Soldier' seeking to elicit particular responses from different readers:

O, may this tale, which agony must close,
Give due contrition to the self-call'd great,
And show the poor how hard the fate of those
Who shed their blood for *ministers of state*! (*BWP*, 245)

Pacificus concludes 'Effects of War' by outlining the effect he hopes to have on those he sees as responsible for the 'mournful tales' of war:

Long should reflection in a Monarch's mind
Dwell on such themes. Then strongly there impress'd,
War in its various horrors would appear:
And if a spark of virtue in him lives,
Nature must shrink from such a thought accurs'd,
As plunging nations in offensive wars!
(*BWP*, 97)

While the writers of such verse may not really expect their poems to be read by 'the self-call'd great' or 'Monarchs', they use such figures as a means of illustrating poetry's potential power on the reader, calling especially on the language and models of sensibility. As one writer puts it, 'The Muse gives language to the victim's sigh', and its appeal is specifically to 'Pity'.¹²² Much anti-war poetry of the 1790s draws on the ethics of sensibility to present poetry's role as awakening the heart's ability to feel. In emphasizing poetry's appeal to the 'pity' or sympathy of the reader, poets were invoking what was seen as a specific power of the form, linked also to the imagination, and such appeals frequently exploited what was seen as its feminine and feminizing influence.¹²³ For example, in 'Lines Written by a Female Citizen!', published in *The Tribune* in 1795, the explicitly 'female' poet, exploring the function of the (p.46) Muse at a time when 'savage war depopulates each clime' (l. 2),¹²⁴ constructs her role in predominantly feminized terms:

Here as I turn with sympathy oppress'd,
With indignation rising in my breast,
My injur'd country's woes demand my care. (ll. 15–17)

The effect of her poetry will be to have a feminizing effect, as she awakens her Muse to its task:

Strike every chord! apall [*sic*] the guilty breast!
Bid titl'd Pomp his gilded crimes detest;
Bid fell Injustice melt his heart of stone,
Nor dare to triumph 'midst the general groan,
Nor seek fresh plunder from a sinking state,
Where thousands perish for the proud and great. (ll. 23–8)

Yet the poem ends by questioning its own claims, and especially the function of pity in the context of world-wide war:

Pity drops the unavailing tear!
Unable to relieve, she mourns in vain
Wrongs that the mass of humankind sustain. (ll. 42–4)

The poem finishes on a pessimistic note, contrasting the 'great and godlike spirit[s]' of the heroes of the seventeenth century with the 'slave[s]' of the current day (ll. 55, 60). Despite its powerful construction of the poetic role, 'Lines Written by a Female Citizen!' raises the question of whether poetry can produce the transformations it promises.

While the *Eclectic Review* presents Scott's adoption of the 'ancient function of a bard' as anomalous within the context of 'modern poetry' that I have been describing, there had been repeated calls for just such a figure since the opening years of the war and numerous poets had put themselves forward to take on the role of the national, martial poet. Perhaps most famously, in the 'Introduction' to the poetry section of the first number of the *Anti-Jacobin*, the periodical established to combat Jacobinism in all its forms, George Canning had identified a crisis in poetry because of the lack of 'one good and true poet, of sound principles and sober practice' who would take on the role of 'the favourite of the Muses' of earlier times, going on to define this figure as 'an enthusiast in the love of his native soil' and 'a warrior, at least in imagination; ... [who] sung the actions of the heroes of his country, in strains which (p.47) "made Ambition Virtue" and which overwhelmed the horrors of war in its glory.'¹²⁵ Published in November 1797, the *Anti-Jacobin's* lament predates Nelson's much celebrated triumph at the battle of the Nile of 1 August 1798, yet even before this 'glorious victory' there was no lack of poets keen to sing the actions of British heroes, with the naval victories of Howe over the French on the 'Glorious First of June' 1794 and Duncan over the Dutch at Camperdown in 1797 providing popular opportunities. Similarly there did exist a poetic register for overwhelming the 'horrors of war in its glory', seen, for example, in a poem by 'Panormus' published sixteen months before the declaration of war entitled 'The Triumphant Warrior' which celebrates war as a uniting force that provides an opportunity to prove one's bravery and to gain honour and fame:

War, and arms, and death prevailing,
Front to front we firmly stood;
And with eager force assailing,
Greedy drew each other's blood.
Brave, brave the death and great the wound,
Which Fame approv'd, and Honour crown'd.

Be nerv'd the arm, be drawn the sword,
War, war, when glory is the word!
As lightning swift the hero flies,
As lightnings, flash his ardent eyes:
His flaming faulchion, lo, he draws!
And gladly, in his country's cause,
Or crown'd with conquest mounts to Fame,
Or crown'd with honour dies.¹²⁶

Few poems of the period pay as little attention to war's 'horrors' as this piece but the idea of glorious death in the 'country's cause' is regularly repeated and frequently applied to individuals as in 'On the Death of Captain Westcott, Of his Majesty's Ship Majestick; who fell gloriously, on the First of August, 1798', which takes as its epigram the *locus classicus* of the idea of honourable death for one's country, Horace's 'Dulce et decorum est pro Patria mori', and begins by repeating the key terms and ideas of 'The Triumphant Warrior' before applying them to the specific individual: (p.48)

The gen'rous love of Fame—the noble strife—
That grasps at Honour, at the risk of Life,

(To vulgar souls unknown,) inspires the brave
To bid defiance to the yawning grave: (*BWP*), 219)

In poems such as these, poetry is seen to have an elevated function in wartime as elegiac and commemorative—‘While Mars prevails o’er earth and main, I Record, O Muse, the valiant Slain’—while the end of war becomes poetry itself, as the dead are rewarded through these commemorations—‘fame eternal is their meed’.¹²⁷

One poet who might have hoped that he filled the *Anti-Jacobin*’s role of ‘one good and true poet’ was Henry James Pye, appointed Poet Laureate in 1790, whose ‘duteous Muse’ produced two ‘Odes’ each year, one for the New Year and one for the king’s birthday, as well as other occasional pieces to celebrate particular occasions.¹²⁸ These odes were set to music by the court musician and sung before the king at the state drawing rooms, after which they were widely published.¹²⁹ Pye’s laureate poetry draws heavily on the tropes of eighteenth-century patriotic poetry and particularly on poetic construction of the divinely sanctioned imperial nation found in works such as Edward Young’s ‘Ocean: An Ode’ and James Thomson’s ‘Rule Britannia’. While presenting Albion as peace-loving and fighting only defensive wars, though particularly fierce when provoked into action, Pye makes Britain essentially a warrior nation defined by conflict against France: ‘Albion many an ancient scar I Still bears on her indented breast, I In every age by Gallic war I Or Gallic perfidy impress’d’.¹³⁰ He frequently invokes a familiar roll-call of British triumphs—Cressy, Agincourt, the Armada—as proof of Albion’s warlike genius and as a demand for the nation to reassert its essential identity as a ‘warrior race’.¹³¹ Pye’s laureate poetry was an important poetic mediation of the war, presenting to the king, the court, and other influential members of the political hierarchy a familiar yet still powerful vision of Britain and its role in war. Indeed, Pye ended one Ode by inserting ‘at the desire of the King’ lines from a popular bellicose song from an adaptation of Beaumont’s and Fletcher’s play *Bonduca*, set to music by Purcell in 1695: (p.49)

‘To arms, your ensigns straight display!
Now set the battle in array!
The oracle for war declares,
Success depends upon our hearts and spears,
Britons, strike home! Revenge your country’s wrongs;
Fight, and record yourselves in Druid’s songs!’¹³²

Normally seen as a form in which the king’s praises are sung before the country—a key element in much of Pye’s verse in which the ‘Patriot King’ comes to stand as a ‘bulwark’ and symbol of Britain—here the laureate Ode becomes a medium through which the king himself contributes to the poetic call to arms to the nation.¹³³ (Another royal contribution to this poetic call to arms would be provided during the invasion crisis by Princess Elizabeth, who ‘designed’ a series of sketches of *Cupid Turned Volunteer* that were engraved for a lavish volume and accompanied by ‘poetical illustrations’ by Thomas Park¹³⁴.)

In his non-laureate verse, Pye sought to use poetry to urge the war’s continuation and to inspire his readers’ participation in it, publishing translations of the elegies of the Spartan poet Tyrtaeus in 1795, for example.¹³⁵ Pye’s attempts to inspire martial fervour met with a mixed reception, however, and an amusing account included by T. J. Mathias in a note to the 1796 edition of *The Pursuits of Literature* illustrates the varying appeal of his poetry to different sections of society. According to this account, ‘[s]everal of the *Reviewing* Generals ... were much impressed with (the) *weight* and importance’ of the translations and had them

read aloud at Warley Common and at Barham Downs, by the adjutants, at the head of five different

regiments, at each camp, and much was expected. But before they were half finished, all the front ranks, and as many of the others as were within hearing or verse-shot, dropped their arms suddenly, and were *all found fast asleep!*¹³⁶

(p.50) The laureate's failure to inspire the troops reinforces the *Anti-Jacobin's* sense of the lack of 'One good and true poet' and suggests the need for a different poetic mode to bolster the war against France, a mode that would be supplied by the metrical romances of Scott, who would become the unofficial laureate and whose poetry was capable of inspiring soldiers even in the arena of conflict.

If Pye was a poet committed to regular poetic celebrations of the nation, more usually patriotic poetry was inspired by certain events, such as Nelson's victory over the French fleet at the battle of the Nile on 1 August 1798 which became 'the theme of every Muse',¹³⁷ and prompted a huge outpouring of poetic celebrations of the victory over the French fleet, dominating the poetry columns of the newspapers and magazines,¹³⁸ stimulating the production of numerous volumes of poetry published on the battle,¹³⁹ and providing the subject for the Cambridge Tripos.¹⁴⁰ In many of these pieces, the poets sought to adopt the highest genres and registers available, with the battle the subject of verses in Latin,¹⁴¹ of a dramatic poem modelled on Greek tragedy,¹⁴² of at least one poem which claimed epic status,¹⁴³ and of other works which claimed biblical or Miltonic authority. For example, in his 'Song of the Battle of the Nile', William Lisle Bowles adopted the language of biblical translation in presenting the battle as a triumph in a war of religion with the British as the chosen people, his opening line 'Shout, for the Lord hath triumphed gloriously!' echoing the song of triumph over the defeated hosts of Egypt of Exodus (and anticipating Wordsworth's 'Anticipation' sonnet).¹⁴⁴ Of this poem, the *Gentleman's (p.51) Magazine* declared, 'We have not read a poetical composition so truly Miltonic as the present', though other writers also aspired to this role.¹⁴⁵

While these examples reveal the extent to which poets prior to Scott 'celebrate[d] military prowess', to use *The Eclectic's* terms, several also aspired to the specific role that it saw him adopting, that of the 'bard'. During the eighteenth century, the bard had become an increasingly important figure for authorizing poetic practice in relation to national identity and destiny; as Iason Whittaker has commented, 'the bard became a focus for poetic aspirations, combining roles of historian and prophet, fighter for liberty and inspired poet in communion with nature and the national memory ... The apotheosis of these ideals was Ossian and Gray's Bard'.¹⁴⁶ In the 1790s the bard was often invoked as part of an attempt to reconstruct poetry in wartime, as is illustrated by the verses William Boscawen wrote for the anniversary meeting of subscribers to the Literary Fund in 1795. In this poem, in effect a manifesto for poetry in the context of the current war, Boscawen calls upon the 'sacred Bards of elder time' to inspire a shift from, what he sees as the feminized poetics of sensibility that currently characterizes the literary scene ('the voice of Pity floats I In soft, melodious, thrilling notes') to a higher mode of divinely-inspired war poetry:

Oh, mark the glories of that age
Which lives in Homer's matchless page,
When kings, when heroes, could admire
The glowing verse, th'enraptur'd lyre!¹⁴⁷

In what I have already argued are repeated and important tropes in the period's literary contests, the wartime context makes necessary a manly poetry, suitable for kings and heroes, and the poet's task becomes an imaginative recreation of war:

And when he tower'd on Fancy's wing,
And when his touch awak'd the string,

What sympathetic hearts around
Re-echo'd to the martial sound!

(p.52)

Again he bade the battle bleed,
Pour'd vengeance on th'astonish'd foe,
With mem'ry of each glorious deed,
Kindled extatic valour's glow.

Boscawen's model of bardic poetry strikingly anticipates Scott's presentation of the role of Fancy in the imaginative recreation of war in *The Lady of the Lake*, but there is also an important difference; whereas Boscawen presents the poet as facilitating the remembering of deeds for those who have been previously involved in them, Scott's model of the poet is one which facilitates the mental recreation of events by hearers or readers who have played no part in them. Boscawen traces his model of poetry through the classical history of Greece and Rome before he recounts the story of the British bard who inspired resistance to Julius Caesar's invading army in a stanza with obvious applications to the contemporary situation:

What pow'r their gen'rous valour fir'd?
The Bard, the patriot Bard, inspir'd!

Boscawen's bard becomes an obvious prototype for the patriotic poet of the 1790s, uniting and inspiring all factions against the invading enemy through his martial song.

Boscawen's figure of the prophetic, national bard opposing Caesar's invading army was a popular one in the 1790s, partly because it facilitated an appropriation of Gray's 'The Bard' that was easily applicable to the contemporary situation, making the bard a figure addressing a united Britain rather than speaking from its Celtic fringes.¹⁴⁸ For example, the Bard figure was drawn on by William Tasker in his play *Arviragus, a Tragedy* which the *Gentleman's Magazine* described as a 'bold attempt towards a national drama' and which, as the *Gentleman's Magazine* account makes clear, again had very obvious contemporary reference: 'the British king Arviragus, the principal character, is represented to be a gallant warrior and a patriot-king, reigning over a free and warlike people; and both are represented as uniting their utmost efforts to resist foreign invasion'.¹⁴⁹ The *Gentleman's Magazine* ends its review: 'we are particularly pleased with the songs, or rather little odes, of the Bard; and the war song, which he recites to the military at large, when they are at the point of engaging with the Romans, is every way worthy of the author of the Ode to the Warlike Genius of Great Britain.' The (p.53) *Gentleman's Magazine* quoted this poem, 'The War-Song of Clewillin, The British Bard', in its poetry section for March 1797, a lively exhortation to martial valour, calling on the soldiers to 'Rush on the foe without dismay, I Like roaring lions on their prey'.¹⁵⁰ But what is most striking about the *Gentleman's Magazine* review of *Arviragus* is the way in which it conflates the Bard with Tasker himself, the 'author of the Ode to the Warlike Genius of Great Britain'. Over the next few years the *Gentleman's Magazine* would adopt Tasker as their version of the bard whose work was 'so well calculated to animate loyal Britons against invaders, and to inspire the necessary unanimity and concord' and was 'exceedingly well adapted to the present times; since it breathes a threefold spirit of Poetry, Loyalty, and Patriotism'.¹⁵¹ Over a nine-month period from December 1798 to August 1799 it reprinted the 'Ode to the Warlike Genius of Great Britain', originally published in 1778, in which Tasker presents the Bards as divinely inspired figures whose role was to 'Inspire the sons of Mars in dreams, I And fire their souls in warlike themes'.¹⁵² But the fact that the *Gentleman's Magazine* was forced to reproduce at length a poem written two decades previously again emphasizes what was seen to be the failure of anyone convincingly to fill the role of the

Bard until the emergence of Walter Scott. It perhaps comes as no surprise that in the year before achieving fame with *The Lay of the Last Minstrel*, Scott wrote a poem, entitled 'The Bard's Incantation. Written under the threat of invasion in the autumn of 1804', in which he called on 'Minstrels and bards of other days' to wake because 'Gaul's ravening legions hither come'.¹⁵³ In the poem he summoned into being the figure of 'the "mighty minstrel" of the Antigallican war', a bardic role that he would enact for the final decade of the conflict with France.

While this opening chapter has looked at a wide range of examples, subsequent chapters will focus more closely on particular writers and texts produced at key moments of crisis or emergency to show how poetry was conceived and employed as a vital form in representing and imagining war and how the conflict with France shaped the self-conceptions of individual poets as well as broader formulations of the function of poetry itself. The next three chapters will look at the issue of the poetic (p.54) role in wartime in the writing of four of the major poets of the opening decade of the conflict, Charlotte Smith, Samuel Taylor Coleridge, Robert Southey, and William Wordsworth. Chapter 2 argues that Smith and Coleridge responded to wartime moments of crisis (the declaration of war and the invasion threat respectively) by making the imagining of the conflict a crucial function of their poetry and a key element of their identities as writers. Chapter 3 examines how Southey and Wordsworth defined their poetic identities in relation to war, war poetry, and each other during the years 1798–1802, while Chapter 4 argues that in his political sonnets of 1802–3, written during the invasion crisis, Wordsworth reconceived his poetic role, and poetry and the nation more generally, as 'manly'. Chapter 5 focuses on Walter Scott, who transformed the poetic imagining of war during the conflict (and for a century to come), shifting the emphasis from war's horrors to its picturesque excitements in his metrical romances. The influence of this transformation of war is examined in Chapter 6 which examines the way in which the dominant new understanding of the war as romance was deployed and resisted in poems written on the Peninsular War by Felicia Hemans, Lord Byron, and Robert Southey, as well as by Scott himself. The final chapter will look at two poets writing in the decade after Waterloo whose identities were shaped by their sense of themselves as war poets, Byron and Hemans, and argue that looking back on the Revolutionary and Napoleonic wars they find in the siege a figure for the total and dominating conflict that defined the age through which they had lived.

Notes:

(1) See also entry for Adam Ferguson in *Dictionary of National Biography ... from the Earliest Times to 1900*, founded in 1882 by G. Smith, ed. by L. Stephen and S. Lee, 22 vols. (London: Oxford University Press, 1937–8), VI. 1204. References are hereafter cited as *DNB*. I have followed the *DNB* spelling of Ferguson, On stage adaptations of *The lady of the Lake*, see Philip Cox *Reading Adaptatitotis: Novels and Verse Narratives on the Stage, 1790–1840* (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 2000), 44–76. On 'Hail to the Chief', see *The New Grove Dictionary of American Music*, 4 vols. (London and New York: Macmillan and Grove's Dictionaries of Music, Inc., 1986), III. 485.

(2) *GM*, 64 (April 1794), 362.

(3) *Edinburgh Review*, 54 (December 1816), 295.

(4) William S. Ward, *Literary Reviews in British Periodicals, 1798–1820: A Bibliography, with a Supplementary List of General, Non-Review, Articles on Literary Subjects*, 2 vols. (New York: Garland, 1972).

(5) *The Anti-Jacobin*, ed. Graeme Stones, in Graeme Stones and John Strachan (eds.), *Parodies of the Romantic Age*, 5 vols, (London: Pickering and Chatto, 1999), I. 12–14.

(6) *GM*, 75 (February 1805), 145.

(7) Quoted in entry for Croker *DNB*, V. 125. On the poem's popularity, see A. D. Harvey, *A Muse of Fire: Literature, Art and War* (London and Rio Grande: Hambledon Press, 1998), 27, and A. D. Harvey, *English Poetry in a Changing Society, 1780–1825* (London: Allison and Busby, 1980), 188. Murray's reference is to George Canning, *Ulm and Trafalgar* (London, 1806) and Reginald Heber, *Europe: Lines on the Present War* (London. 1809).

(8) *British Society and the French Wars, 1793–1815* (Basingstoke and London: Macmillan, 1979), 4.

(9) Quoted in A. D. Harvey, *English literature and the Great War with France: An Anthology and Commentary* (London: Nold Jonson Books, 1981), 1.

(10) *Ibid.*

(11) Geoffrey Best, *War and Society in Revolutionary Europe, 1770–1870* (Stroud, Gloucestershire: Sutton Publishing, 1998), 125; David Gates, 'The Transformation of the Army, 1783–1815', in David Chandler and Ian Beckett (eds.), *The Oxford Illustrated History of the British Army* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994), 133; Stephen C. Behrendt, "'A Few Harmless Numbers': British Women Poets and the Climate of War, 1793–1815", in Philip Shaw (ed.), *Romantic Wars: Studies in Culture and Conflict, 1793–1822* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000), 16.

(12) Gates, 'Transformation of the Army', 136.

(13) Ian Christie, 'Conservatism and Stability in British Society', in Mark Philp (ed.), *The French Revolution and British Popular Politics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 170. See also Emsley, *British Society and the French Wars*, 33, 133. The fullest account of the volunteer movement is J. E. Cookson, *The British Army Nation, 1793–5* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997).

(14) Best, *War and Society*, 125.

(15) *Ibid.*

(16) Gates, 'Transformation of the Army', 137.

(17) Gerald Jordan and Nicholas Rogers, 'Admirals as Heroes: Patriotism and Liberty in Hanoverian England', *Journal of British Studies*, 28 (1989), 217 n. 70.

(18) For a discussion of the presence in British society of some of the elements in this list, see Harvey, *English literature and the War with France*, 7–11.

(19) For examples, see George Cruikshank's portrayal of the impact of volunteering in 1806, quoted in Linda Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation 1707–1837* (London: Vintage, 1996), 325, and Charles Loftus's reminiscence of himself as a schoolboy in 1808, in Harvey, *English Literature and the War with France*, 12.

(20) Mary Robinson, *Selected Poems*, ed. Judith Pascoe (Peterborough, Ontario: Broadview Press, 2000), 358, 295.

(21) Emsley, *British Society and French Wars*, 3; Clive Emsley, 'Revolution, War and the Nation State: The British and French Experiences, 1789–1801' in Philp (ed.), *The French Revolution and British Popular Politics*, 103.

(22) Quoted in Best, *War and Society*, 63.

(23) For an excellent introduction to these issues, see J. E. Cookson, 'War' in Iain McCaiman *et al.* eds.), *An Oxford Companion to the Romantic Age: British Culture, 1776–1832* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 26–34. Cookson's arguments are expanded in *The British Armed Nation*. See also Jeremy Black, 'The Military Revolution II: Eighteenth-Century War' and Alan Forrest, 'The Nation in Arms I: The French Wars', in Charles Townshend (ed.), *The Oxford Illustrated History of Modern War* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), 35–47, 48–63; Best, *War and Society*, *passim* and esp. 122–49; Emsley, 'Revolution, War and the Nation State' and *British Society and the French Wars*; Michael Duffy, 'War, Revolution and the Crisis of the British Empire, in Phipps (ed.), *The French Revolution and British Popular Politics*; Paul W. Schroeder, *The Transformation of European Politics, 1763–1848* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996).

(24) 'Revolution, War and the Nation State', 103.

(25) There is an extensive literature on the pamphlet wars of the 1790s. See Marilyn Butler, *Burke, Paine, Godwin, and the Revolution Controversy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), and Oitvia Smith, *The Politics of Language 1791–1819* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1984). On the expansion of reading, see Richard D. Altick, *The English Common Reader: A Social History of the Mass Reading Public, 1800–1900* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1957), and Jon Klaucher, *The Making of English Reading Audiences, 1790–1832* (Madison and London: Wisconsin University Press, 1987).

(26) The best discussions of the contexts of production and consumption for poetry published in newspapers and periodicals are provided, by Bennett and Scrivener in their introductions to their anthologies, *BWP*, 1–67, and *PR*, 11–34.

(27) See Roy Palmer, *The Sound of History: Songs and Social Comment* (London: Pimlico, 1996), 3, 16–19. See also Robert Hole, 'British Counter-Revolutionary Popular Propaganda in the 1790s', in Colin Jones (ed.), *Britain and Revolutionary France: Conflict, Subversion and Propaganda*, Exeter Studies in History, 5 (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 1983), 53–69. On the importance of broadsheet ballads in constructing the image and self-image of soldiers and sailors, see Palmer, *The Sound of History*, 12, 271–302, and the entry 'Dibdin, Charles' in McCaiman *et al.*, *An Oxford Companion to the Romantic Age*, 484.

(28) Quoted in Palmer, *The Sound of History*, 19. As Jerrold suggests, many of these works focus on military and naval triumphs. The Bodleian Library, *allegro* Catalogue of Ballads includes, texts on the following battles: Nile (Harding B 11 (188)), Trafalgar (Harding B 17 (18a)), Barossa (Harding B 16 (tea)), Salamanca (Johnson Ballads 1977Ar:), Vittoria (Firth c.14 (25)), Pyrenees (Harding B25 (143)), and Waterloo (Firth c.14(31)).

(29) See also *PR*, 23. For a discussion of magazine poetry, see Robert Mayo, 'The Contemporaneity of the Lyrical Ballads', *PMLA*, 69 (1954), 486–522.

(30) Bodleian Library, *allegro* Catalogue of Ballads, Harding B 22 (173), *BWP*, 69.

(31) See Best, *War and Society*, 82.

(32) See Scrivener's discussion of one such song, *PR*, 26–9. For examples from *BWP*, see 'Church and King, A Song. Tune,—"Rule Britannia"', 71–3, 'THE ARMEP YEOMAN: a New Song', 151–3, and 'Song. To the Tune of Nancy Dawson', 161–2.

(33) e.g. 'Imitated from Martial', *GM* 68 (March 1798), 244; 'The British Volunteers', *GM*, 67 (September 1797), 783.

(34) e.g. 'Hymn, Sung at a Meeting of the Friends of Peace and Reform in Sheffield, held on the last Fast Day', in the *Cambridge Intelligencer* in March 1794 (*BWP* 111–12).

(35) Other tunes that are subject to similar contests are 'God Save the King' and 'Rule Britannia', e.g. 'Church and King' (*BWP*, 71–3), 'A New Song' (*PR*, 26).

(36) 'Song. Tune, "To Anacreon in Heav'n"', first published in the *Gentleman's Magazine* in October 1798 and frequently republished (*BWP*, 213).

(37) *The Theatres of War: Performance, Politics, and Society, 1793–1815* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995), 59–60.

(38) e.g. the broadsheet 'French Coblen: A New Song' (Bodleian Library, *allegro* Catalogue of Ballads, Harding B 22 (98)), published as 'A Favourite Song, Founded, on Facts' in *The Star* (*BWP*, 94–5), both drawn from one of Astley's spectacles, *The Carmagnoh Routed*.

(39) For reproductions of the plates and commentary see Michael Duffy (ed.), *The Englishman and the Foreigner*, The English Satirical Print, 1600–1832 (Cambridge: Chadwyck-Healey, 1986), 172–5.

(40) 'War', 29.

(41) *Englishman and Foreigner*, 34–5.

(42) The phrase 'Britons strike home' originates in a set of words interpolated in an adaptation of Beaumont's and Fletcher's play *Bonduca*, set to music by Purcell in 1695. Garrick wrote 'Hearts of Oak' for his *Harlequin's Invasion* of 1759. For farther detail on these two songs, see *WD*, 229–30, 235.

(43) Duffy, *Englishman and Foreigner*, 35.

(44) William Young's 'THE ARMKD YEOMAN: a New Song', *BWP*, 151. For the wider context of France as Britain's natural enemy in war rhetoric, see Cookson, 'War', 27–8.

(45) Published as the frontispiece to the second half of the 1793 volume of the *Gentleman's Magazine*, Text from *BWP*, 78–80.

(46) For a comparable visual representation of national femininities, see T. Rowlands's 'The Contrast' with its juxtaposition of Britannia with the French Revolutionary Medusa in Duffy, *Englishman and Foreigner*, 286–7.

(47) The authoritative studies are J. E. Cookson, *The Friends of Peace: Anti War liberalism in England, 1793–1813* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982) and Martin Ceadel, *The Origins of War Prevention: The British Peace Movement and International Relations, 1730–1854* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), 166–221. For a very valuable discussion of anti-war writing in the period, which includes analysis of poetry to which I am indebted, see Penny Mahon, 'Towards a Peaceable Kingdom: Women Writers and Anti-Militarism, 1790–1825', Ph.D. thesis (Reading, 1997).

(48) *PR*, 53.

(49) *The Poetical Works of William Cowper*, ed. H. S. Milford (London, New York, and Toronto: Oxford

University Press, 1950), 204; 'Effects of War', *BWP*, 109.

(50) For examples from *BWP* see 'The Triumph of Freedom', 128–9; 'To the Tyrants Infesting France', 110; 'The Genius of France', 98–9; 'Ode to Moderation', 165–7.

(51) For an excellent analysis of the 'generic self-consciousness' of this scene, see Philip Cox, *Reading Adaptations: Novels and Verse Narratives on the Stage, 1790–1840* (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 2000), 68–71.

(52) *The Poetical Works of Sir Walter Scott*, The Oxford Complete Edition, ed. J. Logic Robertson (London: Henry Frowde, 1904). Scott's poetry is cited by canto and stanza number.

(53) *Studies in Rimmnicism*, 33 (1994), 539. Further page references are cited in parentheses within the text. For an excellent discussion of Favret's argument, with a corrective emphasis on the imagination, see Mark Rawlinson, 'Invasion! Coleridge, the Defence of Britain and the Cultivation of the Public's Fear', in Shaw (ed.), *Romantic Wars*, 110–37.

(54) *The Watchman*, ed. Lewis Pattern, *The Collected Works of Samuel Taylor Coleridge*, Bollingen Series, 75 (London and Princeton: Routledge and Kegan Paul and Princeton University Press, 1970), 238.

(55) *Enquiry Concerning Political justice and its Influence on Modern Morals and Happiness*, ed. Isaac Kramnick (Harmondsworth Middlesex: Penguin Classics, 1985), 510.

(56) See James Engell, *The Creative Imagination: Enlightenment to Romanticism* (Cambridge, Mass., and London: Harvard University Press, 1981), 172–83.

(57) Quoted John Spenser Hill (ed.), *Imagination in Coleridge* (Basingstoke and London: Macmillan 1978), 2.

(58) William Jones, *The Nature, Uses, Dangers, Sufferings, and Preservatives, of the Human Imagination. A Sermon, Preached in the Cathedral Church of St. Paul, London, on Sunday, Jan. 31, 1796* (London: F. & C. Rivington, G. G. & J. Robinson, and H. Gardner, 1796), 3–6.

(59) *Lectures 1795: On Politics and Religion*, ed. Lewis Patton and Peter Mann, *The Collected Works of Samuel Taylor Coleridge*, Bollingen Series, 75 (London, and Princeton: Routledge and Kegan Paul and Princeton University Press, 1971), 248, 59. Hill argues that during the period 1790–1801 Coleridge used Imagination and Fancy 'interchangeably to denote the mental faculty opposed to Reason and characterized by the ability either of recalling past images or of creating illusions of its own' (*Imagination in Coleridge*, 4).

(60) Godwin, *Political Justice*, 510.

(61) W. F. P. Napier, *The History of the War in the Peninsula and in the South of France, From the Year 1807 to the Year 1814*, 6 vols, (London: Thomas and William Boone, 1838), IV. 432.

(62) For one such, argument, see Lawrence James, *Warrior Race: A History of the British at War from Raman Times to the Present* (London: Abacus, 2002). For an examination of such arguments with reference to the eighteenth century, see Cookson, 'War', and Colley, *Britons*, *passim*.

(63) *King Henry V*, ed. Andrew Gurr (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), Prologue, ll. 18, 25, 12.

(64) Engell, *The Creative imagination*, 37, 48.

- (65) 'War and Peace and the British Poets of Sensibility', *Studies in Eighteenth-Century Culture*, 7, ed. Roseann Runte (published for American Society for Eighteenth-Century Studies by University of Wisconsin Press, 1978), 352–3.
- (66) On war poetry in the eighteenth-century, see Nelson, 'War and Peace'; Dustin H. Griffin, *Patriotism and Poetry in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002); Christine Gerrard, 'Political Passions', in John E. Sitter (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Eighteenth-Century Poetry* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 37–63; Bonamy Dohrée, 'The Theme of Patriotism in the Poetry of the Early Eighteenth Century: Warton Lecture on English Poetry', *Proceedings of the British Academy*, 35 (1949).
- (67) Text from *The Three Wartons: A Choke of their Verse*, ed. Eric Partridge (Freeport, NY: Books for Libraries Press, 1927; repr. 1970), 83, 87. References are to page numbers and are hereafter cited within the text.
- (68) *GM*, 64 (January 1795), 69.
- (69) For other examples, see S. W. 'Ode to Terror' (*PR*, 140–3) and 'Ode to Moderation' (*BWP*, 165–7).
- (70) Robert Southey, *Poems* (Bristol and London: Joseph Cottle and G. G. and J. Robinson, 1797), 140–1.
- (71) For the literary and aesthetic contexts for such odes and invocations of 'terror' and 'horror' in terms of Gothic writing, see the extracts and discussions in E. J. Clery and Robert Miles (eds.), *Gothic Documents: A Sourcebook, 1700–1820* (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 2000), 136–72.
- (72) William Hatler, *The Early Life of Robert Southey, 1774–1803* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1917), 46.
- (73) See *The Watchman*, 239–4.
- (74) For the popularity of the poem, see Harvey, *A Muse of Fire*, 9.
- (75) See *BWP*, 112–13. The poem has been interestingly discussed by both Mary A. Favret, 'Coming Home', 547, and Philip Shaw, 'Introduction', in Shaw (ed.) *Romantic Wars*, 3–4, though neither notes the earlier origins of the poem.
- (76) Text from *BWP*, 112–13.
- (77) *The Complete Poetical Works of Thomas Campbell*, ed. J. Logic Robertson (London, New York, and Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1907), 197.
- (78) *Common-Place Book*, ed. John Ward Warter, 4 vols. (London: Reeves and Turner, 1876), IV. 211.
- (79) *The Contributions of Robert Southey to the 'Morning Post'* ed. Kenneth Curry (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1984), 97–8. For another example of Southey's use of this form in this volume, see 'The Battle of Bosworth. An Eclogue', 105–8.
- (80) *Poetic Trifles* (London: T. Cadell, jun., and W. Davies, 1798), 4.
- (81) *GM*, 68 (supplement 1798), 1133.

(82) Joseph Fawcett, *War Elegies* (London: J. Johnson, 1801). As Fawcett explains in his 'Advertisement', he held back distribution of the volume until 1802. References to this volume are cited by page number within the text.

(83) For an introduction to Fawcett and *The Art of War*, as well as a copy of the text, see Arthur Beatty, 'Joseph Fawcett: The Art of War. Its Relation, to the Early Development of William Wordsworth', *University of Wisconsin Studies in language and Literature*, 2 (1918), 224–69. See also M. Ray Adams, *Studies in the Literary Backgrounds of English Radicalism, with Special Reference to the French Revolution* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1968), 191–226.

(84) *Collected letters of Samuel Taylor Coleridge, 1785–1834*, ed. Earl Leslie Griggs, 6 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1956–71), I. 183.

(85) *Anti-Jacobin*, 14.

(86) 'manly breasts are pierced with many a wound' ('Lines by John Gabriel Stedman', *BWP* 103); 'bor'd with many a grisly wound' ('The Field of Battle', *BWP*, 113).

(87) 'Wounds and death left behind' ('The Field of Battle', *BWP*, 112); 'Thousands of wounds and sickness left to die' ('The Wounded Soldier' *BWP*, 244); 'No priest with bloody fingers dy'd I Deep in the gasping victim's side, ('On the Consecration of the Colours of the Military Association of—', *BWP*, 234); 'Gallant Soidiers—fighting—bleeding', ('January, 1795', *BWP*, 142); "While thousands bleed,—while thousands die' ('On the Retyro of a Festival', *BWP* 223).

(88) 'mangled limbs' ('The Drum', *BWP*, 80); 'mangled limb' ('Effects of War', *BWP* 96); 'Slaughter'd men and mangled cattle' ('Reason Uttering a Soliloquy Over a field of Battle', *BWP*, 192); 'shattere'd remnants' ('Effects of War', *BWP*, 96); 'broken soldier, maimed and scar'd, ('The Widow', *BWP*, 268).

(89) 'agonising smart' ('Ode to War', *BWP*, 124); 'dying groans' ('The Drum', *BWP* 80); 'many a groan' ('The Field of Battle', *BWP*, 113).

(90) 'Ghastly and pale the wounded heroes bleed' ('An Elegy on War' *BWP*, 183); "The Dying Soldier; a Fragment' (*BWP*, 224–5).

(91) 'Reason Uttering a Soliloquy Over a Field of Battle' (*BWP*, 192).

(92) "Reflections on a Field of Battle' (*BWP*, 191); "Reason Uttering a Soliloquy Over a Field of Battle' (*BWP*, 192); 'Ode On the Present Times, 27th January 1795' (*BWP*, 141).

(93) See Miriam Cooke and Angela Woollacott (eds.), *Gendering War Talk* (Princeton; Princeton University Press, 1993); Jean Bethke Elshtain, *Women and War* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995); William S. Goldstein, *War and Gender: How Gender Shapes the War System and Vice Versa* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001); Martin L. Van Creveld, *Men, Women and War* (London; Cassell, 2001); Inger Skjelsaek, and D. Smith (eds.), *Gender, Peace, and Conflict* (London: Sage, 2001); Susie Jacobs, Ruth Jacobson and Jennifer Marchbank (eds.), *States of Conflict; Gender, Violence, and Resistance* (London: Zed Books, 2000); Nancy Huston, 'Tales of War and Tears of Women', *Women's Studies International Forum*, 5.3/4 (1982), 271–82; Sharon MacDonald, Pat Holden, and Shirley Ardener (eds.), *images- of Women in Peace and War: Cross-cultural and Historical Perspectives* (Basingstoke and London: Macmillan Education, 1987).

- (94) Nathaniel Bloomfield, *An Essay on War, in Blank Verse* (London: Thomas Hurst and Vernor and Hood, 1803), 8.
- (95) 'The British Heroes' (*BWP*, 335).
- (96) For eighteenth-century anticipations of such figures, see Dianne Dugaw, *Warrior Women and Popular Balladry, 1650–1850* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989).
- (97) For a general discussion, of such figures, see Marina Warner, *Monuments and Maidens; The Allegory of the Female Form* (London: Picador, 1987). For an excellent discussion of such figures in terms of the Peninsular War, see Diego Saglia, "O My Mother-Spain!": The- Peninsular War, Family Matters, and the Practice of Romantic Nation-Writing', *ELH*, 65 (1998), 363–93.
- (98) See Marlon B. Ross, *The Contours of Masculine Desire; Romanticism and the Rise of Women's Poetry* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989); Sonia Hofkosh, *Sexual Politics and the Romantic Author* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998).
- (99) Gary Kelly, 'Revolution and Romantic Feminism: Women, Writing and Cultural Revolution', in Keith Hanley and Raman Seiden (eds.), *Revolution and English Romanticism; Politics and Rhetoric* (Hemel Hempstead and New York: Harvester Wheatsheaf and St Martin's Press, 1990), 113.
- (100) Kelly, 'Revolution and Romantic Feminism', 113, 126.
- (101) On the feminization of poetry and literary culture in the later decades of the eighteenth century, see Ross, *The Contours of Masculine Desire*, *passim*, and Judith Page, *Wordsworth and the Cultivation of Women* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London: University of California Press, 1994), 29–53.
- (102) In her poem *Peru*, Helen Maria Williams writes that 'from the scene where raging Slaughter burns | The timid muse with pallid horror turns, (VI. 13–14), *Poems 1786* (Oxford and New York; Woodstock Books, 1994), 184.
- (103) N.B., 'Letter to a Sister', *GM*, 64 (July 1794), 654; Fawcett, 'The Art of War', 11. 554–5.
- (104) *GM*, 76 (January 1806), p. iii.
- (105) *Women Romantic Poets, 1785–1832: An Anthology*, ed. Jennifer Breen (London and Rutland, Vt.: J. M. Dent and Charles E. Tuttle, 1992), 96.
- (106) *Poetic Trifles*, pp. i–ii.
- (107) For one broad account of the impact of war on European writing in the period, see Nancy L. Rosenblum, 'Romantic Militarism', *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 43 (1982), 249–68.
- (108) *Eclectic Review*, 7 (1811), 673.
- (109) William Crowe, 'Lines' (*BWP*, 174).
- (110) 'Independence' (*PR*, 83).
- (111) Joseph Fawcett, 'Preface' to *Poems* (1798), quoted in Beatty, 'Joseph Fawcett', 232.
- (112) Crowe, 'Lines' (*BWP*, 175).

(113) The phrase is taken from 'An Elegy on War' (*BWP*, 183).

(114) 'The Wrongs of Poverty' (*PR*, 54), 'Hymn' (*BWP*, 111), 'Ode to Peace' (*BWP*, 168), 'Lines' by Crowe (*BWP*, 175). For biblical precedent, see *PR*, 55. For classical precedent, see epigram from *Aeneid* in 'Effects of War' (*BPW*, 108). For two excellent discussions of the widow figure in the war poetry of the period, see Favret, 'Coming Home', and Behrendt, 'A Few Harmless Numbers'.

(115) e.g. 'The Widow' (*BWP*, 153–4); Favret, 'Coming Home'.

(116) Southey, 'The Ruined Cottage' in *Poems: The Second Volume* (London: T. N. Longman and O. Rees, 1799), 226–32; Wordsworth, 'The Ruined Cottage', in *William Wordsworth: The Oxford Authors*, ed. Stephen Gill (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1986), 31–44; Charlotte Smith, 'The Forest Boy', in *The Poems of Charlotte Smith* ed. Stuart Curran (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), 111–16. See also Mary Robinson, 'The Widow's Home', in *Selected Poems*, 207–10.

(117) For a discussion of the historical figure of the returning soldier, see Herman Gaston de Watteville, *The British Soldier: His Daily Life from Tudor to Modern Times* (London: Dent, 1954). For further examples, see E. C. G., 'Written After Seeing Opie's Picture of the Tired Soldier in the Late Exhibition' (*BWP*, 240–1); Anne Bannerman, 'The Soldier', in Andrew Ashfield (ed.), *Romantic Women Poets, 1788–1848*, vol. II (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 1998), 82; Mary Robinson's 'Edmund's Wedding', *Selected Poems*, 259–62, and 'The Old Soldier', *Morning Post*, 31 August 1799.

(118) For the dating of the poem, see the entry 'Merry, Robert' in McCalman, *Oxford Companion*, 601.

(119) *The Early Poems of John Clare, 1804–1822*, ed. Eric Robinson and David Powell, 2 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989), I. 91.

(120) Draper Hill (ed.), *The Satirical Etchings of James Gillray* (New York: Dover Publications, 1976), plate 31.

(121) *The Poems and Songs of Robert Burns*, ed. James Kinsley, 3 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968), II. 687. Behrendt quotes an earlier version of such poetic reassurance from Catherine Upton's *The Siege of Gibraltar* (1781) in 'A Few Harmless Numbers', 13. For a similar cultural reassurance about the figure of the sailor, see Geoff Quilley, 'Duty and Mutiny; The Aesthetics of Loyalty and the Representation of the British Sailor c.1798–1800', in Shaw (ed.), *Romantic Wars*, 80–109.

(122) John Towill Rutt, 'The Wrongs of Poverty' (*PR*, 54).

(123) See Engell, *The Creative imagination*, 143.

(124) *PR*, 122.

(125) *Anti-Jacobin*, 12–14. For a similar lament of a lack of a poet to fill this role, see 'Imitated from Martial: From a Gentleman Lamenting the Want of Poetic Merit to Celebrate the Late GREAT VICTORIES' (*GM*, 68 (March 1798), 244).

(126) *GM*, 61 (September 1791), 853.

(127) 'Ode, To the Memory of the British Officers, Seamen, and Soldiers, who have Fallen in the Present War', *Scots Magazine*, August 1794 (*BWP*, 120).

- (128) For pye's 'duteous Muse', see 'ODE for His MAJESTY's Birth-day', (*GM*, 63 (June 1793), 556.
- (129) Kenyon West, *The Laureates of England; Ben Jonson to William Wordsworth* (London and New York: Frederick H. Stokes, 1895), 143.
- (130) 'ODE FOR THE NEW YEAR', *GM*, 65 (January 1795), 60; 'ODE for His MAJESTY's Birth-day', *GM*, 63 (June 1793), 556.
- (131) 'ODE FOR THE NEW YEAR', *GM*, 67 (January 1797), 60.
- (132) *Ibid.* and footnote. For account of *Bonduca*, see *WD*, 229–30.
- (133) 'ODE for His MAJESTY's Birth-Day', *GM*, 68 (June 1792), 556; 'ODE for His MAJESTY's Birth-Day', *GM*, 68 (June 1798), 518.
- (134) *Cupid Turned Volunteer: in a Series of Prints, Designed by Her Royal Highness, The Princess Elizabeth and Engraved by W. N. Gardiner, BA, with Poetical Illustrations by Thomas Park, FSA* (London: E. Harding, 1804.)
- (135) *The War-Elegies of Tyrtæus, Imitated, and Addressed to the People of Great Britain, with some Observations on the Life and Poems of Tyrtæus* (London: T. Cadell jun. and W. Davies, 1795). For an account of the martial aims of the volume, see *GM*, 65 (May 1795), 412–13.
- (136) Quoted in Kenneth Hopkins, *The Poets Laureate* (London: Bodley Head, 1954), 115–16.
- (137) 'Ode. On the Glorious Victory Gained by Rear-Admiral Nelson, August 1, 1798', *GM*, 68 (October 1798), 880.
- (138) See 'Nelson' in 'Index to Poetry' in *GM*, 68 (1798), no page numbers. See also Betty Bennett's reference to 'dozens of verses which celebrated Nelson's victory against the French in Egypt' (*BWP*, 222).
- (139) e.g. William Lisle Bowles, *The Song of the Battle of the Nile*; William Sotheby, *The Battle of the Nile* (1799); *The Battle of the Nile by a Gentleman of Earl St. Vincent's Fleet. These three poems were reviewed in GM*, 69 (April 1799), 320–1, and (October 1799), 879.
- (140) *GM*, 69 (February 1799), 148.
- (141) e.g. Auctore Clerico Gallicano, *Nilius* (1799), described in the British Library catalogue as 'A poem in Latin Hexameters on the battle of the Nile'.
- (142) Anon., *The Battle of the Nile, a Dramatic Poem, on the Model of the Greek Tragedies* (1799).
- (143) J. Hildreth's *The Niliad, an Epic Poem ... on the Glorious Victory of August* (1799).
- (144) *The Poetical Works of William Lisle Bowles*, ed. Revd George Gilfillan, 2 vols. (Edinburgh: James Nichols, 1845), I. 88. See Colin Pedley, 'Anticipating Invasion: Some Wordsworthian Contexts', *Wordsworth Circle*, 21 (1990), 64–70, esp. 65 and 69–70 n. 2.
- (145) *GM*, 69 (April 1799). 320–1; Revd Dr Edward Dupre, 'On Rear-Admiral Lord Nelson's Victory', *GM*, 68 (supplement 1798), 1133.
- (146) *William Blake and the Myths of Britain* (Basingstoke and New York: Macmillan and St Martin's Press,

1999), 99.

(147) 'Ode for the Anniversary Meeting of the Subscribers to the Literary Fund, April 21, 1795.' *GM*, 66 (January 1796), 63.

(148) e.g. 'Ode', *GM*, 62 (April 1792), 367.

(149) *GM*, 66 (September 1796), 771.

(150) *GM*, 67 (March 1797). 236.

(151) *GM*, 68 (May 1798), 414; 69 (November 1799), 970. It provided farther extracts from *Arvingus*, 68 (May 1798), 414, and praised the publication of *Extracts from Tasker's Poems on Military and Naval Subjects*, 69 (November 1799), 970–1.

(152) *GM*, 69 (April 1799), 327.

(153) *Poetical Works*, 702–3.

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