

ROMANTIC TEXTUALITIES
LITERATURE AND PRINT CULTURE, 1780–1840



Issue 21
(Winter 2013)

Centre for Editorial and Intertextual Research
Cardiff University

Romantic Textualities is available on the web at www.romtext.org.uk,
and on Twitter @romtext

ISSN 1748-0116

Romantic Textualities: Literature and Print Culture, 1780–1840, 21 (Winter 2013).
<www.romtext.org.uk/issues/rt21.pdf>.

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Published by the Centre for Editorial and Intertextual Research, Cardiff University.
Typeset in Adobe Garamond Pro 11 / 12.5, using Adobe InDesign cc; images and illustrations prepared using
Adobe Illustrator cc and Adobe PhotoShop cc; final output rendered with Adobe Acrobat xi Professional.

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Aims and Scope: Formerly *Cardiff Convey: Reading the Romantic Text* (1997–2005), *Romantic Textualities: Literature and Print Culture, 1780–1840* is an online journal that is committed to foregrounding innovative Romantic-studies research into bibliography, book history, intertextuality, and textual studies. To this end, we publish material in a number of formats: among them, peer-reviewed articles, reports on individual/group research projects, bibliographical checklists and biographical profiles of overlooked Romantic writers. *Romantic Textualities* also carries reviews of books that reflect the growing academic interest in the fields of book history, print culture, intertextuality and cultural materialism, as they relate to Romantic studies.

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EDITORIAL

Anthony Mandal



FOLLOWING AN EXTENDED DELAY AFTER MIGRATING TO A NEW PLATFORM, Issue 21 of *Romantic Textualities* offers the first of two special issues dealing with 'Romantic Visual Cultures', which will continue into Issue 22. These twin issues are stimulated by a colloquium convened on the topic by the Centre for Editorial and Intertextual Research at Cardiff University in 2009, and supported in part by the British Association for Romantic Studies. The conference generated illuminating new perspectives on Romantic illustration, intermediality and visual culture, sparking lively discussion between delegates, as well as stimulating additional contributions after the event, which we are delighted to publish in *Romantic Textualities*. This main section is preceded by two freestanding essays that focus on different aspects of Romantic print culture and intertextual relationships, in analyses of John Murray and Thomas Moore. The issue concludes with a report on gothic typologies and ten book reviews.

In 'Authors in an Industrial Economy: The Case of John Murray's Travel Writers', Bill Bell examines the relationships between the House of Murray and its authors during the Romantic era. Murray's firm was well known as one of the principal British publishers in the field of travel and exploratory literature throughout much of the nineteenth century. The titles that were published under the proprietorship of John Murray II (1778–1843) and John Murray III (1808–92) read like a who's who of nineteenth-century travel writing. The John Murray Archive in the National Library of Scotland offers one of the richest sources for publishing history, providing unequalled insight into the way that a prominent London publisher dealt with its authors in the age of colonial expansion. Bell's article examines the processes through which Murray's works came to make their way from manuscript to publication over several decades, and concludes with a discussion of authorial self-presentation, examining ways in which some of Murray's travel writers fashioned themselves, through various discursive strategies, in accordance with their position within this new literary economy.

Jane Moore's 'Thomas Moore, Anacreon and the Romantic Tradition' offers a historical and generic account of the intercultural British and Irish nexus of imitation surrounding Thomas Moore's first published volume of verse, his remarkably successful *Odes of Anacreon, Translated into English Verse, with Notes* (1800). The essay situates Moore's volume, imitative of the sixth-century BC poet Anacreon's lyrics of wine, women and song, within the dual Irish and British contexts of Anacreontic verse published in Ireland in the eighteenth

century, in the contemporary cultural milieu of glee clubs, bodies such as the Hibernian Catch Club, the Beefsteak Club, the Humbug Club and the tellingly named Anacreontic Society, whose members frequently performed Anacreontic sentimental and drinking songs, and in the Cockney School Romanticism of Leigh Hunt and John Keats. In doing so, the analysis repositions Moore in his role of Anacreontic versifier as a formative presence at the genesis of British Romanticism as the turn of the nineteenth century, in ways that allow a deeper understanding of the culturally complex formation of Four Nations Romanticism.

The main section of Issue 21, on Romantic visual cultures, begins with Katie Garner's 'When King Arthur Met the Venus: Romantic Antiquarianism and the Illustration of Anne Bannerman's "The Prophecy of Merlin"'. The first edition of Bannerman's *Tales of Superstition and Chivalry* (1802) contained an erotic engraving of a naked Venus figure, which was declared 'offensive to decency' by Scottish audiences in the poet's native Edinburgh. Garner's account investigates the controversy surrounding the engraving and the puzzling disparity between it and the ballad it illustrated: the Arthurian-themed 'Prophecy of Merlin'. Using evidence from Bannerman's correspondence with noted Scottish male publishers and antiquarians, the essay argues that decision to include the dangerous engraving was symptomatic of current anxieties surrounding a female-authored text which threatened to encroach on antiquarian and Arthurian enquiry.

The often complex dynamic between writer and artist is examined in Richard Hill's 'Walter Scott and James Skene: A Creative Friendship', which contends that Skene, Scott's amateur-artist friend, was often used as a visual research assistant for many scenes contained within the Waverley novels. Skene became an advisor to some of the earliest illustrations of Scott's novels that were produced beyond Scotland. In the introduction to the fourth canto of *Marmion*, dedicated to Skene, Scott writes: 'The shepherd, who in summer sun, | Had something of our envy won, | As thou with pencil, I with pen, | The features traced of hill and glen'. This glimpse of Skene sketching next to Scott reveals a significant aspect to their friendship: Skene's sketches were used as *aides-memoire*, visual references or even inspirations to Scott's literary imagination for many descriptive topographical or architectural passages within his novels. Through close readings of the novels, Scott's correspondence and Skene's own memoir, Hill establishes that Skene contributed significant visual stimuli for a number of Scott's works.

Complementing this analysis of Scott's dealings with a contemporary artist is Tim Killick's longitudinal account of the various representational choices available to artists when depicting a single landmark work of literature. Since his rise to fame in the early nineteenth century, Byron and his work have been significant subjects for visual art, from book illustration to oil painting. Killick's essay explores Byronic art across the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, taking as a case study the treatment of his late narrative poem, *Don Juan*. Byron's wide-ranging appeal was a result of both the popularity of his poetry and the


public fascination with his life, but it was also determined by the multiple, fluid qualities of his work which facilitated a huge variety of readings across the centuries. Here, the visual implications of these ways of reading are considered, and the essay argues that pictorial Byronism played an important role in presenting evolving perceptions of the broader Romantic movement.

In 'Reverse Pygmalionism: Art and Samuel Rogers's *Italy*', Maureen McCue resituates Samuel Rogers's influential work *Italy* within the wider context of Britain's post-Waterloo visual-verbal culture. Rogers's illustrated multi-generic travel book made the Italian peninsula accessible to its upwardly mobile middle-class audience through its miscellaneous nature, its poems, tales, travelogues, treatment of art, antiquarian asides and translation of key Italian authors. It was one of the nineteenth century's best-selling texts, but it did not start out that way. Indeed, it would take Rogers over a decade in order to produce a profitable object. This article examines this process and the ways in which Rogers responded to key developments in the commercial print market, especially the growing popularity for keepsakes and annuals, in order to register the publishing market's dependency on word-image constellations, Britain's changing relationship with Italy, and, ultimately, the growing purchasing power of a middle-class, female audience.

Manuel Aguirre's report summarises the findings of *The Northanger Library Project*, a project that ran from 2006 to 2009, and sought to study the rise of gothic literature against the background of the 'long' eighteenth century in Britain. The central concern of the project lay in the study of long-neglected gothic texts, beginning with the 'canon' of gothic novels immortalised in Jane Austen's *Northanger Abbey*. Its primary tools were the theory of liminality and studies of myth and fairytale which brought out the significance of form. Aguirre's report outlines the terms of reference and 'rules' employed by the gothic as a taxonomical model for analysing the form; as well as pointing forward to further research questions that emerge in the wake of the project.

The issue concludes a collection of ten reviews of publications relating to Romantic-era literature, intertextuality and print culture. These range from considerations of the complex relationships that emerged during the period across various national boundaries (Atlantic/Transatlantic, Ireland, the Highlands, Paris); biographical and autobiographical studies; science and Romantic identity; and the politics of protest in the post-Waterloo age. Following the reviews is an updated list of 'Books Received' for review by *Romantic Textualities*, which enables interested readers and potential reviewers to view a various print-culture related works that are available for review in future issues of the journal.

In addition to the various essays, reports and reviews that make up this issue, we are delighted to announce that *Romantic Textualities* is expanding its remit in a significant way. The journal is now supported by a regularly updated blog, which complements the periodical nature of its outputs, offering a range of posts from an international team of over a dozen contributors. Items covered focus on our bloggers' research into and teaching of Romanticism, as well as

items of interest and reviews of conferences, exhibitions and online resources. Through the blog, we hope to encourage visitors to make more frequent visits to the journal in order to engage with exciting and dynamic new research that's taking place in the field of Romantic studies. 



AUTHORS IN AN INDUSTRIAL ECONOMY

The Case of John Murray's Travel Writers

Bill Bell



THE HOUSE OF JOHN MURRAY is well known as one of the principal British publishers in the field of travel and exploratory literature throughout much of the nineteenth century. With a list that sported such celebrated names as Charles Darwin, John Franklin, Isabella Bird, David Livingstone and Austen Henry Layard, the titles that were published under the proprietorship of John Murray II (1778–1843) and John Murray III (1808–92) read like a who's who of nineteenth-century travel writing. The John Murray Archive, located at the National Library of Scotland, offers one of the richest archival sources for publishing history, providing unequalled insight into the way that a prominent London publisher dealt with its authors in the age of colonial expansion. As the Archive demonstrates, the transformations that took place in the British and international book trades during the first half of the century were to have a considerable impact on the way in which the House of Murray negotiated its authors and customers, and brought its travel writers to market. Like other publishers, the firm was able to take advantage of these opportunities to reach out to new reading constituencies. This essay will examine the industrial processes through which Murray's works would come to make their way from manuscript to publication over several decades. It will conclude with a discussion of authorial self-presentation, examining ways in which some of Murray's travel writers fashioned themselves, through various discursive strategies, in accordance with their position within this new literary economy. While it may be assumed that the industrial transformation of literary production during this period provided a more efficient vehicle for authors to reach new reading constituencies, what I aim to demonstrate is the extent to which these same modes of production offered an increasing challenge to literary authority, providing a site of struggle in which authorial autonomy was negotiated in the face of commercial imperative.¹

The Publisher's Reader

In his well-known model of the production cycle of books, Robert Darnton identifies the key agents that were instrumental in the manufacture of books at the end of the eighteenth century. Not without its detractors, Darnton's 'communication circuit' is nevertheless a helpful reminder that texts were not part of a simple gift economy from author to reader, nor were they authorised

exclusively by the writer, but were the result of a number of collaborative forces that came into play in the production of a printed text as it found its way to customers.

From the moment that a manuscript arrived at the Murray offices, it was subjected to a regime of regulatory practices, as it went through the filters of technology and taste that would turn it into a Murray book. Like other quality publishers, the company deployed a network of experts to comment on the suitability of travel texts for publication as well as the reliability of their contents. As Darnton observes, the reader is not simply the end-point in this production cycle but 'influences the author both before and after the act of composition'.² One way in which this was certainly so in the nineteenth century, though it is conspicuously absent from Darnton's diagram (which is based on an earlier era in book production), is through the role of the various agents working with and within the publishing company. The literary advisor, or publisher's reader, was a role that became increasingly important in the nineteenth century, as book capitalists came more and more to employ experts to assess the commercial possibilities of manuscripts for the market and, in the case of travel writers at least, whether they were to be relied on for their veracity.

More often than not, an aspirant author would approach the firm directly and, especially where their literary and scientific credentials were untried, Murray sought out expert witnesses before committing to publish. In 1817, James Riley wrote to the publisher to offer his account of *The Loss of the American Brig Commerce* (1817). An unknown writer, Riley petitioned Murray from New York, to say that he had 'never before been earlier a Bookmaker Bookseller', but that his recent financial losses required him to seek out a British publisher for his book, which was to be self-published in the United States.³ Riley's ship had been lost in 1815, after which he had led his crew through the Sahara. Captured by Sahrawi natives who had pressed Riley and his men into slavery, the story was to say the least sensational. On receipt of the manuscript, Murray sought the advice of James Renshaw, the proprietor of a London trading house with contacts throughout Africa for verification of the authenticity of Riley's remarkable story. On 25 March 1817, Renshaw reported that he had spoken with the Vice-Consuls in Mogadore and the Consul-General in Tangier, who had verified Riley's narrative. For his own part, Renshaw believed that the captain had 'given a very accurate description of what he has seen' and felt that it was 'described with [...] veracity'. Further corroboration he gave for Riley's description of Timbuctoo, saying that it concurred with descriptions that he had 'heard related by several Moorish merchants that have been there'.⁴ In the early days of travel into relatively unknown regions, Murray was clearly nervous about the authenticity of Riley's claims, not least because of the many notoriously sensational accounts of shipwrecks then in circulation.

One of the most trusted of the firm's literary advisors throughout the 1820s until his death in 1828 was William Hamilton, the brother of the influential orientalist, Alexander Hamilton. William's connection with the firm began

in 1814 when he was preparing his *East India Gazetteer* (1815). He had initially arrived in India in 1791 as a cadet in the Bengal Army, and later served in the East India Company. He had returned to England in 1801, where he spent much of his time researching in the East India Company Library. A founder member of the Royal Asiatic Society, his *Gazetteer*, published by Murray and later adapted as *Geographical, Statistical, and Historical Description of Hindoostan, and the Adjacent Countries* (1820), was pioneering work. Murray appears to have formed a good impression of Hamilton's authority in the field and, by 1820, was seeking his advice on submissions. Recommending more rejections than publications, Hamilton could often be direct in his assessments, his reader's reports providing a clear sense of what the publisher and his readers' criteria were in the assessment of manuscripts. Two of the main purposes for which Murray seems to have relied on him was as a judge of the truthfulness, as well as the saleability, of various accounts. After reading one manuscript on Upper Canada, Hamilton was to comment that he had 'scarcely ever met with such silly mawkish nonsense'.⁵ One author's memoirs he regarded as 'a very little truth, mixed up with a multitude of lies'.⁶ A history of the Burmese War he considered 'mere Catchpenny'.⁷ On at least one occasion he advised Murray on the deleterious effect that going into print might have. In assessing one work—most probably *The Memoirs of the Public and Private Life of Napoleon Bonaparte*, published in translation by a number of London publishers through the 1820s—Hamilton cautioned that they were 'grossly calumnious against Sir Hudson Lowe [Napoleon's jailer in St Helena] [...] He is called a liar & a fool at least a dozen times.' Neither, he added, would the book do much good for the reputation of Napoleon 'in the public estimation'.⁸ As the publisher of Scott and Byron, Murray had done much to contribute to the cult of the Emperor, one factor that likely prompted Hamilton's response.

Perhaps the company's most trusted, and powerful, advisor was John Barrow, someone who enjoyed a long and close association with the firm, publishing several books with Murrays and acting as a regular contributor to the *Quarterly Review*. In 1829, Barrow was called on to provide an estimate of the manuscript of John Lander's *Wanderings in Africa*, which the author had produced largely from the journals of Hugh Clapperton and John's brother, Richard. Barrow had been deeply distrustful of the expedition, and was incensed at what he regarded as its financial extravagance. He was also deeply distrustful of the explorers' claim to have discovered the source of the Niger. It is uncertain whether Murray knew that Lander was a *persona non grata* to Barrow when he turned to him to assess the younger man's manuscript. If not, he might have been surprised at the aggressive tone that his reader's report took. Over five pages, Barrow demolished the manuscript, which he called 'utterly unimportant and uninteresting to any reader', with nothing in it 'to redeem the deficiencies of style or the sins of egotism' that permeated the text. Not only were parts 'written in very bad taste', according to Barrow, but the story was riddled with inaccuracies and told with a degree of 'heartlessness [...] quite out of keeping

with the general test of the intelligent author.' Playing to Murray's bottom line, Barrow's concluding shot was his estimate of the commercial potential of Lander's text: 'his "Book" I am afraid, would have but little chance of ultimate consideration of immediate popularity'.⁹ While Murray would go on to publish the Landers' later account, heavily edited in-house, *Journal of an Expedition to Explore the Course and Termination of the Niger* (1832), for the time being at least he was guided by his reader's advice.

As a book was in preparation for the press, Murray would often rely on these same readers to clean up the text stylistically, particularly when he was dealing with relatively inexperienced authors. In some instances, this could mean that the work was rearranged, in others severely redacted. Robert Fortune's *A Journey to the Tea Countries of China* (1846), thought the publisher, 'greatly needs the revision of some literary Friend' who could supply 'some simple verbal correction before it goes to press'.¹⁰ The 'literary friend' mentioned here was Murray's standard euphemism for the anonymous expert whose responsibility it was to work up the text before going into print. Time and again, we find John Murray II turning to acquaintances close to the firm that he trusted to make a work's content and style suitable. Among his retainers were a handful of trusted stylists, the most prominent of whom included John Wilson Croker, John Barrow, William Gifford and Maria Graham.¹¹

In 1841, John Murray III put this element in the process on a more professional footing by hiring Henry Milton, and later his son, John, as principal readers. Thereafter other members of Milton's family were often used for work of this kind. As Angus Fraser observes in his study of the Miltons and the Murrays, the details surrounding readers' activities can be somewhat sketchy, their contribution often treated with discretion by the publisher.¹² Nevertheless, some helpful details survive, and there is an indication in the Copy Day Books of some of the rates paid, as well as the number of hours work undertaken on specific titles by the company readers. In 1856, Henry's son, John, spent some 295 hours on William Napier's biography of his brother Sir Charles. Although it was unusual, it does nevertheless give some indication of the extent of the editorial hand at this stage.¹³ Milton worked for twenty-four hours altogether in assessing for publication the manuscript of Herman Melville's *Typee* in 1845. When the work came to be edited, Milton spent over 162 hours at the task, receiving in payment £50 11s, which, observes Fraser, 'compared favourably [...] with what Melville was to receive for actually having written the book'.¹⁴

In response to this stage in the production process, some writers were more anxious to retain control of their work than others, and some were in a more powerful position to do so. George FitzClarence had to negotiate his reputation more vigilantly than most. The eldest, illegitimate, son of William of Hanover (later William IV) had distinguished himself from an early age in the Peninsular War, but had been stripped of his sword and dismissed from his regiment in 1813 for conspiracy against his commanding officer.¹⁵ Sent to India in disgrace, he worked hard to re-establish his reputation, and spent the next few years

reinventing himself as an oriental scholar, beginning with the publication his *Journal of a Route across India, through Egypt, to England*, published by Murray in 1819. Ever mindful of others' perceptions of his social standing, and bruised by his earlier experiences, he was careful to assert the credibility of his Indian and Egyptian achievements. Anxious to win the favour of his family, with whom his relationship was always difficult, FitzClarence took care to dedicate the book to the Prince Regent, 'as a humble token' of his 'gratitude and attachment'. We can detect something of the delicacy of his position in a letter written to Murray late in 1818, when the book was in production: 'Whatever alterations you may desire to make should be therefore, commenced directly as it must be understood, whatever they may be, they must all depend on my final instruction & approval.'¹⁶ Judging by the published preface to his account, in which he acknowledged that the work had 'incurred the imputation of prolixity', it is likely that the publisher's requested redactions were not altogether implemented. In his defence, FitzClarence maintained that the contents were entirely true and had not been worked up, adhering entirely to 'fidelity'.¹⁷

One of the strongest responses to one of John Murray's reader's reports came from Walter Hamilton, who was himself to become one of Murray's most trusted advisors, on the grounds that Murray's reader had an inadequate understanding of the facts that had informed Hamilton's two-volume *Geographical, Statistical, and Historical Description of Hindoostan, and the Adjacent Countries* (1820). Confident of his own knowledge of the region, over and above that of his anonymous critic's, Hamilton objected to his publisher in the strongest possible terms:

The Gentleman who has made the corrections, is sometimes misled by errors in the maps which he has consulted, for instance, instead of 'Ranjeshy' to read 'Bettooriah'—Now there is no such district as Bettooriah—There is a [...] landed estate of that name (where I have been) comprehended in the district of Ranjeshy, one of the permanent subdivisions of Bengal—a great many of my facts, as you know, are derived from original manuscripts, which no pay constructor ever saw, & from personal observation on the spot.

Much of what the annotator considers erroneous, is not so, & I could point out errors of magnitude that have escaped his research.¹⁸

Asserting his authority on the basis of personal experience and inside information gleaned 'on the spot', Hamilton sought to persuade Murray that the objections of the latter's expert—a mere 'pay constructor'—were less than credible. When it came to publication, Hamilton's objection was sustained, the relevant entry reading: 'BETTOORIAH (*Bhitoria*).—A subdivision of the zemindarry of Rajeshahy, in the province of Bengal.'¹⁹ Soon after the establishment of the *zemindar* system in the early years of the nineteenth century, much of colonial India was in ferment as claims and counter-claims were made by landed families over hereditary rights. As an official of the East India Company, Hamilton

would have had professional loyalties to some of these claimants, of which his insistence was probably a consequence.

Sometimes, the stylistic changes to which a manuscript had been subjected by an attentive editor were objected to on the grounds that the overall tone of the authorial voice was lost. While the publisher was preparing his *Missionary Travels and Researches in South Africa* (1857) for the press, David Livingstone had assured him that he would not be 'cantankerous or difficult to deal with'. Once the process was under way, Livingstone's attitude became decidedly frosty towards John Milton's interventions, accusing him of the 'emasculat[i]on' of the manuscript. 'The liberties taken are unwarrantable', the author wrote to his publisher. 'Why must you pay for diluting what I say with namby pambyism. Excuse me, but you must give this man leave to quit.'²⁰ In this rare instance, Murray appears to have bowed to the wishes of an author whom he knew would prove to be a valuable property.

On rare occasions, the desire of the publisher for revisions prior to publication could cause a terminal break in relations. Negotiations came to a sticky end with Sir John Richardson, who balked at the redactions requested by the company in 1850. Richardson had enjoyed a good working relationship with Murray for several years, accompanying Parry to the Arctic, having contributed an extensive appendix to Parry's *Journal of a Second Voyage for the Discovery of a North-West Passage* (1824). Between 1829 and 1837, Murray had also undertaken to publish Richardson's *Fauna boreali-americana; or, the Zoology of the Northern Parts of British America*. In 1848–49, Richardson travelled with John Rae in the search for Franklin, and on his return submitted the manuscript of the expedition to Murray for consideration, at which stage Murray requested substantial changes to the length and emphasis of the book. Thanking the publisher for his 'friendly criticisms', and reflecting on Murray's suggestion that in its current state it would not be a worthwhile speculation, Richardson went on in the most defensive of terms: 'As to abridging the work of a narrative of the latter part of the journey including our account of the natives, as you suggest, that would not meet with my wishes at all.' Nor, he added, would the 'very small remuneration that would accrue to me on the present such terms of publication [...] repay me for the trouble.' Referring to the scientific contribution that such a work would make, he insisted that he felt 'no inclination to alter them'. In the end, Richardson told Murray that their 'negotiation now ceases and I must trouble you to return the drawings at your earliest convenience.'²¹ Although at this stage Richardson told Murray that he intended to try his luck with an American publisher, the book was to appear in two volumes the following year as *Antarctic Searching Expedition* (1851), published by Murray's London competitor, Longman.

In other instances, authors accepted the publisher's requests without much resistance. Joseph Gurney, whose *Winter in the West Indies* (1840), which Murray was making ready for a new edition, wrote to encourage advice saying that

if the author of the little critique who thou sent [...] would have the kindness to draw his pencil through such passages, whether in prose or verse, as he thinks it would be best to omit—& at the same time makes his marginal remarks with the utmost freedom [...] it probably might lead to a considerable improvement of the volume.²²

Mary Margaret Busk, when she received word from Murray that her manuscript of *Manners and Customs of the Japanese* (1841) had been rejected, wrote to explain that it was still a work-in-progress, inviting him to explain how she could ‘adapt it better to your views’. Asking the publisher for his advice about where else she might try it, she also gave him the option of ‘a new modelling of Japan’. Murray appears to have offered her the opportunity of revising the work in accordance with his recommendations, in response to which she assured him that she had shortened it, and sought to remove any material that he thought ‘awkward’.²³

For the most part, Murray’s writers sought a *via media*, acceding to requests for revision while still seeking to retain the integrity of their authorial visions, and their commitments to tell their stories in credible ways. Henry Haygarth, in sending back his collected proofs for *Recollections of Bush Life in Australia* (1848), wrote to say that he had ‘endeavoured to avail myself of your hints as far as I could, consistently with fact’.²⁴ The second half of Haygarth’s response is telling, hinting that there were, on occasion, instances when Murray’s desire for more interesting copy might conflict with the truth of in-the-field experiences.

Printers

Notwithstanding such complex negotiations, once the manuscript had undergone revision in accordance with the publisher’s (and to varying degrees the author’s) requirements, it would be sent to the printer for typesetting, or composition, where the text would go through various orthographic changes, in accordance with the convention of normalising punctuation and spelling. In earlier periods, it was customary for the publisher to be his own printer, and sometimes his own bookseller, insofar as bookmaking was a small-scale cottage industry that could take place under one roof. By the late eighteenth century, the book trade had become increasingly specialised, with publishers often acting as capital investors who performed as go-between for authors, printers and booksellers. In this capacity, Murray used a number of trade printers in the nineteenth century, well known for the quality of their work, the most notable of which was the firm of Clowes. In 1823, they had become one of the first printers to acquire a steam-driven power press and by 1839 were the largest printing house in the world.²⁵

An account written in that same year by Francis Bond Head for Murray’s own *Quarterly Review*, one of the many publications for which Clowes had responsibility, provides some insight into the working practices of the factory. Describing the ‘heart-ache caused by “bad copy”’, Bond Head reported the

comments of printers, one remarking that some manuscripts could be 'almost illegible' and another that in many instances the author did not himself 'know what he means to say'. Thus, observed Bond Head, 'not only must the frame-work of their composition be altered, but a series of minute posthumous additions and subtractions are ordered, which are almost impossible to effect.' Often called upon to implement major corrections, the printer's readers had at times to operate almost as co-authors who

should be competent to correct, not only the press, but the author. It is requisite not only that they should possess a microscopic eye, capable of detecting the minutest errors, but be also enlightened judges of the purity of their own language. The general style of the author cannot, of course, be interfered with; but tiresome repetitions, incorrect assertions, intoxicated hyperbole, faults in grammar, and above all, in punctuation, it is his especial duty to point out.²⁶

Well known to bibliographers, the role of printers in the process of making manuscripts ready for the press was more influential than is generally supposed.

Once the type was set, first proofs were printed to be corrected by an in-house reader. Often a first revise was run off, from which author's proofs were printed, to be forwarded to the writer for correction. The logistics of this stage in the process could vary greatly from printer to printer, and author to author. Sometimes the author had sight of one set of proofs, sometimes more—author's galley, author's revise, author's galley revise, author's page proof, author's second revise.²⁷ When there was not a clear idea of where the specific responsibility for polishing the manuscript lay, the process could break down: Mansfield Parkyns was not a great stylist and, after having hastily written his *Life in Abyssinia* (1853), gave Murray *carte blanche*, expecting that the publisher and printer would revise his manuscript to make it printworthy: 'As regards alterations I have always said that I yield everything to your superior judgement in these matters.' But Parkyns then went on to say that he did not want the book 'to appear "got up" but to remain as much as possible in my own style bad though it may be.'²⁸ Murray and his associates seem to have taken him at his word. When the proofs arrived, the author was horrified to learn that he had 'received the proof sheets of the whole notes with scarcely any alterations & of course in the most unintelligible language possible', something that made him 'heartily ashamed'.²⁹ After reworking the proofs with Norton Shaw, one of the firm's trusted editors, Parkyns asked the other man to write an preface offering an apology for the poor style, stating that it was 'hastily-written' and 'scarcely-corrected'. Such prefatory statements of modesty, as we will later see, were not unusual on Murray's list, but in this instance, even though not penned by the author himself, it appears to have been genuine.

Where a new edition of an already existing title was required, the author was usually asked to mark up a copy of the previous edition so that it could be reset in accordance with his or her wishes, sometimes with an opportunity to supplement the text with new manuscript copy. In looking over the copies of

his *Wanderings in North Africa* (1856), James Hamilton identified ‘a few pages containing gross misprints’. These he proposed to replace in the new edition with ‘a very interesting chapter containing an account of the barbarous, and still unavenged murder of a Sheikh who protected me’.³⁰ The number and significance of the changes that could be entered by the author at this stage varied considerably, depending on his or her prestige, or the nature of their working relationship with the publisher. Because large-scale changes cost the publisher (and in many instances the author) dearly, there was not surprisingly resistance in the publishing house to wholesale proof revisions. Substantive corrections could knock out the page, having consequences for many pages thereafter, necessitating expensive re-composition. Although one authority remarked in 1825 that authors should return the proofs ‘with as few alterations as possible’, this was often not the case.³¹

For most British authors this was not an inordinately complicated stage in the process, particularly from the 1840s, when the new postal system made for efficient delivery and return of proofs. Nevertheless, many and difficult were the struggles that nineteenth-century writers went through with their publishers and printers in order to maintain authorial control over their works as they were being made ready for the press. In 1840, *The Perils of Authorship* went so far as to advise authors of ‘the necessity of remaining in town, and in the printing office ALL NIGHT rather than let a single sheet of his work go to press,’ a practice that Dickens was known to employ.³² In the case of many Murray authors, however—explorers, military and naval officers—the logistics could be complicated, if not almost impossible. Itinerant writers would sometimes have little time to correct proofs before they were off again on another long expedition. In such instances, they had to trust the final corrections to the publisher or one of his agents, or leave the job to a trusted friend or relative. Barron Field wrote from New South Wales to inform Murray that he had instructed his friend, Horace Field ‘to offer his services in revising for the press’, the appendix to be scrutinised by ‘the eye of a scientific picker of weeds’.³³ The distance from London to Sydney posed the problem of a mail journey of many weeks, something that could potentially delay publication for several months, while his brother, a resident of Lincoln’s Inn Fields, was close enough to drop in on Murray should it have been necessary.³⁴

While copy was being prepared for final printing, the commissioning of accompanying illustrations was also a key element in the production process, and one in which authors had varying degrees of involvement and agency. Murray books were reputed for their use of finely engraved illustrations and maps. The adoption of new printing techniques from the 1820s on served to make the production of illustrations cheaper and more versatile. The move from wood block and copperplate to steel engraving and lithography provided material that was more durable, allowing for the continued use of the plates from edition to edition and the easier integration of text and image on the same page. Michael Twyman has observed how, as the nineteenth century progressed, there was

an increased emphasis on the illustration of 'representations of the visible or imagined world' which in an age of science increasingly 'required the quality of appearing true or real'.³⁵ Illustrations were often based on sketches taken in the field (by either the author or another) for later execution by artists and engravers. In some instances, the degree of artistic licence, as landscape was rendered more sublime or natives were presented in such a way as to appeal to the spectacle of exoticism, could be considerable. As Bernard Smith has observed, the contribution of engravers at this stage in the process 'mediate[d] between perception and representation in the secondary acts of draughtsmanship'.³⁶ In the light of which, Robert David has observed that 'the requirement to market the final image, within the parameters of accepted canons of taste, was as apparent in visual representation as it was in the published text'.³⁷ The legacy of eighteenth-century theories of the picturesque was still strong in topographical imagery, in accordance with William Gilpin's assertion that images could be rendered more affective on the imagination when they were 'properly disposed for the pencil'.³⁸ Some authors continued to be happy to be comply with these constructed spectacles; others objected to them on the grounds that they did not convey their own view in the field with suitable accuracy. In texts that were at pains to prove their verisimilitude, questions might well be raised about the impression that such reworked images might convey.

One copiously illustrated book was Joseph Hooker's *Himalayan Journals* (1854), which included five lithographed landscapes and forty-five wood engravings. When the book was being made ready for the press, Hooker wrote to Murray to complain that, of the plates that already been prepared, one was totally inadequate and 'the whole scene seems thrown out of perspective' while another was 'not well copied' from his original drawings.³⁹ Hooker was to return in his preface to offer one of the most detailed critiques of contemporary illustration and its truthfulness:

The landscapes &c. have been prepared chiefly from my own drawings, and will, I hope, be found to be tolerably faithful representations of the scenes. I have always endeavoured to overcome that tendency to exaggerate heights, and increase the angle of slopes, which is I believe the besetting sin, not of amateurs only, but of our most accomplished artists. As, however, I did not use instruments in projecting the outlines, I do not pretend to have wholly avoided this snare; nor, I regret to say, has the lithographer, in all cases, been content to abide by his copy. My drawings will be considered tame compared with most mountain landscapes, though the subjects comprise some of the grandest scenes in nature. Considering how conventional the treatment of such subjects is, and how unanimous artists seem to be as to the propriety of exaggerating those features which should predominate in the landscape, it may fairly be doubted whether the total effect of steepness and

elevation, especially in a mountain view, can, on a small scale, be conveyed by a strict adherence to truth.⁴⁰

Behind Hooker's anxiety was a sense that the reading public, saturated with sublime imagery, had become indifferent to faithful representation. That lithographers had become accustomed to exaggeration in the light of such aesthetic imperatives presented an additional problem for the scientific artist whose chief objective was verisimilitude. Finally, there is also a strong sense that an impressive and colourful landscape could not adequately be rendered in black and white in two dimensions. In order to resolve these problems, the principal desideratum for publisher and author alike was a combination of accuracy and aesthetic appeal, in equal measure.

If David Livingstone's relations with his editor were fraught, his attitude towards his illustrator was just as difficult. Livingstone's highly acclaimed *Missionary Travels and Researches in South Africa* (1857) was to include forty-seven illustrations, including frontispiece and maps. While it was in preparation, Livingstone expressed severe objections to the pictorial treatment that had been given to some of the key episodes in the narrative. Extant evidence of Livingstone's wrangling over the illustrations is clearly visible in some of the marked up proofs of scenes from the book. The famous image of Livingstone's escape from the lion caused him particular annoyance, leading the author to complain that it was 'abominable' in its execution, and would lead readers familiar with the physiognomy of a lion to 'die with laughing at it'.⁴¹ In at least one instance, observes Louise Henderson, Livingstone used his text to correct the impression given by the illustrator.⁴²

The admissions of Hooker and Livingstone regarding the inaccuracy of their illustrations was unusually frank for its time. By and large, it was incumbent for authors to maintain that the accuracy of their illustrations matched the veracity of their narratives. Sir Archibald Edmonstone paid tribute in *A Journey to Two of the Oases of Upper Egypt* (1822) to the pencil of Robert Master, who had provided the illustrations, for the results of which he could 'most willingly vouch for their faithfulness and accuracy'.⁴³ Dixon Denham's sketches, drawn on the spot during his travels through Africa in the 1820s, were worked up for publication by his friend Robert Ker Porter. Although Dixon confessed to having provided only 'sketchy' drawings from his travels, he was at pains to insist that the results were nevertheless 'faithful', as were Porter's reworked illustrations. Directing his readers to the latter's *Travels in Georgia, Persia, Armenia, Ancient Babylonia* (1817–19) as evidence, Dixon asserted that Porter's eye was 'nearly as familiar as my own with the picturesque objects they display'.⁴⁴

Nevertheless, subtle and not so subtle changes could creep in while the text was being made press-ready and plates were being engraved from approved illustrations. This was especially so when substitutes for worn plates were being engraved for subsequent imprints or editions. Stylistic changes, aesthetic modifications and in some instances visual content could undergo subtle as well

as significant changes unanticipated by the author or illustrator at an earlier stage in a title's production, all making for instability over time.

In 1836, Edward Strutt Abdy wrote to Murray about the substandard presswork to which his recently published *Journal of a Residence and Tour in the United States of North America* (1835) had been subjected by the printing firm of George Woodfall. One of Abdy's friends informed the author that he had discovered several typographical errors in the book: 'Howard the philanthropist has been changed into Homard & as is substituted as us.' To add insult to injury, the author had 'passed a few jokes on the Americans about grammar and spelling' and 'it is rather awkward that I should have laid myself open to a similar charge.' Asserting that the mistakes were not his—though, living in London, we may assume that the author had sight of the final proof—he had 'requested the printer to see that no change was made [...] but he has preferred his own mode of orthography to that adopted in [the American quotations] as well as to mine, which he was inclined to dispute.'⁴⁵

A number of tensions could therefore arise between authors and printers, not only over the quality of engraving, composition and presswork but also about the slowness of the work's emergence into print. Phillip Parker King sent Murray the last section of the manuscript of his *Survey of the Intertropical Coasts of Australia* (1827) on in February 1825.⁴⁶ More than a year later, on 1 April 1826, he wrote to say that he would soon be setting sail for South America and would be gratified to see the book out before departure.⁴⁷ A month later King wrote with even more urgency:

I am quite disappointed at not seeing my book out before I sail [...] I hope you will produce it immediately—for I am sure it answers no good purpose of keeping it back [...] We are only waiting for a wind to leave Deptford.⁴⁸

The book was not published until the following year, and King did not return to England until 1830, a full five years after the submission of the manuscript.

After a series of misfortunes in his attempt to reach the Northwest Passage, William Parry returned to England in October 1825, with a view to seeing his account of the expedition in print. In all likelihood he was following the instructions of the Admiralty, who, under the guidance of John Barrow, were keen to publicise the Arctic cause. In the meantime, throughout 1826, Parry was petitioning the Admiralty for permission to undertake another expedition to make Furthest North, and so it was incumbent on him to give a public account of himself, not least in the face of a number of rumours that were in circulation about his failure to complete the mission, after the beaching of one of the expedition's two ships. Parry was clearly anxious about the situation and his letters to Murray at this time are full of complaints about the time that his account, *Journal of a Third Voyage for the Discovery of a North-West Passage* (1826), was taking in production. On 9 February 1826, Parry wrote to Murray in order to complain that Clowes the printer had not yet sent him the first sheet, nor had he replied to him, although Clowes had had the text 'ten weeks

in hand'.⁴⁹ For his part, Parry felt that if the matter were not expedited at once, Murray should commission another printer for the work. Two weeks later he wrote again to say that still nothing had moved. On 7 March, Parry spoke in plainer terms: not only had the delays kept him in London longer than he had intended, but he was beginning to feel extreme 'uneasiness' because it began to look to the Admiralty like 'a dereliction of duty' on his part and to the Public 'as if I was ashamed to publish it'.⁵⁰ As time dragged on and the book made slow progress, Parry wrote again to Murray on 14 August to say that 'It has been hinted to me, in no very agreeable manner, that an idea exists abroad, and especially among those of my own profession, that my book is withheld because I am ashamed to publish it.'⁵¹

As such examples demonstrate, adding a further layer in the compositional process, the intervention of the printer was an element that could further de-authorise a text that had already been subjected to a range of intercessions having little to do with the original writer's intentions. Where a book was to be printed from stereotype plates, which became increasingly the norm as the century progressed, moulds were taken from the final corrected text. One advantage of the rise of stereotyping was a more stable text, as the same plates could be used from 'edition' to 'edition'. Whereas, previously, textual variants routinely occurred between and sometimes within individual editions, insofar as the text was corrected, modified and updated, once stereoplates were cast, the text was more 'fixed' than it had ever been before. While it was possible at a later stage to make minor physical changes to stereoplates, this was avoided if possible because it was a laborious task and the results were often unsatisfactory. Therefore, while stereotyping may have represented an irresistible fiscal advantage for the publisher, for whom reprinting from existing plates was far cheaper than the commissioning of a newly composed edition, it had the inevitable effect of reducing the authorial control which had previously allowed writers to make significant changes to their texts as they were recomposed for a new edition.

Advertising

The final step in bringing a book to its public, from the publisher's perspective at least, was its marketing. While the text, with all of its accompanying apparatus, was being printed, bound and made ready for the warehouse, its advertising was often a carefully orchestrated process. Copy had to be written for insertion in journals and newspapers, and for binding-in with Murray's other titles, as the firm gathered together endorsements from experts and well-known names in the relevant field. Murray kept a weather eye on reviews as they appeared and was always on the lookout for favourable blurbs that would give his titles more credibility. Although it was rare for an author to offer advice on this score, there were one or two instances where individuals expressed their views. One endorsement that Murray was keen to use for the advertisement to Edward Robinson's *Biblical Researches in Palestine, Mount Sinai and Arabia*

Petraea (1841) was from an article that had appeared in the *London Geographical Journal*, in which the German cartographer Hermann Berghaus had praised Robinson's notes, of which he had had sight and on which he based his map. To the suggestion that Berghaus's assessment be included in the advertisement, Robinson wrote that he

would rather not make use of the extract from Berghaus in the announcement [...] It is not necessary, after Ritter, as he is a much smaller light. Besides, I was not well satisfied with his conduct toward me; & would rather not put it in his power to say that after all I had made up his name & authority in my favour.⁵²

By this time, Berghaus had prepared his newly corrected map of Palestine from Robinson's notes for inclusion in the book. Without consulting Robinson himself, it seems, he had gone into print reproducing the map and offering fulsome praise of the accuracy of Robinson's survey. All of this was, for Robinson, a precipitous way of proceeding. Consequently, the author determined to correct Berghaus's map when the *Biblical Researches* appeared, and did so in a passage laying out the inaccuracy of the German cartographer's interpretation of Robinson's observations.⁵³ Robinson's preference for the endorsement of Ritter relates to Carl Ritter, the distinguished Professor of Geography in Berlin, who had written to Robinson in 1840 privately to compliment him on his achievements, saying that the author ought not to regard it as 'a puff, but as the result of his sincere & unbiased judgment'. Balking at the way in which Berghaus had gone public without consulting him, Robinson remarked that Ritter's views were of 'so much more value'. Ritter, in his turn, had suggested that Robinson's work would have lasting value for an understanding of the Holy Land, being responsible for major advancements in the accuracy of the region's cartography.⁵⁴ Following his author's advice, Murray included Ritter's private endorsement in the advertisement when it finally appeared, and not Berghaus's public proclamation.

As a work was being advertised, advance copies were sent out for review, strategically targeted at individuals who might have good words to say. Nineteenth-century publishers' ledgers are replete with evidence of the careful placement of advance copies, sent gratis to reviewers and influential individuals (often at the request of the author). While some publishers made it a policy not to review their own titles in their own periodicals, Murray was not above arranging for a prominent notice of his own books in the company's influential *Quarterly Review*. While their strategies might not compare with the worst excesses of eighteenth-century puffery, the firm could steer very close to the wind in the methods that it used to market its own titles. That Murray authors understood this is clear from a letter in 1847 from Sir James Clark Ross in which he thanked the publisher for a notice of his *A Voyage of Discovery and Research in the Southern and Antarctic Regions* in the *Quarterly*, saying that he was 'indebted to the author of it to whom I should feel obliged by your conveying the expression of my sincere thanks.'⁵⁵

The influence that the firm held over the literary world by the 1840s put it in an advantageous position to get its books noticed by the reviewing press, with or without the foreknowledge of their authors. In rare instances, however, authors might themselves initiate advertisements and reviews. Frederick Heniker advised Murray to advertise his *Notes, during a Visit to Egypt* (1823) in ‘the following local papers, viz. Cambridge, Oxford, Bath, Ipswich, Colchester, Chelmsford and Ramsgate’, his name being ‘so well known in all of those places.’⁵⁶ Similarly, in 1834, Alexander Burnes told Murray that the *Edinburgh Review* intended to notice his *Travels in Bokhara* and requested that a copy be sent to the editor.⁵⁷ For the most part, however, Murray went ahead with the marketing process without consulting his authors. In 1849, we find him working his networks to generate favourable publicity for Layard’s *Nineveh and its Remains*. Writing to the author in February he reported: ‘If you were to step over to England at this moment, you would find yourself famous.’ Murray enclosed with his letter a number of reviews, including ‘one from *The Times* [which] was drawn up by a friend of mine.’ The ‘friend’ was in fact Sara Austen, the wife of Layard’s uncle, Benjamin. Layard had taken Austen as his first name to please his uncle and had been close to his aunt from his childhood, and on occasions had stayed with the family, while they had years before visited the Layards at their home on the continent.⁵⁸ Knowing that Austen had an entrée to *The Times*, and having observed her close relations with her nephew, Murray showed her a ‘monstrous’ review of Layard that was then about to run in the newspaper, inciting her to write another that could be substituted for the offending item. Austen’s review was enthusiastic but it caused Layard grief because in her enthusiasm she had been too unbuttoned about the lack of government financial backing for Layard that had caused severe difficulties for his archaeological work. To his uncle, Layard wrote from Constantinople to say how embarrassing the review had been to him personally and that it might prove damaging in his relations with the embassy, to the extent that ‘I was ashamed to show it here.’⁵⁹

Authorial Self-Fashioning

It is clear that an increasingly professionalised book trade had brought financial advantages to the publisher, driving down the cost per unit of production and giving authors access to ever-growing nineteenth-century markets. Yet the same advantages came at a cost to authors and the control that they felt they had over their texts after they entered the industrial process. As Allan C. Dooley has shown, these same authors found their works

partially controlled by printers, who had to operate within the limits of their technologies, who strongly preferred to uphold established linguistic practices, and who attempted to make their work easier and more profitable by bending the author to their will.⁶⁰

Early nineteenth-century authors and their readers still operated under the belief that the author was the seat of expressive meaning and that books were gifts to

the world written under personal inspiration. This was a romantic myth that Karl Marx sought to explode when he claimed that the natural genius that had characterised Greek art and Shakespearean drama was no longer possible in an age of 'self-acting mule spindles and railways and locomotives and electrical telegraphs'. In the modern age, literature was no longer immune from the alienating effects of advanced industrialisation:

What chance has Vulcan against Roberts and Co., Jupiter against the lightning-rod and Hermes against the Credit Mobilier? All mythology overcomes and dominates and shapes the forces of nature in the imagination and by the imagination; it therefore vanishes with the advent of real mastery over them. What becomes of Fama alongside Printing House Square? [...] Or the Iliad with the printing press, not to mention the printing machine?⁶¹

For Marx, literature in an industrial economy had become a commodity for sale like any other, subject to the demands of the market and the economies of scale that turned a creative act into a material commodity. In such an economic context, authors were no longer solitary makers of meaning but little more than wage labourers. While Marx might regard the condition of the author as one which denied him access to the real means of production, others articulated the anxiety of authorship in terms that emphasised the lack of agency on the part of writers.

Richard Horne, in his aptly named *False Mediums and Barriers excluding Men of Genius from the Public* (1833), gave the following piece of sardonic advice to publishers:

The fame or reputation of a man's name is what you purchase and speculate upon [...] Your business is solely to sell books [...] You are to look upon authors as the 'raw material.' You are to work them up by the machinery of your business, and apply them to such purposes as your peculiar line and connection require.⁶²

Horne's polemic and its provocative title indicate the continued purchase the myth of originary genius still had well into the nineteenth century. It is in this context that we can begin to understand many of the discursive strategies deployed by Murray and his authors as they attempted to fashion themselves for readers who did not want to be reminded that their encounters with literary texts were part of an industrial process and mere commodity exchanges.

Prefatory remarks that accompanied published works frequently included comments on the means by which the text had come into the world. As Gerard Genette observes, nineteenth-century prefaces often employed 'the topos of modesty' through the rhetorical device of the *excusatio propter infirmitatem*, or the excuse of mental weakness, in which the writer confesses to stylistic or intellectual incapacity, or both.⁶³ While Genette sees the function of such gestures as essentially pre-emptive forms of defence against potential critical opponents, it may also be that—in saying 'here I am warts and all'—the real relations of production through which the authorial voice is mediated could be

evaded in the text, allowing for the establishment of a more intimate, direct and 'authentic' discourse. Despite all of the interventions behind the scenes, arguing for the authenticity of accounts that had not been subject to an industrial process—characterised by the 'working up' of in-house editors, compositors, illustrators and advertisers—was a fairly routine practice in nineteenth-century prefaces. In many instances, even where Murray and his agents undoubtedly had a considerable hand, the conventions of the genre required the disavowal of the very trade mechanisms that governed their presentation to the public.

This tendency towards what we might call the *author effect* is most evident in sometimes startlingly modest prefatory confessions. In the preface to *Cairo, Petra, and Damascus* (1841), John Kinnear confessed that '[t]hese are little more than a transcript of letters written to my own family during my absence.' Although Kinnear went on to admit that he suppressed 'those passages which were of a purely domestic character', as well as adding additional notes which he had taken on his journey, the overriding emphasis is on the unadorned, spontaneous and uncommercial origins of the text.⁶⁴

William Hamilton, in preparing the manuscript of *Researches in Asia Minor, Pontus, and Armenia* (1842), told Murray that he had gone over the manuscript 'very carefully and cut out as much as I could', recognising that the book would 'require considerable pruning'.⁶⁵ Yet, when he came to write his preface, Hamilton claimed that 'the form and style of my own Journal have been preserved as closely as possible.'⁶⁶ Whatever the reality of the situation, and no matter how rigorous the constraints on authors and their texts, the display of authorial directness had become a stock convention in nineteenth-century preface writing, and should lead us to approach and such claims with a healthy degree of scepticism.

The journals of Richard and John Lander, which were eventually combined and heavily edited as *Journal of an Expedition to Explore the Course and Termination of the Niger* (1832), nevertheless bore a preface that claimed, 'we have made no alterations, nor introduced a single sentence in the original manuscript of our travels.'⁶⁷ Justifying a work that was confessedly 'faulty in style' by claiming that, with all its stylistic shortcomings, it would retain its 'accuracy and vividness of description', once again the text disguises the heavy extra-authorial hand behind the final version.

One of the most direct deployments of this technique, unusual for the directness with which it addresses the effect of the publishing process on the transformation of manuscripts, is to be found in the preface to Sarah Gascoyne Lushington's *Narrative of a Journey from Calcutta to Europe* (1829):


The Author is deeply sensible how much the defects of her Book will demand indulgence, as it has not been revised by any Literary person, but was at once delivered by herself into the hands of the publisher; indeed, little alteration has been made in the original journal, beyond adapting its contents into a narrative form, and

omitting details that might prove tedious, and descriptions which had better been executed by established authorities.⁶⁸

The wholesale reshaping of the text, identified by Lushington as adaptation to the 'narrative form', as well as the use of redaction and excision, constitute more than a 'little alteration'. Nor do we know just how much influence others might have had over the manuscript by the time it reached the hands of Murray. The author's husband, Charles Lushington, had been Secretary to the Governor of Bengal between 1823 and 1827, when his wife's diary had been composed. He was a published author himself, having written a history of British institutions in India in 1825 and may very well have advised her on the manuscript in the two years between its original completion and its final publication. Another, more fundamental, problem is that, where the original manuscript is not extant, we cannot tell from such authorial statements how carefully the text was in fact 'worked up' after the submission of the autograph in which these same claims are made. Statements affirming the authorial innocence of texts could thus mask the very mechanisms by which its discourse was actually framed. One of the most excessive acts of dissembling by a Murray author is to be found in Frederick Henniker's *Notes, during a Visit to Egypt* (1823):

I have been persuaded to make a book:—but I have made it as short as possible, and to this accidents have contributed. Part of the following was written to a friend, to whom, verbum sat:—the amusements of drawing and shooting prevented me from the trouble of making long notes:—what I did write has but lately arrived in England: and part of my papers have been lost.⁶⁹

It seems remarkable today that an author would introduce an expensive work to its customers by saying that he had too much of an appetite for leisure to offer them a work of serious labour. Just as remarkable is the confession that much of the original copy had become accidentally lost. The title alone bears witness to the fragmentary and incomplete state of the final text. Thus, an overtly displayed lack of sophistication in writing could belie the many acts of sophistication that the text underwent in its movement from writer to reader.

In their highly professional performances of amateur authorship, Murray's travel writers were operating within a *modus operandi* which required not only the disavowal of the real economics of production, but also the need to present the work as an unmediated exchange between the writer and the reader, untrammelled by the complex and sometimes contradictory forces that gave shape to the final product. 

NOTES

I have incurred a number of debts in the writing of this chapter. I am particularly grateful to my fellow explorers in the John Murray Archive, Innes Keighren and Charles Withers, with whom I undertook much of the initial research. I would also like to thank David McClay, Curator of the Archive at the National Library of Scotland for his ongoing support.

1. A parallel discussion of this subject is provided by Richard Hill in 'Scott, Hogg, and the Gift-Book Editors: Authorship in the Face of Industrial Production', *Romantic Textualities*, 19 (Winter 2009) <www.romtext.org.uk/articles/rt19_n01/> [accessed 15 Nov 2013].
2. Robert Darnton, 'What is the History of Books?' *Daedalus*, III.3 (Summer 1982), 65–83 (p. 67).
3. National Library of Scotland, John Murray Archive, MS 41020: James Riley to John Murray, 10 Jan 1817.
4. Renshaw's letter appears in full as a preface to Riley's account. James Riley, *The Loss of the American Brig Commerce* (London: John Murray, 1817), pp. vii–ix.
5. Murray MS 40516: Walter Hamilton to John Murray, n.d.
6. Murray MS 40516: Walter Hamilton to John Murray, 15 Jan 1822.
7. Murray MS 40516: Walter Hamilton to John Murray, n.d.
8. Murray MS 40516: Walter Hamilton to John Murray, n.d.
9. Murray MS 40057: John Barrow to John Murray, 1829.
10. Murray MS 41912: John Murray to Fortune, 14 Nov 1846.
11. Murray was not alone in this regard. As David Finkelstein has shown, the Edinburgh firm of William Blackwood, also distinguished as a publisher of travel writing, were similarly interventionist in their editorial practices. See 'Unraveling Speke: The Blackwoods and the Construction of John Hanning Speke', *Bibliothek*, 18 (1992–93), 40–57.
12. Angus Fraser, 'A Publishing House and its Readers, 1841–1889: The Murrays and the Miltons,' *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, 90.1 (Mar 1996), 4–43 (p. 17).
13. Fraser, 'A Publishing House and its Readers', p. 19.
14. *Ibid.*, p. 29.
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REFERRING TO THIS ARTICLE

B. BELL. 'Authors in an Industrial Economy: The Case of John Murray's Travel Writers', *Romantic Textualities: Literature and Print Culture, 1780–1840*, 21 (Winter 2013) <www.romtext.org.uk/files/2014/07/rt21_no1.pdf> [date accessed].



THOMAS MOORE, ANACREON AND THE ROMANTIC TRADITION

Jane Moore



AS AN HISTORICAL AND GENERIC ACCOUNT of poetic imitation and a study of literary (albeit male) coteries and influences in early nineteenth-century Ireland and Britain, this essay focuses on Thomas Moore's first published volume of verse, his remarkably successful *Odes of Anacreon, Translated into English Verse, with Notes* (1800) as a formative presence at the genesis of British Romanticism. I argue that placing Moore's 'prentice work within its most significant Irish and British contexts—poetic, musical, social—the eighteenth-century Irish Anacreontics of George Ogle and Matthew Pilkington, among others, the contemporary cultural milieu of Dublin and London glee clubs, bodies such as the Hibernian Catch Club, the Beefsteak Club, the Humbug Club and the tellingly named Anacreontic Society, whose members performed Anacreontic sentimental songs and drinking chants, the experimental Romanticism of Wordsworth and Coleridge's *Lyrical Ballads*, and the Cockney School of Leigh Hunt and John Keats, can be seen to change the way in which we might address the author's whole career, both as an Irish poet and as a poet of late Georgian Britain.

Some contemporary scholarship has elaborated upon lines of correspondence between canonical British Romantic poetry and Moore's Anacreontic volume.¹ Marshall Brown, for instance, writing in 2010, argues that the language of Moore's Anacreontics foreshadows the work of John Keats, offering a corpus which—like several of the odes of Keats's 'Great Year'—'entails a reckoning with the poetry of wine and love'.² However, despite this willingness to trace the impact and influence of Moore's verse on the articulation of personal and public emotion in some of the most significant early nineteenth-century British poetry, scant attention has been paid to the equally significant *Irish* context of Moore's Anacreon Odes, either for an understanding of the development of the poet's own career or for a fuller appreciation of the interrelated Irish/British nexus in which he wrote. Perhaps paradoxically, reading early Moore in Irish terms actually serves to reposition him, in his role of Anacreontic versifier, as an influential presence at the origin of British Romanticism at the turn of the nineteenth century and inform a deeper understanding of the culturally complex formation of four nations Romanticism. By apprehending the deeply felt emotional but also national strains in the poetry of Moore and his British contemporaries we can gain a fuller picture of the composition of British and Irish Romanticism in both their national and aesthetic concerns.

There is continuity in Moore's methods and preoccupations, even amidst the apparent generic diversity of his poetic career. As a channel for collective male self-identification with a type of polished and urbane (sometimes risqué) Irishness, eighteenth-century musical clubs provide the immediate backdrop to Moore's translation of the Anacreon Odes. They offer a culturally significant context for thinking about Moore's Anacreon translation but also about his second volume of verse, the lubricious (almost bawdy) *Poetical Works of the Late Thomas Little, Esq.* (1801), which are Anacreontic in subject matter, and his best-known songs of national sentiment, *A Selection of Irish Melodies* (10 volumes, 1808–34), which were produced in collaboration with John Stevenson, who was active in the Hibernian and London Catch Clubs.

My analysis is part of the history of poetry in the classical mode in Ireland from Elizabethan to late Georgian times,³ a narrative unfolding from the early modern period to the Act of Union and spanning high and popular culture, and one which at once links the young Moore firmly back into a late eighteenth-century context of Irish drinking songs and Anacreontic poetry while simultaneously propelling him forward into a nineteenth-century aesthetics and politics of song evident both in Ireland and England during the Romantic period. Thomas Moore, like Wordsworth and Coleridge only just before him, launched his career with a volume which, though innovative, also consistently echoed rather more elderly traditions of song. In some ways the *Odes of Anacreon*, like the *Lyrical Ballads*, move forward by looking back.

Tradition

In terms of the western poetic tradition, the sixth-century BC poet Anacreon was one of the original lyricists of wine, women and song, an ancient tradition of erotic verse that survives to this day, and one that has provided the inspiration for a corpus which spans the early modern, neoclassical and Romantic periods from at least the mid-sixteenth century. In 1554, Henricus Stephanus (Henri Estienne), or Henry Stephen as Moore calls him in his self-consciously learned Preface to the *Odes of Anacreon*, published in Paris a volume of some sixty poems, the *Anacreontea*, focused on mainly erotic themes which he (mistakenly) attributed to the classical Greek poet. Stephanus provided the Greek text alongside his own Latin translations.⁴ Genuine poems of Anacreon survive only in fragmentary form and Stephanus's volume is actually constituted from a number of imitators of Anacreon active in later antiquity. (Strictly speaking, it is the work of these imitators of Anacreon Moore translates, rather than that of the Greek master himself. It was only later, by the mid-nineteenth century, that the true status of the Anacreontic poems of the *Carmina Anacrontea*, the Louvain manuscript source for Stephanus's translation, was clearly established.)

Prior to Moore's *Odes of Anacreon*, the vogue for 'Anacreontics', or imitations of Anacreon, thrived as a minor if enormously popular poetic tradition in Europe. The Anacreontic tradition of English verse—as opposed to Stephanus's neo-Latinism—stretches from Cowley, Herrick and Prior in the

seventeenth century to Burns and Wordsworth,⁵ who imitated Anacreon in the eighteenth, and, in terms of the centrality of their work, to the nineteenth-century neoclassicism of the so-called ‘Cockney School’ of Keats and Hunt.⁶ In eighteenth-century Ireland, there are many names on the Anacreontic roster. They include Matthew Concanen, editor of *Miscellaneous Poems* (1724), an anthology which, in Andrew Carpenter’s words, is ‘particularly important as the first substantial collection of verse in English from Ireland’, which features an anonymous ‘Imitation of Anacreon’s Grasshopper’.⁷ Jonathan Swift and his friend Matthew Pilkington produced their collaborative *Poems on Several Occasions* (1730), which includes Pilkington’s ‘An Essay towards a Translation of Anacreon’, and contains several poems in his own Anacreontic translation. The famous dramatist, parliamentarian, occasional poet—and friend of Thomas Moore—Richard Brinsley Sheridan, also wrote in the Anacreontic mode, notably in his famous ‘Song’: ‘Here’s to the maiden of bashful fifteen’, from *The School for Scandal* (1777).⁸ By far the richest gathering of Irish Anacreontics, however, is by George Ogle the Elder (1704–46), the author of some nineteen Anacreontic Odes, which were collected in his *Translations from Various Greek Authors. Anacreon, Sapho [sic], Julian, Theocritus, Bion, Moschus, Homer*, which is included in James Sterling’s book *The Loves of Hero and Leander* (1728). Moore later stood accused of plagiarising Ogle’s translations in the antipathetic pages of the ultra-Tory scandal sheet *John Bull*, on 13 September 1824.⁹ He quickly denied the charge in his diary entry for 22–30 September:

A letter from Corry, mentioning the accusation of plagiarism against me in my Anacreon. The translation which I am accused of plundering is by Ogle, and it is odd enough if there should be (as Corry seems to intimate) any coincidences between us, as this is the first time I ever *heard* of such a translation.¹⁰

In addition to the drinking songs and Anacreontic secular hymns to love which pepper eighteenth-century Irish anthologies of verse, contemporary schoolboys and university students were sometimes encouraged to pen poetry in the Anacreontic manner. William Wordsworth’s second surviving poem ‘Anacreon Imitated’ (dated ‘Hawkshead August 7th 1786’) is such a classroom exercise.¹¹ Seven years later, Thomas Moore was to follow in his footsteps under the tutelage of one of Dublin’s most influential schoolmasters, Samuel Whyte, of the English Grammar School, an accomplished poet and writer on rhetoric and education whose pupils included the aforementioned Sheridan. At school, Moore acquired skills in rhetoric and poeticising—the latter in the style of the flowery pastorals sometimes favoured by his master. In 1793, at the age of fourteen, the young Moore successfully submitted two poems to a new Dublin-based monthly magazine, which ran briefly from 1793–94, the *Anthologia Hibernica, or Monthly Collections of Science, Belles Lettres, and General History, Irish History, Antiquities, Topography, etc.* Forty years later, in his unfinished ‘Memoirs of Myself’ (1833), Moore recalled his pride at having his youthful contributions accepted, and wrote of the magazine that it was

'one of the most respectable attempts at periodical literature that have ever been ventured on in Ireland'.¹² The aspiring poet was keen to join the ranks of the native-born literati associated with the *Anthologia*, whose subscription lists included the names of leading United Irishmen such as Wolfe Tone and Napper Tandy alongside MPs and bishops (as well as Moore's tutor Whyte and the budding novelist, Sydney Owenson, later Lady Morgan).

Moore's contributions to the *Anthologia*, 'A Pastoral Ballad' and 'To Zelia, on Charging the Author with Writing Too Much on Love', were published in the issue for October 1793.¹³ The former is an exercise in Whytean post-Popean pastoral but the latter bears the imprint of the Anacreontic style that would soon come to define his early reputation and appeared, appropriately enough, under the name of 'Romeo' (an anagram of Moore). The following year, in February 1794, Moore continued his contributions to the *Anthologia* with his first explicit Anacreontic, 'A Paraphrase of Anacreon's Fifth Ode', a schoolboy exercise marinated in a kind of salacious sentimentality, which is worth quoting in full although the eroticised metaphors and Bacchic salutations scarcely need comment:

Let us, with the clustering vine,
The rose, Love's blushing flower, entwine.
Fancy's hand our chaplet's wreathing,
Vernal sweets around us breathing,
We'll gayly drink, full goblets quaffing,
At frightened Care securely laughing.

Rose! thou balmy-scented flower,
Rear'd by Spring's most fostering power,
Thy dewy blossoms, opening bright,
To gods themselves can give delight;
And Cypria's child, with roses crown'd,
Trips with each Grace the mazy round.

Bind my brows—I'll tune the lyre
Love my rapturous strains shall fire,
Near Bacchus' grape-encircled shrine,
Where roses fresh my brows entwine,
Led by the winged train of Pleasures,
I'll dance with nymphs to sportive measures.¹⁴

In 1795, the apprentice poet entered Trinity College Dublin, where he would begin working in earnest on the translations later collected in *Odes of Anacreon*. By the time of his graduation in 1799, Moore had completed most of the work and selected twenty of the Odes to show to Dr Kearney (who would shortly succeed the then Provost of the University, Murray, who died in 1799) in the hope of securing an academic prize from the University Board.¹⁵ Kearney was impressed; he loaned Moore his own copy of Spaletti's edition (1781) of the

Anacreontic poems and encouraged him to publish the poems because, he said, 'the young people will like it', although he also warned Moore against seeking approbation for a work 'so amatory and convivial' from the august university.¹⁶ Moore also researched in Marsh's library, established by the Protestant Archbishop Marsh in 1707 in the lee of St Patrick's Cathedral. Closeted within the peaceful seclusion of this gothic edifice, he perused at length the Greek and Latin folios and other historical sources that fill the distinctive voluminous footnotes accompanying (and at times even threatening to overtake in length) the text of his Anacreon translations. The librarian at Marsh's, the Reverend Cradock, helped Moore by opening the library's doors to him after hours. He also introduced Moore during this period to the celebrated composer John Stevenson, who afterwards produced a series of glees from Moore's *Odes of Anacreon* (the folios are held in Marsh's Library together with the first edition of Moore's 1800 volume) and famously later collaborated with him on his *Irish Melodies*.

The structural economy of Anacreontic verse is one of imitation, rather than innovation: it is the aim of the Anacreontic poet, Patricia A. Rosenmeyer points out, 'not to surpass the model but it to equal it'.¹⁷ A mode of literary exchange and inheritance that is not based on the aggressive rivalry more often found in ancient Greek narratives of literary inheritance, the Anacreontic model is grounded instead in friendship and co-operation. This becomes clear in the opening Ode in Moore's Anacreontic sequence, a poem that narrates the passing on of the poetic baton from Anacreon to his unnamed successor and which offers in miniature a manifesto of the Anacreontic ethos of conviviality and friendship.

I saw the smiling bard of pleasure,
 The minstrel of the Teian measure;
 'Twas in a vision of the night,
 He beam'd upon my wondering sight;
 I heard his voice, and warmly prest
 The dear enthusiast to my breast.
 His tresses wore a silv'ry die,
 But beauty sparkled in his eye;
 Sparkled in his eyes of fire,
 Through the mist of soft desire.
 His lip exhal'd, whene'er he sigh'd,
 The fragrance of the racy tide;
 And, as with weak and reeling feet,
 He came my cordial kiss to meet,
 An infant, of the Cyprian band,
 Guided him on with tender hand—
 Quick from his glowing brows he drew
 His braid, of many a wanton hue;
 I took the braid of wanton twine—
 It breath'd of him and blush'd with wine!

I twin'd it round my thoughtless brow,
 And ah! I feel its magic now!
 I feel that ev'n his garland's touch
 Can make the bosom love too much!¹⁸

In place of the aggressive anxiety of influence often encountered in the rivalry between poets of classical times,¹⁹ 'Ode 1' presents a convivial scene in which the Anacreontic poet (Moore), happily accepting his role in continuing the process of poetic imitation, greets his predecessor (Anacreon) with a 'cordial kiss'. A scene of potential conflict is recast as something more akin to an erotic encounter; the cheerfully sensual language—'smiling', 'bard of pleasure', 'warmly press'd', 'eyes of fire', 'soft desire', 'lip exhaled', 'tender hand', 'breathed of him', 'blush'd with wine'—climaxes in the unnamed poet, touched by the symbolic garland, being absorbed in love:

And ah! I feel its magic now:
 I feel that ev'n his garland's touch
 Can make the bosom love too much.'

The poem demonstrates the Anacreontic logic that it is the anonymous poet's (Moore's) task to imitate Anacreon and thereby continue the Anacreontic tradition, not to coin a new corpus. Moore's note to 'Ode 1' praises it as 'a beautiful imitation of the poet's [Anacreon's] happiest manner'.²⁰

Given the lack of emphasis on originality and the conversant stress on perpetuating an ancient tradition, it is notable that Moore's self-consciously learned volume nowhere acknowledges the part played by his Irish forerunners, the poets George Ogle and Matthew Pilkington, among others, in the transmission within Ireland of the Anacreontic tradition. The Preface to Moore's *Odes* provides an annotated catalogue of 'all the different editions and translations of Anacreon', yet it makes no mention of the extant Irish translations.²¹ Neither does Moore highlight his book's Irish provenance. Instead, Ireland is erased entirely from the volume's title page, where the author's name appears as 'Thomas Moore, Esq., of the Middle Temple' (one of the four Inns of Court in London where Moore planned to take up a legal career following his graduation). Furthermore, the volume is dedicated, with consent, to the Prince Regent, then of course a Whig partisan. In what might seem like a contradiction, I want to suggest that the missing Irish dimension of Moore's volume establishes him, *sui generis*, at the head of a nineteenth-century tradition of Irish lyric. There is a direct line of continuity from the *Odes of Anacreon* to the *Irish Melodies* and on to Moore's erotic 'Oriental Romance', *Lalla Rookh* (1817). The latter poem has been read by modern critics as an allegory of Irish oppression, which, in common with Moore's Anacreontic volume, complicates questions of tradition and authenticity and demonstrates the ways in which Moore's poetry could be redrafted or reapplied to political events.²²

Imitation is never a straightforward act of repetition. Moore does not simply perpetuate the Anacreontic ethos; he simultaneously modifies it, softening and sentimentalising ancient material for a modern age. His method is to infuse

the simplicity of the Anacreontic source text with a pleasurable eroticism that transforms the bluntness of the original *carpe diem* lyrics into a sensual *jeu d'esprit*. For example, 'Ode VII', which in the *Anacreontea*, begins

The women say
 'Anacreon, you are old;
 take this mirror and look
 at your hair—which is no longer there—
 and at your balding head.'²³

It is transformed by Moore thus:

The women tell me every day
 That all my bloom has past away
 'Behold', the pretty wantons cry,
 'Behold this mirror with a sigh;
 The locks upon thy brow are few,
 And like the rest, they're withering too.'

(*Ode VII*, p. 38)

The 'pretty wantons' and the vaguely sexual connotations of 'sigh' provide a sentimentalised picture of old age that is gentler and more inviting than the plainer version in the *Anacreontea*. Where the *Anacreontea* translates the Ode's final lines as 'for an old man, | it is even more appropriate | to enjoy life's pleasures | the closer one is to Fate' (that is, death),²⁴ Moore's version closes with the preferable idea of bliss: 'And had I but an hour to live, | That little hour to bliss I'd give.' (*Ode VII*, p. 39) Characterised as an old man with white hair (he reputedly lived until the advanced age of eighty-five), Anacreon penned implicitly louche songs on drink and love which actually shy away from the explicitly sexual (which Greek culture did not always avoid).²⁵ Moore was aware of this aspect: 'His descriptions are warm', states the Preface to his translation, 'but the warmth is in the ideas not the words. He is sportive without being wanton, and ardent without being licentious'.²⁶ By the same token, Moore's Anacreontic translations avoid the potentially more threatening or disturbing aspects of their *carpe diem* subject matter (inebriety, sexuality, death). Instead, the reader of Moore's volume is drawn into a controlled, oddly suspended world, an Anacreontic sphere in which drinking occurs without intoxication and eroticised language never tips into wanton unrestraint. Here, sexual desire is unconsummated (one is reminded of those other pagan lovers in Keats's 'Ode on a Grecian Urn': 'Bold lover, never, never canst thou kiss, | Though winning near the goal' (ll. 17–18)).

The suspended animation of the Anacreontic translations, whereby the fulfilment of desire is permanently deferred, is a forerunner of the repetitiveness and circularity of structure and emotion that also characterises the *Irish Melodies*. Non-consummation and the lack of a linear chronology developed to a definite conclusion create an emotional stasis in a set of poems that deal primarily with Ireland's 'remembered glory'.²⁷ Take, for example, the opening lines of 'Go Where Glory Waits Thee', the famous lyric that begins the first

number of the *Irish Melodies* (1808):

Go where glory waits thee,
But, while fame elates thee,
Oh! still remember me [...] ²⁸

The injunction to remember Ireland's past ('Then let memory bring thee | Strains I us'd to sing thee') results in a paradox of inactivity. The ancient glory of which the poet sings is buried irretrievably in the past and impinges on the present only in the form of a memory (of the loss of that past) leaving a remainder of negativity. The second lyric in the sequence, 'Remember the Glories of Brien the Brave' repeats the dormancy of memorialising a past that is forever 'o'er': 'Remember the glories of Brien the brave, | Tho' the days of the hero are o'er' (Ibid., p. 181). Even those songs that recall more recent events in Irish history, such as the plaintive lament for the ill-fated Robert Emmet, hero of the doomed 1803 uprising, unroll narratives of inactivity and non-consummation. Remembrance can lead to a renewal of activity, but here it does not:

Oh! breathe not his name, let it sleep in the shade,
Where cold and unhonoured his relics are laid:
Sad, silent, and dark be the tears that we shed,
As the night-dew that falls on the grass o'er his head!

But the night dew that falls, though in silence it weeps,
Shall brighten with verdure the grave where he sleeps;
And the tear that we shed, though in secret it rolls,
Shall long keep his memory green in our souls.

(Ibid., p. 181)

The suggestion that the tears of the mourners in keeping Emmet's memory 'green' will renew the spirit of Emmet's uprising remains an unfulfilled proposition. In Robert Welch's words: 'The implication [...] is that the souls, kept green by tears, will put forth fresh shoots, but this "uprising" remains very much an implication; the word-pattern draws our attention to little else but the mood and its soft rhythm'.²⁹ Time in the *Melodies* does not advance; rather it stands still in a past that is revitalised only as memory.

And yet it might be argued that the strength of the *Irish Melodies* lies precisely in the repetitive mode of non-consummation that is continued from Moore's earlier volume, the *Odes of Anacreon*. Rather than attenuating the power of a past long o'er, the force of the *Irish Melodies* like that of the *Odes of Anacreon* resides in a shared structure of circularity and repetition. Closure is deferred in both sets of lyric and in this way the traditions they represent (whether of ancient Greece or ancient Ireland) are kept permanently alive. In many senses the *Irish Melodies* deserve the moniker, awarded by Norman Vance, of 'Moore's Irish Anacreontics'.³⁰

One of the ways in which Moore keeps the value of tradition alive in both works is through his use of the discursive footnote to record classical allusions and imitations. These hefty footnotes separate his translation from the work of

earlier Irish scholars such as Ogle and Pilkington, whose Anacreontic translations are free of the weighty scholarly apparatus adopted by Moore. There were precedents in European translations, for example the 1692 French edition of *Les Oeuvres d'Anacreon et de Sapho*, by Hilaré Bernard de Requeleyne Longpierre, an author cited by Moore. However, Moore is the first Irish author to import the practice into an Irish translation of the Anacreontics as part of the neoclassical method that he never entirely abandoned.

Typical of Moore's method of annotation, which, in showcasing his scholarship, frequently incorporates text from the ancient Greek, is the following note from 'Ode 1':

Sparkled in his eyes of fire,

Through the mist of soft desire.] "How could he know at the first look (says Baxter) that the poet was φιλικός?" there are surely many tell-tales of this propensity; and the following are the indices, which the physiognomist gives, describing a disposition perhaps not unlike that of Anacreon—Οφθαλμοί κλυζόμενοι, κυμαίνοντες εν αυτοις, εις αφροδισια και ευπαθειαν εκτονται. στε δε αδικοι, στε κακουργοι, στε φυσικως φανλης, στε αμισσοι—Adamantius. "The eyes that are humid and fluctuating show a propensity to pleasure and love; they bespeak too a mind of integrity and beneficence, a generosity of disposition, and a genius for poetry."

Baptista Porta tells us some strange opinions of the ancient physiognomists on this subject, their reasons for which were curious, and perhaps not altogether fanciful. Vide Physiognom. Johan. Baptist. Portæ.

Strictly speaking, this note on the physiognomy of the 'look' is not needed to aid the reader's comprehension; its value, however, resides not so much in its debate on the veracity of the bard's glittering eye as in its underscoring of the tradition itself.

In general terms, the role of the footnote is to acknowledge a debt of information to other sources; the note copies, cites or recycles information. Claire Connolly has written about the use of the footnote in Irish Romantic prose fiction as a space of 'cultural mediation' that in the national tales of Sydney Owenson, for example, work to 'frame and contain' (one might also say 'copy') ancient tales and legend.³¹ Moore's extensive and repeated use of the footnote across his *oeuvre* (in satire, in prose fiction and in Romantic lyric) can be seen in the light of his early interest in imitation to take on a national inflection. While it is not my purpose to pursue that argument in depth here, it is nonetheless worth observing the role of the copy in Moore's Irish context. The Anacreontic corpus, by virtue of its imitative nature, is already a kind of copy and it is notable that Moore took up the Anacreontic baton of imitation at a moment in Irish history when Ireland herself was about to become, in legislative terms, a copy as a consequence of the 1801 Act of Union. Moore's Anacreontic translation is

part of the broader political landscape at the turn of the century when Dublin's parliamentary independence ceded in power to London. His volume is caught in a moment of significant change, both for its author and for the island of Ireland. At the turn of the nineteenth century, legislatively, Ireland becomes part of the British cultural nexus; geographically, Moore moves from Ireland to England, taking with him his Anacreon volume which is his passport into London high society; aesthetically, the Anacreontic poems merge with the new fascination in British Romantic poetry with imitating earlier poetic traditions. The *Lyrical Ballads*, are, it might be pointed out, imitative, at least in part, of ancient tradition—the medieval ballad—and signal that debt in the volume's very title. Both Moore and the authors of *Lyrical Ballads* are part of the poetic revolution which marks its modernity by making a self-conscious return to earlier genres. Moore's Preface to the *Odes* emphasises Anacreon's 'simplicity',³² an emphasis that can be viewed as a response to the rhetorical excesses of the post-Augustan lyric, as well as the disappointments of contemporary politics: the failure of the French Revolution to deliver the promised bliss of liberty, the loss of Irish legislative independence under the Union and the repressive Tory regime that ruled British and Irish politics for three difficult decades.

Turning back to the Greeks but also moving forward from them, Moore restored music to verse, revitalising the poetry of the neoclassical tradition berated by Wordsworth for its moribund formalism and laboured decorativeness, the 'poetic diction' of eighteenth-century poetry. It is true that Moore's Anacreontics are not entirely rid of the ornamental rhetoric of Georgian poetry bemoaned by Wordsworth, but the intoxicating sensuality and musicality of the *Odes* was something new in the annals of nineteenth-century poetry in English. Indeed, it is remarkable just how much the *Odes* anticipate the concerns and methods of British Romanticism, a point that literary history has been remarkably slow to acknowledge.

Song

It might be said that the presence of music in Moore's Anacreon Odes, in their rhythm and their tone, is largely metaphorical in the sense that Moore did not specifically write his ancient Greek translations to be performed, in contrast to the *Irish Melodies*, although (as I have pointed out) Stevenson set several of the poems to music. Song has a literal existence, however, in the performance of Anacreontic lyrics (sometimes taken directly from Moore's volume) in the singing, dining and drinking clubs that burgeoned in eighteenth and early nineteenth-century Dublin and London. It is to these clubs, which form part of the hinterland of Moore's own interest in song, that I shall now turn.

The Hibernian Catch Club, founded in Dublin c. 1690 by the Vicars Choral of Christchurch and St Patrick's Cathedrals, is the oldest—and still surviving—Irish musical society and is the model for a group of similar bodies that formed in eighteenth-century London. The Noblemen and Gentlemen's Catch Club, known simply as the Catch Club, for example, founded in 1761 to sup-

port the amateur composition of catches and glees, was London's answer to her sister club in Ireland.³³ Actual sisters, of course, like wives, were not permitted as members of the club.³⁴ The gender politics of these clubs, although worthy of further investigation, is in one sense straightforward enough: an exclusive male membership was governed by an ethos of conviviality. Well-heeled gentlemen (membership was by nomination and subscription) would pay to meet frequently, very often in taverns or on the site of theatres, to eat, drink and sing. Their performance lists are dominated in the eighteenth century by two big Irish names: the celebrated Dublin composer, John Stevenson (1762–1833, Sir John from 1803) and the Cork-born bacchanalian songster and bard-elect of the London Beefsteak Club, Captain Charles Morris (1745–1838), author of *Songs Political and Convivial* (24th edn, 1802). In the early nineteenth century, Thomas Moore's name joined the ranks and is often included next to John Stevenson's on the diet of Anacreontic songs in praise of Bacchus. A particular favourite, which appears in several collections, is 'Give me the Harp of Epic Song', the second Ode in Moore's Anacreontic collection, set to music by Stevenson, for which the latter was knighted by Lord Hardwicke, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, when Hardwicke dined with the Irish Harmonic Society in 1803. The theme of the song, with its chorus to Bacchus, is love, not war.

Give me the harp of epic song,
Which Homer's finger thrill'd along;
But tear away the sanguine string,
For war is not the theme I sing.
[...]
Then Bacchus! we shall sing to thee,
In wild but sweet ebriety! ('Ode 11', pp. 27–28)

While the extent of Moore's participation in the Dublin and London Catch Clubs is difficult to establish, it is clear that he was aware of their existence. Songs from his Anacreontic repertoire were included in their programmes and Moore was keenly alert to the success of his volume in the wider culture. 'Tell Stevenson', he wrote to his mother in February 1802, 'he could not at present choose anything more likely to catch the public than his publication of the glees from Anacreon: it is universally read, and can hardly be said to have been known till now.'³⁵ There are in addition a couple of intriguing entries, dated 20 October 1801 and 10 November 1801, respectively, in the Hibernian Catch Club volumes held by Marsh's library.

Thos. Moore Esq [requested?] as a Catch singer proposed as an Honorary Member of this club by George Ewing seconded by Doctor Stevenson of many [glees?]

Mr Thos. Moore and Mr Frederick William McHanes were this night unanimously admitted Honorary Members.³⁶ History's chronicle does not record which Thomas Moore it was who received the title of Honorary Member (there must have been plenty who went by that

name in contemporary Dublin), but Stevenson appears as the seconder and it is quite a coincidence for the names of both friends to be listed next to each other if the Moore in question is not, indeed, the Moore of the Anacreon Odes.

Further, more substantial evidence of the poet's involvement in the early nineteenth-century milieu of popular catch-club glees and song comes in the Preface to the fifth volume of Moore's *Poetical Works, Collected by Himself* (1840–41). Here, Moore gives a retrospective account of his 'thoughts and recollections' on the state of musical verse at the moment when he embarked on his own career in that line. The 'convivial lyrics' of Captain Morris, glee master of the Beefsteak Club (and lewd songster extraordinaire) are cited as an example of 'perfect sympathy between poet and musician'.³⁷ Morris is also of interest as a political songster of anti-Tory satires, such as 'Billy's Too Young to Drive Us' and 'Billy Pitt and the Farmer', satirising the regime of William Pitt, the Younger.³⁸ His Whig political leanings and his success in London society in some ways foreshadow that of his later Irish compatriot, Moore. Moore appears to have felt an affinity with Morris, and quotes him (directly from memory, or so he says) in the Preface to the *Poetical Works*, where he gives the following verses from Morris's Anacreontic 'Reasons for Drinking':

My muse, too, when her wings are dry,
 No frolic flights will take;
 But round a bowl she'll dip and fly,
 Like swallows round a lake.
 If then the nymph must have her share,
 Before she'll bless her swain,
 Why, *that* I think's a reason fair
 To fill my glass again.

Then, many a lad I lik'd is dead,
 And many a lass grown old;
 And, as the lesson strikes my head,
 My weary heart grows cold.
 But wine awhile holds off despair,
 Nay, bids a hope remain;—
 And that I think's a reason fair
 To fill my glass again.³⁹

This gay air, simply expressed, and with limited emotional depth, prompts Moore to ponder his own impulse to poeticise in song:

I only know that in a strong and inborn feeling for music lies the source of whatever talent I may have shown for poetical composition; and that it was the effort to translate into language the emotions and passions which music appeared to me to express, that first led to my writing any poetry deserving of the name.⁴⁰

To borrow a phrase from Wordsworth's 1800 Preface to *Lyrical Ballads*, Moore seeks in poetry and song the 'essential passions of the heart'.

Whether Morris's more lewd songs answer that request is a moot point. An example is 'Jenny Sutton', a splendid Anacreontic exercise in the mock-heroic about the downfall of an army whore, which appeared in *The Festival of Anacreon: Being a Complete Selection of Songs by Captain Morris* (1790). The lines begin:

Come, charge your glasses, let us raise
 From dull oblivion's slumber;
 A gallant nymph, well worth the praise,
 Whose feats no man can number.
 Her hand, like Caesar's, grasp'd at all,
 Till envy mark'd her station:
 Then like great Caesar, did she fall,
 By foul assassination.⁴¹

Such amiable indecency appears mild in comparison with other songs in Morris's near-pornographic distortion of the Anacreontic canon. A striking example is the fifteen-stanza bawd-fest, 'The Plenipotentiary', sung to the Irish air 'The terrible Law, or Shawnbuee':

I

The Dey of Algiers, when afraid of his ears,
 A messenger sent to our Court, Sir,
 As he knew in our state that the women had weight,
 He chose one well hung for good sport, Sir.
 He search'd the Divan, till he found out a man,
 Whose b - - s were heavy and hairy;
 And he lately came o'er from the Barbary shore,
 As the great Plenipotentiary.

II

Whence to England he came, with his p - - k in a flame,
 He shew'd it his hostess at landing,
 Who spread its renown thro' all parts of the town,
 As a pintle past all understanding:
 So much there was said of its snout and its head,
 That they called it the Great Janissary;⁴²
 Not a lady could sleep 'till she got a peep
 At the great Plenipotentiary. (p. 28)

The humour becomes increasingly crude. Witness Stanza IX: 'The next to be try'd was an Alderman's bride, | With a c - - t that would swallow a turtle.' (p. 31) And so it goes on ...

Morris's lewd humour is a long way from the prettified eroticism of Moore's Anacreontic verses. Even so, it is of interest here as part of the fabric of the musical culture that forms the backdrop to Moore's Anacreontic songs, and, more particularly, to the poet's second published book of verse, *Poetical Works of the*

Late Thomas Little, Esq. (1801), a collection of erotic poetry which represents Moore's own contribution to the risqué side of the Anacreontic tradition.⁴³ The book was, however, a notorious *succès de scandale* for Moore that brought mainly antipathetic criticism from the literary quarter, with the noble exception of Lord Byron, who thrilled to Little's licentious strains.⁴⁴ 'The Catalogue', for example, charms with its longer anapaestic line, which is well suited to its tones of languid eroticism:

'Come, tell me,' says Rosa, as kissing and kist,
 One day she reclin'd on my breast;
 'Come, tell me the number, repeat me the list
 Of the nymphs you have lov'd and carest.—'
 Oh Rosa! 'twas only my fancy that rov'd,
 My heart at the moment was free;
 But I'll tell thee, my girl, how many I've loved,
 And the number shall finish with thee.

(*Poetical Works*, p. 72)

Even in the lewder lines of his *Little* poems, Moore remains at some considerable distance from Morris's indecent lyrics. He does not emulate Morris's bawdy Irishness, and Harry White, in his important contribution to Moore studies, *Music and the Irish Literary Imagination* (2008), is right to remark of Moore that he 'self-evidently' identified 'Irish music in new terms (principally as an intelligence of Irish history)'.⁴⁵ The musical societies and Anacreontic clubs that exist on the borderline of sexual morality are important, however, insofar as they form part of a broader culture of sociability that is rooted in the Anacreontic tradition inaugurated by Moore. It also resounded through some rather better known aspects of nineteenth-century literature in the neoclassicism of Keats and Hunt and it is this more canonical aspect of late Georgian culture—and Moore's involvement within it—that I will now examine.

Sociability

The poetry of Robert Herrick and Matthew Prior in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries popularised Anacreontic poems in English, but it was Thomas Moore who made them newly popular in nineteenth-century Romanticism, and, most notably, in the Anacreontics of two figures commonly associated with the so-called 'Cockney School' of Leigh Hunt and John Keats. And this is more than a simple generic similarity. Following the publication of Jeffrey Cox's *Poetry and Politics in the Cockney School* (1996), we have learnt to think of much of the school's curriculum as being dominated by neoclassicism, a coterie vision, sociability and 'pretty Paganism'—to use Wordsworth's telling dig at Keats.⁴⁶ Moore's role in the Cockney School of sociability has been less well observed, however. I wish to correct that oversight here in the assertion that 'Anacreon' Moore was an unacknowledged governor of the Cockney School.

On 20 May 1813, Thomas Moore introduced Lord Byron, who was initially drawn to Moore by his experience of reading the *Thomas Little* poems, to Leigh

Hunt on a visit to Horsemonger Gaol in Surrey, where the radical journalist and poet had been recently incarcerated for libelling the Prince Regent in the pages of the *Examiner*. Hunt was already an admirer of Moore; on 8 August 1812, he had written to his wife asking her to ‘Pray send me down, my love, as many of Moore’s Irish Melodies as you can collect, & what additional songs you chuse to put with them.’⁴⁷ He also had the courage to publish Moore’s famous satire ‘Parody of a Celebrated Letter’—though without Moore’s name on it—on the Prince Regent’s betrayal of the Whigs.⁴⁸ The meeting went well and Hunt and Moore began a friendship which would last for over a decade until its acrimonious collapse in the late 1820s over their rival accounts of Lord Byron.⁴⁹

In a conscious act of intertextual recognition, Hunt took on the name ‘Harry Brown’ in several of his series of poems ‘Harry Brown to his Friends’, which were published in the *Examiner* in 1816, and included verse epistles to Moore, Charles Lamb and William Hazlitt. Moore receives more than one letter (four in all), each addressed to ‘Thomas Brown, Jun.’, which was Moore’s *nom de plume* in his satirical guise as editor of *Intercepted Letters; or, the Two-penny Post Bag*. ‘An’t I your cousin DEAR TOM?’ asked Hunt in the second of the epistles ‘Harry Brown to his Cousin Tom, Jun., Letter’ in the 1816 *Examiner* series, and he writes happily in July 1816 that ‘Moore expressed great enjoyment at sight of them.’⁵⁰ That second poem, in breezy anapaests, which begins in explicitly ‘pastoral’ mode but then turns into a sharp political satire on the Tory government, the restored Bourbons and, inevitably, the turncoat Laureate Robert Southey, explicitly aligns Hunt in a fraternal alliance of poets who work within a classical frame of reference, and yet espouse oppositionist politics.

Two years afterwards in *Foliage* (1818), Hunt himself translated from Anacreon. Here, in the Preface to *Foliage*, Hunt says interesting things about the Anacreontic poems, declaring in the self-deprecating manner so common in his discursive prefaces,⁵¹ that it is ‘so difficult transplant those delicate Greek flowers into rhyme, without rendering them either languid and diffuse, or too much cramping them up.’⁵² Even so, he offers under the title of ‘Anacreon’ four short poems, two of which are ‘The Dance’ and ‘The Banquet’:

‘THE DANCE’

When a set of youths I see,
 Youth itself returns to me.
 Then, ah then, my old age springs
 To the dance on starting wings.
 Stop, Cybeba;—roses there
 To adorn a dancer’s hair,—
 Grey-beard age away be flung,
 And I’ll join ye, young for young.
 Some one then go fetch me wine
 Of a vintage rare and fine,
 And I’ll shew what age can do,—

Able still to warble too,
 Able still to drink down sadness,
 And display a graceful madness. (*Foliage*, p. 87)

‘THE BANQUET’

Often fit we round our brows,
 One and all, the rosy boughs,
 And with genial laughs carouse.

To the twinkling of the lute
 Trips a girl with delicate foot,
 Bearing a green ivy stick
 Rustling with its tresses thick;
 While a boy of earnest air,
 With a gentle head of hair,
 Plays the many-mouthed pipe,
 Rich with voices breathing ripe.

Love himself the golden-tressed,
 Bacchus blithe, and Venus blessed,
 Come from heaven to join our cheer,
 So completely does appear
 Comus, youth’s restorer, here. (*Foliage*, pp. 85–86)

Hunt is certainly working in the Anacreontic mode here and with the lightness of tone set by his mentor, Moore. Yet it bears remarking that his tetrameter couplets lack the liquid movement and lusciousness of Moore’s longer lines. Hunt does capture very well, however, the pared-back simplicity that he admired in Anacreon’s verse. In his essay ‘Anacreon’, published in 1840, some two decades after the appearance of his own Anacreontic poems in *Foliage*, Hunt wrote: ‘the compositions of Anacreon are remarkable above all for being “short and sweet.”’⁵³ The same can be said of Hunt’s efforts.

The Anacreontic lineage in British Romanticism reaches back beyond Hunt, and beyond Moore himself, briefly to Wordsworth. Wordsworth, the most famous modern poet of the nineteenth century, was the first of his age, ahead of Moore and Hunt, to translate an Anacreon Ode. All three poets made loose translations of the Anacreontic Ode xvi (retitled by Wordsworth, ‘Anacreon Imitated’), which narrates a lover’s injunction to a painter to produce a likeness of his mistress. Wordsworth’s markedly chaste version of the Anacreontic concludes thus:

Which, like a Veil of flowing light,
 Hides half the landscape from the sight.
 Here I see the wandering rill,
 The white flocks sleeping on the hill,
 While Fancy paints beneath the Veil

The pathway winding through the dale.⁵⁴

The future Poet Laureate simultaneously expands and chastens the conclusion of an Ode that in its original form, and in both Moore's and Hunt's translations, is highly erotic. In Duncan Wu's words, 'Wordsworth turns the mistress' body into a vision of Grasmere "veiled" by mist. In an imaginative transformation Anacreon's mistress merges into the "landskip" onto which she confers an inexplicable magic.'⁵⁵

In contrast to Wordsworth's resituating of Anacreon's Ode to the Lake District, Moore and Hunt retain the attic location of the original. The mistress of their odes is suspended in ancient time, which is perhaps a safer place than the present for the unfolding of their libidinous imaginations. Here are Moore's equivalent concluding lines to Wordsworth's:

Now let a floating, lucid veil,
Shadow her limbs, but not conceal;
A charm may peep, a hue may beam,
And leave the rest to Fancy's dream.

(‘Ode xvi’, p. 71)

And here is Hunt's version of the same:

Now then,—let the drapery spread,
With an under tint of red,
And a glimpse left scarcely drest;
So that what remains be guessed.⁵⁶

With Hunt, as with Moore, it is tempting to catalogue his Anacreontic verses as self-consciously playful indulgences in affective poetry. And, while Wordsworth's poem remained unpublished, Moore is a principal inspiration for Hunt's work.

Leigh Hunt, the man who first published ‘On First looking into Chapman's Homer’ in 1816, is a bridging figure between Thomas Moore and John Keats, the poet whom he mentored, both to his advantage, in bringing him to a measure of public attention, and to his cost, in the younger poet being drawn into the post-Napoleonic ‘Cockney School’ controversies between the *Examiner* crowds and their Tory rivals in the *Quarterly Review* and *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*. But Keats, it might be said, excels his master in terms of his Anacreontism, as, of course, in so much else. Keats is the poet in the Romantic canon who delights most in the luxuriant sensuality of the Mooreian Anacreontic, someone who engages with the poetry of wine and love in his own inimitable fashion, but similarly in a line of influence and imitation that reaches from Moore to Hunt and from Hunt to Keats. Keats was a protégé of Hunt just as Hunt was an early disciple and Anacreontic imitator of Moore's. All there were ‘charioted by Bacchus and his pards’. In such works as the ‘Ode to a Nightingale’, as in the *Lyrical Ballads*, something startling and new is fashioned from ancient imitation.

Keats's Anacreontic poems include such titles as ‘Give me, women, wine and snuff’ (1815–16), and ‘Lines on the Mermaid Tavern’ (1818) as well as ‘Fill for me

a brimming bowl' (1814), a melancholic poem that in spite of its carefree title anticipates in poignant theme and tone the great sonnet of 1818, 'When I have fears that I may cease to be'. Miriam Allott, in her edition of Keats's poems, points out that Keats was by this time already familiar with Moore's Anacreontics.⁵⁷ She suggests that 'Fill for me a brimming bowl' echoes the opening lines of Moore's translation of Ode LXII: 'Fill me, boy, as deep a draught, | As e'er was fill'd, as e'er was quaff'd'. Allott has a point. Witness Keats's lines: 'But I want as a deep a draught | As e'er from Lethe's wave was quaffed' ('Fill for me a brimming bowl', ll. 7–8). But of course there is an important difference too: Keats's melancholy imagination transforms Moore's careless quaffing into Lethe's draught of oblivion. In his preoccupation with mortality and loss, Keats lends a psychological complexity and intensity to the simple portrait of Anacreon as a good-humoured old man delighting in remembering the fleeting pleasures of his youth. Nevertheless, Moore's Anacreontic idiom endures in transmuted form in many of Keats's works and stands as testimony, I would argue, to the network of influence and sociability constructed around Moore, Hunt and Anacreon in the early nineteenth century. Though Keats rejected Moore as a juvenile influence in a letter written just weeks before the publication of his 'Ode to Psyche' (1819), some of his early work clearly demonstrates the cross-fertilisation between Irish and British poetry that Moore's early, classically influenced *oeuvre* facilitated.


Conclusion

The pagan name 'Anacreon Moore', given in tribute to the popular success of Moore's volume, was often cited in the 1810s, notably by Lord Byron in his famous tribute to Moore in Canto 1 of *Don Juan* (1819):

When Julia sat within as pretty a bower
As e'er held houri in that heathenish heaven
Described by Mahomet and 'Anacreon' Moore
To whom the lyre and laurels have been given
With all the trophies of triumphant song;
He won them well, and may he wear them long!⁵⁸

Again, as late as 1825, long after the start of the *Irish Melodies* series, and after the highly successful *Lalla Rookh* (1817) and the *Fudge Family in Paris* (1818), Moore was still being labelled 'our English Anacreon' in William Hazlitt's *The Spirit of the Age*, in an essay which prefers the older book to the 'verbal tinsel' of the *Irish Melodies*.⁵⁹

Odes of Anacreon, as its title more than suggests, is a volume of verse of the pagan caste. Certainly the volume helped to position Moore in the 'Cockney School' circle of a sociable, largely pagan Romanticism but it also, as I have shown, placed him with Wordsworth's and Coleridge's *Lyrical Ballads* at the point of what is commonly thought of as a revolution in British poetry. The networks of sociability engendered by Moore are networks that travel across and between national borders and aesthetic boundaries, so that rather than

viewing Moore's eighteenth-century Irish Anacreontics in opposition to or as a rival tradition to British Romanticism, I have argued that they can be seen as a significant presence that reconfigures the traditional understanding of British–Irish nexus. That volume's anticipatory recognition of the power of song which is so important to the first generation of Romantic poets in their return to the earlier ballad forms; its sensual warmth, which prepared the way for the erotic lyricism of Keats's odes; its pre-empting of the Hellenistic interests of Hunt, Byron and Shelley, not forgetting Mary Tighe. In all these ways, Moore was a poet of several Romantic traditions, who anticipated and helps to illuminate the current critical positioning of British and Irish Romanticism as interwoven, rather than insular, traditions. 

NOTES

I am grateful to Dr Jason McElligott and the fellowship selection committee at Marsh's Library, Dublin, for a Muriel McCarthy Research Fellowship that allowed me to work for a month in the library's holdings of early Irish literary and musical material. I am also grateful to Emeritus Professor Andrew Carpenter (University College, Dublin) for sharing with me his expertise.

1. See Jonathan Bate, 'Tom Moore and the Making of "Ode to Psyche"', *Review of English Studies*, new ser. 41/163 (1990), 325–33. Bate traces the links connecting the early poetry of Keats to Moore and to the Irish poet Mary Tighe's 'Psyche, or the Legend of Love' (completed in 1795 and privately circulated but published in 1811). An arresting tale of love in exile in six Spenserian cantos, Tighe's poem influenced Keats, who wrote his 'Ode to Psyche' in its shadow. Moore also recognised the poem's power and paid homage to Tighe in his lyric 'To Mrs Henry Tighe' (1802), the early date suggesting that he had seen a copy of her poem prior to its publication. Another link in the chain between Keats and Moore is the gift to Keats in the summer of 1815 from Caroline and Anne Mathew (cousins of Keats's poet-friend George Felton Mathew) of a shell and Moore's amatory poem 'The Wreath and the Chain' (from his 1806 volume *Epistles, Odes, and Other Poems*). Keats responded with two poems of his own composition: 'To Some Ladies' and 'On Receiving a Curious Shell, and a Copy of Verses from the Same Ladies', both written in the summer of 1815. The latter poem, which pastiches Moore, may be read as an early exercise in the poet's style.
2. Marshall Brown, *The Tooth that Nibbles at the Soul: Essays on Music and Poetry* (Washington: University of Washington Press, 2010), p. 219.
3. For scholarship on Ireland's classical tradition, see W. B. Stanford, *Ireland and the Classical Tradition* (Dublin: Allen Figgis, 1976). See also my essay, 'Nineteenth-century Irish Anacreontics: The Literary Relationship of James Clarence Mangan and Thomas Moore', *Irish Studies Review*, 21.4 (2013), 1–19.
4. A full translation of the Anacreontic collection is included as 'Appendix C' in Patricia A. Rosenmeyer, *The Poetics of Imitation: Anacreon and the Anacreontic Tradition* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1992), pp. 239–66.
5. Leigh Hunt viewed Burns as a poet in the Anacreontic mode. 'Many passages in Burns's songs', writes Hunt, 'are Anacreontic, inasmuch as they are simple, enjoying, and full of the elegance of the senses'—Leigh Hunt, 'XII. Anacreon',

- in Hunt, *The Seer or Common-Places Refreshed, in Two Parts* (London: Edward Moxon, 1840), I, 31.
6. Jeffrey N. Cox's ground-breaking book *Poetry and Politics in the Cockney School: Keats, Shelley, Hunt and their Circle* (Cambridge: CUP, 1998) demonstrates the influence of classicism on the Cockney School of Romanticism.
 7. *Verse in English from Eighteenth-Century Ireland*, ed. by Andrew Carpenter (Cork: Cork University Press, 1998), p. 90.
 8. Sheridan's 'Song' is reprinted in Carpenter, *Verse from Eighteenth-Century Ireland*, pp. 357–58.
 9. Moore wrote in his diary entry for 21 Sep 1824: 'Find that there is some pamphlet published (and mentioned in "John Bull,") which accuses me of having borrowed my translation of Anacreon from another translation'—*The Journal of Thomas Moore*, ed. by Wilfred S. Dowden, 6 vols (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1983–1991), II, 768.
 10. *Ibid.*
 11. Wordsworth's 'Anacreon Imitated' is in *William Wordsworth: The Earliest Poems 1785–1790*, ed. by Duncan Wu (Manchester: Carcanet, 2002), pp. 4–5.
 12. *Memoirs, Journal, and Correspondence of Thomas Moore*, ed. by Lord John Russell, 6 vols (London: Longmans, 1853–57), I, 23. Moore also reflects here on the magazine's short-lived existence with a bitterness that stemmed perhaps from a recognition that the Great Reform Act of 1832 had done little to change the lot of the majority of his countrymen, culturally or politically: 'it died', he wrote of the *Anthologia Hibernica*, 'as all things die in that country for want of money—and of talent; for the Irish never either fight or write well on their own soil' (*ibid.*).
 13. The poems are cited in Moore's 'Memoirs of Myself' (1833), included in Russell's edition of the *Memoirs, Journal, and Correspondence of Moore*, I, 23.
 14. *The Poetical Works of Thomas Moore, Collected by Himself*, 10 vols (London: Longmans, 1840–41), I, xxiii.
 15. See Howard Mumford Jones, *The Harp that Once—A Chronicle of the Life of Thomas Moore* (New York: Henry Holt, 1937), pp. 42–43.
 16. *Ibid.*
 17. Rosenmeyer, *Poetics of Imitation*, p. 62.
 18. Thomas Moore, 'Ode 1', *Odes of Anacreon, Translated into English, with Notes* (London: J. Stockdale, 1800), pp. 23–26. All further references to the *Odes* are to this edition and are given in parenthesis in the text.
 19. Rosenmeyer points out that Greek examples of imitation are characteristically based on the notion of competition, *agon*, not co-operation—*Poetics of Imitation*, p. 70.
 20. Moore, *Odes of Anacreon*, p. 24.
 21. *Ibid.*, pp. 20–22.
 22. Ronan Kelly, for example, interprets 'The Fire-Worshippers' episode in *Lalla Rookh* as 'an unmistakable allegory of British–Irish relations'—*Bard of Erin: The Life of Thomas Moore* (Dublin: Penguin Ireland, 2008), p. 284.
 23. See 'Appendix C' to Rosenmeyer's *Poetics of Imitation*, p. 241.
 24. *Ibid.*
 25. Oliver Taplin, *Greek Fire* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1989) offers a vivid visual and narrative history of sexual violence and rivalry in ancient Greek myth and art. It might also be noted that the sexually lewd songs of the eighteenth-century glee master Captain Morris, discussed below, highlight the sexual aspect of Greek

- myth. See, for example, 'The Amours of the Gods', in *The Festival of Anacreon. Containing a Collection of Modern Songs, Written for the Anacreontic Society, The Beef-Steak, and Humbug Clubs. By Captain Morris, Mr Brownlow, Mr Hewardine, Sir John Moore, Capt. Thompson, and Other Lyric Writers, Whose Compositions are the Delight of the Festive Board*, 7th edn (London: Peacock, 1790), pp. 57–58. Stanza 11 depicts Jove, disguised as a swan, visiting Leda: 'On stroking his neck, which [*sic*] she scarcely could span, | It quickly became a sweet Langolee'. Langolee is Irish slang for an erect penis.
26. Moore, *Odes of Anacreon*, p. 14.
 27. The phrase is Ronan Kelly's—see *Bard of Erin*, p. 164.
 28. *The Poetical Works of Thomas Moore*, ed. by A. D. Godley (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1910), p. 180. All further references to the *Irish Melodies* are to this edition and are given in parenthesis in the text.
 29. Robert Welch, *Irish Poetry from Moore to Yeats* (Gerrards Cross: Colin Smythe, 1980), p. 29.
 30. Norman Vance, *Irish Literature: A Social History—Tradition Identity and Difference*, 2nd edn (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 1999), p. 106.
 31. Claire Connolly, *A Cultural History of the Irish Novel, 1790–1829* (Cambridge: CUP, 2012), pp. 1, 69.
 32. 'Simplicity is the distinguishing feature of these odes', writes Moore in his preface 'Remarks on Anacreon'—*Odes of Anacreon*, p. 14.
 33. Other London societies included the Whig-leaning Beefsteak Club, the full title of which was the Sublime Society of Beefsteaks, formed in England in 1735, whose noble ranks were swelled by the membership of the Prince of Wales in 1785, then a Whig. Members of the club were required to wear a uniform of buff and blue (the Whig colours) and pledge the society motto: 'beef and liberty'. The Beefsteak Club in Ireland, which was founded c. 1753 by Thomas Sheridan, father of Richard Brinsley Sheridan, was a vehicle for politics as well as song, and was attacked in two Catholic newspapers, the *Dublin Herald* and *Morning Register* in 1823 for its anti-Catholic feeling. Other active Anglo-Irish musical societies in Ireland included the Irish Harmonic Society, which lasted from 1803 to 1810, and the Anacreontic Society, an orchestral society that counted many of the nobility among its members but which, in sympathy with the Anacreontic ethos of harmony, welcomed both Catholic and Protestant members. See Robert Joseph Allen, *The Clubs of Augustan London*, vol. 7 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1933), pp. 137–42 and Margaret Hogan, *Anglo-Irish Music, 1780–1830* (Cork: Cork University Press), p. 74.
 34. Some clubs did, however, hold ladies' nights. There is much in Marsh's library a volume entitled *The Ladies Collection of Catches, Glees, Canons, Canzonets, Madrigals, &c., Selected from the Works of the Most Eminent Composers*, vol. 3 (London: Windsor Catch Club, 1790). The songs contained therein include drinking songs and amatory verses, although they are markedly restrained in comparison with those in other volumes.
 35. *Letters of Thomas Moore*, ed. by Wilfred S. Dowden, 2 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1964), 1, 33.
 36. The entries are from the multi-part volume, catalogued by Marsh's as *Hibernian Catch Club: Minute Book. Rules Agreed 20 June 1797. Minutes of meetings—15 Dec. 1812. List of members 1811*.

37. *The Poetical Works of Thomas Moore, Collected by Himself*, 10 vols (London: Longmans, 1840–41), v, xiii.
38. ‘Billy’s too Young to Drive us’ and ‘Billy Pitt and the Farmer’ are included in Morris’s *Songs, Political and Convivial*, 24th edn (London: Davis, 1802), pp. 16–29.
39. *The Poetical Works of Thomas Moore, Collected by Himself*, 10 vols (London: Longmans, 1840–41), v, xiv–v.
40. *Ibid.*, p. xv.
41. *The Festival of Anacreon: Being a Complete Selection of Songs by Captain Morris* (Dublin: Ridgway, 1790), p. 37.
42. The Janissaries were the elite infantry units, highly respected for their military prowess, that formed the standing army of the Ottoman Empire from the late fourteenth century to 1826.
43. It is notable how frequently Morris’s name crops up in Moore’s personal correspondence. An entry in Moore’s journal for 26 Sep 1818 observes that Morris had seen singing at the Beefsteak Club and that it was popularly known that having tried his hand with R. B. Sheridan’s sister, he had ‘took to drinking at last in despair of winning her’—*Journal of Thomas Moore*, I, 53. Morris was on Moore’s mind again as late as 1839, when his publisher Murray informed him that he had received two manuscript volumes of Morris’s songs from which his widow, indulging ‘in most extravagant notions of what she was to make by them—talked of 10,000 pounds!’ (*ibid.*, v, 2024). In terms of popular music culture of the first half of the nineteenth century, Morris was a name to be reckoned with.
44. Criticism of the *Little* poems was mainly of a moral nature. Samuel Taylor Coleridge referred pejoratively to the ‘wanton poems of Thomas Little Esq^{re}’—Samuel Taylor Coleridge, *Collected Letters*, ed. by Earl Leslie Griggs, 6 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1956–71), II, 905. Meanwhile, the Tory J. G. Lockhart, writing in *Blackwood’s Edinburgh Magazine* under the pseudonym ‘Baron von Lauerwinkel’, took the opportunity to air his political rivalries with Moore by condemning him as a poet of bad taste and vulgar sensibility, especially in his treatment of women. Lockhart warns Ireland not to align herself politically with what he calls the ‘gaudy impurities and tinsel Jacobinism of this deluded poet’—‘Remarks on the Poetry of Thomas Moore’, *Blackwood’s Edinburgh Magazine*, 4/19 (Oct 1818), 4.
45. Harry White, *Music and the Irish Literary Imagination* (Oxford: OUP, 2008), p. 75.
46. On hearing lines recited from Keats’s ‘Song to Pan’, from *Endymion* (1818), Wordsworth is said to have remarked ‘a very pretty piece of paganism’—cited in Nicholas Roe, *John Keats and the Culture of Dissent* (Oxford: OUP, 1997), p. 85.
47. Quoted in Luther A. Brewer, *My Leigh Hunt Library*, 2 vols (New York: B. Franklin, 1970), I, 56.
48. The ‘Parody’ appeared in *The Examiner*, 5/219 (Mar 1812), 157–58 and was later reprinted in Moore’s *Intercepted Letters; or, the Two-penny Post-Bag* (1813). See my headnote to the satire *The Satires of Thomas Moore*, vol. 5 of *British Satire, 1785–1814*, ed. by Jane Moore (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2003), p. 57.
49. Moore’s friendship with Hunt was embittered in 1828 over the publication of Hunt’s *Lord Byron and Some of his Contemporaries*, a volume that, in Moore’s eyes, despoiled his deceased friend Byron’s memory.

50. The Harry Brown epistles to his cousin Thomas Brown, jun., are reprinted in *The Selected Writings of Leigh Hunt*, vol. 5: *Poetical Works, 1801–21*, ed. by John Strachan (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2003), pp. 135–40, 143–48.
51. For discussion of this common tonal register in Hunt's Preface see *ibid.*, p. xxiii.
52. Leigh Hunt, *Foliage; or, Poems Original and Translated* (London: C. & J. Ollier, 1818), p. 32.
53. Hunt, 'Anacreon', see n. 5 above.
54. 'Anacreon Imitated', ll. 39–44; in *The Earliest Wordsworth: Poems 1785–1790*, ed. by Duncan Wu (Manchester: Carcanet, 2002), p. 5.
55. *Ibid.*, p. 86.
56. 'Portrait of his Mistress', ll. 29–32. This piece was first published in Hunt's journal *The Indicator* on 13 Oct 1819 and not subsequently reprinted. It is included in *The Poetical Works of Leigh Hunt*, ed. by H. S. Milford (Oxford: OUP, 1923), p. 392.
57. *Keats: The Complete Works*, ed. by Miriam Allott (London: Longmans, 1970), p. 28.
58. *Don Juan*, Canto 1, 104.827–32; in *Lord Byron: The Complete Poetical Works*, ed. by Jerome J. McGann, 7 vols (Oxford: OUP, 1980–93), v, 41.
59. William Hazlitt, 'Mr. T. Moore—Mr. Leigh Hunt', *The Spirit of the Age* (Oxford: OUP, 1911), pp. 254, 251.

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REFERRING TO THIS ARTICLE

J. MOORE. 'Thomas Moore, Anacreon and the Romantic Tradition', *Romantic Textualities: Literature and Print Culture, 1780–1840*, 21 (Winter 2013) <www.romtext.org.uk/files/2014/07/rt21_no2.pdf> [date accessed].



WHEN KING ARTHUR MET THE VENUS

Romantic Antiquarianism and the Illustration of Anne Bannerman's 'The Prophecy of Merlin'

Katie Garner



A ROMANTIC POEM WITH AN ARTHURIAN SETTING is a relatively rare thing. As Rob Gossedge and Stephen Knight have cogently summarised, in contrast to the Pre-Raphaelites and Victorians, 'the Romantic poets had no significant interest in the Arthurian myth'.¹ Anne Bannerman's gothic ballad, 'The Prophecy of Merlin' (1802), is one such Romantic rarity, made all the more remarkable by the fact that it is accompanied by an unusual engraving of the poem's subject.² The ballad's illustration shows a young King Arthur kneeling at the feet of a female figure who is entirely naked apart from a thinly draped veil encircling her arm and falling delicately and suggestively between her legs (Figure 1, overleaf).³ The statuesque pose of the woman aligns her, as one of Bannerman's contemporaries noted, with the figure of the Venus Anadyomene (Venus rising from the sea), but the sexual nature of the image nevertheless caused some outrage among the volume's early readers.⁴ The problematic engraving reportedly 'brought on Miss Bannerman such unmerited wit-cracking, and consequent inquietude' that arrangements were made to remove the engraving from the remaining unsold copies.⁵

'The Prophecy of Merlin' is the final poem in *Tales of Superstition and Chivalry*, a slim volume containing nine other gothic ballads and three further, much more demure, illustrations. The collection appeared anonymously, but most reviewers were aware that its author was the Edinburgh-born poet, Anne Bannerman (1765–1829), a literary figure 'already known for her poetical talents' following the resounding praise of her debut collection, *Poems*, in 1800.⁶ For one reviewer, Bannerman's *Poems* offered 'irrefragable proof that the ardour, whatever be its gender, which gives birth to lofty thought and bold expression may glow within a female breast'.⁷ Unfortunately, however, when *Tales of Superstition and Chivalry* appeared two years later, the volume received far less glowing reviews. For the *Annual Register*, the *Tales* were only the latest in a line of 'fashionable fictions' to make use of familiar Gothic trappings, including '[h]ollow winds, clay-cold hands, clanking chains and clicking clocks'.⁸ The *Tales* were a failure in comparison to Bannerman's earlier poetic success, but did win her one important admirer in Sir Walter Scott. As Adriana Craciun has noted, Scott singled out Bannerman's work for praise in his 'Essay on Imitations of the Ancient Ballad' (1830):

Miss Anne Bannerman should likewise not be forgotten, whose ‘Tales of Superstition and Chivalry’ appeared about 1802. They were perhaps too mystical and too abrupt; yet if it be the purpose of this kind of ballad poetry powerfully to excite the imagination, without pretending to satisfy it, few persons have succeeded better than this gifted lady, whose volume is peculiarly fit to be read in a lonely house by a decaying lamp.⁹

This is high praise from Scott, but his commentary nevertheless continues to align Bannerman’s work with a sensational gothicism fit for a ‘lonely house’. In a similar tone, the *British Critic* recommended the *Tales* to ‘those who love to shudder o’er the midnight fire’.¹⁰

The strong focus on the gothic nature of Bannerman’s *Tales* in contemporary reviews has continued to obscure the extent to which her ballads—and particularly the Arthurian ‘Prophecy of Merlin’—engage closely with antiquarian scholarship and the revival of interest in medieval literature in the late eighteenth century. Emerging at the same time, the relationship between gothic literature and the Middle Ages is generally held to be tenuous at best; as Chris Baldick and Robert Mighall point out, ‘most Gothic novels have little to do with “the medieval world”’.¹¹ Anne Williams also carefully qualifies her assessment that gothic texts share an ‘antiquarian enthusiasm for the medieval (or rather for eighteenth-century fantasies of those “Dark Ages”’).¹² Gothic texts engage with the emerging fashion for antiquarianism and textual relics, but, as Williams reminds us, they also take a double perspective, adopting an imaginative distance from any such medieval past. However, while this reading of the gothic’s ultimately superficial medievalism might hold true for many novels, verse experiments in the gothic mode, such as Thomas Warton’s ‘The Grave of King Arthur’ (1777), often engage much more deeply with antiquarian scholarship, and the same is true of

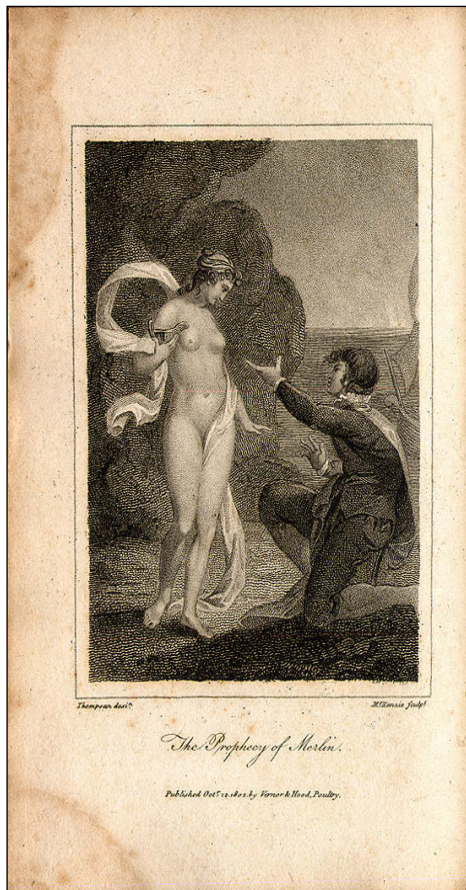


FIG. 1. MACKENZIE AFTER E. W. THOMPSON, ‘THE PROPHECY OF MERLIN’ (1802)

Bannerman's 'The Prophecy of Merlin'. Over two decades have elapsed since Cora Kaplan called for the 'insistent nature of fantasies for men and women' to be recognised and—perhaps more importantly—for 'the historically specific forms of their elaboration [...] to be opened up', and yet her appeal continues to resonate, not least with regard to the complexly gendered fantasies connected to 'The Prophecy of Merlin'.¹³ Much more remains to be said on the subject of the gothic's often very specific relationship to the medieval past.

For a long time overlooked, in recent years 'The Prophecy of Merlin' has been discussed increasingly by Arthurian and Romantic scholars.¹⁴ Alan Lupack and Barbara Tapa Lupack view the ballad's presentation of Arthur's death as a conservatively 'peaceful' counterpoint to later 'much more unusual' uses of Avalon by nineteenth-century women writers, whereas Gossedge and Knight place Bannerman within a Celtic strain of Romantic Arthurian writing emerging from 1800 onwards, encompassing writers 'who excavated and reworked Arthurian stories for their own self-consciously national political purposes'.¹⁵ These include Sir Walter Scott, Thomas Love Peacock and minor Cornish writers, such as Thomas Hogg and George Woodley, all of whom, as Gossedge and Knight demonstrate, offer works which specifically locate Arthur in Scotland, Wales or Cornwall.¹⁶ Yet, rarely do discussions of Bannerman's poem by Arthurianists extend to its accompanying engraving, and occasionally the image is ignored altogether.¹⁷ This is not the case, however, in the field of Romantic studies, where the material contexts for Bannerman's poem and its striking engraving have been admirably illuminated by Adriana Craciun. For Craciun, the engraving's representation of a classical Venus is strikingly at odds with the content of the *Tales*:

The engraving, by fixing in such precise lineaments an apparent unveiling of the divine (and feminine) truth, works against the rest of the *Tales of Superstition and Chivalry*, and their repeated suggestion that truth does not remain truth once it is unveiled.¹⁸

Craciun demonstrates how Bannerman's ballads employ, but also subvert, the gothic conventions of veiled women and ambiguous supernatural effects by never fully revealing the exact outcomes of successive staged hauntings or lifting the veils of her various *femme fatales*.¹⁹ The visual representation of the Venus, on the other hand, appears to play towards just that gratification by parting her veils and offering the viewer a different kind of 'naked' truth. The adjunction of such a revelatory symbol in the figure of the Venus, then, appears to violently contradict Bannerman's proto-feminist poetics.

Craciun provides an astute and compelling analysis of the disjunction between word and image in Bannerman's *Tales*. Yet by widening the impact of the engraving to the volume *en masse*, her analysis obscures the more singular medieval subject around which the disjunction occurs. The following discussion reads Bannerman's adoption of an Arthurian subject and the addition of the unusual engraving to her poem as two interrelated events, each the product of competing, and distinctly gendered, antiquarian forces at work in the poet's

native Edinburgh. J. Hillis Miller has written of the ‘disruptive power’ of illustrations and their ability to perform ‘a permanent parabasis, an eternal moment suspending, for the moment at least, any attempt to tell a story through time’.²⁰ By reading Bannerman’s ballad through the conventions of the female gothic and outlining the extent of her knowledge of Arthurian romance, the ‘disruptive’ engraving accompanying ‘The Prophecy of Merlin’ emerges as a visual addition to her volume by a male antiquarian, Thomas Park, who deliberately sought to disrupt her revision of the Arthurian story. If, as Hillis Miller suggests, illustrations can suspend a story, the engraving to ‘The Prophecy of Merlin’ seeks to suspend Bannerman’s feminine story of Arthur’s death, and assert, in its place, a visual manifestation of the desire at the root of the male antiquarian’s longing to expose the medieval past.

‘The Prophecy of Merlin’ and the Female Gothic

The narrative of ‘The Prophecy of Merlin’ begins the day before King Arthur must engage in what will be his final battle against his nephew and challenger for the throne, Modred, at Camlan in Cornwall. Initially pictured ‘alone’ in a gothic turret, Arthur keeps watch over a strange light and then meets with Merlin, who takes the form of a ‘giant’ monk emerging from ‘underground’.²¹ On the morning of the battle, Arthur makes another visit to the ‘tow’r’, where no other knight will join him (ll. 19–20). Modred and Arthur fight and both are wounded; subsequently, Arthur is magically transported by boat across a ‘pathless’ and eerily calm sea to a ‘Yellow Isle’ where he is greeted by a mysterious ‘Queen of Beauty’ (ll. 102, 88, 136). Arthur accepts a drink from her ‘cup of sparkling pearl’ (l. 138) and rouses the ghost of Urien, past King of Scotland and Wales. Urien’s ghost gives voice to Merlin’s prophecy that Arthur must wait for an unstated number of ‘years to pass | Before his kingdom he could see’ (ll. 169–70), and the ballad ends on a haunting ellipsis:

King Arthur’s body was not found,
Nor ever laid in holy grave: ...
And nought has reach’d his burial-place,
But the murmurs of the wave (ll. 173–76)

Rather than locating Arthur’s bones at Glastonbury (as Warton had in ‘The Grave of King Arthur’), Bannerman embraces Arthur’s indefinite physicality and endeavours to connect his legendary existence with the arcane and incessant patterns of the natural world.²² Diego Saglia has demonstrated how this type of ‘unfinished ending’ is a common feature of narrative poetry by Robert Southey, Mary Robinson, Lord Byron, Leigh Hunt, John Keats and Letitia Elizabeth Landon, as well as by Bannerman herself.²³ In the case of ‘The Prophecy of Merlin’, this open-endedness is particularly emphasised through the repeated negation that structures the final stanza (‘not’; ‘nor’; ‘nought’), and which leaves the possibility of Arthur’s return wholly unconfirmed.

As reviewers noted, Bannerman’s ballads in *Tales of Superstition and Chivalry* all make use of stock gothic motifs and ‘The Prophecy of Merlin’ is no excep-

tion. As well as frequent references to a sensational and apparently disembodied ‘hand of blood’ (ll. 143, 160), Merlin is conceived as a giant monk reminiscent of the looming figure cut by Schedoni in Ann Radcliffe’s *The Italian* (1797), and Arthur anxiously watches an eerie light from a gothic tower in a manner that recalls the performances of multiple Radcliffean heroines.²⁴ Indeed, Arthur acts the role of the typical female gothic heroine in Bannerman’s ballad much better than he does that of a legendary king. Distinctly unusual for a portrait of Arthur (but consistent with the behaviour of the gothic heroine) is the king’s hyperbolical expression of fear: haunted by a ‘chill of death’, he struggles to control his ‘knocking knees’ when hearing Merlin’s prophecy (ll. 119, 121). Arthur’s experiences continue to echo those of the gothic heroine as he suffers the assaults of an increasingly threatening landscape. The ‘bright and clear’ sky transforms into an uncomfortable ‘burning noon’ (ll. 34, 42) during his fight with the ‘dauntless’ Modred (l. 48). If, as Anne Williams suggests, the female gothic heroine ‘is often almost literally reborn, rescued at the climax from the life-threatening danger of being locked up, walled in or otherwise made to disappear from the world’, the legend of Arthur’s mythic disappearance and projected return seem curiously (and fittingly) mapped onto the heroine’s plight in Bannerman’s poetic revision.²⁵

Gothic heroine or otherwise, Arthur’s isolation in ‘The Prophecy of Merlin’ represents a departure from earlier poetic accounts of the king’s legendary death. One of the most accessible poetic treatments of Arthur’s death in the Romantic period was the ballad ‘King Arthur’s Death’, first published in Bishop Thomas Percy’s foundational three-volume anthology, *Reliques of Ancient English Poetry* (1765). Sourced from Percy’s famous seventeenth-century folio manuscript, in this ballad Arthur receives the ‘loyal’ service of ‘twelve good knightes’ in his final days, as well as individual assistance from his faithful nephew, Sir Gawain (who returns from the dead to warn Arthur in a dream), and Sir Lukyn (who is tasked with disposing of Arthur’s sword, Excalibur, in the lake).²⁶ ‘The Prophecy of Merlin’ explores some of the same events as ‘King Arthur’s Death’ (including Arthur’s final battle at Camlan, his wounding by Modred, and his subsequent departure from the world of the living), and may well have been Bannerman’s source, but her poem places a very different emphasis on the shortcomings of knightly fealty.²⁷ In her poem, the Round Table are no more than a nameless and ultimately ineffectual band of knights who offer Arthur little support besides waving his ‘witched sword, | [...] twice in Merlin’s name’ over his wounded body (ll. 73–75). Arthur is separated from the Round Table kinship—a group that functions as his patriarchal family—in a manner that continues to echo the experience of the gothic heroine, who so frequently finds herself removed from the protection of her benevolent guardians.

Isolated from his knights, Arthur’s only significant exchanges are with the poem’s ambivalent, supernatural figures. After his brief meeting with Merlin, Arthur’s next encounter is with the mysterious Queen of Beauty who greets him on her Yellow Isle. Their meeting is immortalised in the engraving, which

depicts the queen offering Arthur a drink from a cup as he kneels in her service (Figure 1; ll. 137–40). Unlike the engraving, however, the poem does not dictate that the queen is naked, but merely notes that she is ‘blushing’ (l. 135). Further still, once Arthur drinks from her ‘fraughted bowl’ (l. 152), the queen transforms before him:

His lips have drain’d that sparkling cup,
And he turn’d on her his raptur’d eyes!
When something, like a demon-smile,
Betray’d the smooth disguise!

He started up! ... he call’d aloud!
And, wild, survey’d her as she stood:
When she rais’d aloof the other arm,
And he knew the hand of blood! ... (ll. 153–60)

What the engraving highlights (the queen in her first ‘blushing’ state) swiftly turns, in the ballad, into an unspecified ‘something’: a version of woman that is infinitely more complex and beyond physical—or indeed linguistic—representation. Here, too, the action is quintessentially gothic, inviting Elizabeth Fay to consider Bannerman’s queen as ‘obliquely vampiric’ in a manner that anticipates Keats’s ‘La Belle Dame Sans Merci’.²⁸ Yet, if the encounter is interpreted through the conventions of the female gothic, in which, as Robert Miles notes, the heroine is often ‘caught between a pastoral haven and a threatening castle, sometimes in flight from a sinister patriarchal figure, sometimes in search of an absent mother, and often, both together’, the meeting between Arthur and the queen becomes less of a sexualised encounter, and more a familial confrontation between mother and daughter.²⁹ On her pastoral Yellow Isle, Arthur receives the resolution of his fate via liquid from the queen that contains the knowledge of his future rebirth, a transmission that prompts his realisation that ‘he would return | From Merlin’s prophecy’ (ll. 171–72). By reimagining Arthur’s death through the lens of the female gothic, ‘where woman is examined with a woman’s eye, woman as girl, as sister, as mother, as self’, ‘The Prophecy of Merlin’ not only revises the story of Arthur’s death through the addition of the Queen of Beauty, but, when combined with the poem’s feminisation of Arthur, provides an overall intensely female examination of the climax to the Arthurian story.³⁰

If, as Paula Backscheider has commented, Bannerman was indeed an ‘isolated poet’ then we can trace her lack of interest in portraying brotherly camaraderie, as well as the Queen of Beauty’s location on a marginalised island, to her own isolation as a woman writer from the centre of the Scottish literary scene.³¹ Craciun has explored Bannerman’s marginal position within ‘the most influential literary circle in Edinburgh’, where ‘[i]t is literally only in the margins of the correspondence of Scott, Percy, [Richard] Heber, [Henry] Cooper Walker, [William] Erskine, [Thomas] Park, [John] Leyden and others that one finds traces of Bannerman’s life and work’.³² However, we can equally

relate the conventions Bannerman employs to her astute knowledge of female gothic tropes. Williams proposes that ‘from the 1790s onward’, female gothic conventions ‘offer[ed] the author a matrix of creative innovation: a chance to write “the unspeakable” in “Gothic”’.³³ The female gothic mode provided Bannerman with a way of giving voice to the otherwise ‘unspeakable’ presence of women within the Arthurian story: not through the characterisation of Arthur’s adulterous queen, Guinevere, or his often malevolent sister, the enchantress Morgan le Fay, but by means of a benign, maternal queen connected to Arthur’s eventual rebirth. At the same time as it is sensational, however, Bannerman’s Arthurian gothic is also consciously scholarly, and the paratextual elements surrounding her poem support and reinforce the ballad’s female-centred narrative by offering a strong demonstration of the female poet’s knowledge of current antiquarian debates.

Bannerman’s Arthurian Scholarship

By far the most densely annotated of the ten ballads which make up the *Tales*, ‘The Prophecy of Merlin’ is accompanied by seven notes which together outline Bannerman’s interest in contemporary antiquarianism and Arthurian literature. For Stephen C. Behrendt, Bannerman’s annotations are a defensive practice:

In employing the familiar ploy of appending to her poems a set of seemingly scholarly endnotes, Bannerman does no more (and no less) than her contemporaries were doing to insulate themselves as authors from the content of the tales their narrators tell.³⁴

Behrendt sees the notes to ‘The Prophecy of Merlin’ as akin to the glosses of Coleridge’s ‘Rime of the Ancient Mariner’: only ‘seemingly’ scholarly and an ultimately superficial paratextual addition created to give credence to the ballad’s supernatural material. Indeed, written at the same time as Scott was compiling his *Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border* (1802–03) and in the wake of the controversy over James Macpherson’s *Ossian* forgeries, Bannerman’s *Tales* emerge from a particularly Scottish Romantic literary field highly concerned with imitation and textual recovery. As one reviewer remarked of the *Tales*, ‘an imitation of ancient simplicity seems everywhere to be intended’.³⁵ Sham-scholarship also seems to go hand-in-hand with the ‘faux medievalism’ of the gothic, which, as Diane Long Hoeveler notes, was often dictated by a ‘nostalgic conservatism that cloaked itself in a variety of medieval and chivalric poses and props—King Arthur and his round table, damsels in distress, and mad monks, either lecherous or gluttonous or both’.³⁶ As simply another trapping of the gothic, the drive towards an impression of historical authenticity—*pace* Horace Walpole—encourages the use of scholarly appendages. Read from within the gothic’s reputation for the superficial, Bannerman’s notes signal her capacity for imitation, rather than her originality. Indeed, this impression was shared by a contemporary reviewer, who perceived in the *Tales* ‘more smoke than fire, more imitation than original genius’.³⁷

Yet, Bannerman's medievalism is a more serious enterprise, and her interest in medieval folklore, verse romances and ballad history definitively scholarly. 'The Prophecy of Merlin' utilises several eighteenth-century works of literary antiquarianism as well as earlier Renaissance treatments of Arthur to situate its narrative within a tradition of Arthurian writing. Bannerman's most frequent source is Michael Drayton's annotated topographical poem, *Poly-Olbion* (1612–22), the notes for which were compiled by John Selden. From this she took details of the decoration of Arthur's shield with an image of the Virgin, the location of Camlan in Cornwall and the belief that 'Arthur is to return to the rule of his country' ('Prophecy of Merlin', p. 144n.). She also cites Spenser's portrait of Merlin in Book III of *The Faerie Queene* (1754) and is familiar with the first volume of Gregory Way and George Ellis's *Fabliaux; or, Tales* (1796), a collection of French romances in translation containing several Arthurian texts. Two further notes refer the reader to Evan Evans's *Some Specimens of the Poetry of the Ancient Welsh Bards, Translated into English* (1764), the first work to make many early Welsh Arthurian poems available to an English-speaking audience.

It is Bannerman's knowledge of Evans's scholarship which signals her interest in the connections between Wales and the Arthurian legend, the origins of which it is possible to trace to her friendship with the 'philologist, linguist, ballad collector and minor poet', John Leyden (1775–1811).³⁸ As Craciun has revealed, Leyden and Bannerman shared a close friendship from the mid-1790s onwards which grew out of their shared interests in Scottish balladry, but, in addition, the two authors also shared an active interest in Arthurian romance.³⁹ The period between 1800 and 1802 was a busy one for both writers: Bannerman was compiling her material for *Tales of Superstition and Chivalry*, while Leyden collaborated with Scott on *Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border* and also transcribed several Arthurian texts from Scott's Auchinleck manuscript, including *Arthur and Merlin*. He had been recruited, via Scott, into the small group of scholars interested in reviving and reprinting the Arthurian romances: an all-male circle including Thomas Percy, Richard Heber, George Ellis and Thomas Park.⁴⁰ As Arthur Johnston points out, Leyden's close manuscript work furnished him with 'an extraordinary antiquarian competence and a fairly detailed mastery of the available medieval versions of Arthur's story'.⁴¹ Bannerman's decision to write a ballad on an Arthurian subject was far from arbitrary. It was the natural product of her exposure to, and interest in, Leyden's current antiquarian literary enterprise.⁴²

A year before the publication of Bannerman's *Tales*, Leyden had made public his theory that the 'romances [related] to Arthur and the Round Table [...] are probably of Welch origin' in the dissertation to his edition of the Scottish Renaissance political tract, *The Complaynt of Scotland* (1801).⁴³ Leyden proposed that the Welsh Arthurian stories represented the oldest forms of the legend, a genealogy rooted in his belief that their language (medieval Welsh) was 'strong proof of their high antiquity'.⁴⁴ As Johnston notes, Leyden held a 'Celtic theory of the origin of Arthurian romance', which pursued strong links

between Scotland and Wales.⁴⁵

As the Welch tribes in Scotland long preserved their peculiar laws and manners, a presumption arises, that their traditions would give a tincture to the early literature of Scotland; a presumption, which derives additional strength from the early attachment of the Scottish writers to the stories of Arthur and his knights.⁴⁶

While we cannot be certain that Bannerman read Leyden's *Complaynt*, the young Scotsman's recorded generosity in sharing his scholarship with women—who often remarked on his 'frank open-hearted manner' and way of 'pouring forth his various stores of knowledge'—appears to set the scene for their academic correspondence.⁴⁷ Moreover, like Bannerman's 'The Prophecy of Merlin', Leyden's *Complaynt* also mentions King Urien, and describes the king's 'encounter with the Black Knight of the Water'.⁴⁸ Bannerman cites Evans's *Specimens* (not Leyden's *Complaynt*) as the source for her knowledge of 'Urien Regan, King of Cambria and a great part of Scotland, as far as the river Clyde', but 'The Black Knight of the Water' is the title of the ballad that precedes 'The Prophecy' in the *Tales* (pp. 144, 111–19). Not only does this sharpen the correspondence between Bannerman's and Leyden's work, but it also draws attention to how other poems in her *Tales* were inspired by aspects of medieval history and legend less well known and less recognisable than the Arthurian story. When, in 'The Prophecy of Merlin', the Queen of Beauty conjures the 'mighty form of Urien [...] from the grave' (ll. 163–64), she turns to ancient Celticism for the revelation of Merlin's prophecy, a narrative development which parallels Bannerman's own conscription to Leyden's Celtic theory of Arthurian romance and her belief that the oral foundations of the Arthurian myth lay in Scotland and Wales.

While Bannerman's ballads only contain a few words or phrases indicative of a Scottish dialect, 'The Prophecy of Merlin' is more abstractly Celtic in its privileging of the ancient literary traditions of the border nations. Indeed, to those in the know, the title of Bannerman's poem established the expectation of national political commentary. As a 'Prophecy of Merlin', the title of the ballad motions towards the vast corpus of Merlin's political prophecies first incorporated into the Merlin tradition by Geoffrey of Monmouth in his *Historia Regum Britanniae* (c. 1135).⁴⁹ These consist of a series of coded statements, loosely connected by the fluctuations of power between the Saxons (represented by a white dragon) and the Britons (a red dragon). One prophecy proclaims that 'the oppressed [the Britons] shall prevail and resist the viciousness of the foreigners'.⁵⁰ Geoffrey's *History* remained popular, and during the Renaissance period various British monarchs called on Merlin's prophecies to justify specific claims to power. As Stephen Knight notes, the prophecies 'tended to validate an England-led Britain' and could therefore provide a rationale for aggressive colonisation.⁵¹ By the turn of the nineteenth century, several interested scholars had come to view the state application of Merlin's prophecies as a form of national propaganda, including Leyden, who argued in his introduction to

the *Complaynt* that ‘the English had employed the prophecies of Merlin as a political engine, to intimidate the minds of the Scottish nation’.⁵² In Leyden’s eyes, Merlin’s prophecies were intended to ‘dispirit the Commons of Scotland, and subjugate their courage, by familiarizing their minds to the idea of being conquered’.⁵³ As a modern rendering of a ‘Prophecy of Merlin’ by a Scottish woman writer that promotes the Celtic foundations of British medieval literature, Bannerman’s poem poses an indirect challenge to Scotland’s subordination to the English centre since the 1707 Act of Union.⁵⁴

In her own voice, however, rather than Merlin’s, Bannerman spoke out against a different and more immediate conflict surrounding her poem. Her final note to ‘The Prophecy of Merlin’ was not a scholarly citation, but a firm statement of her own devising:

It will not perhaps be very consonant to popular feeling, that legendary tradition has been violated in the fate and disposal of this great, national hero. But it is all fairy-ground, and a poetical community of right to its appropriation has never been disputed.

(‘Prophecy of Merlin’, p. 144n.)

Acknowledging Arthur’s circulation as a ‘national hero’, Bannerman is keen to stress that her treatment of the king is in opposition to those who seek to define his place in ‘legendary tradition’. Instead, her own practice is located on a new ‘fairy-ground’ that conjures images of fantasy and the supernatural intrinsic to the gothic. Bannerman ends her poem by appropriately prophesying that hostility will greet her work, a foresight that suggests she encountered antagonism from antiquarians over her ‘disposal’ of Arthur well before the volume was published. Her poem’s self-reflective stress on its difference from traditional (male) legends and heroics, its implied Celticism and its significant demonstration of female scholarship made it a triple threat towards male English antiquarians with their own interests in King Arthur. The addition of such an unusual and apparently contradictory engraving to the poem can be interpreted as a response to such a threat, as efforts were made to counteract Bannerman’s Arthurian mythmaking with an erotic image of female sexuality.

Sexual Politics: Arthur and the Venus

The engraving accompanying ‘The Prophecy of Merlin’ concentrates shamelessly on the figure of the naked Queen of Beauty. While the clothed body of Arthur is positioned in profile to the right of the composition, the exposed body of the queen blazes outwards towards the viewer, dramatically illuminated against the dark coastline behind. The sharp contrast of light and dark draws on traditional chiaroscuro aesthetics, but is exploited to maximise the focalisation of the gaze onto the woman’s flagrant pose and tantalisingly draped veil. The central positioning of her naked form is made in stark contrast to the presentation of the queen in Bannerman’s ballad, which overall has very little to say about her body. Besides observing that her ‘hand, of snowy white’, holds the mysterious cup (l. 137), Arthur’s attention is firmly concentrated on her facial features: ‘he

fix'd his eyes on that ladie's face' (l. 147). The queen's supernatural power lies in her gaze, and more specifically, in her 'eyes, of softest blue' where 'magic dwells, to lull the soul!' (ll. 149–50) Whatever the relationship between Arthur and the queen, it is certainly not conducted through his attraction to her physical body; when Arthur returns her gaze with 'raptur'd eyes' (l. 154), her ability to speak to his 'soul' suggests a meeting of minds, rather than physical ardour.

The sharp disjunction between text and image is indicative of the lack of influence Bannerman had on the illustration of her own work. Thomas Park (1758/59–1834), an antiquary, editor and former engraver, arranged for the publication of Bannerman's *Tales* with the London-based firm Vernor & Hood, and continued to act as a consultant to the publishers once the contract was secured. During his involvement with Bannerman's poetic career, Park was pursuing a number of medieval editing projects: 1801 saw him working with George Ellis on an edition of the early fourteenth-century romance, *Kyng Alisaunder*, and in 1804, Percy invited Park to edit his unpublished collection of romances, which included '[s]ome of the Songs of King Arthur'.⁵⁵ Scott also held a high opinion of Park's editorial skills and manuscript expertise.⁵⁶ As a significant literary antiquarian with a respected knowledge of medieval romance, Park would have recognised immediately the challenges Bannerman was making to patriarchal 'legendary tradition' by revising Merlin's prophecies and portraying Arthur in the manner of a gothic heroine. Somewhat surprisingly, then, Park never recognised Bannerman's own Arthurian interests, preferring to speak only of her 'ingenious imitations of the Gothic ditty'.⁵⁷ His management of the illustration of the *Tales* demonstrates a similar tendency to shift the focus of Bannerman's work away from its treatment of the Arthurian legend and towards more classical motifs.

Park appears to have taken a particularly active role in the arrangement of the volume's illustrations, possibly on account of his own background in the engraving trade. Early on in the production process, Bannerman's own views on illustration were sought, but her request to illustrate the volume with woodcuts was rejected by the publisher, the woodcutters being 'very idle as well as much engaged in different contracts'.⁵⁸ Instead, Park reported that one of the publishing partners, Thomas Hood, proposed 'to get four plates handsomely executed from four of the subjects which he thinks it would be wise for the authoress herself to point out'.⁵⁹ However, Park's later correspondence with Dr Robert Anderson, editor of the *Edinburgh Magazine* and another of Bannerman's early supporters, suggests that he ignored Hood's advice. In a letter to Anderson from November 1802, Park reflected on the recent protests against the nudity of the Queen of Beauty in 'The Prophecy of Merlin' engraving and took full responsibility for the problematic plate. As he gallantly told Anderson, '[w]hatever of censure may be incurred, let it fall on *me*, for having selected the subject which has excited their jocularity'.⁶⁰ According to Park, Bannerman was entirely 'blameless' for the controversy surrounding the image, which suggests that she was ultimately party to neither its production nor design.⁶¹

In the wake of the public objections to the plate, Park also came forward with a more personal offer to defend Bannerman, couched in metaphors that playfully invoked the themes of the work under siege:

As Miss B. is guiltless of offence, it is hard that she should need a champion, but in the cause of her *Tales of Chivalry* I am ready to commence knight-errant, & will take up the gauntlet of opprobrium in this affair.⁶²

Park's extension of the volume's medievalism to contemporary Edinburgh society succeeds in casting Bannerman as a damsel-in-distress opposite his heroic knight-errant, and, in a later application to the Royal Literary Fund on Bannerman's behalf, he repeated his desire to protect the poet from unnecessary 'exposure'.⁶³ Yet, when given the opportunity to influence the engravings for the *Tales*, it seems that female exposure was precisely what Park had in mind. The printing of the volume and the design of the engraving in London, where Park resided, also served to further distance the Edinburgh author from the production of her work. Park, too, admitted that he could have paid greater attention to the engraver's final design, reproaching himself 'for having been less vigilant than I ought to have been in seeing that the artist exceeded not his just limits'.⁶⁴ While Park was outraged on Bannerman's behalf, the publisher, Hood, was far less perturbed when Park confronted him about the matter at his London offices:

finding Hood at home, I taxed him with having committed an outrage *contra bonos mores* [against good morals] in ornamenting the production of a female writer with an engraving, which had been described to me by Dr Anderson, as 'offensive to decency'. Utterly unconscious, I am sure, of having so trespassed, he produced a copy of the book and confessed that a little more drapery would have made the Queen of Beauty more decorous—though from the usual hurry in which the work of the designer engraver passed before his eyes, he had not perceived that the figure presented so complete a nudity, tho' it did not *then* strike him as very objectionable.⁶⁵

For Park, Bannerman's identity as a 'female writer' is essential to the 'outrage', and implies a close connection between the female-authored text and the female author's body which Ina Ferris has recognised as a reoccurring trope in Romantic period reviews.⁶⁶ Completed in a 'hurry', the full extent of the nudity depicted in the image seems to have passed into print unnoticed by publisher, commissioner and author. Though reluctant to accept responsibility for the public 'outrage', under Park's duress, Hood nevertheless agreed to 'banish that plate from the publication'.⁶⁷

Later in the same letter, Park further defended his artistic decision to instruct the engraver to illustrate the ballad with an impression of a classical Venus:

I really think that there is little indelicacy in the design, if no licentious construction be put on it.—Considered as a Venus

anadyomene, which seems to have been the character represented by the artist,—there is no impropriety in the unparalleled piece of statuary he has exhibited;—or considered as the siren of a charmed isle,—there is still little to excite human passion in the display of an ideal sorceress; at least, there can be little to excite those, who have been accustomed [...] to distinguish classical & poetical figures, from those denuded frail ones who traverse the streets, by night.⁶⁸


Park shows good intentions, which lie primarily in disassociating Bannerman from the scandal. Unfortunately, his success in doing so results in her obfuscation: the engraver is the only ‘artist’ considered and it is ‘he’ who has created the work in question. Park’s vague claim that ‘there is little to excite human passion in the display of an ideal sorceress’ suggests that ‘there is little to excite’ in Bannerman’s poetry, either. Finally, Park’s concern with the ‘classical’ nature of the ‘piece of statuary’ passes over the engraving’s Arthurian context, and suggests that her ballad, like the illustration, also reproduces an appropriately ‘statuary’ stock narrative. As Craciun observes, again drawing out the effect of the disjunction across the *Tales* as a whole, ‘the Classical Venus Anadyomene figure works against the ballads’ evocations of a medieval age of superstition’.⁶⁹ This shift in focus extends to the Arthurian content of ‘The Prophecy of Merlin’, as the Venus figure encourages the viewer to identify Arthur (not named in the engraving’s caption) with Paris, Cupid, Mars or other classical figures better known for their visual encounters with the goddess.

The latter part of Park’s earlier meditation on the Venus, however, seems less sure of the figure’s concrete and conservative identification with ‘unparalleled’ high art. Class snobbery aside, Park nevertheless recognises the potential for the Venus to be read—by those less ‘accustomed’ to refined aesthetics—as an over-sexualised ‘denuded’ prostitute. This sharp turn seems to point towards what Caroline Arscott and Katie Scott have termed ‘[t]he double nature of Venus’: her ability to function as both ‘low and high’ art.⁷⁰ Contemplating the Venus always involves a ‘constant switching between ostensibly aesthetic and avowedly erotic desires’.⁷¹ The very duplicity of the Venus, in fact, might signal her potential to align herself with Bannerman’s poetic principles at the same time as her presence appears to undermine them. The often fragmented body of the Venus enjoys an oddly paradoxical association with perfection, or *complete* beauty, which for Arscott and Scott, marks her ‘dual capacity’ as ‘ancient object and modern icon’.⁷² Read as a symbol of history fragmented, or disrupted, the Venus nevertheless continues to gesture towards the poetic practices at work in Bannerman’s ballad, and especially her attempt to cleave Arthur from ‘legendary tradition’. Hillis Miller makes a similar observation when he suggests that ‘in all illustrations one doubling always invites further duplications, [...] potentially *ad infinitum*’.⁷³ Park’s description verbalises that doubling effect, inherent in the engraving, by presenting multiple of ways of reading the female (body): as Venus, siren, enchantress or prostitute. While appearing to define ‘something’ far from Bannerman’s meaning—what

Craciun terms a desire for '(feminine) truth'—Park's intentions also backfire.⁷⁴ Masquerading as both classical Venus and denuded prostitute, the engraver's representation holds the potential to embody the very 'something' 'betrayed' by the poem's elusive queen. Furthermore, unlike the depiction of the Queen of Beauty, the physical rendering of Arthur in the engraving is much more consistent with Bannerman's poetics. While the male subjects depicted in the other engravings in the *Tales* share strong facial features and aquiline noses, Arthur is drawn with much smaller, feminine features and pert rosebud lips in keeping with his feminisation in the poem. This unusual portrait of Arthur was wholly overshadowed by the presentation of the queen as Venus, whose naked body was the sole subject of the controversy surrounding the volume.

Through overseeing the addition of the realised Venus figure to the ballad, Park displays his mastery over the dangerous outputs of a female poet who was not only violating 'legendary tradition' by placing Arthur in new dramatic scenarios, but voicing a production which seemed to encroach on traditionally patriarchal areas of antiquarian enquiry. As the engraving precedes the ballad on the page, the reader approaches 'The Prophecy of Merlin' with a firm image of the Queen of Beauty as a classical nude already in mind. Bannerman's creativity was thus superseded by a masculine creative act which perpetuates the 'circulation of woman as the beautiful, mysterious, desired and loved image for the desiring masculine gaze'.⁷⁵ As Jacqueline Rose states, 'we know that women are meant to *look* perfect, presenting a seamless image to the world so that the man, in that confrontation with difference, can avoid any apprehension of lack'.⁷⁶ With his own antiquarian project concerning *Alisaunder* failing to progress, Park encountered Bannerman's very different, feminine-centred claim to her 'right' to rewrite the Arthurian story. In response, he substituted her unstable and unsettling version of woman—where beauty is only a 'smooth' disguise for more threatening maternal and antiquarian knowledge—for a visual, concrete and 'statuary' version of woman as Venus.⁷⁷ As much as a desire for beautiful women is intimately connected to the Arthurian medievalism of the Pre-Raphaelites, Park's interruption into Bannerman's female medievalism desires to make the same thing central: the exposed body of the woman somehow fulfils the male desire to 'see' into the medieval past. In doing so, it conceals woman as author, scholar and artist, and replaces her with 'woman as sign'.⁷⁸ The sexual controversy surrounding the engraving is a rare, visual manifestation of the repressed sexual desire that might be seen to drive the antiquarian's search for the past in order to possess it.

Park's redirection of readers' attention away from Bannerman's ballad proper and towards a deliberately provocative engraving was more than successful. Few nineteenth-century readers and reviewers recognised the strength and extent of Bannerman's medieval scholarship. The disruptive engraving undermines Bannerman's scholarly investment on many counts; however, Park's decision to visualise the Queen of Beauty nevertheless makes immediate—and perhaps even extends—the centrality of the female in her particular Arthurian gothic.

Bannerman's greatest addition to the events surrounding Arthur's death is her realisation of his encounter with a powerful, maternal figure. In so doing, she creates a literary dialogue between Arthur and the queen that calls for the recognition of the feminine in the Arthurian story in much the same way that her final note offers 'fairy ground' as an alternative to patriarchal 'legendary tradition'. 

NOTES

1. Rob Gossedge and Stephen Knight, 'The Arthur of the Sixteenth to Nineteenth Centuries', in *The Cambridge Companion to the Arthurian Legend*, ed. by Elizabeth Archibald and Ad Putter (Cambridge: CUP, 2009), pp. 103–19 (p. 108).
2. Roger Simpson has identified only seven Arthurian illustrations based on original poetry, including 'The Prophecy of Merlin', produced between the years 1800 and 1850. See Simpson, 'Appendix E: List of Graphic and Other Works Concerned with the Arthurian Legends [1800–1849]', in *Camelot Regained: The Arthurian Revival and Tennyson 1800–1849* (Cambridge: Brewer, 1990), pp. 274–75.
3. The most comprehensive survey of the Arthurian legend in art is Muriel Whitaker's *The Legends of King Arthur in Art* (Cambridge: Brewer, 1990). Christine Poulson's *The Quest for the Grail: The Arthurian Legend in British Art, 1840–1920* (Manchester and New York: MUP, 1999) also covers several Romantic-period works. For an accessible collection of free-to-access Arthurian illustrations, see Alan Lupack's index of 'Artists', *The Camelot Project* (University of Rochester) <www.lib.rochester.edu/camelot/artmenu.htm> [accessed 4 Apr 2012].
4. National Library of Scotland, MS 22.4.10, ff. 232–33; Thomas Park to Robert Anderson, 29 Nov 1802.
5. NLS MS 22.4.10. f. 233; Park to Anderson, 29 Nov 1802. The efforts to remove the problematic plate appear to have been only partially successful. From her examination of sixteen copies of the poem, Adriana Craciun records that only five are lacking the accompanying illustration—see *Fatal Women of Romanticism* (Cambridge: CUP, 2003), p. 184.
6. *British Critic*, 21 (Jan 1803), 78–79 (p. 78). Bannerman's birth and death dates given here follow those provided by Adriana Craciun in her entry for Bannerman in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* <www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/1312> [accessed 8 Apr 2013]; and her discussion of Bannerman's work in *Fatal Women*, pp. 156–94 (p. 156). However, Katie Lister has recently proposed that Bannerman's birth should be alternatively placed sometime between 1775 and 1780, as comments made by Bannerman's friend, the editor Dr Robert Anderson, consistently refer to her as particularly young poet. As Lister points out, 'were Bannerman born in 1765 she would have been 35 years old when she began to publish in 1800'—see 'Femmes Fatales and Fatal Females: Anne Bannerman's "The Prophecy of Merlin"', in *The Survival of Myth: Innovation, Singularity and Alterity*, ed. by Paul Hardwick and David Kennedy (Cambridge: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2010), pp. 166–85 (pp. 168–69).
7. *Critical Review*, 31 (Apr 1801), 435–36 (p. 435).
8. *Annual Review*, 1 (Jan 1802), 720–21.
9. Sir Walter Scott, 'Essay on Imitations of the Ancient Ballad' (1829), in *Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border*, ed. by T. F. Henderson, 4 vols (Edinburgh: Blackwood, 1902), IV, 1–53 (pp. 25–26).

10. *British Critic*, 21 (Jan 1803), 78–79 (p. 79).
11. Chris Baldick and Robert Mighall, ‘Gothic Criticism’, in *A New Companion to the Gothic*, ed. by David Punter (Oxford: Blackwell, 2012), pp. 267–87 (p. 272).
12. Anne Williams, *Art of Darkness: A Poetics of Gothic* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1995), p. 13.
13. Cora Kaplan, *Sea Changes: Essays on Culture and Feminism* (London: Verso, 1986), p. 146.
14. ‘The Prophecy of Merlin’ has achieved wider notoriety in Arthurian circles since the 1990s. See e.g. Simpson, *Camelot Regained*, pp. 149, 171, 174–75, 223, 235, 251; Stephen Knight, *Merlin: Knowledge and Power through the Ages* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2009), pp. 136–37; and Gossedge and Knight, ‘The Arthur of the Sixteenth to Nineteenth Centuries’, p. 110. The poem is also listed in the most exhaustive bibliography of Arthurian literature to date: Daniel P. Nastali and Phillip C. Boardman’s *The Arthurian Annals: The Tradition in English from 1250 to 2000*, 2 vols (Oxford: OUP, 2004), I, 73.
15. Alan Lupack and Barbara Tapa Lupack, ‘Arthurian Literature by Women: The Forgotten Tradition’, in *Arthurian Literature by Women*, ed. by Lupack and Tapa Lupack (New York: Garland, 1999), pp. 3–30 (p. 24); Gossedge and Knight, ‘The Arthur of the Sixteenth to Nineteenth Centuries’, p. 109.
16. Gossedge and Knight, ‘The Arthur of the Sixteenth to Nineteenth Centuries’, pp. 109–11.
17. The illustration is absent, for example, from the reprinting of ‘The Prophecy of Merlin’, in Lupack and Tapa Lupack’s anthology, *Arthurian Literature by Women*, pp. 43–49.
18. Craciun, *Fatal Women*, p. 187.
19. Craciun, *Fatal Women*, pp. 159–84.
20. J. Hillis Miller, *Illustration* (London: Reaktion, 1992), p. 66.
21. [Anne Bannerman], ‘The Prophecy of Merlin’, in *Tales of Superstition and Chivalry* (London: Vernor & Hood, 1802), pp. 125–39 (ll. 1–4, 15, 8). All further references are to this edition and are given parenthetically in the text.
22. Thomas Warton, ‘The Grave of King Arthur’, in *Poems. A New Edition* (London: Beckett, 1777), pp. 63–72.
23. Diego Saglia, ‘Ending the Romance: Women Poets and the Romantic Verse Tale’, in *Romantic Women Poets: Genre and Gender*, ed. by Lilla Maria Crisafulli and Cecilia Pietropoli (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2007), pp. 153–67 (p. 159).
24. See Ann Radcliffe, *The Italian; or, the Confessional of the Black Penitents* (1797), ed. by Frederick Garber (Oxford: OUP, 1998), esp. p. 221.
25. Williams, *Art of Darkness*, p. 104.
26. ‘King Arthur’s Death’, in *Reliques of Ancient English Poetry; Consisting of Old Heroic Ballads, Songs, and Other Pieces of a Later Date*, ed. by Thomas Percy, 3 vols (London: Dodsley, 1765); facsimile reprint with a new introduction and notes by Nick Groom (London: Routledge, 1996), III, 28–36 (see esp. ll. 77, 25, 7–16, 117–76).
27. Bannerman makes reference to another Percy ballad, ‘The Heir of Lynne’, in a separate note to the *Tales*, which suggests that she had a strong familiarity with the *Reliques* and would have been aware of ‘King Arthur’s Death’—see *Tales*, p. 142. It was not until sometime after the publication of the *Tales* that Bannerman received a ‘superbly bound’ copy of the *Reliques* from Percy (via her friend, Dr Robert Anderson) as an indication of Percy’s admiration for her poetry. See *The*

- Correspondence of Thomas Percy and Robert Anderson*, ed. by W. E. K. Anderson, vol. 9 of *The Percy Papers*, general ed. by Cleanth Brooks and A. F. Falconer, 16 vols (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988), p. 136: Percy to Anderson, 21 Oct 1803; also p. 153: Anderson to Percy, 26 July 1804.
28. Elizabeth Fay, *Romantic Medievalism: History and the Romantic Literary Ideal* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2002), p. 120; John Keats, 'La Belle Dame Sans Merci. A Ballad', in Keats, *The Complete Poems*, ed. by John Barnard (London: Penguin, 2003), pp. 334–36.
 29. Robert Miles, 'Introduction', *Women's Writing*, 1.2 (1994), 131–42 (p. 131).
 30. Ellen Moers, *Literary Women* (1976; London: Women's Press, 1986), p. 109.
 31. Paula Backscheider, *Eighteenth-Century Women Poets and their Poetry: Inventing Agency, Inventing Genre* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 2005), pp. 41, 350.
 32. Adriana Craciun, 'Romantic Spinstrelsy: Anne Bannerman and the Sexual Politics of the Ballad', in *Scotland and the Borders of Romanticism*, ed. by Leith Davis, Ian Duncan and Janet Sorensen (Cambridge: CUP, 2004), pp. 204–24 (p. 207).
 33. Williams, *Art of Darkness*, p. 100.
 34. Stephen C. Behrendt, *British Women Poets and the Romantic Writing Community* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 2009), p. 230.
 35. *British Critic*, 21 (Jan 1803), 78–79 (p. 79).
 36. Diane Long Hoeveler, 'Gendering the Scottish Ballad: The Case of Anne Bannerman's *Tales of Superstition and Chivalry*', *Wordsworth Circle*, 31.2 (2000), 97–101 (p. 98).
 37. *New Annual Register*, 23 (Jan 1802), 318.
 38. James D. Merriman, *The Flower of Kings: A Study of the Arthurian Legend in England between 1485 and 1835* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1973), p. 148.
 39. From her analysis of Leyden's letters and journals, Craciun concludes that 'he and Bannerman were close friends from at least the mid-1790s'—Craciun, *Fatal Women*, pp. 188–89 and p. 279, n. 71. Craciun also cites evidence for the dissolution of their friendship when Leyden left for India in 1803 (see pp. 279–80, n. 71). Robert Anderson coupled Bannerman's and Leyden's poetry together in 1803 when he sent Percy copies of Bannerman's 'The Dark Ladie' (from *Tales*) and Leyden's *Complaynt of Scotland* (1801)—see *Correspondence of Percy and Anderson*, p. 136: Percy to Anderson, 21 Oct 1803. The *Critical Review* likened Bannerman's poems to 'Dr. Leyden's ballads' in their review of the *Tales*—*Critical Review*, 38 (Jan 1803), 110.
 40. See Arthur Johnston, *Enchanted Ground: The Study of Medieval Romance in the Eighteenth Century* (London: Althone, 1964), p. 134.
 41. Merriman, *Flower of Kings*, p. 149.
 42. See the details of Leyden's work in Johnston, *Enchanted Ground*, p. 161, and outlined in Scott's letters to George Ellis in *The Letters of Sir Walter Scott*, ed. by H. J. C. Grierson et al., 13 vols (London: Constable, 1932–79), 1 (1787–1807), esp. p. 110: Scott to Ellis, 27 Mar 1801 and pp. 117–18: Scott to Ellis, 13 July 1801.
 43. John Leyden, *The Complaynt of Scotland. Written in 1548. With a Preliminary Dissertation and Glossary* (Edinburgh: Constable, 1801), p. 265.
 44. Leyden, *Complaynt*, p. 266.
 45. Johnston, *Enchanted Ground*, p. 58.
 46. Leyden, *Complaynt*, p. 268.
 47. NLS MS 3381, f. 5: letter from Margaret Anderson (1812)—cited in *Correspondence of Percy and Anderson*, p. 40, n. 9.

48. Leyden, *Complaynt*, p. 227.
49. Lister also comments on the political implications of Bannerman's chosen title and its allusion to Geoffrey's works in 'Femme Fatales and Fatal Females', p. 177.
50. Geoffrey of Monmouth, *The History of the Kings of Britain [Historia Regum Britanniae]*, ed. and trans. Michael A. Faletra (Peterborough, ON: Broadview Press, 2008), p. 131.
51. Knight, *Merlin*, p. 98.
52. Leyden, *Complaynt*, p. 199.
53. Leyden, *Complaynt*, p. 193.
54. For Diane Long Hoeveler, 'Bannerman subscribes to the Whig nationalistic enterprise of uniting Scotland, Wales and England as one country'—'Gendering the Scottish Ballad', p. 97. My argument differs, as I suggest that while Bannerman perceived an affinity between Wales and Scotland, she remained antagonistic towards the dominant (patriarchal) English centre.
55. See Johnston, *Enchanted Ground*, pp. 135 and 155–56; Percy to Hailes—cited in Johnston, *Enchanted Ground*, p. 94.
56. Johnston, *Enchanted Ground*, p. 188.
57. NLS MS 22.4.10: Park to Anderson, 30 Jan 1801—cited in Craciun, 'Romantic Spinstrelsy', p. 186.
58. NLS MS 22.4.10, f. 218: Park to Anderson, Jan 1802.
59. NLS MS 22.4.10, f. 218: Park to Anderson, Jan 1802.
60. NLS MS 22.4.10, f. 232: Park to Anderson, 29 Nov 1802 (emphasis in original).
61. NLS MS 22.4.10, f. 232: Park to Anderson, 29 Nov 1802.
62. NLS MS 22.4.10, f. 233: Park to Anderson, 29 Nov 1802.
63. *Archives of the Royal Literary Fund*, compiled by Nigel Cross (London: World Microfilms Publications, 1982), case file 170: Thomas Park to RLF, 15 May 1805.
64. NLS MS 22.4.10, f. 232: Park to Anderson, 29 Nov 1802.
65. NLS MS 22.4.10, f. 232: Park to Anderson, 29 Nov 1802 (emphasis in original).
66. Ina Ferris, *The Achievement of Literary Authority: Gender, History, and the Waverley Novels* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1991), p. 42.
67. NLS MS 22.4.10, f. 232: Park to Anderson, 29 Nov 1802.
68. NLS MS 22.4.10, f. 233: Park to Anderson, 29 Nov 1802.
69. Craciun, *Fatal Women*, p. 187.
70. Caroline Arscott and Katie Scott, 'Introducing Venus', in *Manifestations of Venus: Art and Sexuality*, ed. by Arscott and Scott (Manchester and New York: MUP, 2000), pp. 1–23 (p. 6).
71. Arscott and Scott, 'Introducing Venus', p. 5.
72. Arscott and Scott, 'Introducing Venus', p. 7.
73. Hillis Miller, *Illustration*, p. 111.
74. Craciun, *Fatal Women*, p. 187.
75. Griselda Pollock and Deborah Cherry, 'Woman as Sign in Pre-Raphaelite Literature: The Representation of Elizabeth Siddall', in Griselda Pollock, *Vision and Difference: Feminism, Femininity and the Histories of Art* (1988; London: Routledge, 2003), p. 161.
76. Jacqueline Rose, *Sexuality in the Field of Vision* (London: Verso, 1986), p. 232.
77. Both Park's editing projects, in fact, amounted to little: Park eventually turned down Percy's offer, and the edition of *Alisaunder* never reached the press—see Johnston, *Enchanted Ground*, pp. 94 and 156.

78. I draw this term from Pollock and Cherry; see 'Woman as Sign in Pre-Raphaelite Literature', pp.128–62; and Pollock, 'Woman as Sign: Psychoanalytic Readings', in *Vision and Difference*, pp. 166–211. Pollock and Cherry are themselves strongly influenced by Elizabeth Cowie's 'Woman as Sign', *M/F*, 1 (1978), 49–63.

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Fig. 1 © MacKenzie after E. W. Thompson, 'The Prophecy of Merlin', *Tales of Superstition and Chivalry* (1802), Shields Library Kohler Collection 1:54, Special Collections, University of California, Davis. Image reprinted with the permission of the British Women Romantic Poets Project, General Library, University of California, Davis.

REFERRING TO THIS ARTICLE

K. L. GARNER. 'When King Arthur Met the Venus: Romantic Antiquarianism and the Illustration of Anne Bannerman's "The Prophecy of Merlin"', *Romantic Textualities: Literature and Print Culture, 1780–1840*, 21 (Winter 2013) <www.romtext.org.uk/files/2014/07/rt21_n03.pdf> [date accessed].



WALTER SCOTT AND JAMES SKENE

A Creative Friendship

Richard Hill



IN 1817, when Walter Scott was trying to obtain masonry from the Old Jail of Edinburgh to incorporate into Abbotsford, he sent a letter to Robert Johnstone, Dean of Guild of the City, to tell him that ‘One of my artists will be in town in two or three days to consult on the practicability of getting out the niche as soon as it can be safely managed as the want of it now rather delays the finishing of the grand north front’.¹ At the time I came across this letter, I was researching a chapter on the Scottish artist William Allan, a painter whom Scott was promoting and who became the first illustrator of the Waverley novels; consequently, I presumed that ‘one of my artists’ probably referred to Allan, as Allan was living in Edinburgh at the time and as the first illustrator of Scott’s novels could certainly be identified as ‘one of [Scott’s] artists’. However, Scott here is instead almost certainly referring rather to his great friend, confidant, and artistic consultant, James Skene. Skene’s involvement in acquiring this material for his friend is supported by his reminiscences in *Memories of Sir Walter Scott*, a revealing, posthumously published memoir of his friendship with the Author of Waverley. Skene writes that

[Scott] procured from the Magistrates of Edinburgh, at the time when the old prison-house of the city (The Heart of Midlothian) was pulled down, as much of the stones of the entrance tower as enabled him to erect it, with its sculptured doorway and the ponderous prison keys, as the entrance to the kitchen at Abbotsford. There is a memorial also of the ‘Souters of Selkirk,’ and various inscriptions and sculptured coats of arms around the walls. For the same purpose I had obtained for Sir Walter the fine old Gothic doorway of what was called the ‘Black Turnpike,’ an ancient mansion in the High Street of Edinburgh, which had been pulled down when the South Bridge was built; and also by the kindness of Sir Henry Raeburn, I procured some still more valuable relics of that description in the series of sculptured portraits of the kings of Scotland which ornamented the ancient cross of Edinburgh [...].²

Skene confirms his presence at the demolition of the Tolbooth, and his participation in sequestering masonry for Scott. These comments reveal much about Skene’s loyalty to Scott, about their shared interests in Edinburgh’s architectural history and their desire to preserve the memory of the Old Town,

and the unusual level of trust Scott placed in his friend to perform errands and favours of personal importance.

Skene here acts as an agent for Scott, but he was much more. Skene is a parenthetical figure in Scott scholarship, a friend who helped to design features of Abbotsford as a member of the so-called 'committee of taste'; however, I contend that Skene plays a much more critical role not only in Scott's private life, but in the author's creative processes. I have written elsewhere that Skene supplied visual material in the form of illustrated travel manuscripts which helped Scott to write passages from several of the *Waverley* novels.³ Indeed, it is clear that Scott used and trusted his friend to research some of the topography and architecture that appears in the novels. It is the purpose of this paper to further accentuate Skene's role in Scott's creative life by outlining the nature of their friendship, and analysing the claims that Skene makes in his *Memories of Sir Walter Scott* that '[m]any of the real localities of the *Waverley* Novels were connected with my collection of drawings' (*Memories*, 157). Finally, Scott's and Skene's relationship, in which the artist acts as a research assistant and provides visual stimuli for the author of romances, reveals in part the close, reciprocal relationship of literature and the pictorial arts in the first half of the nineteenth century.

Evidence about Scott's and Skene's relationship can be obtained from Scott's correspondence and *Journal*, John Gibson Lockhart's *Life of Sir Walter Scott*, and Skene's own *Memories*, which was published by his great-grandson, Basil Thompson in 1909. Thompson makes it clear in his preface that Skene did not want his *Memories* published during his lifetime, presumably because he did not want to publicise private aspects of Scott's life while friends and relatives still survived. It is this unusual level of loyalty and genuine altruism that sets Skene apart from many other of Scott's friends and confederates. Their friendship seems to have been based on a series of shared experiences, values, and interests, which began in the 1790s before Scott became famous. The initial introduction of the two was made over their mutual interest in German literature. Skene, four years Scott's junior, had what Lockhart called a 'superior attainment' of German literature and language, and Scott used him as a consultant while trying to adapt Burger's *Lenore*.⁴ Skene, it seems, was only too happy to help for no other recompense than friendship and enthusiasm for the subject. This friendship was sealed through their both joining the Light Dragoons in 1797, which had been formed with government approval through fear of French invasion, with Scott and Skene sharing an enthusiasm in their horsemanship.⁵ It was during their deployment in Musselburgh in 1806 that Scott and Skene would take riding tours of the local scenery, fuelling the imagery that would appear in the Fourth Canto of Scott's poem *Marmion* (1808). This is precisely the relationship that made Skene such a valued friend: unlike so many other regular acquaintances—John Constable, Robert Cadell, James Hogg, William Allan, Lockhart—Skene appears to have had nothing to gain from Scott. He was financially independent, and while he certainly had the talent and oppor-

tunity to maximise his privileged position as friend to the Author of *Waverley*, he does not appear to have had the inclination. Their friendship seems to have been a meeting of minds and temperaments. It was to Skene that Scott turned when struggling through the pain of illness in 1819; and when in 1826 he faced financial ruin, he wrote to Skene directly, who hurried to condole with his friend.

However, this friendship extended beyond mutual affection and support. Skene achieved a unique position of trust in Scott's creative life. The first hint of this is given in the narrative frame of *Marmion*, when Scott refers to their riding trips. Dedicated to Skene, the introduction to the Fourth Canto references their time in the Dragoons in Musselburgh:

Eleven years we now may tell,
 Since we have known each other well;
 Since, riding side by side, our hand
 First drew the voluntary brand;
 And sure, through many a varied scene,
 Unkindness never came between.⁶

Before the publication of the poem, Scott further demonstrated his trust by charging him with a very special task: he was to illustrate a copy of *Marmion* for the recently enthroned Queen Caroline. Skene writes:

a copy of *Marmion* was sent to me progressively in sheets as it came out, with a view to that copy being interspersed with pencil vignettes on the blank portions of the sheets and a few drawings, to form a presentation copy to Queen Caroline, then recently married to the Regent [...] I did my best to embellish the work so far as my feeble pencil gave me the means, and when the Queen afterwards sent a piece of plate to Sir Walter, it was accompanied with a similar gift to me [...] (*Memories*, 54–55)

Skene goes on to say that, following the scandal of Queen Caroline's disastrous marriage to George IV, he and Scott had to defend themselves from accusation in society that they had demonstrated 'malapros adulation'; the two were even 'taken to task' by the Duchess of Gordon at a party she gave, and she was 'not to be pacified'. Skene proclaims his friend's innocence, but the episode does demonstrate their shared Tory inclinations and social standing (they were, after all, guests at the duchess's party), and his willingness to defend his friend against libellous accusations.

Skene as Research Assistant

More pertinent to this paper, however, are the following lines from *Marmion*:

The shepherd, who in summer sun,
 Had something of our envy won,
 As thou with pencil, I with pen,
 The features traced of hill and glen [...]⁷

This is a significant image. Scott the poet records the landscape before them ‘with pen’, while Skene does so in his own medium, with ‘pencil’. Taken by itself, this may not appear particularly unusual, until we examine Skene’s claim that Scott often used Skene’s sketches as *aides-memoires*, or prompts to his literary imagination. Writing of riding trips they would later take from Ashestiel, Skene writes that

our excursions from Ashestiel were often of greater extent and longer duration, in the course of which there were few subjects of Border history or romance, and scarcely a portion of the scenery of the Border counties, however secluded and remote, that we did not explore [...] The beauty of the scenery gave full employment to my pencil, with the free and frequent exercise of which he never seemed to feel impatient [...] (*Memories*, 30–31)

He claims that such a ride to and around Loch Skene provided the imagery to scenes in *Old Mortality* (1816), and one person they met on another such trip became the character of Tod Gabbie from *Guy Mannering* (1815). This character, whose real name was Tod Willie, escorted the friends on a fox hunt, at the conclusion of which Willie celebrated with some of his favourite hounds. Witnessing this, Skene says that ‘At Sir Walter’s request I made a drawing of this scene which forms one of the series of “Waverley Localities”’ (*Memories*, 35), demonstrating that Skene not only rode with sketch book at hand, but that he was ready to act as a visual record keeper for his friend should an interesting scene present itself. Other such trips included one to Langholm in 1806 to stay with the Duke and Duchess of Buccleuch, during which they witnessed an otter hunt that subsequently made its way into *Guy Mannering*, and a visit to John Morritt at Rokeby, during which Scott again asked Skene to sketch



FIG. 1. JAMES SKENE, ‘TOD WILLIE’, *SERIES OF SKETCHES* (1829)

specifics of the local surroundings. Such excursions put Skene into an important psychological place in the conception of Scott's work, at least pertaining to their aesthetic development.

Another important aesthetic resource was Skene's illustrated travel journals. Skene travelled to Europe several times, taking sketches and marrying them to diary entries and observations, much in the manner of contemporary illustrated travel journals. Such a trip to France in 1820 seems to have formed the bedrock of the scenery to *Quentin Durward* (1823). According to Lockhart, 'Skene's MS. collections were placed at his [Scott's] disposal, and he took from one of their chapters the substance of the *original* Introduction to *Quentin Durward*'.⁸ For example, the description of Château Plessis le Tours contains details that would be difficult to replicate without either having seen the structure or had visual material from which to write:

From within the innermost enclosure arose the castle itself, containing buildings of different periods, crowded around, and united with the ancient and grim-looking donjon-keep, which was older than any of them, and which rose, like a black Ethiopian giant, high into the air, while the absence of any windows larger than shot-holes, irregularly disposed for defence, gave the spectator the same unpleasant feeling which we experience on looking on a blind man. The other buildings seemed scarcely better adapted for the purposes of comfort, for what windows they had opened to an inner and enclosed court-yard; so that the whole external front looked much more like that of a prison than of a palace.⁹

Both Skene and Lockhart confirm that Scott had never seen the architecture or topography he describes with such authenticity, and although detail can be elaborated through imaginative projection ('like a black Ethiopian giant') the visual framework for this elaboration had to remain authentic to the original. In other words, architectural structures and details of real buildings had to be rendered as accurately as possible before the author could then impose artistic interpretation of mood. Such architectural authenticity could only have been achievable through rigorous research and visual aids, such as Skene's drawings. This is just one example of many demonstrating part of Scott's technique in achieving authenticity in rendering historical subjects. Visual stimuli—such as paintings, costume books, illustrated travel texts and topographical sketches such as Skene's—allowed the author to render subjects with as much accuracy as possible.

Like Scott, Skene was a keen architectural antiquarian. Skene would become Curator of the Royal Society of Edinburgh, member of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland and Secretary of the Institution for the Encouragement of the Fine Arts. It therefore should be of little surprise that Scott relied on Skene's renderings of architecture. As suggested, Skene was consulted regarding some of the architectural features of Abbotsford as a member of the 'committee of taste', although it is unclear quite what aspects of the design he was responsible

for. He writes that ‘for [Abbotsford’s] expression on paper [Scott] generally applied to my pencil. Much of the architectural detail was supplied by that very clever artist Mr. Blore, who is more conversant with the Gothic style than any professional man in this country’ (*Memories*, 60). However, Skene also played a design role in the construction of Princes Street Gardens following the draining of the Nor’ Loch. Taking a walk through the Gardens, Scott mentions in his *Journal*, ‘I question if Europe has such another path. We owe this to the taste of James Skene’.¹⁰ Given Skene’s experience in designing and recording architectural spaces and details, therefore, it would seem reasonable that Scott would rely on his architectural sketches from which to write descriptive passages in the Waverley novels.

Specificities of national architecture are a recurrent antiquarian motif in the novels, and again Scott seems to have used Skene as a consultant. This is most apparent in the rendering of architecture in *Anne of Geierstein* (1829). Skene had visited Switzerland and written a paper for the Society of Antiquaries on the ‘Secret Tribunals of Germany’, which provided some of the raw material for the narrative of the novel. More pertinently, however, he had taken architectural drawings of the scenes in which they took place, and it was to these Scott referred when re-visioning the scene in prose. Skene remarks that ‘He had never been either in Switzerland or those parts of ancient Burgundy where the remainder of the scenery of that work is placed, but he availed himself of the drawings which my collection afforded him, and the knowledge of the country that I was able to give him’ (*Memories*, 156–57). This is confirmed in a letter from Scott to Skene of 26 December 1828, in which he states that he had in fact used Skene’s sketches in rendering the Swiss scenery, which he had never seen for himself: ‘If you can easily bring with you the striking description of the subterranean vaults at Baden (I think supposed to be the place of meeting of the secret tribunal) with your plan and drawings, they will do me yeoman’s service in something I am now about.’¹¹

In the spirit of friendly reciprocity, Scott sought for much of his life to have Skene’s illustrations and journals published. Skene seems almost to be embarrassed by his friend’s persistence in this venture, which suggests again that he was not seeking to profit from their friendship. However, there were two projects in particular that Scott had in mind. The first was an illustrated tourist book to be called *Antiquitates Reekianae* (or ‘The Antiquities of Auld Reekie’). Skene describes this as

a joint undertaking of Sir Walter’s and mine, illustrative of the ancient history, manners and antiquities of Edinburgh, but the necessity of my going abroad at that time delayed its appearance, and before I returned at the lapse of a year and a half, circumstances had occurred altogether to prevent its publication. (*Memories*, 92–93)

This project is first mentioned in 1820, when Scott submitted Skene’s drawings to his publisher Constable for engraving. The project never came to fruition, but the timing is interesting: in 1820, Scott and Constable were commissioning

the first ever Edinburgh-sourced illustrations of the Waverley novels from William Allan, and a complementary suite by Alexander Nasmyth, demonstrating that Scott was attempting to promote Skene as another of 'his' illustrators.¹² By 1820, Scott had already had experience with topographical projects like this, most notably the *Provincial Antiquities and Picturesque Scenery of Scotland* (1817–26), for which he had provided historical copy.¹³ The second was a series of illustrations, called *A Series of Sketches of the Existing Localities Alluded to in the Waverley Novels*, which would directly complement the production of the *Magnum Opus* illustrations. This was to be a two-volume edition, of which only one was actually published in 1829, due to the strain of the work on Skene. As Skene himself describes,

[i]t was so arranged as to come out simultaneously with each volume of the new series of the novels, in which [Scott] gives an introductory account of each, and as he had previously communicated with me as to the identity of the subjects to be etched, their appearance obtained the advantage of perfect authenticity, and that before any person could be aware of the subjects which were applicable.

(*Memories*, 159–60)

Skene's statement demonstrates the level of privilege and trust with which he had been imbued by Scott, who appears to have given his friend a distinct advantage over the English competition by providing the 'identity of the subjects to be sketched'.

The project Skene outlines above—to publish the illustrations 'simultaneously with each volume'—was not completely fulfilled. Cadell, who was fanatically trying to produce the landmark *Magnum Opus* edition of the novels with two illustrations to each of the 48 volumes, agreed to publish Skene's illustrations as a complement edition. Skene's depictions of the topography and architecture that appeared in the novels would be a suitable visual counterpart to many of the *Magnum* illustrations, which tended to focus on character and action scenes. However, the heavy burden of designing and etching his own work to tight deadlines proved too much for Skene, who ultimately only produced one of the planned two-volume work of pictures. Little attention has previously been paid to these illustrations, because they appear on first glance to be substandard images produced as a favour to a friend as part of Scott's efforts to squeeze more profit out of his novels. However, these images are significant. They in fact represent in many cases the final expression of visual records of scenes from which Scott produced his descriptive prose. In his 'Preface' to *A Series of Sketches*, Skene makes it clear that the images introduced are authenticated by the presence of the author himself at many of the scenes, which were 'collected in the course of various interesting excursions, made, many years since, in company with the much-valued friend, under the auspices of whose works it is now proposed to introduce them to notice'.¹⁴ Skene's *Memories* include many of these excursions, such as the trip to Langholm that resulted in

imagery found in *Guy Mannering* mentioned above, and an excursion to Loch Skene, which, he claims, resulted in scenery that appeared in *Old Mortality*: ‘Much of the scenery in the tale of *Old Mortality* was drawn from the recollection of this day’s ride’ (*Memories*, 33–34). Most interesting is the recording of scenery Scott witnessed with Skene that has since disappeared, because Skene’s sketches remain as valuable visual records of some of the original scenes in the *Waverley* novels we can no longer visit for ourselves. One such instance relates to the dwelling of David Ritchie, the real-life model for Sir Edward Mauley, or ‘The Black Dwarf’. In the introduction to the *Magnum* edition of *The Black Dwarf*, Scott reveals that Ritchie was the prototype of Elshie, and that he had visited his reputed home in Peeblesshire in 1797.¹⁵ Skene was with him on this trip, and describes the outing in the *Memories*: ‘We [Skene, Scott, and James Hogg] ascended the Megget and came down the beautiful vale of the Manor Water, where some mention of “Bowed Davie”, and eccentric inhabitant of that quarter, was afterwards elaborated in the fertile imagination of my friend into the interesting romance of the *Black Dwarf*’ (*Memories*, 38–39). It is, therefore, interesting to see the scene of ‘The Dwarf’s Hut’ reproduced some thirty-two years later in *A Series of Sketches* (Figure 2).



FIG. 2: JAMES SKENE, ‘THE DWARF’S HUT’, *SERIES OF SKETCHES* (1829)

It is possible that Skene produced this picture from memory, but, given the established working practice of Skene sketching scenes on the spot to aid Scott’s memory, it is unlikely. Here, therefore, we see what is likely a worked-up version from an original sketch of David Ritchie’s cottage, taken on the very day in 1797 that Scott laid eyes on it for the first time. Its value to Scott scholarship lies not necessarily in its quality as an etching, but in its recording of a real scene in a real moment in time that directly influenced the inception

of one of the Waverley novels. In the absence of photography, this is as close as we will get to such a moment.

Skene as Amateur Illustrator

To have Skene as his primary illustrator made perfect sense for Scott: if Skene was responsible for much of the scenery in the novels, and shared Scott's aesthetic sensibilities regarding landscape and architecture, then who better to produce illustrations for the texts he had so influenced? Scott had specific requirements of his illustrators. They needed to be respectful of the detail of the source material, specifically of architectural detail, costume, and national-historical topography. Given their history and mutual interests, Skene was the ideal illustrator for Scott. However, Skene could not keep to Scott's (or rather Cadell's) strict deadlines, and the engraving work in particular was too onerous for the 'amateur' artist. Skene's failure in this instance is fascinating in itself; Skene was not a professional draughtsman or engraver, and at a time when technological advances in engraving and printing were driving demand for popular illustrated literature higher, Skene, the 'gentleman artist', found himself unable to meet demand. He writes, 'as I was my own engraver as well as draughtsman, the minuteness of the work necessary to bring the scale of the engravings to the size of the novels, made it too severe a strain upon the eyes, so that it was discontinued at the close of the first volume, and the second volume remains unpublished in a manuscript' (*Memories*, 160). This 'failure' should be seen in the light of the changing nature of artistic production at the end of the 1820s. The illustration of texts was no longer a 'gentleman's' game, it was rapidly becoming a professional, artisan pursuit, and Skene did not fit this mould.

However, Skene's failure to produce the second volume of *Sketches* was a source of profit elsewhere. In 1830, Scott had received a letter from the London publisher Charles Tilt almost begging endorsement for his illustrations of the Waverley novels, *Landscape Illustrations of the Waverley Novels*, which first appeared in 1831. Scott wrote to Skene:

The London people wrote me a long time ago for countenance and assistance to their plan, which I declined, alleging truly that I was pledged to you on the subject. They wrote again, about a month ago, that they did not consider their publication as interfering with yours, wished to send me a copy, etc. (*Memories*, 169)

This comment reveals that Scott had been pushing Skene to produce illustrations, a sign of confidence and trust. However, once Skene's project fell away, Scott reluctantly acquiesced to Tilt's request. Tilt's *Landscape Illustrations* reproduces a note from Scott acknowledging receipt of and thanks for a copy of the publication. More interesting, however, is a comment in the Advertisement to the second edition of 1832 offering thanks to Skene for his advice on specific subjects and details of the pictures produced in the volume. This note reads:

The Proprietors would be doing a great injustice, if they did not take this opportunity of returning their best thanks to JAMES SKENE,

Esq., for the valuable assistance he has afforded them, and for the liberal use he permitted to be made of his etchings—a volume, the possession of which is necessary to every illustrator of the novels of the Author of ‘Waverley.’

London, Dec. 16, 1831.¹⁶

This note suggests several things. First, there appears to be a mutual marketing agreement, in which Tilt promotes Skene’s *Sketches* in return for his help and advice on *Landscape Illustrations*. Second, it would seem that Skene was an active advisor for Tilt, which in turn hints at the fact that, despite Scott’s resistance to helping the London project in the letter quoted above, Skene’s failure to produce a second volume opened the door for him to be a consultant to Tilt. And finally, it hints at Scott’s guiding hand behind the scenes. If Scott had been so resistant before, he must have acquiesced to Skene helping Tilt by 1831. This is confirmed in the Preface to the third edition of *Landscape Illustrations* in 1833, which states: ‘These Illustrations were undertaken with the knowledge and approbation of Sir Walter Scott; and owe much of their success to the judgement and taste of his accomplished friend, James Skene, Esq., to whom the Editor is under great obligation for considerable aid from his pen and pencil.’¹⁷ In this way, at least Skene’s sketches, which were taken at the request of the author, would help influence the authenticity of the illustrations that were subsequently produced four hundred miles away in London. Scott did not trust his London publishers with the illustration of his works, and turned a blind eye to the practice in silent disapproval of illustrations that represented his prose with generic or lazy images, which conformed to artistic convention rather than observational authenticity; however, it is interesting to note in *Landscape Illustrations* that several of the illustrations were designed ‘after’ James Skene, including David Ritchie’s cottage, ‘The White Horse Inn’ for *Waverley*, ‘Craigievar Castle’ for *Redgauntlet* and ‘Coldringham’ for *The Bride of Lammermoor*.

A juxtaposition of Skene’s picture of ‘Coldringham’ with the subsequent design by Samuel Prout for *Landscape Illustrations* demonstrates much about the progress being made in London using the new steel-engraving technologies (see Figures 3 and 4 overleaf). The initial contrast of these images reveals an apparent stark contrast between the quality of the engravings: Prout’s later version seems at first glance to be the much more finished, detailed design. It is clearly designed directly after Skene’s original, but Prout has added figures, cattle and minute detail to masonry and foliage to add to the pastoral effect of the image. This is partly to do with the artists’ relative media: where Skene etched his picture, Prout utilised the latest in steel engraving that was being pioneered in London. It is also important to recognise, as Skene does, that Skene was an ‘amateur’ artist, Prout a professional. If anything, these images demonstrate the rapid rate of professionalisation that the engraving trade was undergoing thanks to steel engraving, which allowed a greater level of detail and many more prints from a single plate.

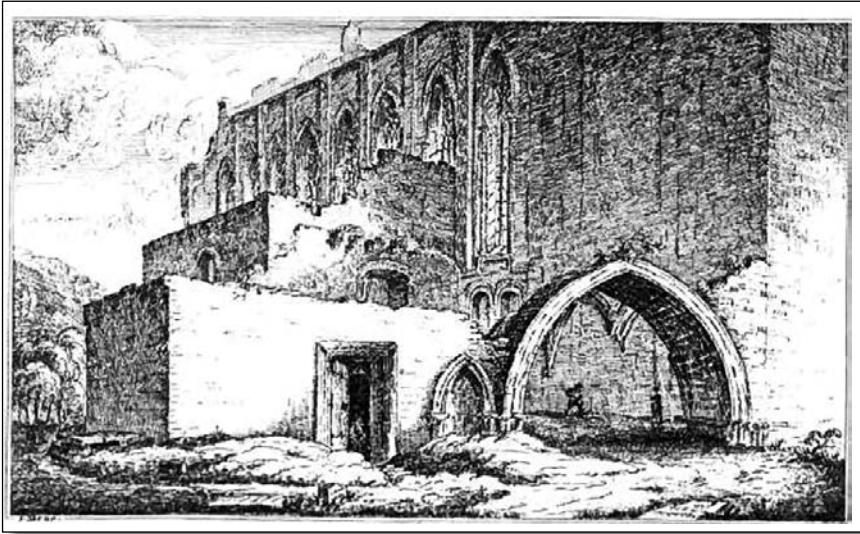


FIG. 3. JAMES SKENE, 'COLDRINGHAM', *SERIES OF SKETCHES* (1829)

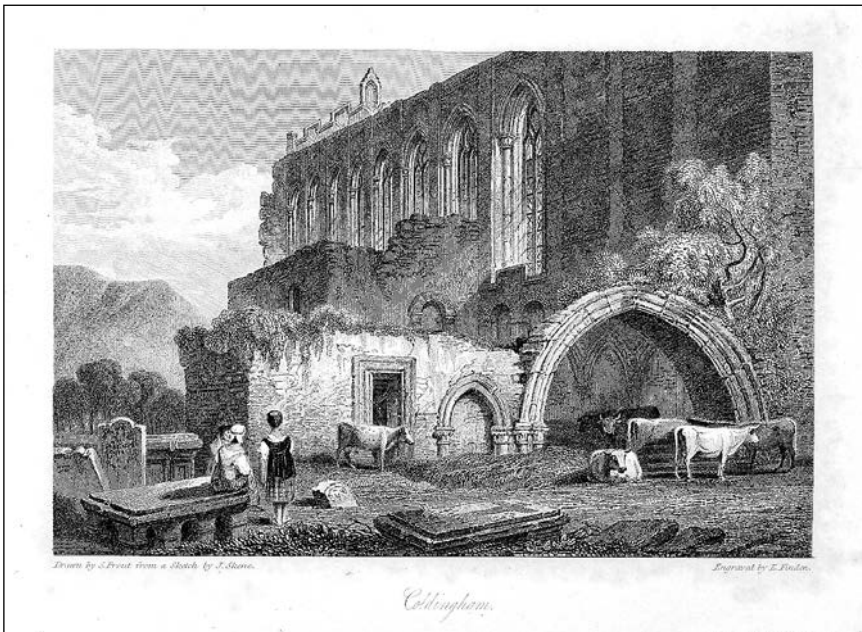


FIG. 4. SAMUEL PROUT, 'COLDRINGHAM', *LANDSCAPE ILLUSTRATIONS* (1831)

However, what Skene may lack in engraving finesse, he makes up for with authenticity and authorial blessing. In the Preface to the *Sketches*, he writes:

The Editor has the pleasure also to know that the task which he undertakes coincides with the wishes of Sir Walter Scott, who is desirous that the illustrations of the pencil may be added to those of the description to render as intelligible as possible the localities on which his fictitious narratives have been founded; and this circumstance ensures the most perfect authenticity to the corresponding relations between the real existing scenes, and their introduction into the *Waverley Novels*.

So far as the pencil is concerned, these *Sketches* do not presume to claim any merit beyond that of strict fidelity; with this proviso, that such subjects as are now in ruins, are, where practicable, restored to the state they were in at the particular period assumed by the Author of *Waverley*.¹⁸

This disclaimer is almost apologetic, and hints at Skene's fragile confidence in producing these images for his illustrious friend. However, he rightly points out that he has a stamp of 'authenticity' that any other illustrator would lack, because they have been requested by the author himself. It also points to an apparent contradiction: how can the illustrations be 'authentic' if the artist has 'restored' some of the ruins to their historical period? Hasn't the artist used his imagination to recreate a scene that isn't there anymore? This is a contradiction we see elsewhere in the illustrations of Alexander Nasmyth, particularly his 'reconstruction' of the Tolbooth, the Old Jail of Edinburgh, which he witnessed being demolished with Scott in 1817. Nasmyth produced three versions of an illustration of the Tolbooth for *The Heart of Midlothian*, the last of which was designed for Tilt's *Landscape Illustrations*. Nasmyth was another artist Scott trusted implicitly with his subject matter, particularly owing to his love and accurate rendering of national-historical architecture; however, like Skene, he was encouraged by Scott to recreate this architecture if it no longer existed in its full state as we see with Skene's reconstruction of the 'Guard House' for *The Heart of Midlothian* (also destroyed in 1817) (Figure 5). For Scott, this was a means of recording for posterity a visual record of his national architecture within popular culture before it faded from public memory. For Scott, observational accuracy and historical authenticity were not contradictory.

Agent of Taste

During the course of their friendship, Skene became Scott's 'aesthetic agent' for many publishers and artists who sought clarification on subjects and details contained within the novels, as we see with Tilt. Skene was a conduit through whom Scott found he could exert some measure of aesthetic control over the London publishers and illustrators. In other words, artists based in London didn't need to leave London in order to produce their illustrations, if Skene was able to provide them with sketches. This process was seemingly endorsed

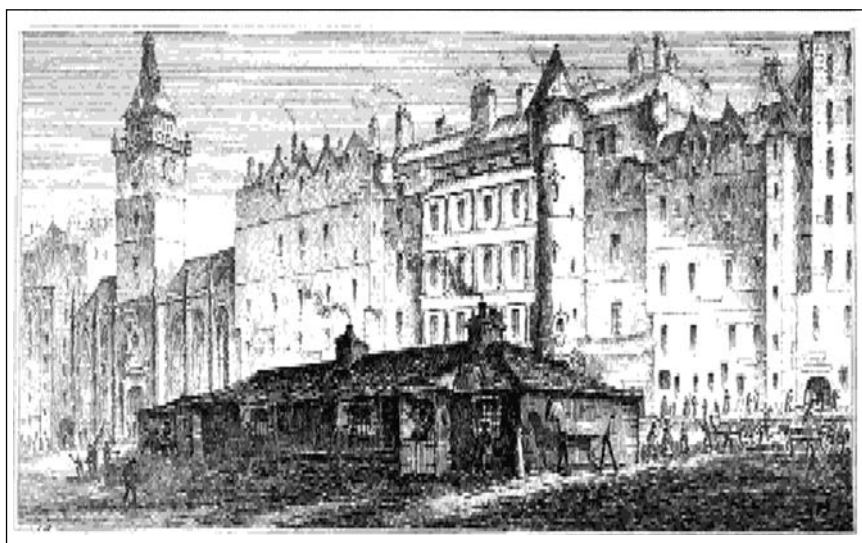


FIG. 5. JAMES SKENE, 'GUARD HOUSE', *SERIES OF SKETCHES* (1829)

by Scott, as he trusted Skene with the kind of authenticity that would not lead English illustrators to render generic or misguided scenery of his native countryside or architecture. The most impressive example of this process involves the great British artist J. M. W. Turner. Scott had been unimpressed by Turner's mercenary application of his talents when they worked together on the *Provincial Antiquities*, but in 1824, Scott recruited the artist to illustrate his friend Robert Stevenson's *Account of the Bell Rock Light-House*; Skene reveals that the frontispiece illustration of the lighthouse was in fact rendered from one of his architectural sketches. Skene writes that 'The drawing of the Bell Rock, which Turner painted from a sketch of mine, was certainly a clever performance, but Sir Walter's prognostic as to the expense was amply fulfilled' (*Memories*, 109). Towards the end of Scott's life, and capitalising on the success of the *Magnum*, Cadell managed to recruit Turner to illustrate his twelve volumes of collected poetry, which necessitated Turner visiting Scott and Abbotsford to see the scenery for himself. Scott was a reluctant participant, but nonetheless Turner came to Abbotsford in 1831, and Scott made sure that Skene—'his artist'—was on hand to keep an eye on Turner's renderings of his beloved landscapes. Even the great Turner, it seems, had to rely on Skene's eye for detail.

Skene apparently kept his position as Scott's trusted artist-at-hand until the end of the author's life. Skene writes touchingly of their last riding trip together in 1830 to Smailholm Tower, close to Scott's family home in the Borders where he was partly raised:


He wandered over every part, stopping at times to gaze in silence at particular spots, the little grassy corners, which had been the playground of his infancy, and made me take drawings of the scene

from different points, for the picturesque and wild aspect of the scene was highly deserving of being portrayed. (*Memories*, 169)

Was Skene drawing sketches for another project Scott had in mind, or simply as *aides-memoires* for fond memories of his childhood? Perhaps of an even more personal nature, Scott requested a sketch of Dryburgh Abbey, the place he was ultimately to be buried with his ancestors:

‘If you will promise not to laugh at me, I have a favour to ask. Do you know I have taken a childish desire to see the place where I am to be laid when I go home, which there is some probability may not now be long delayed. Now, as I cannot go to Dryburgh Abbey—that is out of the question at present—it would give me much pleasure if you would take a ride down, and bring me a drawing of that spot.’ And he described the position minutely, and the exact point from which he wished the drawing to be made, that the site of his future grave might appear. (*Memories*, 69)¹⁹

Only a very close friend would be trusted with this mission.

In conclusion, I find Scott’s friendship with Skene fundamental in understanding how Scott rendered specific topographical and architectural scenes, which so mark his prose style. Skene’s topographical and architectural sketches became the visual framework for much of the romantic scenery and architecture of the Waverley novels. At a time when literature and the fine arts were clearly feeding off each other, we find that an author of romance stories is relying heavily on his artistic friend’s topographical sketches in the process of visualising his material. In fact, both men were interested in the marriage of image and text. Of course, the lasting images from this creative partnership are provided by the written word—Scott’s texts—but due attention must be paid to the manner in which these images were arrived at. In his *Memories*, Skene makes several claims of influence on the Waverley novels, including the characters of Isaac and Rebecca in *Ivanhoe* (1820), passages in *The Antiquary* (1816) and adding the fact that Captain Dalgetty from *A Legend of Montrose* (1819) was based on an ancestor of Skene’s. None of these claims should necessarily be doubted, but what is most interesting in the cultural climate of the 1810s and 1820s is the fact that Scott seemed to require visual cues to the writing process, and that he really only trusted one person completely with this task. Scott had such a profound influence on subsequent renderings of his native landscape, and on the aesthetics of novel production in the Victorian period, that we should perhaps not overlook the fact that his friendship with Skene—and the creative nature of this relationship—foreshadows some of the more famous collaborations of the Victorian period, including those of Charles Dickens and George Cruikshank (and subsequently Halbot Browne, or ‘Phiz’), Anthony Trollope and John Everett Millais, and Lewis Carroll and John Teniel. Skene would probably not want this attention, and I do not wish to overstate his importance, but there can be little doubt that he does peer out of many of the pages of the Waverley novels. 

NOTES

1. H. J. C. Grierson (ed.), *The Letters of Sir Walter Scott*, 12 vols (London: Constable, 1933), IV, 536–37.
2. James Skene, *Memories of Sir Walter Scott*, ed. by Basil Thompson (London: John Murray, 1909), pp. 98–99. Hereafter, references to this edition will be cited in the main text as *Memories*.
3. See Richard Hill, *Picturing Scotland through the Waverley Novels: Walter Scott and the Origins of the Victorian Illustrated Novel* (Farnham and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2010), chs 1 and 2.
4. John Gibson Lockhart, *The Life of Sir Walter Scott, Bart.* (Edinburgh: A. & C. Black, 1871), p. 93.
5. Lockhart, *Life of Scott*, p. 94.
6. Sir Walter Scott, *Marmion*, 3rd edn (Edinburgh: Constable, and London: Murray, 1808), IV.1.7–12.
7. Scott, *Marmion*, IV.2.17–20.
8. Lockhart, *Life of Scott*, pp. 529–30.
9. Walter Scott, *Quentin Durward*, ed. by J. H. Alexander and G. A. M. Wood (Edinburgh: EUP, 2001), p. 40.
10. W. E. K. Anderson (ed.), *The Journal of Sir Walter Scott* (Oxford: OUP, 1972), p. 559.
11. *Letters of Scott*, XI, 79.
12. See Hill, *Picturing Scotland*, p. 36.
13. For detailed discussion of the *Provincial Antiquities and Picturesque Scenery of Scotland*, see Katrina Thomson's *Turner and Sir Walter Scott: The Provincial Antiquities and Picturesque Scenery of Scotland* (Edinburgh: National Gallery of Scotland, 1999).
14. Skene, *Series of Sketches*, pp. 6–7.
15. Walter Scott, *The Black Dwarf*, ed. by P. D. Garside (Edinburgh: EUP, 1993), p. 132. In his essay on the text, Peter Garside notes that the meeting between Scott and David Ritchie may have in fact occurred in 1796, according to a letter of 16 Oct that year sent to Robert Shortreed.
16. John Martin (ed.), 'Advertisement', in *Landscape Illustrations of the Waverley Novels*, 2nd edn, 3 vols (London: Charles Tilt, 1832), I, unpaginated.
17. John Martin (ed.), *Landscape Illustrations of the Novels of the Author of Waverley, with Portraits of the Principal Female Characters*, 3rd edn, 3 vols (London: Charles Tilt, 1833), I, unpaginated.
18. Skene, *Series of Sketches*, pp. 5–6.
19. The precise year of this encounter is difficult to ascertain, but it appears that this occurred during the early 1820s, after a particularly difficult attack of illness Scott suffered.

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REFERRING TO THIS ARTICLE

R. J. HILL. 'Walter Scott and James Skene: A Creative Friendship', *Romantic Textualities: Literature and Print Culture, 1780–1840*, 21 (Winter 2013) <www.romtext.org.uk/files/2014/07/rt21_no4.pdf> [date accessed].



THE PROTEAN POET

Byron's *Don Juan* in the Visual Arts

Tim Killick



What jolly talk into the small hours! Thackeray and Dickens again, and Tennyson and Byron (who was 'not dead yet' in those days); and Titian and Velasquez, and young Millais and Holman Hunt (just out); and Monsieur Ingres and Monsieur Delacroix, and Balzac and Stendhal and George Sand; and the good Dumas! and Edgar Allan Poe; and the glory that was Greece and the grandeur that was Rome [...]¹

SO WROTE GEORGE DU MAURIER in *Trilby*, looking back at the 1850s from the vantage point of the 1890s. For Du Maurier's mid-century troupe of Parisian bohemians, Byron may have been 'not dead yet', but his fall first from critical and then from popular grace over the course of the century was preordained. Although this downward trajectory is broadly true, Byron could never quite be finished off. He would rise again and again, as readers found new ways to engage with his poetry. This essay is concerned with Byron's enduring popularity, and the ways in which the multiplicity of his works, coupled with the fascination regarding his life and personality, have given rise to a range of visual art which reflects the fluid, protean qualities of the man and his poetry. This is a broad subject, so the focus will be on illustrations to Byron's late epic, *Don Juan*. My intention is to employ the poem as a case study, not only to show the diverse ways of illustrating Byron, but also to argue that his representation in art may also be used as a barometer to assess broader attitudes towards the Romantic movement.

My central theme is the treatment of Byron's poetry in visual art across the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. By taking a long view and presenting a survey of images that span a century and a half of visual culture I hope to elucidate at least some of the ways in which Byronic art has evolved since the poet's lifetime. My interest lies in the different interpretations which Byron's work has experienced at the hands of artists, and in the cultural and ideological inscriptions which occur when art takes its cue from literature. Consequently, my discussion covers both book illustration and painting. This is not to suggest that the two modes of visual art are equivalent, or that their practitioners had the same audiences or intentions. Rather, it is an attempt to explore the connections between the different ways of reading Byron that have developed across

history and media: illustration in the broadest sense of the word. In pictures from *Don Juan*, the choices available to illustrators of Byron are most apparent, and through the lens of his unfinished narrative poem we can see how Byron's textual slipperiness gives rise to images of unparalleled range.

Readers have always had access to multiple and contradictory versions of Byron, both the man and his poetry. There is the quintessentially Romantic Byron, champion of intellectual liberty, personal freedom and individual genius; the Augustan Byron of *Childe Harold*, surveying European history with neo-classical verve; Byron the vibrant orientalist of the Eastern tales; the Goethian metaphysical searcher of *Manfred*; and the blasphemous radical of *Cain*—to list just some of the available constructions. All of these versions flow into one another to create fluctuating iterations of Byron's writing and persona. In *Don Juan*, Byron's satirical epic, these different strains come together to create a tragicomic tale of huge geographical and intellectual scope, in which the peripatetic adventures of the lover—hero are presented by a self-referential narrator who is by turns flippant, caustic, philosophical and humane.

Byron's inveterate multiplicity informs the treatment of his poetry in visual art—as does the unstable nature of the poet's own identity. His verse has always been refracted through the prism of his life, and artists have consistently been drawn to the blurred lines between biography and fiction, poet and protagonist. Byron was a celebrity—one of the first to whom that term might be applied in the modern sense—whose private life was a continued source of fascination for the press and the public. He was also a poet whose personality was conflated in the public mind with that of his leading characters. The abstract ideal of the Byronic hero resided in Lord Byron himself, with his scandalous lifestyle and self-imposed exile, as much as it did in any of his heroes.

From early in his career, Byron's poems were popular visual subjects, spanning mainstream and avant-garde art in both Britain and Europe. His powerful attraction for painters and illustrators held across most of the nineteenth century. As Richard Altick observes:

The popularity Byron's poetry enjoyed in the first half of the nineteenth century was amply apparent in the art exhibitions. Subjects from Byron were painted as often as subjects from those other two concurrent favourites, Burns and Scott (counting his poems only), and the number of scenes and figure studies bearing quotations from Byron but not directly related to his subjects was considerably greater than those from all other poets except Shakespeare, Thomson, and Tennyson [...] Only toward the end of the century did the demand for Byron subjects noticeably fade.²

Byron certainly waned as an artistic subject, but he never quite disappeared from the graphic world. Among his adherents, Byron developed a cult status. This made him a special kind of subject and muse, whose poetry was represented in visual art alongside his mythic persona. Byron himself became a universally recognisable Romantic symbol and his works correspondingly came to provide

a pre-primed space into which artists were able to project an array of meanings.

To some degree, Byron encouraged these connections between author and work through the elaborate, seductive series of masks which link poet, narrator and hero: an arrangement of nods and winks which Jerome McGann describes as the 'poetry of masquerade, where what [Byron] liked to call "realities" are represented in the form of conscious pseudodisguise'.³ Behind these veils, the historical realities of George Gordon, 6th Baron Byron, are less important than the myth of 'Byron' the self-conceptualised poet–hero. Byron's own image became one of the key symbols of the Romantic movement: the open shirt-collar, dark cloak and well-cut tailoring which appeared in his widely circulated portraits operated as shorthand for a Romantic heroism that Byron deliberately courted and carefully (if not always successfully) negotiated. As Christine Kenyon Jones argues: 'Byron was the first contributor to the creation of his own legend', and, moreover, his ability to inhabit 'an odd feedback loop, whereby others' perceptions of him became an element in his subsequent presentation of himself' helped bolster his status as poet, hero and genius.⁴ Byron's performative sense of self meant that his own persona(e) and those of his misanthropic heroes were often conflated in pictures, as they were in the mind of the reading public.⁵ By extension, the wider figuration of both Byron and his poetry as Romantic *topos* became a vital component of his status as a visual subject.

* * *

Don Juan (1819–24) has always stood out. It is a poem which consistently refutes any single, stable interpretation. It has been read as a series of scurrilous sexual adventures, as a radical treatise on social and political mores and as a sprawling exercise in throwaway philosophy. Its conversational tone permits a sliding scale of fluctuating registers, and its dedication to what Jane Stabler has called 'digressive intertextuality', as well as to the probing of its own motives and devices, frequently threatens to overwhelm the progress of Juan's story.⁶ Modern scholarship places it at the heart of Byron's *oeuvre*, but it has not always been so firmly situated. The poem was a commercial success, but its disreputable sexual and political overtones became something of an embarrassment for its conservative publisher, John Murray. As several critics have pointed out, no illustrated edition was produced by Murray during Byron's lifetime (nor by John Hunt, with whom Byron published the final ten cantos), but while there was a lack of sanctioned book illustrations during the late 1810s and early 1820s, artists have always found ways to visualise the poem and its subjects.⁷

Images derived from literature must negotiate the gap between the temporal world of words and the spatial realm of the pictorial. They need to find a way to translate the meaning that resides on the printed page into graphic form: to communicate elements of tone, theme, plot, character or argument via another medium. In the case of *Don Juan*, the interpretative task of the illustrator is made more difficult by the enormous scope of the poem, its variations in tone

and voice, and the fact that it is the digressions from the narrative, as much as the story itself, which give the poem its structure and meaning. Moreover, *Don Juan's* primary mode is ironic. The poem sets out to entertain by exposing delusion and puncturing hypocrisy, but its relentless dedication to satire also allows readers (and artists) to take its scenarios or declarations as lightly or as seriously as they choose. The poem itself declines to moralise or offer easy answers. Rather, the narrator declares with a wink that 'I tell the tale as it is told, nor dare | To venture a solution.'⁸ *Don Juan* is one of the most slippery texts in the English language, and has consequently inspired an enormous variety of visual art. Individual pictures may well vehemently contradict one another in their readings of the poem, but they can still be connected back to an aspect of the text itself, whose flexibility and plurality permits, even demands, multiple readings and responses.

Byronic art is certainly wide-ranging. Nonetheless, it is possible to discern pictorial patterns that demonstrate comparable ways of reading Byron. In the nineteenth century, the majority of artistic treatments of Byron's poetry participated in three distinct modes, derived from different ways of visually engaging with the broader cultural significations of literary Romanticism. These are: Byron as a poet who addresses the past, Byron as a voice of the present and Byron as a poet of a previous, lost age. These approaches are not strictly historically consecutive; rather, they describe responses to various aspects of the Romantic movement, all of which are made available within Byron's poetry. These are broad, overlapping categories, and it is worth giving instances of the three approaches I have outlined.

The first mode of visual art constructs Byron as heir to an earlier poetic tradition, and seeks to sanction his potentially suspect verse through an association with neoclassical values. Artists drew on the classical allusions and Augustan tenor of his poetry to promote a reading of Byron as an enlightened and penetrating commentator on the relationship between modernity, history and antiquity. This process had the added benefit of distancing the illustrations from the dubious morality of some of Byron's heroes, and from the more radical elements of the author's politics. One way of achieving this kind of artistic mitigation involved non-narrative pictorial representation: using landscapes, cities and ruins as the primary mode of illustration. Byron's own travels, and his penchant for taking his heroes on exotic journeys, facilitated this kind of illustration, and connecting Byron's works to classical architecture and sublime vistas strengthened his credentials as a poet of history and deflected attention away from his personal politics or his private life. As well as enabling the images to neatly sidestep issues of taste and decency, choosing to illustrate by depicting places rather than dramatic episodes had the benefit of allowing artists primarily associated with landscape painting the opportunity to engage with Byron's work.⁹

Illustrating through architecture or landscape was not the only way to visually emphasise the neoclassical qualities of Byron's poetry. Other artists,

especially during the late 1820s and 1830s, drew on the aesthetics of sentiment to create arrangements portraying timeless heroes and beauties. The resulting pictures were nominally Byronic, but often they might have served to illustrate any number of canonical authors: from Shakespeare (notably Boydell's edition, 1791–1802), through James Thomson, to Walter Scott. The boom in illustrated editions of Scott, in particular, served to create a market for this neoclassical pictorial style. The *Waverley* novels were published in a number of collected editions throughout the 1820s, culminating in the *Magnum Opus* (1829–33), and the steel-engraved illustrations that accompanied these volumes established a distinct style. Engravings to Scott drew heavily on both the picturesque topography of travel literature and the sentimental scenes that appeared in the popular annuals or gift-books, and the success of the *Magnum Opus* meant that artists and publishers sought to repeat the process with other authors.¹⁰

Don Juan's rakish frisson made it a distinctly less popular subject for this kind of classicised or orientalisised sentiment than some of Byron's other poems (most notably *Childe Harold* and the Eastern tales). However, some *Juan* illustrations of this type did appear, showing how even the most confrontational of Byron's texts could be incorporated into a more polished and palatable aesthetic. One such example is an engraving from Henry James Richter (Figure 1, overleaf), which appears in *The Byron Gallery* (1833).¹¹ The scene shows the first embrace between Juan and Haidée:

They look upon each other, and their eyes
Gleam in the moonlight; and her white arm clasps
Round Juan's head, and his around hers lies
Half buried in the tresses which it grasps;
She sits upon his knee, and drinks his sighs,
He hers, until they end in broken gasps;
And thus they form a group that's quite antique,
Half naked, loving, natural, and Greek. (*DJ*, II.194)

Byron's description is playful and allusive: it asserts nudity and implies sex. Richter moderates the sexual dimensions of the *Juan* myth by stressing the youth and beauty of the lovers, and their commitment to fidelity at the moment depicted. His picture reinforces this reading by giving the scene a formal, academic aesthetic—even if the fit is perhaps a little awkward.

Richter's illustration is part of a mode of Byronic art in which the heroes and heroines are exoticised, orientalisised and idealised. Throughout the nineteenth century, there existed a polite vein of illustration which sought to emphasise the elegant and refined sides to Byron while minimising the libertarian and facetious. In such pictures, the poetry is pictorially smoothed and glossed; issues of politics, sex and violence are present, but their fangs are drawn by an immersion in classical vistas and precise formal arrangements. In Richter's scene, Juan and Haidée are presented as eternal lovers, captured in a moment of union, with their gently touching heads and the sweep of their linked arms producing a perfect heart-shaped connection. In turn, the lovers are framed by a sympa-

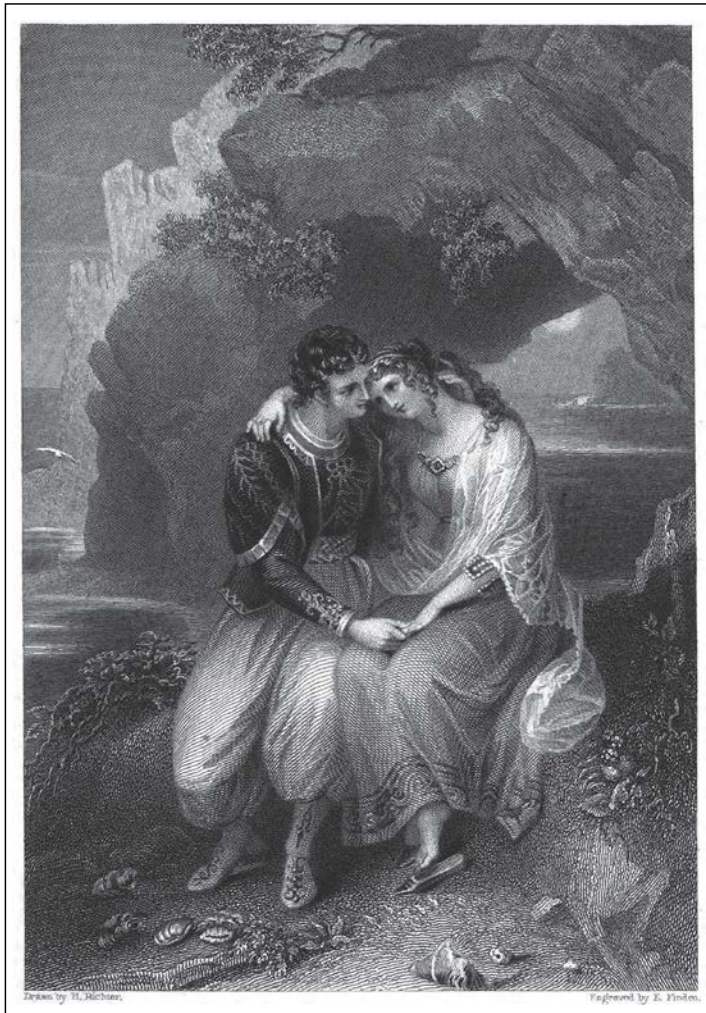


FIG. 1. HENRY JAMES RICHTER, ILLUSTRATION TO *DON JUAN*, IN *THE BYRON GALLERY* (1833)

thetic natural landscape which lends a harmonious balance and chaste poise to their relationship, effectively drawing a veil over their dubious unmarried state, and their doomed future. Sexual desire is not entirely absent—Haidée’s coquettishly discarded slipper provides a hint of indelicacy appropriate for a heroine described as ‘Passion’s child’ (*DJ*, II.202.2) and ignorant of the politics of polite courtship. The inclusion of the fallen slipper ensures that the illustration withholds approval by acknowledging the impropriety of the situation. Nonetheless, the picture remains essentially tasteful and decorative, helping to legitimise both *Don Juan* and Byron himself by placing the primary emphasis on a refined connection to the antique.

The Byron Gallery: A Series of Historical Embellishments to Illustrate the Poetical Works of Lord Byron (to give the work its full title) was an album of thirty-one prints designed to be inserted by the purchaser into existing editions of Byron's works. Richter's illustration was therefore part of a collection which had a civilising as well as aesthetic aim. Other contributors included leading academic painters, such as Thomas Stothard, Richard Westall and Henry Corbould—all of whom had variously provided illustrations for Boydell's Shakespeare Gallery and for collected editions of Scott. By slotting their unimpeachably elegant images into the pages of a copy of Byron, the physical book could become an art object, elevating its status and confirming the good taste of the owner. In this way, neoclassical illustrations to Byron of this kind offered themselves as tools to assuage sensitive readers, ensuring that it was the decorous, rather than scandalous, elements of his poems upon which the gaze of the viewer and reader fell.

* * *

A second kind of Byronic art situates the poet's work firmly within the radical and revolutionary context of the early decades of the nineteenth century. This approach was particularly prominent in France, where Byron became a Romantic figurehead and embodied a modern and progressive conception of post-Waterloo European history which a generation of artists were eager to embrace.¹² As Stephen Bann has argued, 'French artists did not simply borrow themes from British Romantic poets. They used them to force the pace of artistic change'.¹³ Byron became an icon for a movement: a kind of ur-poet for visual representations of high-minded Romanticism. The most enthusiastic French exponent of Byronic art was Eugène Delacroix, who produced dozens of paintings, prints and drawings which directly illustrate scenes from Byron's poetry, as well as many more which broadly share subject matter with the poet's works and life. Delacroix identified keenly with Byron's writings, and with the man himself. He cautioned himself in his journal: 'always remember certain passages from Byron, they are an unfailing spur to your imagination; they are right for you.'¹⁴ For Delacroix, Byron came to represent Romanticism, with a capital 'R' and all the implications of liberty, rebellion and revolution that the term held. In Byron's poems he found a banquet of extant set pieces, each carrying its own set of vivid and poignant Romantic associations, to which fresh meaning could be conferred by the artist through composition, colour and line.

Unlike Richter and his ilk, Delacroix was not concerned with sanitising Byron's poetry through an affiliation with neoclassical values and aesthetics, but his pictures nonetheless seek to bend Byron's texts to fit a certain ideological position. The French artist favoured a forceful and muscular version of Byron, which centred on cataclysmic finales or scenes of passion and danger. His pictures from *The Giaour*, *The Bride of Abydos*, *Marino Faliero* and *Sardanapalus* all concentrate on moments of bloody climax or intense confrontation,

and show a fierce engagement with the present moment.¹⁵ In the first half of the nineteenth century, French artists were still attempting to come to terms with years of civil unrest, terror and war. Napoleon had provided the ultimate instance of revolutionary man, whose immense talents and tragic weaknesses enabled him to impose his will on history with terrible consequences. Delacroix's Byronic heroes are similarly flawed, and similarly enmeshed in the immediacy of their epochal struggle.

Delacroix's 1840 representation of *The Shipwreck of Don Juan* (Figure 2, below) is less dramatic than some of his other Byronic works, but it does generate a comparable intensity. The painting deals with aftermath of the wreck: depicting the lottery used to decide which unfortunate occupant of the lifeboat was to be eaten by the rest of the starving survivors: 'The lots were made and marked and mixed and handed | In silent horror' (*DJ*, II.75.1–2). Delacroix's picture carries its own referents to the antique—via Théodore Géricault's *Raft of the Medusa* (1818–19) and contemporary salon debates about classicism and Romanticism. At the same time, the image maintains a fundamental engagement with the politics of post-Napoleonic Europe. It shows lost souls, their humanity slipping away in the face of death, and explores the strain placed on the revolutionary ideals of liberty, equality and fraternity when ideology is suddenly brought into question by events which are catastrophically real.

Maritime disasters exercised a powerful hold over the public imagination in the early nineteenth century. In his analysis of Romantic shipwreck narratives, Carl Thompson describes the social breakdown that occurs when a vessel is wrecked:

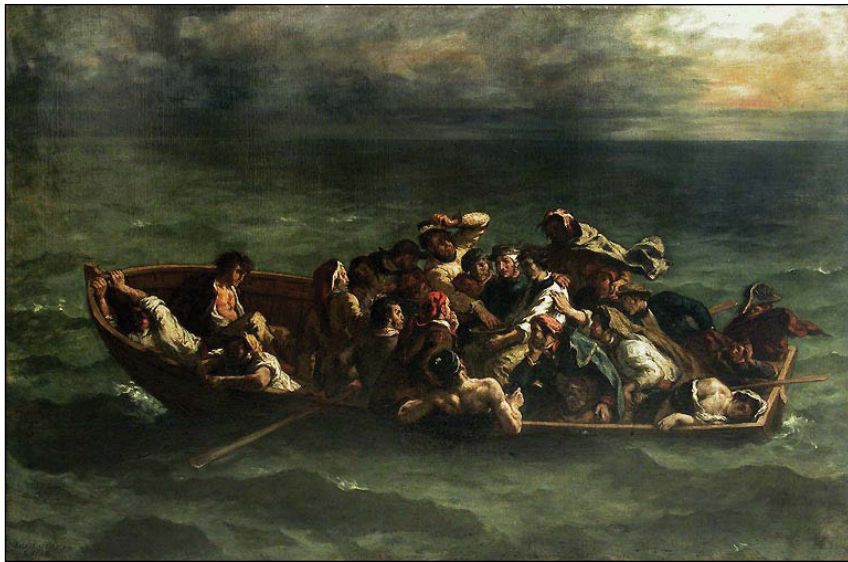


FIG. 2. EUGÈNE DELACROIX, *THE SHIPWRECK OF DON JUAN*, OIL ON CANVAS (1840)

it is not simply a physical structure that begins at this point to disintegrate. The social ties that bind the victims together as crews, and as communities can also begin to unravel, and with them those internalised structures, the web of customary social norms and taboos, by which the victims maintain their self-control and their sense of identity.¹⁶

Delacroix's *Shipwreck of Don Juan* exhibits precisely these characteristics. The disaster has brought about a forced and uneasy equality between the survivors, with rich and poor, passengers and sailors, obliged to share the nightmare of the lifeboat. At the moment of the painting they are engaged in a macabre parody of the defining democratic ritual: a reminder of the diabolical choices demanded by revolutionary change. Delacroix develops the motif of the shipwreck, deploying it as a metaphor for violent social upheaval, and gesturing towards the fear and pain of the post-revolutionary world. Moreover, like much of Delacroix's Byronic art, the picture foregrounds the destructive power that is unleashed when the thin veneer of civilisation begins to crack.

Byron and Delacroix were near contemporaries (the poet was born in 1788 and the painter in 1798) and they shared a certain *mal-du-siècle* perspective. In the decades after the defeat of Napoleon, Europe was buffeted by political upheavals and still held the promise of radical social change. Both men struggled with the disillusionment that followed Bonaparte's fall, but both were also fascinated by the possibility of a new order taking shape within their lifetime. Byron died as a consequence of his attempts to further the cause of Greek independence: a fact which only increased his personal Romantic appeal. Delacroix's politics were similarly radical-leaning, and his Byron paintings need to be considered alongside his explicitly political works, such as the *Massacre at Chios* (1824), *Greece Expiring on the Ruins of Missolonghi* (1826) and *Liberty Leading the People* (1830). The Byronic art, as much as these mytho-political pictures, frames Delacroix's post-revolutionary perspective, and presses home his belief that artists, writers and other liberal intellectuals had a crucial role to play in constructing, as much as reflecting, the events of their times.

* * *

Delacroix's pictorial vision of Byron is characterised by its urgency and immediacy, and by a desire to align the poet with pressingly modern issues and ideals. In contrast, a third kind of nineteenth-century Byronic art looks back at the poet with a sense of nostalgia, and situates him as a tutelary spirit from a lost age of idealism. Many Victorian artists, led by the Pre-Raphaelites, turned to the Romantics for inspiration. They responded to those aspects of the Romantic movement which characterised their own art: the desire to pursue strong intellectual themes, the tendency towards myth-making and the fascination with extraordinary individuals who defied convention and tested themselves against society. Such qualities, combined with Byron's self-imposed exile and

the revolutionary context of his death, allowed late nineteenth-century artists to hold him up as a visionary, even a prophet. Under this uncomfortably reverent gaze, Byron is elevated to the status of a Romantic martyr: someone willing to sacrifice everything, even their life, for their ideals and for their art.

The most prolific Victorian illustrator of Byron was Ford Madox Brown. Though not a member of the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood, Brown was a mentor of sorts to the younger group of artists. Like them, he was fascinated by the promise offered by the Romantic movement, and (like Delacroix) he came to view Byron as part of his personal canon: 'my never-faithless Burns, Byron, Spencer & Shakespear [sic].'¹⁷ Martin Meisel has argued that Brown regarded his pictures from Byron primarily as a test of his artistic talents: 'translating Byron's poetry into picture and then into paint was for him chiefly a technical problem.'¹⁸ This may be part of the explanation for Brown's fascination with Byron, but there is also an ideological dimension to his interest in the poet. His painting, *The Finding of Don Juan by Haidée* of 1870–73 (Figure 3, below), presents a much more ambiguous portrait of the lovers than Richter's 1833 illustration.¹⁹ Here, the unconscious nude figure of Juan invokes one of the central themes of Brown's Byronic art: the iconography of martyrdom. The figure of the martyr offers a model for an individual suffering alone and unaided, forced to fall back on the strength of their convictions. For Christian martyrs, this meant the absolute certainty of religious faith; for Byron's secular heroes, and for Brown, martyrdom meant drawing on personal convictions of knowledge and genius, or the validity of a philosophical or political cause.



FIG. 3. FORD MADOX BROWN, *THE FINDING OF DON JUAN BY HAIDÉE*, OIL ON CANVAS (1870–73)

The Finding of Don Juan balances disaster and renewal in its depiction of the aftermath of the shipwreck. Don Juan, the ever-flexible hero, is given another role to inhabit: that of the archetypal poet. From one perspective, the picture promotes the Romantic stereotype of the pale youth, dead before his time. It evokes Henry Wallis's *The Death of Chatterton* (1856), and, like Wallis, Brown participates in the Victorian tendency to idealise—even ossify—the figure of the poet. Crucially, however, the hero in Brown's picture is not dead: Haidée will revive Juan and the power of Romantic genius will endure. The arrangement offers up Byron's protagonist as a symbol of the eternal power of poetic inspiration. The resurrection theme is bolstered by the formal echoes of a *pietà*, with the broken oar suggesting the cross, allowing Juan to stand for both the fragility and the lasting legacy of Byron's writing and ideals.

Brown's painting, like all images from *Don Juan*, represents a choice. In full satirical flow, the poem is as arch and scathing as anything in literature, but its tone is never constant and the narrative voice occasionally leavens its irony by elevating optimism over cynicism:

The love of higher things and better days;
 The unbounded hope, and heavenly ignorance
 Of what is called the world, and the world's ways.
 (DJ, XVI.108.1–3)

In contrast to the consciously libertine figure that inhabits most versions of the Don Juan legend, Byron's hero remains relatively uncorrupted by his amorous adventures, and his innocence allows him to represent, at least in part, the ideal of spiritual and intellectual purity in a morally relative world. Ford Madox Brown's painting develops these aspects of the poem by showing the Byronic hero in a state of poised isolation: within reach of, but disconnected from, an offer of sympathy and human fellowship and a new beginning. The hero has passed his trial and may now re-enter the world in a changed state. This situation is echoed in other pictures from Byron by Brown: his illustration to *Sardanapalus* shows the sleeping hero watched over by his lover, ready to awaken to an altered world, and his scenes from *The Prisoner of Chillon* and *Manfred* depict the protagonists at their most desperate and isolated junctures, summoning the resolve to take the final steps on their spiritual and intellectual journeys.²⁰

Brown's emphasis on individual existentialism counters Delacroix's tendency to depict Byron's heroes in moments of fierce social crisis. Several decades separate the two artists, but as well as reflecting diachronic shifts in readings of Byron's poetry, this variance may in part be due to the differing demands of the British and French art markets. The British artist Richard Redgrave observed in the mid-century that 'there is a marked difference between the French and English in their choice of subjects. French art shows a people familiarised with blood, and with the horrors of war'.²¹ Brown was interested in the portrayal of suffering, but he was less visceral in his depictions of violence than the French artist. Delacroix and Brown may have had to appeal to their own audiences, but their divergence also indicates different attitudes towards the Romantic

eneration of the power of the individual imagination. Delacroix depicts the hero as a man *in* time: a special kind of man, but one nonetheless bound up with the historical moment he is born into. In contrast, Brown's Byronic heroes float free of history: they present archetypes of questing artistic geniuses who transcend their particular epochs and speak to future generations, rather than immerse themselves in Delacroix's scenes of bruising realpolitik.

* * *

These three approaches—representing alternate visions of Romanticism—dominated nineteenth-century Byronic art. Don Juan and Byron's other heroes were presented as inhabiting a neoclassical ideal, a post-revolutionary struggle or a realm of eternal genius, but while these constructions are prevalent, they are not the whole story. All three kinds of art are concerned with presenting an idealised pictorial version of Byron. They celebrate certain qualities in the poetry, and correspondingly elevate the status of the poet, and therefore require the incorporation of Byronic illustration into established visual frameworks. Byron's works are necessarily viewed through a particular lens, and the ambiguities that are at the core of *Don Juan* are often trimmed to suit an agenda. The wider history of illustrating Byron also reveals other kinds of visual construction.

William St Clair has argued that *Don Juan* reached a new audience: a class of reader 'not much interested in the former Byron, the Byron of *Childe Harold* and the *Tales*'.²² This broader readership was in part served by the numerous pirated editions of *Don Juan* which appeared throughout the early nineteenth century. These were cheap, pocket-sized volumes, which often included visual material, and which Byron's legitimate publishers were unable to suppress completely.²³ Among the unauthorised versions of *Don Juan* was George Smeeton's 1821 edition, which carried a set of illustrations by Isaac Robert Cruikshank. These are indicative of one particular strain of pirate illustration, representing the poem in a series of dramatic set pieces whose caricature style draws on Rowlandson and Gillray, while simultaneously mirroring the poem's own bathetic, self-deflating qualities. These jaunty, ribald pictures suit the burlesque origins of Byron's *ottava rima* metre, and treat each scene with a stagy self-awareness, showing us a Juan lurching helplessly from one melodramatic crisis to the next.

Cruikshank's brightly coloured images present *Don Juan* as theatre. The frontispiece to the edition places the reader firmly in the role of audience by placing the action on a stage, framed by a curtain, with Juan in full declamatory pose. The rest of the illustrations maintain the theatrical viewpoint, and the overall tone of Smeeton's edition, set by its visual content, is one of good-natured popular entertainment. *Don Juan*'s narrator makes a promise to speak plainly to a wide audience: 'I *won't* philosophize and *will* be read' (*DJ*, x.28.8). Cruikshank's illustrations take this populist dictat to one logical conclusion by giving Juan's various predicaments their full comic effect. The image here (Figure 4, overleaf) shows the tussle between Juan and Donna Julia's cuckolded

husband, Alfonso.²⁴ The picture matches the farcical style of Byron's description, with the half-dressed combatants engaging in an undignified sequence of pommellings, grapplings and throttlings. This is a very different *Don Juan* to that presented by Richter, Delacroix or Brown. Cruikshank illustrates the gleeful, irreverent and above all entertaining *Don Juan* which sold thousands of pirate copies, and which was not afraid to amuse as much as edify, or to stimulate the blood as much as the mind.



FIG. 4. ISAAC ROBERT CRUIKSHANK,
DON JUAN. VERSE CLXXXIV—CANTO 1 (1821)

While the nineteenth-century visual tradition does provide low- as well as highbrow versions of *Don Juan*, it fails to offer an adequate reflection of the self-referential complexity of the poem. Neither does nineteenth-century illustrative art attempt to convey the multiplicity at the heart of a text that is only one contribution to the vast web of retellings of the Don Juan/Don Giovanni legend. Byron's version of Juan is characterised by his lack of interiority. The absence at the hero's core allows him to reflect back the desires of those he encounters, creating a repeating pattern of connection and release, which enables him to seduce, or be seduced, and continue his peregrinations with scarcely a backward glance. The fractured, free-flowing nature of the poem, written quickly and without a definite end in sight, produces a picaresque series of set pieces, glossed by a playful narrator whose sense of humour frequently oversteps the boundaries of decorum. Recognition and celebration of these tropes has dominated twentieth- and twenty-first-century literary criticism of *Don Juan*, but art has seldom shown us this version of the poem.

There are, however, notable examples of this ironic, plural *Don Juan* in visual art, specifically in two twentieth-century sets of illustrations: one by

John Austen and one by Milton Glaser. Both artists developed new modes of Byronic art: modernist (in the case of Austen) and postmodernist (in the case of Glaser). Austen and Glaser leave behind the classicised and romanticised veneration of the nineteenth century to create new pictorial idioms for the poet and his poems. These twentieth-century responses reflect developments in academic criticism of *Don Juan* by presenting densely layered, fluid visual references which match those of the text. Moreover, they both acknowledge that there is a void at the heart of Byron's poem (and at the centre of Juan himself) that can be filled in manifold ways.

John Austen's sexually frank illustrations for the *Campion Edition of Don Juan* (1926) provide an adult reading of Juan's adventures—distant relations of the saucy belles and turbaned bandits of the pirate illustrators of the 1820s. Don Juan, in his 1920s' incarnation, appears as a Regency dandy, filtered through a modern sensibility that incorporates the arch grotesquery of Aubrey Beardsley and the deco angularity of Tamara de Lempicka. Austen's illustrations strip away the last vestiges of nineteenth-century decorum still clinging to the poem and expose its raw carnality. The images focus predominantly on a combination of sex and violence, with numerous pre- and post-coital depictions of the hero, first as a dashing buck and later as an aging roué. The illustration shown here, *Haidée and Juan were not married—the fault was theirs, not mine* (Figure 5, overleaf), follows convention by depicting the lovers in one another's arms, but Austen gives us a languorous tryst, rather than the virginal blossoming of youthful ardour depicted by earlier illustrators.²⁵ Unlike Richter's coyly adolescent embrace, which seeks to minimise sensuality, Austen's image directly confronts the sexual dimension of the relationship. The choice of caption tips a wink to the narrator's ironically overstated lack of guile, while the picture itself gives Byron's description of his couple, 'Half naked, loving, natural, and Greek' (*DJ*, II.194.8), its full licentious resonance.

The illustrations to the *Campion Edition* present a somewhat cold and cruel version of *Don Juan*, emphasising the antihero's existential anxieties and self-destructive streak, rather than his seductive charm and good-humoured fatalism. In fact, Austen appears to be depicting quite a different character to Byron's mostly boyish and ingenuous creation: a much less sympathetic Juan, who embodies an iconoclastic, Modernist reaction to decades of Victorian disapproval of the Don's escapades. This is in part a recognition of the decadent, even gothic, potential of the text. In the poem, Byron's narrator lets slip an occasional expression of anxiety about the moral health of his hero:

About this time, as might have been anticipated,

Seduced by youth and dangerous examples,

Don Juan grew, I fear, a little dissipated. (*DJ*, X.23.1–3)

For the most part, Juan floats through life, unrestrained by conventional ethical considerations. In Austen's illustrations, however, the moral toll extracted by his wanderings becomes apparent. The images hint at a Dorian Gray-style façade, as Juan's boyish good looks serve to disguise an inner corruption.



FIG. 5. JOHN AUSTEN, *HAIÐÉE AND JUAN WERE NOT MARRIED—THE FAULT WAS THEIRS, NOT MINE* (1926)

Don Juan, with its editorial self-reflexivity and recurrent patterning, has a sense of turning inward—of the poem tracing a decaying orbit and starting to devour itself. In textual terms, it is the digressions of Byron's narrator, rather than the adventures of his protagonist, which exhibit a sardonic awareness of the dissolute elements of Juan's story:

If in the course of such a life as was
 At once adventurous and contemplative,
 Men who partake all passions as they pass,
 Acquire the deep and bitter power to give
 Their images again as in a glass,
 And in such colours that they seem to live;
 You may do right forbidding them to show 'em,
 But spoil (I think) a very pretty poem. (*DJ*, IV.107)

The narrator is keen to maintain a distance between the hero of his 'pretty poem' and the consequences of his voluptuary lifestyle—not least the cynical worldliness that the narrator himself exhibits. In Austen's illustrations, however, some of the scars of experience become visible on Juan himself. It is these degenerative qualities which his pictures stress, finding a hollowness behind the glib mask of Byron's hero.²⁶

Milton Glaser's illustrations to Isaac Asimov's 1972 edition of *Don Juan* move even further away from the urge to prettify or classicise the adventures of Byron's hero. Instead of standard set-piece narrative compositions, Glaser employs double-page spreads to present collages of sketches, decorative designs and other graphic fragments. In this edition, Byron's verse is almost overwhelmed by Asimov's extensive, obsessively detailed footnotes, which on occasions take up as much space as the poem itself. The notes go far beyond providing scholarly ballast and take on a life of their own: a fact which Glaser's illustrations acknowledge in their dense melange of narrative, character and motif. Reflecting on his career in *Graphic Design*, Glaser describes his approach to the Byron project:

I tried to echo the complexity and richness of the poem and the commentary by executing a series of drawings that had an almost 'annotated' quality themselves. I used images that came out of both Byron's and Asimov's writing, arranged in an overlapping, sometimes irrational, juxtaposition.²⁷

Glaser's illustrations offer a way of visually expressing the poem's protean qualities. They provide a kaleidoscope of styles, encompassing cubism, abstract impressionism, surrealism and much more. They also celebrate a Romantic profusion—an overflowing abundance of ideas, invention and influences. Many of the individual motifs were drawn from picture archives, which Glaser scoured for inspiration, and the accumulated scavenged images include architectural designs, natural history sketches, fragments of classical ruins and sculpture, anatomical drawings, erotica and portraits of kings, queens, knights and beauties, all of which are overlaid to capture the anarchic turmoil of the poem.


Glaser's aggregated images also reflect, and perhaps even gently mock, the scholarly scaffolding of Asimov's edition. As an editor, Asimov takes an exhaustive approach to Byron's epic, and Glaser correspondingly creates visual reference points which reinscribe Asimov's painstaking verbal expositions of Byron's own multifarious allusions. The illustrations to this version of *Don Juan* treat the poem as an academic goldmine: a textual tapestry in which reader, and artist, can find virtually any meaning that they choose. To declare the possibility of any meaning is to edge perilously close to finding no meaning, and Glaser's overlapping images avoid presenting any one single reading in the same way that the chameleon versatility of Byron's protagonist defies attempts to fix his true essence. In this way, the pictures return to the vacancy at the centre of a hero capable of being 'all things unto people of all sorts' (*DJ*, XIV.31.2). Juan moves through his life and adventures with little discernible alteration to his character and philosophy. He is a cipher, whose signification is remade afresh with each new narrative encounter. Glaser's palimpsests match Juan's own insubstantiality, providing swirling pictorial echoes which generate a series of dynamic, shifting representations of the poem. It is this melting pot of borrowed motifs that best reflects the *Don Juan*, and the Byron, which has been of greatest interest to modern literary criticism.

* * *

In the visual realm, *Don Juan* came to represent aspects of evolving conceptions of the Romantic movement across the nineteenth century and into the twentieth. Byron's poem makes available various iterations of literary Romanticism, and artists have responded by celebrating the abundant potential offered by the intellectual, historical and philosophical scope of the work. As a result, visual art has presented a range of often contradictory readings of Byron, some of which sit uneasily with our modern conception of the poet, and many of which Byron himself may have had trouble recognising. To be configured as stern classicist, revolutionary standard-bearer or dreamy visionary are ironic fates for a poet who could be worldly and reactionary in equal measure, but these are just some of the ideologies and agendas into which Byron's poetry has been incorporated during his pictorial afterlife.

The desire to revere and to venerate circulates behind many illustrations to Byron. Artists have sought to elevate the textual referent, and by association enhance the status of the picture. Affirming the cultural worth of the source text is important for any illustrator, and serious-minded engagement with the poetry has been crucial to the process of constructing Byron as a fit subject for visual art. Perhaps more so than with any other of his works, the pictorial treatment of *Don Juan* is at the heart of this process. The poem is Byron's *magnum opus*: a sprawling epic which has consistently polarised readers and critics. In response to this insistent iconoclasm, much illustrative art has sought to palliate *Don Juan* by interweaving it with an established aesthetic or movement,

marginalising the vitriolic properties of the poem and incorporating Byron into more readily acceptable intellectual and ideological frameworks.

Across the historical spectrum, however, some artists have been more willing to engage with the more disreputable and subversive elements of Byron's work, and, equally importantly, to acknowledge his sense of humour. Nonetheless, there can be no definitive way to illustrate *Don Juan*: the poem is too contradictory and self-reflexive for any artist to have the final say. Indeed, Byron's notoriously flippant riposte to John Murray's comments on the poem could have been directed at many of the pictorial representations of his writing: 'you are too earnest and eager about a work never intended to be serious;—do you suppose that I could have any intention but to giggle and make giggle?'²⁸ Byron's work has been valorised, solemnised and sentimentalised in visual art, but however idealistic the treatment the text has always managed to keep intact its sense of irreverence and contrariness. In this way, the pilgrimages and passions of Byron's heroes—with the irredeemably plural Don Juan at the heart—have provided a protean, flexible core around which successive generations of artists have found space to construct their own, distinct Romantic visions. 

NOTES

1. George Du Maurier, *Trilby*, ed. by Daniel Pick (London: Penguin, 1994), p. 26.
2. Richard D. Altick, *Paintings from Books: Art and Literature in Britain, 1760–1900* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1985), pp. 436–47.
3. Jerome J. McGann, *Byron and Romanticism* (Cambridge: CUP, 2002), p. 144.
4. Christine Kenyon Jones, 'Fantasy and Transfiguration: Byron and his Portraits', in *Byromania: Portraits of the Artist in Nineteenth- and Twentieth-Century Culture*, ed. by Frances Wilson (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 1999), pp. 109–36 (pp. 132 and 123). For a more detailed discussion of the relationship between Byron and his portraits see also Christine Kenyon Jones (ed.), *Byron: The Image of the Poet* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2008); Tom Mole, *Byron's Romantic Celebrity: Industrial Culture and the Hermeneutic of Intimacy* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), ch. 5; and Annette Peach, 'Portraits of Byron', *Walpole Society*, 62 (2000), 1–144.
5. Byron's private correspondence gives numerous instances of such confluences. In his journal entry for 10 Mar 1814, he wrote: '[Hobhouse] told me an odd report,—that I am the actual Conrad, the veritable Corsair, and that part of my travels are supposed to have passed in privacy [piracy?].—*Byron's Letters and Journals*, ed. by Leslie A. Marchand, 12 vols (London: John Murray, 1973–82), III, 250 (editor's parenthesis).
6. Jane Stabler, *Byron, Poetics and History* (Cambridge: CUP, 2002), p. 104.
7. See William St Clair, 'The Impact of Byron's Writings: An Evaluative Approach', in *Byron: Augustan and Romantic*, ed. by Andrew Rutherford (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1990), pp. 1–25 (p. 21).
8. Byron, *Don Juan*, XIII.13.1–2, in *Complete Poetical Works*, ed. by Jerome J. McGann, 7 vols (Oxford: OUP, 1980–93), v, 528. All quotations are from this edition.
9. Some of the best examples of this kind of Byronic illustration can be found in *Finden's Illustrations of the Life and Works of Lord Byron*. Published in numbers by John Murray between 1832 and 1833, the full edition contains 160 engravings

- from prominent artists, including J. M. W. Turner, William Westall and Frank Stone. For a detailed history of this project, see David Blayney Brown, *Turner and Byron* (London: Tate, 1992), pp. 43–51.
10. For a discussion of Scott and the illustrated book market in the 1820s, see Richard J. Hill, *Picturing Scotland through the Waverley Novels: Walter Scott and the Origins of the Victorian Illustrated Novel* (Farnham and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2010) and Peter Garside, 'Illustrating the Waverley Novels: Scott, Scotland, and the London Print Trade, 1819–1836', *The Library: The Transactions of the Bibliographical Society*, 11.2 (June 2010), 168–96.
 11. See Henry James Richter, illustration to *Don Juan*, in *The Byron Gallery: A Series of Historical Embellishments to Illustrate the Poetical Works of Lord Byron* (London: Smith, Elder and Co., 1833), Part 1, unpaginated. The table of contents lists this as illustrating Canto 11.185. Image digitised by Google Books from a copy held in Harvard College Library, and downloaded from the Internet Archive <www.archive.org> [accessed 20 Dec 2013].
 12. Notable early-nineteenth-century French artists who produced paintings from Byron included Théodore Géricault, Alexandre Marie-Colin, Horace Vernet and Henri Fantin-Latour.
 13. Stephen Bann, 'Print Culture and the Illustration of History: An Anglo-French Perspective', in *Constable to Delacroix: British Art and the French Romantics*, ed. by Patrick Noon (London: Tate, 2003), pp. 28–37 (p. 32).
 14. *The Journal of Eugène Delacroix*, trans. by Walter Pach (New York: Hacker, 1980), p. 39: entry for 11 May 1824.
 15. See, respectively: *The Combat of the Giaour and Hassan*, oil on canvas (1826, Art Institute of Chicago); *Selim and Zuleika*, oil on canvas (1857, Kimbell Art Museum, Fort Worth); *The Execution of the Doge Marino Faliero*, oil on canvas (1825–26, Wallace Collection, London); and *The Death of Sardanapalus*, oil on canvas (1827–28, Musée du Louvre).
 16. Carl Thompson (ed.), *Romantic-Era Shipwreck Narratives: An Anthology* (Nottingham: Trent Editions, 2007), p. 14.
 17. Virginia Surtees (ed.), *The Diary of Ford Madox Brown* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1981), p. 2: entry for 4 Sep 1847.
 18. Martin Meisel, 'Pictorial Engagements: Byron, Delacroix, Ford Madox Brown', *Studies in Romanticism*, 27.4 (1988), 579–603 (p. 585).
 19. This picture was first designed as an illustration for *The Poetical Works of Lord Byron*, ed. by W. M. Rossetti (London: Moxon, 1870).
 20. See, respectively: illustration to *Sardanapalus*, in *Poetical Works*, ed. by Rossetti (1870), p. 273; illustration to *The Prisoner of Chillon*, in *The Poets of the Nineteenth Century*, ed. by R. A. Willmott (London: Routledge, 1857), p. 111; and *Manfred on the Jungfrau*, oil on canvas (1840, City Art Gallery, Manchester).
 21. *Richard Redgrave: A Memoir, Compiled from his Diary by F. M. Redgrave* (London: Cassell, 1891), p. 130: entry for 13 Apr 1855.
 22. St Clair, 'Impact of Byron's Writings', p. 18.
 23. For more details of the history of *Don Juan's* pirate editions, see St Clair, 'Impact of Byron's Writings'; Hugh J. Luke, 'The Publishing of Byron's *Don Juan*', *PMLA*, 80.3 (1965), 199–209; and Colette Cooligan, 'The Unruly Copies of Byron's *Don Juan*: Harems, Underground Print Culture, and the Age of Mechanical Reproduction', *Nineteenth-Century Literature*, 59.4 (2005), 433–62.

24. Isaac Robert Cruikshank, *Don Juan. Verse CLXXXIV—Canto 1*, in *Don Juan. Cantos 1.–v. A Correct Copy from the Original Edition* (London: Smeeton, 1821), p. 49 (private collection).
25. John Austen, *Haidée and Juan were not married—the fault was theirs, not mine*, in *Don Juan. The Champion Edition. With 93 Illustrations and Decorations by John Austen* (London and New York: John Lane, 1926), p. 83 (private collection).
26. See *Asimov's Annotated 'Don Juan'. Illustrated by Milton Glaser* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1972).
27. Milton Glaser, *Graphic Design* (London: Penguin, 1983), p. 67.
28. *Byron's Letters and Journals*, VI, 208: letter to John Murray, 12 Aug 1819.

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Fig. 2 © Eugène Delacroix, *The Shipwreck of Don Juan*, oil on canvas (1840, Musée du Louvre, R.F. 359). Image reproduced by kind permission of the Musée du Louvre, via Article 11 of French law no. 78-753 (17 July 1978). Available online <http://cartelen.louvre.fr/cartelen/visite?srv=car_not_frame&cidNotice=22728&langue=en> [accessed 20 Dec 2013].

Fig. 3 © Ford Madox Brown, *The Finding of Don Juan by Haidée*, oil on canvas (1870–73, Birmingham Museum & Art Galleries). Image reproduced by kind permission of Pre-Raphaelite Online Resource, Birmingham Museums & Art Gallery. Available online <www.preraphaelites.org/the-collection/zoom/1912P22/finding-of-don-juan-by-haidee/> [accessed 20 Dec 2013].

REFERRING TO THIS ARTICLE

P. T. KILLICK. 'The Protean Poet: Byron's *Don Juan* in the Visual Arts', *Romantic Textualities: Literature and Print Culture, 1780–1840*, 21 (Winter 2013) <www.romtext.org.uk/files/2014/07/rt21_no5.pdf> [date accessed].



REVERSE PYGMALIONISM

Art and Samuel Rogers's *Italy*

Maureen McCue



Pictures are for use, for solace, for ornament, for parade;—as invested wealth, as an appendage of rank. Some people love pictures as they love friends; some, as they love music; some, as they love money. There are those who collect them for instruction, as a student collects grammars, dictionaries, and commentaries;—these are artists; such were the collections of Rubens, of Sir Peter Lely, of the President West, of Lawrence, of Sir Joshua Reynolds. There are those who collect pictures around them as a king assembles his court—as significant of state, as subservient to ornament or pride; such were Buckingham and Talleyrand. There are those who collect pictures as a man speculates in the funds;—picture-fanciers, like bird-fanciers, or flower-fanciers—amateur picture-dealers, who buy, sell, exchange, bargain; with whom a glorious Cuyp represents 800*l.* sterling, and a celebrated Claude is 3000*l.* securely invested—safe as in a bank; and his is not the right spirit, surely. Lastly, there are those who collect pictures for love, for companionship, for communion; to whom each picture, well-chosen at first, unfolds new beauties—becomes dearer every day; such a one was Sir George Beaumont—such a one is Mr. Rogers.¹

ANNA JAMESON'S 1844 GUIDE, *Private Galleries of Art in London*, ranks Samuel Rogers—poet, banker and connoisseur—with celebrated artists and first-rate collectors. She contrasts his personal taste and emotional investment in his private collection against the cold 'getting and spending' of auction houses and speculators.² His pure taste and emotionally informed choice of paintings represent a morally attractive relationship with art, a possibility implicitly open to Jameson's middle-class readers. Using Rogers as a template, Jameson guides her readers to develop their taste for, understanding of and language for art. As a highly visible member of London society and a renowned connoisseur, this best-selling poet modelled the ideal of a personal life constructed along aesthetic lines to a fashionable middle-class audience.

Yet Rogers was no ordinary connoisseur. As Jameson's guide illustrates, Rogers earned a reputation not only for the vastness and diversity of his collection, but also for his distinct taste, which included overlooked artists such as

Giotto, Parmigianino and Cimabue. Although several critics have noted this important fact, very little extensive work has been done on Rogers in recent years, despite a growing interest in Romantic visual culture.³ But besides having an impressive collection of medieval and Renaissance Italian art, Rogers's literary work *Italy* (1822–28, 1830) is a key text in understanding the symbiotic relationship between literature and the visual arts during the nineteenth century. Rogers and his illustrated *Italy* provide invaluable information about the nature of British visual-verbal culture during the period, as evidenced in the author's long revision process, careful construction of his authorial persona and a progressive use of medieval and Renaissance Italian culture—all geared to meet the needs of a highly fashionable audience.

Rogers had long been in the public eye, but his antiquarian knowledge became increasingly important in this highly visual age. Like William Roscoe, Rogers exemplified a new type of aesthete, the *nouveau riche* poet. Born in 1763, Rogers came from a self-made, dissenting family. His father was a glass manufacturer turned banker; his mother was related to the connoisseur Richard Payne Knight. In 1792, Rogers's literary fame was launched by his Augustan poem *Pleasures of Memory*. The following year, he inherited a banking fortune worth £5000 per annum, allowing him to become a full-time man of letters and even affording him the luxury of publishing his own poetry.⁴ Rogers soon became as famous for his sumptuous breakfasts, sarcastic wit and generous nature, as he was for his poetry, all of which maintained his standing in the public eye, even as taste for his works waned. As Jameson's guide showed her readers, Rogers's house at 22 St James's Place was a purpose-built sanctuary for art.⁵ He was the National Gallery's first non-titled board member and at his death bequeathed paintings by Titian, Guido and Domenichino to the young gallery. However, while Rogers was a much sought-after guest at the soirées of the Holland House set, he was also a favourite subject for parody, not least because of his cadaverous appearance. Literary versions and invocations of Rogers appeared throughout the nineteenth century and, even in the private correspondence of mutual friends, 'zombie Rogers' was an easily circulated social currency.⁶ With this high profile, bourgeois background, famous art collection and the popularity of his illustrated, miscellaneous work *Italy*, Rogers was both instrumental in and representative of the developments in Britain's visual literary culture during the nineteenth century.

The turn of the nineteenth century was a pivotal and complex moment in the discourse of fine arts in Britain, which is epitomised by the treatment of Italy and its art in a variety of forms and media. Germaine de Staël's *Corinne, ou l'Italie* (1807) and Canto IV of Byron's *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage* (1818) were the most influential Italianate literary texts in the period preceding and following the June 1815 battle of Waterloo. However, Rogers's *Italy* marks several key changes in the literary and cultural marketplace of Britain, most notably the economic power of a female readership. Furthermore, Rogers had a different relationship with his audience than Byron or De Staël. Maura O'Connor argues

that while Byron and De Staël ‘spoke directly to the English middle-classes but were not of them’, Rogers, because of his banking and dissenting background, was ‘more representative of those middle-class travellers who also managed to maintain attachments and connections to prominent members of elite society’. Furthermore, she argues,

[u]nlike the literary writings of Byron and Staël, Rogers’s travel writings, both his long narrative poem *Italy* and his travel journal, resembled the kind of travel accounts that many more ordinary middle-class travellers felt inspired to compose while on tour or after they returned home.⁷

While O’Connor is correct in her assertion that *Italy* and Rogers’s journal are more in keeping with what the average traveller might produce for him- or herself, she overlooks the years’ worth of work Rogers put into making *Italy* appealing to a range of readers. Although she describes *Italy* as a ‘long narrative poem’, it was much more than this: growing out of his journal from his first trip to the peninsula in October 1814, *Italy* retains many elements of a commonplace book. It is at once a travelogue and a historical guide to Italy; it positions scholarly information on little-known art works next to gothic vignettes of young female captives; and its picturesque descriptions are complemented by lavish illustrations by Stothard and Turner. This work, which blends poetry and prose, was developed, published and republished over the course of more than a decade. *Italy*’s long publishing history, its *eventual* success and the reasons behind this success, provide valuable information about the desires of the period’s middle-class readership who were keen on raising their social standing, and the sorts of decisions authors and publishers had to make in order to render illustrated works commercially viable. Image, text and Rogers’s self-presentation are carefully crafted to meet the demands of this fashionable, middle-class audience.

A major factor which shaped *Italy* was the timing of Rogers’s trips to the peninsula: first in October 1814 and again in the autumn of 1821. With Napoleon’s escape from Elba, Rogers’s first trip was cut unexpectedly short and he left just six weeks before the battle of Waterloo. His return in 1821 was of a more leisurely nature, but somewhat disappointing because of the crowds and cold weather. He kept a commonplace book during his first trip, which records in detail his epicurean adventures, his art purchases and his encounters with other, socially elite travellers.⁸ The anonymous (and little noticed) Part the First of *Italy* was at the publisher’s when Rogers embarked on his second journey. Surprisingly, considering the market for all things Italian, the work did not sell well initially. The first part was printed anonymously in 1822, 1823 and 1824; the second was added in 1828. Still struggling to reach an audience, Rogers bought back and destroyed all of the unsold copies of the earlier editions and, in 1830, published another edition of *Italy* at his own expense. This time however, it included steel-engraved vignettes designed by J. M. W. Turner (c. 1775–1851) and Thomas Stothard (1755–1834). This edition was a success and continued to

be printed throughout the nineteenth century, in Britain, Europe and North America. Towards the latter half of the century, selections were often reprinted in anthologies, or, especially in the United States, used as the basis for dramatic works or new poetry.⁹ J. R. Hale has documented that the 1830 edition sold 'four thousand copies [...] before the end of the year. Another three thousand went in the next eighteen months.'¹⁰ Rogers collaborated heavily with Turner and Stothard in the production of these engravings, ultimately influencing Ruskin (who received an illustrated edition for his thirteenth birthday) and the Pre-Raphaelite movement.¹¹

Rogers oversaw all aspects of the design and publication of both his text and the illustrations. *Italy* grew from the slim and unattractive 1822 volume to a myriad of fully illustrated volumes, in a variety of sizes, from 1830 to the end of the century. For example, the 1822 edition contained eighteen sections plus endnotes, but had fifty sections with additional endnotes by 1830; two further sections were added in 1834. The engravings expanded, from inset illustrations of the text, to full plates interleaved between the text's pages. Hale, with the help of various manuscripts and proofs held in the Huntington Library, demonstrates how Rogers's 'vigilant eye' oversaw all stages of the production of the illustrations, from design to engraving. Rogers edited the proof sheets again and again, as minutely as he did when he worked on his own writing. Although this fastidiousness is well known, Adele Holcomb suggests another important impetus for the 'incessant reworking of *Italy* over more than a decade'. She argues that

the character and conventions of travel literature were changing substantially and rapidly. In 1814–15, when Rogers kept the journal on which his poem was based, the antiquarian framework of a Eustace was unchallenged. By the 1820s it was no longer possible to command an audience by organizing the Italian tour principally in terms of classical associations (though these would still hold interest); in important ways the subject had been redefined. Rather than functioning as negative foil to antique paradigms, medieval, Renaissance and modern periods of Italian civilization claimed attention in their own right and on a wider scale. So, too, was notice directed to the art and architecture of post-classical Italy, a requirement that taxed the prevailing poverty of resources for analyzing works of art. Finally, there was the demand for colorful and evocative scenic description, better still when accompanied by engravings. The mounting ascendancy of the illustrated travel book in the decade since Rogers' first tour, joined by the popularity of landscape engravings in other forms exerted pressure on the verbal description of scenery.¹²

Rogers answers the need of post-Grand Tour travellers, yet he is also reaching an audience with a voracious appetite for illustrations. His readers could be either fireside travellers or active participants in the growing tourist industry.

Some might intensely read *Italy* for its breadth of factual knowledge; others, attracted to the gothic vignettes, might dip into it more casually, as we do today with coffee-table books or magazines. Renaissance and medieval Italy, especially Tuscany, was increasingly appealing to readers. As a well-respected connoisseur, Rogers's own knowledge of this subject was a major selling point for *Italy*. Yet, he packaged this knowledge within the framework of popular taste by drawing on the two major developments of contemporary publishing: illustrations and annuals. Furthermore, he used the growing interest in the fine arts of the Renaissance period to extend the image of himself as an authority of art. It was this combination of factors which helped Rogers not only to reach a large audience, but also to shape the taste of the nineteenth century.

Making *Italy* popular was costly, but its illustrations gave it a high social currency. Hale puts the cost of publishing the illustrated editions of *Italy* and Rogers's collected *Poems* at £15,000 between them, but, as Lady Blessington punned, *Italy* 'would have been dished if it had not been for the plates'.¹³ Though several critics, including Hale and Holcomb, point out that Blessington's pun overstates the case, they do acknowledge that the illustrations were essential to the work's success.¹⁴ As Hale demonstrates, Rogers exploited both the new technology of steel engraving, which was able to mass-produce high quality prints, and the fashionable practice of displaying elegant verse collections in one's drawing room. More than simply decorative, this new visual technology gave a depth and an atmospheric quality to the text through minute details. The page was now a 'peephole', according to Hale, 'through which the reader could glimpse the sun rising mistily among the Alps, or a gondola moving over the lagoon toward the Doge's Palace'.¹⁵ Like the popular camera obscura and raree-shows in London, Turner's illustrations of landscape and architecture condensed Rogers's loco-descriptive passages into intensified snapshot celebrations, while Stothard's vignettes of paintings and local characters instantly gratified the quest for Old Master works and Italian spectacles.

The visual and textual developments *Italy* went through were shaped by two deeply entwined elements: the market for engravings and the popularity of annuals and other gift-books. Recent scholarship has tried to place Romantic writers' literary output within a wider context of print culture and advancements in print technology. In *Wordsworth and the Word-Preserving Arts* (2007), Peter Simonsen argues that

Romantic poets were the first to fully experience and exploit the fact that literature had assumed the fixed condition often associated with print. With the coming of Romanticism, England had emerged as a full-fledged print society and print had lost what remained of its 'stigma', the aristocratic and gentlemanly ideas of earlier ages about print as a less prestigious medium for poetry [...]. The Romantics came to accept print as a proper medium for poets aiming to achieve secular immortality and posterior recognition.¹⁶

Thanks in part to the growing visual culture in Britain, the topography of books was rapidly changing. 'Viewing' and 'reading', art and literature, began to merge in a variety of activities and formats, including the practices of picturesque landscape drawing and tours, the desire to read Old Master portraits with the help of critics, the popularity of portraits of contemporary writers and the formation of galleries depicting scenes from canonical writers such as Milton and Shakespeare.¹⁷ Especially important was the development of more sophisticated methods of engraving, which could now produce high-quality reproductions en masse. As engraving technology improved, the art and practice of engraving became increasingly recognised and celebrated, while its commercial implications dramatically shaped publishing practices in post-Waterloo Britain, particularly in the development of illustrated texts, such as keepsakes, annuals and albums.

In the mid-eighteenth century, the fledgling Royal Academy broke away from the Society of Artists and decided to omit engravers from its ranks in a bid to raise the arts above the mechanical. Yet, as Gillian D'Arcy Wood has shown, prints, like portraits, were one of the most profitable art forms and many academicians were financially dependent on the sale of engraved prints made from their paintings.¹⁸ The establishment's ideological values were at odds with the powerful commercial forces that dictated the nature of the contemporary art world. Furthermore, the technological advancements in printmaking and the popularity of prints at the end of the eighteenth and beginning of the nineteenth centuries, gave contemporary British art a prominent standing in the international arena, a reputation which, ironically, the Royal Academy had failed to achieve. For continental connoisseurs, Wood argues, 'the print *was* the British School'.¹⁹ Previously, British collectors had relied on Paris and Amsterdam for engravings of the Old Masters. By the end of the eighteenth century, thanks in part to William Hogarth's *Harlot's Progress* series (1732), British engravings were making headway on the international stage and transforming the nature of art discourse at home.²⁰ As physical commodities, prints spoke silently for their owner's taste and character. Particularly appealing to the rising middle class, prints signified their owner's cultural capital both in private and public arenas. Despite being a high risk financially, the wide-ranging potential of prints shaped visual exhibitions and literary publishing practices in profound ways. Ventures such as Thomas Macklin's Poets' Gallery and John Boydell's Milton Gallery provide good examples of these crossovers. Macklin's popular gallery was a portrait collection of the nation's most celebrated poets.²¹ Boydell's galleries, on the other hand, displayed contemporary paintings depicting scenes and characters from Britain's canonical literature. Boydell's enterprise was multifaceted: the gallery displayed the original paintings; engraved prints of the paintings could be bought individually, either by subscription or on demand; and illustrated editions of the literary works were issued at the same time. As Richard Altick has documented, from 1790 to 1800, the popularity of engravings made from paintings as well as the growing demand for illustrated books resulted in a new genre in

publishing, books composed of a large series of specially commissioned pictures and advertised by a long-term exhibition of those paintings. It was then that the potentialities of the exhibition as the chief way of promoting the sale of engravings were first realized by the projectors of various 'galleries'.²²

The physical social space of the gallery was re-enacted in drawing rooms by sharing and displaying individual or collections of prints, while illustrated editions of Shakespeare and Milton became highly sought-after markers of their owners' cultural and social standing.

The interdependence between text and engravings grew as the nature of the literary market changed. In *The Economy of Literary Form* (1996), Lee Erickson traces the shift in demand away from poetry, which had been the dominant genre in the period between the French Revolution in the 1780s and the 1815 battle of Waterloo, to the rise of fiction after 1820. In the interim, there was a growth in periodicals, essay writing and literary biography. These genres, argues Erickson, provided a forum to discuss art, culture and politics, mimicking wider spheres of circulation, such as the drawing room, coffee house, gallery, library, debating chambers and ultimately the nation.²³ Both home-grown and foreign visual arts became increasingly integral to this space, and in 1816 the first periodical devoted to the fine arts was published. The *Annals of the Fine Arts* reflected, according to Ian Jack, the 'extraordinary ferment of excitement about painting and sculpture in England at this time'.²⁴ Print culture brought the visual and the plastic to a wide audience throughout Britain and through this the lexicon of art discourse was disseminated to non-artists. It is perhaps no surprise then that a book like Rogers's *Italy*, with its combination of poetry, prose and illustrations, should do well in such a climate. However, the development of a new type of book was also important in Rogers's remarketing of his book. The 'eclectic character of the magazines and the weekly literary papers', Erickson argues, 'inspired the lighter and more fashionable potpourri of album verse, essays, travelogues, and short stories in the richly bound and lavishly illustrated literary Annuals and gift books'.²⁵ The Austrian immigrant Rudolph Ackermann was a highly innovative entrepreneur of the visual arts market. Perhaps best remembered as the creator of his print shop and his periodical the *Repository of Arts, Literature, Commerce, Manufactures, Fashions and Politics* (in print 1809–28), Ackermann began publishing annuals in 1822. Although annuals were originally a continental tradition, they capitalised on Britain's highly developed art of steel engraving and had a profound effect on book making. Annuals, argues Simonsen, were 'highly conscious of their use of word-image constellations' and above all targeted female readers:

The annuals were hotbeds for the development of Romantic and later Victorian ekphrasis and more than the museum and other exhibitions of original art, they were both cause and effect of the dramatic upsurge in interest in visual art in the later Romantic period.²⁶

Steel engravings could produce high-quality images many times over, making them superior to copper or other types of engravings where plates wore down quickly. As Basil Hunnisett and others have documented, literary texts were among the first to use steel engravings.²⁷ All of these factors can be traced in *Italy*'s development, Rogers's choice of subject matter, the illustrations, bindings and balance between poetry, informative prose, travelogue and short stories. It was *Italy*'s alliance with this 'fashionable potpourri' that made it highly successful.

Both writers and artists profited from the commercial success of the annuals: writers, particularly several woman writers, found a steady income through writing for the annuals, while illustrators gained patronage and fame.²⁸ However, many writers, even those who contributed to the annuals, were concerned with the effect these illustrations had on the quality of literature being produced:

Lamb and Coleridge's deep scepticism regarding illustration is typical of High Romanticism's privileging of the ear over the eye, the transcendent over the material, the general over the particular, the mind over the body, the visionary over the visible.²⁹

The underlying fear, and one that was often actualised, was that despite the appeal of such authors, the illustrations would begin to take precedence over the literary content. As Erickson points out, the price of the engravings 'put a great premium on the pictures and meant that editors solicited poets to write poems about pictures that were being engraved instead of commissioning engravings to provide illustrations for existing poems'. Eventually the 'quality of and the payment for poetry in the Annuals' began to decline.³⁰ Writers who wanted illustrations for their own work often had to underwrite the high costs of production themselves.³¹ Rogers did, of course, have the means to create the exact images and text he wanted. Over the course of a decade, he edited both his text and the work's illustrations in response to the new publishing market. His work grew to accommodate more short stories and longer prose sections. Like the annuals and other gift-books, *Italy* offers an array of subjects and genres. Particularly popular were Rogers's travelogues and his gothic stories. His readers were simultaneously educated by the author's own antiquarian knowledge and thrilled by his recordings of 'local legends'. Italy became a stage set and spectacle, both for Rogers's reader abroad, but also, with the help of such high-quality and detailed illustrations, for fireside travellers. By using illustrated annuals as a template, Rogers successfully navigated the complex demands of the publishing market.

Text and image converge most strikingly in the ongoing theme of captivity. This theme is prevalent in the narrator's retelling of local legends, in the witnessing of spectacular Catholic ritual, and in the poet-viewer's intense experience of art. Stothard illustrated several of the accompanying vignettes: the spectacle of the Nun taking her vows is forever frozen for Protestant readers; the illustration of *Coll'Alto* (Figure 1, overleaf) depicts the falsely accused Cristina, her eyes heavenwards, in the process of being interred by workmen



FIG. 1. THOMAS STOTHARD, 'COLL'ALTO', IN SAMUEL ROGERS, *ITALY* (1830)

way in which Rogers's text appealed to a variety of readers, and, as such, was an important tool in creating his own authorial persona. Throughout *Italy*, the narrator plays a variety of roles: cicerone, antiquarian, historian, picturesque guide and poet. Rogers's choice of art is an essential ingredient in his self-marketing. While the inclusion of Giotto and Cimabue shows an unusually progressive taste, in his editorial decisions it is clear that Rogers also mirrors popular taste and audience expectations for art. Through Rogers's own self-marketing tactics, *Italy* subtly reflects two important changes in British art discourse: an increased interest in Renaissance art, which displaced the importance of the classical, and the purchasing power of a female audience. These changes can be seen in Rogers's treatment of two statues: Michelangelo's effigy of Lorenzo, Duke of Urbino, and the Venus de' Medici.

Florence's Cappelle Medicee, attached to the Church of San Lorenzo, contain some of Michelangelo's most important work: the paired sculptures of Night and Day, and Dawn and Dusk, which recline respectively on the tombs of Giuliano, Duke of Nemours, and Lorenzo, Duke of Urbino. While these works tended to be overlooked by Grand Tourists, the intervening war years spurred an interest in the Medici family and Tuscan history with publications such as William Roscoe's *The Life of Lorenzo de' Medici, Called the Magnificent* (1796) and J. C. L. Simonde de Sismondi's sixteen-volume *Histoire des républiques italiennes au moyen âge* (1807–26). Authors especially began to take notice of the statues, but it was not until Rogers's *Italy* that the statues were considered primarily for

in the wall which would become her grave; and the heroine of Ginevra (Figure 2, overleaf) is in essence shown twice in the accompanying engraving which includes both a copy of the portrait of a young woman (attributed to Domenichino) and the trunk which was to become her tomb. The engraving helped promote Domenichino's reputation, and, along with the engraving of Raphael's *Transfiguration* (1516–20), was one way that readers could personally own a copy of an Old Master. This miscellany of narratives and subjects was one

their aesthetic merits. In the much-celebrated *Corinne*, De Staël misrepresents these works as the tombs of Lorenzo il Magnifico and his brother Giuliano, an error which produced much confusion for several decades.³² Ironically, these more important Medici are interred together in an unfinished tomb near the entrance.³³ Although its depiction of classical ruins and its ekphrastic passages on classical sculpture have received much scholarly attention, critics tend to overlook the ways in which Byron engages with Italy's medieval and Renaissance literature and history in the fourth canto of *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage*.³⁴

Though most of Byron's evocation of Florence focuses on the classical statue of the Venus de' Medici and the medieval Basilica di Santa Croce, he does briefly mention the Medici Chapels in San Lorenzo. Importantly, this occurs directly after his description of Santa Croce (stanzas 54–59), which is both the burial place of several celebrated figures, including Michelangelo, Alfieri, Galileo and Machiavelli, and a reminder of those great exiles, Petrarch, Dante and Boccaccio who sleep in 'immortal exile [...] While Florence vainly begs her banish'd dead and weeps'. Byron recognises Florence both as the place where 'learning rose to a new morn' and as a city which has suffered under and perpetuated tyranny. He describes the church of San Lorenzo as a 'pyramid of precious stones' which 'encrust the bones of merchant-dukes' (ll. 532–40), while Hobhouse's accompanying note dismisses the Medici chapels as the mere 'vanity of a race of despots'.³⁵ Rogers, on the other hand, treats the effigies of the princes as important art works in their own right, leading the way for later writers such as Elizabeth Barrett Browning in *Casa Guidi Windows* (1851) to do the same.

In *Italy*, Rogers describes the statues as the ghosts of the Medici princes, cloaked in shadow. He focuses primarily on Lorenzo's scowl, saying that it is fascinating yet intolerable. Although disturbing, the narrator quickly moves on

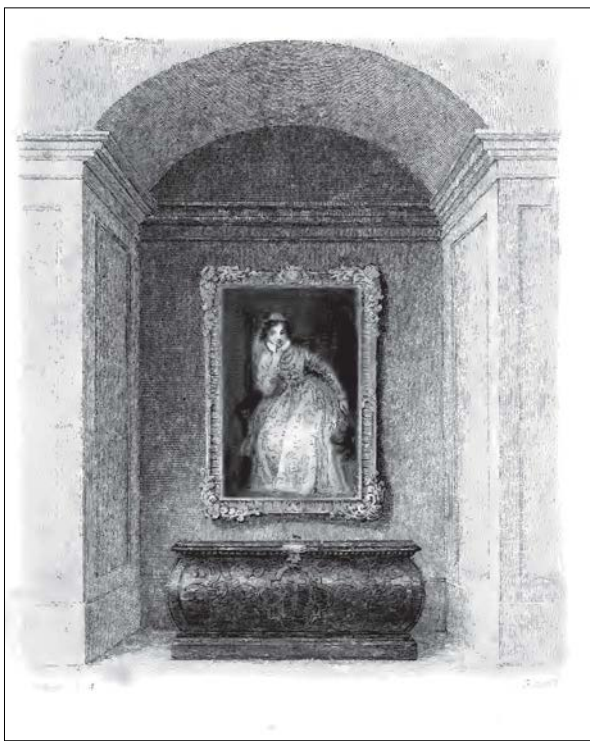


FIG. 2. THOMAS STOTHARD, 'GINEVRA', IN SAMUEL ROGERS, *ITALY* (1830)

to the next site, thus containing the dreadful mien in an aesthetically charged space. Yet, Rogers's journal shows another side of his experience with the statue. His entry for 8 November 1814, shows Rogers not as an authority of art but as its helpless captive:

(I am no longer my own master. I am become the slave of a demon. I sit gazing, day after day, on that terrible phantom, the Duke Lorenzo in M. Angelo's Chapel. All my better feelings would lead me to the Tribune & the lovely forms that inhabit there. I can dwell with delight on the membra formosa of the Wrestlers, the Fawn & the Apollo, on the sunshine of Titian & the soul of Raphael; but the statue loses none of its influence. He sits, a little inclining from you, his chin resting upon his left hand, his elbows on the arm of his chair. His look is calm & thoughtful, yet it seems to say a something that makes you shrink from it, a something beyond words. Like that of the Basilisk, it fascinates—& is intolerable! When you shift your place to the left his eye is upon You.)³⁶

This experience of Lorenzo's marmoreal likeness was jarring for Rogers. The images and forms Rogers feels he *should* value over this 'terrible phantom' are paintings by Raphael and Titian, which manifest ideal beauty, and the antique statues Grand Tourists had most valued for the *virtù* they promised to inspire. Yet, when compared with Michelangelo's sublime creation, both the viewer and these canonical works are rendered imaginatively powerless. By recording the struggles of several visits, Rogers's journal tracks the ways in which he emancipated himself from this terrible demon. In *Italy*, however, this struggle is glossed over as he confidently leads his readers through the sites of Florence.

Considering the fifteen years of revision that went into making *Italy* marketable, the objects Rogers treats lightly or avoids altogether become important indicators of how he is responding to his audience's demands. Besides signifying a personal preference, it demonstrates his careful self-marketing and the changes in collective taste. His treatment of the Venus de' Medici is one such incident. The Venus de' Medici was the single most important statue for eighteenth-century connoisseurs, and though her popularity began to wane in the years following Waterloo, she was still much discussed throughout the nineteenth century. Just a few years before, Byron had devoted five stanzas in Canto IV of *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage* to the 'Goddess [who] loves in stone'. In contrast, Rogers gives only a few lines to the statue which had so threatened patrician European masculinity for generations. Indeed, travellers who reached Italy before this prized statue had been returned from the Musée Napoleon often went into as much detail describing the empty pedestal as predecessors had done for the statue itself. Describing the interior of the Tribuna, the much read John Chetwode Eustace writes:

The most beautiful of these halls, which contained the Venus of *Medicis*, may be considered as a temple to that goddess, equal perhaps in interior beauty to that of Paphos or Cythera: at pres-

ent this temple is abandoned by its celestial inhabitant, and nearly stripped of all its furniture. It contained the masterpieces of ancient sculpture and modern painting; when they are to be replaced it is difficult to determine. This little temple, for so we may call it, is an octagon of about four-and-twenty feet in diameter, its dome is adorned with mother of pearl, and its pavement formed of beautiful marbles. Other apartments are consecrated to the great schools of painting, and could formerly boast of many of the masterpieces of each; now their vacant places only are conspicuous; 'sed præfulgebant eo ipso quod non visebantur' their absence announced their value and their celebrity.³⁷

During the wars with France, while Italy had been essentially closed to the average tourist, Britain imported an unprecedented amount of original Old Master paintings and authentic classical statues. Viewers were exposed to original artworks for the first time and the access to original antiquities, most importantly the Parthenon or Elgin Marbles, eventually led connoisseurs and middle-class viewers alike to be critical of statues now considered to be mere copies of antiquities. Furthermore, the growth in opportunities to see Old Master paintings at home revealed previously overlooked or undervalued works and artists. Coupled with an interest in modern European languages and other educational initiatives, this greater exposure to art during the Napoleonic Wars meant that the traditional itinerary of the Grand Tour quickly deteriorated in the years following Waterloo. Although Eustace and Byron, who published during and directly after the war with France, could still rely on the Grand Tour's classical sites to predominantly frame their travel narratives, Rogers needed to meet the demands of a middle-class audience interested in the Renaissance, not classical antiquities.

This change in British taste is seen most dramatically in attitudes to the Venus de' Medici, epitomised in Rogers's short invocation of the statue. Like any good guide, he invites his readers to visit the Tribuna and worship the marmoreal goddess: 'In her small temple of rich workmanship, | VENUS herself, who, when she left the skies, | Came hither' (pp. 298–99). Considering how radically taste had changed in the decade or so since the publication of *Childe Harold*, Rogers's light treatment of the Venus might have been easily overlooked had the way in which he had been previously captivated by it not been recorded in Anna Jameson's semi-fictional *Diary of an Ennuyée* (1826). Jameson and Rogers met during his second trip to Italy and throughout her novel she often relates their discussions regarding works of art. However, in the following quote, she recounts witnessing Rogers obsessively watch the Venus. In this way, Rogers himself becomes a spectacle:


Rogers may be seen every day about eleven or twelve in the Tribune, seated opposite to the Venus, which appears to be the exclusive object of his adoration; and gazing, as if he hoped like another Pygmalion, to animate the statue; or rather perhaps that the

statue might animate *him*. A young Englishman of fashion with as much talent as *espéglerie*, placed an epistle in verse between the fingers of the statue, addressed to Rogers; in which the goddess entreats him not to come there *ogling* her every day;—for though ‘partial friends might deem him still alive,’ she knew by his looks he had come from the other side of the Styx; and retained her *antique* abhorrence of the spectral dead, &c. &c. She concluded by beseeching him, if he could not desist from haunting her with his *ghostly* presence, at least to spare her the added misfortune of being be-rhymed by his muse.

Rogers, with equal good nature and good sense, neither noticed these lines, nor withdrew his friendship and intimacy from the writer.³⁸

Here, Jameson plays off the public caricature of Rogers as a reanimated corpse and imagines that Rogers will still be ogling the statue when her readers arrive in Florence. At odds with his own treatment of the statue in *Italy*, this passage reveals Rogers in a typically eighteenth-century, male posture. But it was precisely this attitude which he sought to avoid in his cursory treatment of the Venus de’ Medici. The Venus’s sexual potency had been a major component in virtually all interactions with the statue since the sixteenth century and led to various textual and practical contortions on the part of the viewer.³⁹ By the 1830s, the importance of Italy’s classical past had been, as Holcomb has argued, ‘redefined’.⁴⁰ This was in part due to the increased availability of art in Britain, as I outlined above, but also because of the treatment of art in travel literature written by women, such as Jameson and Lady Morgan. While earlier in *Diary of an Ennuyée*, Jameson had asserted her ability to appreciate the Venus’s aesthetic qualities, in this lengthier presentation of the statue she playfully uses Rogers to deflect the need for any serious critique of a statue most often celebrated for its sexual appeal and particular fleshiness. Jameson points to this sexual element through Rogers’s extended gaze, even as she distances herself and her readers from this male discourse. In *Italy*, Rogers deliberately limits his treatment of the statue to a few lines, privileging her celestial rather than earthly qualities and, only by *not* describing her, is ultimately able to contain her within his text. Maintaining this virtuous posture made *Italy* more marketable to his target—that is, female—audience.

Rogers offers a poignant case study for the developments in visual–poetic culture in post-Waterloo Britain. The myth of Italy and the desire to display one’s cultural capital fuelled developments in prints and illustrations. The carefully crafted figure of Rogers, his credentials as a connoisseur, and the success of the illustrated *Italy*, chronicle changes in the relationship between the visual and verbal arts. Like William Roscoe, Rogers, as a self-made man and connoisseur, became a template for his middle-class readers, a status he actively sought to maintain and capitalise on throughout *Italy* by controlling his emotional reaction to statues such as the effigy of Lorenzo and the Venus de’

Medici. By owning Rogers's work, his reader became more educated, had the opportunity to possess copies of important Old Master works, imaginatively travelled throughout Italy and gained an important marker of social currency. Drawing on the fashion for illustrated gift-books, Rogers recreated his text to appeal to a wide, predominantly female, audience. 

NOTES

1. Anna Jameson, *Private Galleries of Art in London* (London: Saunders & Otley, 1844), p. 383.
2. William Wordsworth, 'The World is too Much with us; late and soon', in *The Poems*, ed. by John O. Hayden, 2nd edn, 2 vols (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1982), 1, 568.
3. See for example, C. P. Brand, *Italy and the English Romantics: The Italianate Fashion in Early Nineteenth-Century England* (Cambridge: CUP, 1957); Chloe Chard, *Pleasure and Guilt on the Grand Tour: Travel Writing and Imaginative Geography* (Manchester: MUP, 1999); Kenneth Churchill, *Italy and English Literature* (Totowa, NJ: Barnes & Noble, 1980); Charles Hobday, *A Golden Ring: English Poets in Florence from 1373 to the Present Day* (London: Peter Owen, 1997); Adele M. Holcomb, 'Turner and Rogers's *Italy* Revisited', *Studies in Romanticism*, 27.1 (1988), 63–95; Adele M. Holcomb, 'A Neglected Classical Phase of Turner's Art: His Vignettes to Rogers's *Italy*', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 32 (1969), 405–10; and Maura O'Connor, *The Romance of Italy and the English Imagination* (Bloomsburg, PA: Macmillan, 1998).
4. Richard Garnett, 'Rogers, Samuel (1763–1855)', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, rev. by Paul Baines (Oxford: OUP, 2004) <doi:10.1093/ref:odnb/23997> [accessed 8 Oct 2007].
5. For more on Rogers's house and art collection see Donald Weeks, 'Samuel Rogers: Man of Taste', *PMLA*, 62.2 (1947), 472–86.
6. For example, on 20 Feb 1818, Byron wrote to his publisher John Murray from Rome, 'in three months I could restore him [Rogers] to the Catacombs'—*Byron's Letters and Journals*, ed. by Leslie A. Marchand, 12 vols and supplement (London: John Murray, 1973–94), vi, 13.
7. O'Connor, *Romance of Italy*, p. 33. In an accompanying note, O'Connor writes, 'When a new edition of Rogers's poem, *Italy*, was published in 1830, it sold 10,000 copies, which gives us some indication of its popularity. As a point of comparison, Murray's popular travel guides to parts of the Italian peninsula and to France had an annual circulation of 12,000' (p. 33n.).
8. This journal was first published well over a century later—see Samuel Rogers, *The Italian Journals of Samuel Rogers*, ed. by J. R. Hale (London: Faber & Faber, 1956).
9. See e.g. James Hedderwick, *The English Orator: A Selection of Pieces for Reading & Recitation* (Glasgow: Hedderwick & Sons, 1833), pp. 169–71; A young gentleman of Philadelphia, *Lucrezia, or, the Bag of Gold: A Dramatic Sketch in Five* [i.e. four] *Acts Founded on a Story in Rogers' Poem of Italy* (Philadelphia, PA: Turner & Fisher, 1848); Susan E. Wallace, *Ginèvra; or, the Old Oak Chest: A Christmas Story* (New York, NY: H. W. Hagemann, 1894); and Samuel Rogers, *Italy: A Poem, with 75 Cuts* (Paris: Baudry's European Library, 1840). Wallace's text includes both Rogers's 'Ginevra' and Thomas Haynes Bayly's 1830 ballad rendition, 'The

- Mistletoe Bough’.
10. J. R. Hale, ‘Samuel Rogers the Perfectionist’, *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 25.1 (1961), 61–67 (p. 61). Quoted as ‘Perfectionist’ hereafter.
 11. Recording all of these changes is beyond the scope of this article, and as such I have limited myself to four texts: the anonymous first part (London: Longmans, 1822); the first illustrated edition (London: Cadell and Moxon, 1830); the Cadell and Moxon’s 1838 edition with its full-sized plates; and an 1856 anthology of Rogers’s *Poetical Works* published by Moxon. For purely practical reasons, the last is my working copy of the poem. Although the editor of this volume explains that Rogers felt that a Cadell and Moxon 1834 edition of the *Poems* was the ‘first complete Edition’ (p. 211), the editor uses Moxon’s 1839 edition as his copy text (p. 406). By using the 1856 edition as the main text, I have been able to gauge various developments in Italy and how it answered the demands of a marketplace already flooded with images and Italianate literature. All quotations, unless otherwise noted, are taken from the 1856 edition, and, as *Italy* is a combination of poetry and prose, I will cite only page numbers.
 12. Holcomb, ‘Turner and Rogers’ *Italy Revisited*’, p. 84.
 13. *A Journal of the Conversations of Lord Byron with the Countess of Blessington* (London, 1893), p. 321, quoted in *The Italian Journal of Samuel Rogers*, p. 47; and Hale, ‘Perfectionist’, p. 63.
 14. Hale, ‘Perfectionist’, p. 63; and Holcomb, ‘Turner and Rogers’ *Italy Revisited*’, p. 84.
 15. Hale, ‘Perfectionist’, pp. 62–63.
 16. Peter Simonsen, *Wordsworth and the Word-Preserving Arts: Typographic Inscription, Ekphrasis, and Posterity in the Later Work* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), p. 53.
 17. See for example, Luisa Calè, *Fuseli’s Milton Gallery: ‘Turning Readers into Spectators’* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2006) and Christopher Rovee, *Imagining the Gallery: The Social Body of British Romanticism* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2006).
 18. Gillian D’Arcy Wood, *The Shock of the Real: Romanticism and Visual Culture, 1760–1860* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2001), pp. 80–83.
 19. D’Arcy Wood, *Shock of the Real*, p. 182 (my emphasis).
 20. D’Arcy Wood, *Shock of the Real*, p. 75. Wood writes that, throughout the eighteenth century, ‘[t]he popular audience for fine art prints continued to expand rapidly. By the beginning of the Academy’s second decade, the British export market in prints was worth two hundred thousand pounds a year. Increasingly therefore, the Royal Academy came to embody an ideal of state patronage entirely at odds with the reality of the new bourgeois market for fine art. Furthermore, the opening of this market was less use to English artists themselves than to those engravers and print-sellers who had improved their skill and adapted workshop technologies to better compete internationally’ (p. 75).
 21. Bruce Haley, *Living Forms: Romantics and the Monumental Figure* (New York: SUNY Press, 2003), p. 87.
 22. Richard D. Altick, *The Shows of London* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1978), p. 106.
 23. Lee Erickson, *The Economy of Literary Form: English Literature and the Industrialization of Publishing, 1800–1850* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996), p. 103.

24. Ian Jack, *Keats and the Mirror of Art* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1967), p. xvii.
25. Erickson, *Economy of Literary Form*, pp. 28–29.
26. Simonsen, *Wordsworth and the Word-Preserving Arts*, p. 14.
27. Basil Hunnisett, *An Illustrated Dictionary of British Steel Engravers* (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1989).
28. Anne Renier, *Friendship's Offering: An Essay on the Annuals and Gift Books of the Nineteenth Century* (London: Private Library Association, 1964), p. 14. See also, Bernard Denvir, who argues that 'graphic reproductions generally were a most potent force in spreading a taste for art, making the public aware of the style and achievement of individual painters, and conferring on those when were successfully, popular fame of a kind unknown before in history'—*The Early Nineteenth Century: Art, Design and Society, 1789–1852* (London: Longmans, 1984), p. 23.
29. Simonsen, *Wordsworth and the Word-Preserving Arts*, p. 19.
30. Erickson, *Economy of Literary Form*, p. 31.
31. Erickson, *Economy of Literary Form*, p. 36.
32. Germaine de Staël, *Corinne, or Italy*, trans. and ed. by Sylvia Raphael (Oxford: OUP, 1998), pp. 352–53.
33. See William E. Wallace, *Michelangelo at San Lorenzo: The Genius as Entrepreneur* (New York: CUP, 1994), p. 75. See also, Antonio Paolucci, *Il Museo delle Cappelle Medicee e San Lorenzo* (Livorno: Sillabe, 1999), pp. 61–89; and Giorgio Vasari, *The Lives of the Artists*, trans. by Julia Conaway Bondanella and Peter Bondanella (Oxford: OUP, 1998), pp. 453–62.
34. See for example, Bruce Haley, 'The Sculptural Aesthetics of *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage* IV', *Modern Language Quarterly*, 44 (1983), 251–66.
35. George Gordon, Lord Byron, *Lord Byron: The Complete Poetical Works*, ed. by Jerome J. McGann, 7 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1980–93), II, 120–86.
36. Rogers, *Italian Journals*, pp. 195–96.
37. John Chetwode Eustace, *A Classical Tour through Italy*, 3rd edn, 4 vols (London: Mawman, 1815), III, 362.
38. Anna Jameson, *Diary of an Ennuyée* (London: Henry Colburn, 1826), pp. 98–99.
39. See for example, *Taște and the Antique: The Lure of Classical Sculpture*, ed. by Francis Haskell and Nicholas Penny (New Haven, CT and London: Yale University Press, 1981), pp. 325–28; and, John Barrell, *The Birth of Pandora and the Division of Knowledge* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1992), p. 84.
40. Holcomb, 'Turner and Rogers' *Italy* Revisited', pp. 80–84.

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REFERRING TO THIS ARTICLE

M. McCUE. 'Reverse Pygmalionism: Art and Samuel Rogers's *Italy*', *Romantic Textualities: Literature and Print Culture, 1780–1840*, 21 (Winter 2013) <www.romtext.org.uk/files/2014/07/rt21_no6.pdf> [date accessed].



A GRAMMAR OF GOTHIC

Report on a Research Project on the Forms of the Gothic Genre

Manuel Aguirre



THE *Northanger Library Project* (HUM2006-03404) was a three-year state-sponsored project (2006–09) that sought to study the rise of gothic literature against the background of the ‘long’ eighteenth century in Britain. The central concern of the *NLP* was the edition and study of long-neglected gothic texts, beginning with the ‘canon’ of gothic novels immortalised in Jane Austen’s *Northanger Abbey*. Its primary tools were the theory of liminality, which has been an object of research in the Department of English Studies at the Universidad Autónoma de Madrid (Spain) since 1995, and such studies of myth and fairytale as specialise in drawing out the significance of form.¹

Relevant to the *NLP* are a research group working on liminality and literature (The LIMEN Group, established at the UAM in 2007), a series of single essays (*The TRELIS Papers*, since 2006), a permanent debate forum (The Madrid Gothic Seminar, with the participation of staff and both graduate and postgraduate students) and a website (www.northangerlibrary.com). As research proceeds it is fair to say that the *NLP* remains an ongoing concern well beyond its official deadline.

Two major results may be mentioned here. The first was a detailed analysis of Anna Laetitia Barbauld’s tale ‘Sir Bertrand: A Fragment’ (1773), which showed that Vladimir Propp’s 1928 methodology for the study of fairytales is both applicable to and pertinent for an understanding of gothic fiction.² The second was an edition of one of the titles in the Austen ‘Northanger Novels’ canon, Eliza Parsons’s *The Castle of Wolfenbach* (1793), accompanied by a critical analysis which examined the repetitive and formulaic quality of Parsons’s language in the light of chaos theory and eighteenth-century moral philosophy.³ This in turn highlighted the nature of Parsons’ writing in the service of conflicting perceptions of self and of the unresolved tensions between the discourses of determinism and free will. These results illustrate the fundamental bias of the *NLP*: its research is geared towards a ‘formal’ analysis on the commonsensical premise that form is a decisive source of meaning. Little work on this aspect of gothic is being carried out by a critical establishment bent on legitimising the genre through a consideration of themes and ideologies, rather than of language or structure. (Needless to say, however, pure formalism is a sterile game unless it leads to insight.)

An offshoot of the *NLP* was an interest in the most basic conventions adhered to by practitioners of gothic; this led to the present *Gothic Grammar* project. What follows is a summary of work-in-progress presented and discussed at the Madrid Gothic Seminar in the Spring of 2011. The guiding hypothesis is that a set of structural and semantic ‘rules’ go into the composition of all gothic narrative, provide a thematic basis for the genre and constitute part of what may be called a ‘grammar’ of gothic. The rules are conventions, the grammar a study of the way they provide units and patterns to fashion gothic discourse. The set of conventions addressed here merit the label ‘rules’ insofar as they are *constitutive*: they do not enter into so much as *shape* the genre. They are not simply writing customs more or less widely observed by authors, but might be understood as constraints under which authors choose to labour whenever they work within the gothic genre.

The rules are claimed to apply to *all* gothic fiction. This means that, as envisaged here, they are not to be identified with writing techniques; rather they are the ground that generates possible techniques. In this sense, they may be said to constitute (part of) a ‘grammar’—a concept which allows us to move beyond approximations, as beyond thematic or ideological approaches. Sixteen rules of gothic have been identified so far, but the list welcomes expansion. Briefly, the following considerations guide the postulation of the rules:

- a) ‘Gothic’ is here defined in historical (rather than ‘modal’) terms as a genre that began in 1764, reached an apex in the 1790s and evolved into other kinds of horror literature around the 1820s and 1830s (most critics nowadays ignore the fact that until the 1990s this was the standard critical position *vis-à-vis* the genre). Whereas work is being conducted on assessment of the rules in gothic, no effort is made at this stage to confirm or disprove their applicability to later horror fiction.
- b) The patterns of gothic narrative are a modification of those found in folk- and fairytales, and the tools of folk-narrative research are therefore relevant to the study of Gothic fiction. Justification of this claim is the subject of various lines of research both published and underway.⁴
- c) Folklorist Vladimir Propp pointed out that action, not the characters’ intentions or motives, is the decisive criterion for assessing the structure of fairytales.⁵ The same assumption is made here as regards gothic narrative structure, though with a heavy qualification: whereas structure does seem to be paramount in gothic, its characters exhibit an often rich psychology which has no counterpart in fairytales. (On the consequences of introducing psychology into fairytale narrative structure see rules 8, 10).
- d) Propp’s model assumes that the fairytale is composed of a limited number of main actions he calls ‘functions’. These, always following a predetermined order (some codified exceptions are recognised), always appear grouped in ‘sequences’—batches of functions that shape an episode—and can reappear in other sequences. Each tale consists of

one or more sequences of functions. Something is to be gained from applying this thinking to Gothic fiction, though again some caveats will be necessary (see rule 11).

- e) Anthropologists categorise rites of passage into three distinct types: pre-liminal rites or rites of separation, which disengage initiands from their customary world; liminal rites or rites of the margin, which subject them to various deprivations and tests; and post-liminal rites or rites of incorporation, which return them, albeit changed, to the ordinary world.⁶ In particular, the liminal stage has proven of paramount relevance to an understanding of gothic texts (see rules 4–7), and may well constitute a tool to approach the entire genre (see conclusion below).⁷
- f) Taking rites of passage as a starting-point, mythographer Joseph Campbell outlines a pattern for the traditional heroic journey which includes the following steps: the Call to Adventure, the crossing of the threshold, encounter with a Threshold Guardian, entrance into ‘the kingdom of the dark’, various tests and ordeals, obtention of the boon sought, return (often under pursuit, often with help from without), arrival in the familiar world, use of the boon for the benefit of the community.⁸ This model seems to be compatible with Propp’s and provides a further basis for the study of gothic fiction, while significant modifications are nevertheless required (see e.g. rules 5–7).⁹
- g) Folklorist Max Lüthi points out that the fairytale explores not only the hero’s success but also failure; both possibilities are therefore actualised, albeit the second is congruently projected onto secondary characters.¹⁰ The claim here is that gothic resorts to a modified version of this feature (e.g. rule 8).
- h) Our initial corpus includes representative novels beginning with Horace Walpole’s *The Castle of Otranto* (1764) and ending with James Hogg’s *The Private Memoirs and Confessions of a Justified Sinner* (1824), plus a number of short narratives culled from various magazines, anthologies, and one collection of short fiction from 1801. This corpus needs enlargement and should include not only a fair sampling of gothic poetry and drama but also of the many collections of bluebooks edited in the early nineteenth century and now all but forgotten.¹¹
- i) In the interest of brevity, no specific illustrations of the rules are offered here, as they would in most cases require extensive summary, quotation and commentary. Specific applications and detailed argumentation are the object of separate articles. What is proposed here is no more than a panorama of work in progress.

The Rules

1. *Gothic constructs a world consisting of two ontological zones or dimensions.* One is the human cosmos, a domain of rationality and relative order. The other is the realm of the Numinous (whether or not supernatural),

characterised by its incognoscibility.

The basic premise, that gothic is fundamentally a 'spatial' genre, has been argued in detail in my 1990 study, *The Closed Space*.¹² Contributions by Frederick S. Frank (1981) and Varnado (1987) have offered further explorations of the role of the Numinous in horror fiction.¹³ Part of the difficulty with this proposition lies in the elusive nature of the Numinous: it is not synonymous with the supernatural, and may be found in non-supernatural gothic. (See rules 2, 4). Nor is it quite synonymous with 'the Other', especially as this latter term has been used to designate things or persons often devoid of numinosity. In what follows the second will be used interchangeably with the first, in the understanding that the *numinous* Other is meant.

2. Gothic plots build on a deed (whether physical, intellectual or moral) that opens up the human to the Other: *a 'crossover' takes place whereby either characters enter the Numinous domain or else their ordinary world acquires numinous traits* (or both).

The (literal or figurative) crossing of the threshold is perhaps the prototypical deed in gothic fiction—a deed which, instructively, may be performed by a character or by the Other. Different versions of this deed are contained in the extended crossing of the threshold (the journey, rule 5) or in the transformation (rules 13, 15).

3. Gothic fiction applies a cause-effect pattern to the crossover and gives it a moral slant: *regardless (just like fairytales) of characters' intentions, gothic presents the cause as a transgressive move into or against the Other* (which often enough will be deemed a move against the norms that uphold the human world), its effect as a corresponding move by the Other by way of retribution.

A ruthless application of this causality principle—itself an heirloom of the Scientific Revolution—is congruent with the deterministic quality of Gothic (see rules 10–11).¹⁴

It may be that the innocent unwittingly cross the line. No matter, the rule predicts that such characters will begin to experience themselves as guilty of some crass impropriety or to discover in themselves the flaw or error that accounts for their misfortune. Awareness of the threshold problematises notions of innocence or naive assumptions about self (on the importance of this discovery of self, see rules 13, 15). (This rule is subject to reformulation.)

4. Our inability to grasp the Other makes it disorientating, hence terrifying; and not least among its terrors is the fact that we cannot quite tell it from our own world: *the Numinous is part of and yet profoundly alien to the human realm. Inherently ambiguous, its position vis-à-vis us is best viewed as liminal; that we cannot determine its boundaries is congruent with the fact that the gothic Other partakes of the nature of boundaries: it*

is a threshold area or a threshold quality.

The Other thus exists *sub limine*—up against the limits of reality, i.e. as a superlative that inevitably (and paradoxically) spills over and beyond the knowable—in other words, in the threshold region Edmund Burke defined as the Sublime.¹⁵ Its inherent ambiguity is perhaps the distinctive mark of the Numinous, and closely corresponds to ‘the uncanny’ (*das Unheimliche*) and *le fantastique*.¹⁶

5. In the course of the passage that all adventure consists in, *gothic characters, unlike fairytale heroes, are detained in the liminal stage, the victims of an incomplete or perverted passage.*

This is not to say fairytale heroes will not see their progress impeded or delayed (both Propp’s and Campbell’s models make ample provision for this). It would seem, however, that gothic fiction selects this stage as its central concern and evinces a special delight in lengthening it; see rule 7.

6. *The gothic ghosts are direct heirs to the ghosts of folktales and represent variations on the folklore figure of the Threshold Guardian.* As such they are liminal entities.

The function of this ambiguous figure is to test the hero’s readiness to proceed on his quest (and this, by way of either discouraging or enticing), but also, in a symmetrical position at the other end of the adventure, to hinder (or facilitate) his return to the ordinary world (see rule 15).¹⁷

7. (An expansion on 5.) As the liminal stage in the full round of the traditional hero’s tale is lengthened in gothic fiction, the passage risks never to be completed; and *gothic plots revolve around just such a contradiction—a dangerously drawn-out sojourn in a supposedly transitional stage.* Delay is hence an essential strategy in this genre.

Delay can be spatial, temporal, narrative. Entering Numinous space is much easier than leaving it. Narrative strategies (sheer textual length, amount of detail provided, phasal structures, labyrinthine paths, detours both physical and narrative, and so forth) procrastinate the characters’ exit or lengthen and problematize their return, transforming the most ordinary site into threshold-space (see rules 5, 7, 12). *Anisotropy* is a salient property of liminal space.¹⁸

8. *It is the fashion of gothic fiction to centre upon the flawed type rather than upon the paradigmatic hero of traditional narrative.* This creates equivocal, liminal figures—peripheral yet central, evil yet appealing, ineffectual yet burdened with the responsibility of heroes. One way to understand gothic fiction is to say that it tells the ‘other’ story of the fairytale, the narrative of the failed hero.

Flawed hero—villains are not simply legion: they are the rule. And it is a corollary of the rule that the narrative takes the trouble to

delineate the characters' original good nature before they 'fell': in the words of Frankenstein's creature, dramatically proclaiming 'Evil be thou my good', we discern not simply echoes of Milton but an awareness of gothic conventions. On transformation see rules 13, 15.

9. The broken, the worthless, the deprived, the misshapen are to be counted among the natural adjuncts of threshold space. *Gothic characters, objects, actions, environments are regularly flawed or diminished with respect to an often implicit yet always compelling standard*, thereby denoting the liminality of the domain in which they exist.

That 'ruling passion' (curiosity, lust, ambition, jealousy) exhibited by so many gothic characters is usually the decisive flaw. But the ruined castle, the incomplete manuscript and the literary 'fragment' or 'sketch' betoken the same aesthetics of the standard *manqué*. Gothic is in this sense a literature of synecdoche—not in the sense of the parts that represent the whole (the dominant value of synecdoche in traditional narrative) but insofar as the parts constitute reminders of a lost wholeness. In turn, of course (and again paradoxically: see rule 4) this loss, inasmuch as it defeats rational expectations of symmetry and order, generates, as Burke pointed out, the experience of the terrifying Sublime.

10. Freedom of the will is another standard which, central to eighteenth-century thought, gothic both heeds and undermines. Whether associated with the will of divine or infernal agents, with the crushing weight of the social order, with the twisted motivations of the human mind, or simply with the past (see rule 11), *gothic posits an overarching power—both constraining and inimical, often identified with Providence, more often with Fate—which its failed heroes strive against but cannot overcome*.

Gothic's tragic strain is a direct consequence of this rule, and manifests itself in a variety of fatalistic plots in which characters' qualities, motives or expectations count for little, while deeds and events alone seem to determine outcomes—and this (and here lies the tragedy), regardless of the potentially complex psychology of its characters, of their often detailed, often noble aspirations (see rule 8).

11. By means of a hidden-sequence arrangement (i.e. an initial key segment of the story is only revealed late in the plot), *gothic destabilises the characters' present and reveals it to be a deceptive lull in a long-enduring turmoil. Fate is in gothic texts often an entailment of narrative structure*. False beginnings are the rule, for behind the most Once-upon-a-time-ish start there lurks some secret event (murder, curse, birth, etc.) that turns out to have conditioned the narrative from the outset. Both mystery and tragedy ensue from this construction.

Plot in fairytale largely follows *ordo naturalis*, story. Epic, due to its greater complexity, resorts to *in medias res* beginnings so as to provide a focal point around which it deploys various techniques (stranding, flashback, tale-within-tale, digression and so forth) so as to accrue further important matter to its plot. The structure of gothic plots remains to be studied, but the hidden-sequence gambit is a classic. The manipulation of time-lines it entails assigns to the past an overwhelming (often bemoaned, equally often welcomed) weight in the understanding of the present (see rule 10). The past becomes in gothic another liminal 'region' bordering on, threatening, encroaching on the here-and-now—but just as likely redeeming or completing it.

12. A distinctive trait of the Sublime—its overpowering quality—characterises the gothic threshold: *being sites of power* (see rule 10), *the liminal regions in gothic fiction draw in, imprison or, in a frequent metaphor of descent, engulf those who venture into or near them*.

Thus physical or figurative dungeons, madhouses, caverns, labyrinths or wastelands are favourite liminal sites into which gothic characters are drawn; while 'perplexed', 'bewildered' or 'inextricable' are indispensable terms in the language of the genre. Delay strategies (see rule 7) have as their primary purpose to magnify the spatial-temporal dimensions of the liminal.

13. In that favourite gothic metaphor of descent (itself indicative of another standard cherished and breached), *the journey of transformation (the anthropologist's 'passage') acquires the lineaments of a moral, ontological, social (sometimes even physical) fall*.

Descent is in fairytales mere displacement, no different from horizontal or, indeed, upward motion, and offers just another means of approach to the 'foreign kingdom'. In gothic, descent is a privileged motion, associated as it is with social and moral degradation. (Research is nevertheless being conducted into a number of texts where the protagonist's physical or emotional *ascent* is central to the plot).

14. Resorting to hyperbole, intensity and deprivation, *gothic subverts another standard—this time of balance and moderation—prevalent in eighteenth-century diction, and dons a language of excess* (and its opposite, lack; see rule 9) to depict a liminal domain and to foster the experience of the Sublime.

In this, gothic adheres to an aesthetic trend already manifest in the poetry of the Graveyard School,¹⁹ in Thomas Grey's translations from the Norse, in the antiquity—genuine or faked—which Chatterton, McPherson, Percy, Walpole and others dabbled in. All excess as well as all deficiency—the barbaric, the cruel, the melancholic, the sombre, the fragmentary—comes to be associated with either spatial or temporal remoteness. Like foreign nations,

the past—that threshold thought to have been left behind (see rule 11)—is viewed as the ambiguous repository of all that bespeaks intensity and, by the same token, of all things to fear *and* re-live.

15. Gothic dwells on the liminality of the human condition, its potential for change—change not only on the moral plane but also (and increasingly so as the genre develops) psychological—change which, in the eighteenth-century debate on identity, is all too often seen as degrading or annihilating. *Caught in the threshold region, gothic characters are, if not destroyed, transformed.* They acquire numinous features and may come to resemble such denizens of the *limen*—ghosts, monsters, demons—as exhibit a non-rational (compulsive, excessive, repetitive, mindless, bestial) behaviour.

They become Threshold Guardians, the very forces they opposed, their own Others. In this transformation they herald the next great theme in horror fiction, the *Doppelgänger* theme of Jean Paul, Hoffmann, Chamisso, Hogg, Dostoevsky, Poe.


16. *One major theme that arises from the very forms of the gothic genre is the exploration of the liminal experience, which often amounts to an exploration of the condition of the lost.*

This is not just a Miltonian echo, though obviously the fall and damnation of Satan (but equally of Faustus) prefigure much in gothic fiction. The theme of *loss* in all its manifestations (see rules 5, 7, 9, 13) is perhaps the most salient one in a genre born in the crucible of the great Revolutions (scientific, industrial, financial) which so decisively changed Britain and the West. Indeed we might say that as British culture discovers itself poised on the brink of a new era it gains awareness of its profoundly liminal condition. The birth of gothic can then be seen as the paradigmatic expression of a culture on the threshold.²⁰

Conclusion

Some of the rules can be accounted for in the light of Burke's theory of the Sublime; some bear witness to a fairytale connection; some, again, make sense as variations on cultural conceptualisations defined by anthropologists as *rites de passage*. A number of these rules may be associated with the experience of terror, others with suspense and/or the inevitable, yet others with subversion or questioning of eighteenth-century standards. A rationale for these rules has been found in the concept of liminality, which allows us to unify an otherwise heterogeneous set of conventions. It would seem that gothic exhibits a *liminal* grammar and that its forms can be accounted for by postulating the threshold as its key concept.

The obvious issue that emerges from all this, and which will determine the drift of the project, is the question, what is the rationale of these rules? Individual writers may choose to follow them for no better reason than that they wish

to adhere to this specific genre, but are there reasons for the gradual shaping of a genre around these rules? Research begins to suggest that, if subjected to ‘thick’ description, Gothic may turn out not to (or not just to) be the poorly written, highly conventional genre it is generally taken for—a very poor cousin to Romanticism—but a genre built on a deliberate effort to distance itself from the prevailing canon of its day through defamiliarisation—highlighting its own forms. And one way to do this may have been precisely through a self-conscious leaning on the forms of a narrative system of non-literary nature, folktales—hence one reason for the claim that Gothic is not so much a hybrid as a *liminal* genre.²¹ 

NOTES

1. See Manuel Aguirre, Roberta Quance and Philip Sutton, *Margins and Thresholds: An Enquiry into the Concept of Liminality in Text Studies*, Studies in Liminality and Literature, 1 (Madrid: Gateway Press, 2000); Manuel Aguirre, ‘The Lure of the Limen: An Introduction to the Concept, Uses and Problems of Liminality’, in *The TRELIS Papers*, 1 (Madrid: Gateway Press, 2006); Manuel Aguirre and Esteban Pujals, ‘Liminality and the 18th Century: Outline of a Research Project’, *The Northanger Library Project* (Madrid: Gateway Press, 2008) <www.northangerlibrary.com/nlproject.asp> [accessed 20 May 2011].
2. See Vladimir Propp, *Morphology of the Folktale* (1928), trans by L. Scott, 2nd edn (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1994); Manuel Aguirre and Eva Ardoy, ‘Narrative Morphology in Barbauld’s “Sir Bertrand: A Fragment”’, *The Northanger Library Project* (Madrid: Gateway Press, 2009) <www.northangerlibrary.com/nlproject.html> [accessed 20 May 2011].
3. Beatriz Sánchez Santos (ed.), *Eliza Parsons’ The Castle of Wolfenbach*, *The Northanger Library Project* (Madrid: Gateway Press, 2009) <www.northangerlibrary.com/nlproject.html> [accessed 20 May 2011].
4. See Aguirre and Ardoy, ‘Narrative Morphology’; Raquel García Iglesias, ‘Counterfeit Hero: The Gothic Subversion of Fairytale Structure in Lewis’ *The Monk*’, in *The TRELIS Papers*, 5 (Madrid: Gateway Press, 2009); Manuel Aguirre, ‘Gothic Fiction and Folk-Narrative Structure: The Case of Mary Shelley’s *Frankenstein*’, *Gothic Studies*, 15.2 (Nov 2013), 1–18; Manuel Aguirre, ‘Mary Robinson’s “The Haunted Beach” and the Grammar of Gothic’, *Neophilologus*, 98.2 (2014), 1–16 <<http://dx.doi.org/10.1007/s11061-014-9389-1>>.
5. See Propp, *Morphology of the Folktale*.
6. Arnold Van Gennep, *Les rites de passage: Étude systématique des rites* (1909; Paris: Picard, 1981); Victor Turner, *The Ritual Process: Structure and Anti-Structure* (1969; New York: Aldine de Gruyter, 1995); Mary Douglas, *Purity and Danger: An Analysis of the Concepts of Pollution and Taboo* (1966; London: Routledge, 1994). On the spatial model suggested by this categorisation, see Manuel Aguirre, ‘Geometries of Terror: Numinous Spaces in Gothic, Horror and Science-Fiction’, in *Gothic Studies*, 10.2 (2008), 1–17.
7. On liminality in Gothic, see Manuel Aguirre ‘Narrative Structure, Liminality, Self-Similarity: The Case of Gothic Fiction’, in *A Place That Is Not a Place: Essays in Liminality and Text*, ed. by Isabel Soto (Madrid: Gateway Press, 2000), pp. 133–51; and Aguirre, ‘Liminal Terror: The Poetics of Gothic Space’, in *The Dynamics of the Threshold*, ed. by Jesús Benito and Ana M^a Manzanás (Madrid:

- Gateway Press, 2006), pp. 13–38.
8. See Joseph Campbell, *The Hero with a Thousand Faces* (1949; London: Fontana Press 1993).
 9. See Aguirre, 'Gothic Fiction and Folk-Narrative Structure'.
 10. Max Lüthi, *Es war einmal ... Vom Wesen des Volksmärchens* (1962), trans. by Lee Chadeayne and Paul Gottwald, as *Once Upon a Time: On the Nature of Fairytales* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1976).
 11. For a list of gothic bluebooks, see Angela Koch, '“The Absolute Horror of Horrors” Revised: A Bibliographical Checklist of Early-Nineteenth-Century Gothic Bluebooks', *Cardiff Corvey: Reading the Romantic Text*, 9 (Dec 2002) <www.romtext.org.uk/reports/cc09_n03/> [accessed 22 Dec 2013]. Also, for a checklist of early short fiction, see Tim Killick, 'The Rise of the Tale: A Preliminary Checklist of Short Fiction Published 1820–29 in the Corvey Collection', *Cardiff Corvey: Reading the Romantic Text*, 7 (Dec 2001) <www.romtext.org.uk/reports/cc07_n04/> [accessed 22 Dec 2013].
 12. *The Closed Space: Horror Literature and Western Symbolism* (Manchester: MUP, 1990).
 13. Frederick S. Frank, 'The Gothic Romance, 1762–1820', in *Horror Literature: A Core Collection and Reference Guide*, ed. by Marshall B. Tymn (New York: R. R. Bowker, 1981), pp. 3–175; S. L. Varnado, *Haunted Presence: The Numinous in Gothic Fiction* (Tuscaloosa and London: University of Alabama Press, 1987).
 14. On transgression, see Kenneth W. Graham (ed.), *Gothic Fictions: Prohibition! Transgression* (New York: AMS Press, 1989).
 15. Edmund Burke, *A Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful* (1757), ed. by J. T. Boulton (London: Blackwell, 1987).
 16. Sigmund Freud, 'Das Unheimliche', *Imago: Zeitschrift für Anwendung der Psychoanalyse auf die Geisteswissenschaften*, 5 (1919), 297–324; Tzvetan Todorov, *Introduction à la littérature fantastique* (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1970); Neil Cornwell, *The Literary Fantastic: From Gothic to Postmodernism* (New York: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1990).
 17. On the 'guardian of the threshold' in myth and folklore, see Campbell, *Hero with a Thousand Faces*, pp. 71–79. On the relevance of this figure to the study of gothic, see Aguirre, 'Gothic Fiction and Folk-Narrative Structure'.
 18. See Aguirre and Esteban Pujals, 'Liminality and the 18th Century: Outline of a Research Project', *The Northanger Library Project* (Madrid: Gateway Press, 2008) <www.northangerlibrary.com/nlproject.asp> [accessed 20 May 2011].
 19. See David Punter, *The Literature of Terror: A History of Gothic Fictions from 1765 to the Present Day* (1980), rev. edn, 2 vols (London: Longman, 1996).
 20. See Aguirre, 'Geometries of Terror'.
 21. I am grateful to Beatriz Sánchez and the members of the Madrid Gothic Seminar, all of whom have provided a stimulating work environment, and whose comments have so often been of help.

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REFERRING TO THIS ARTICLE

M. AGUIRRE. 'A Grammar of Gothic: Report on a Research Project on the Forms of the Gothic Genre', *Romantic Textualities: Literature and Print Culture, 1780–1840*, 21 (Winter 2013) <www.romtext.org.uk/files/2014/07/rt21_no7.pdf> [date accessed].



BOOK REVIEWS



Joselyn M. Almeida, *Reimagining the Transatlantic, 1780–1890* (Aldershot and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2011), ix + 283pp. ISBN 978-0-7546-6967-8; £60 (hb).

THE THEORETICAL RATIONALE for the emergence of transatlantic literary studies has been the recognition of important missed connections under prior modes of critical study and the rectifying power of observing multiple global parties in conversation with each other. In *Reimagining the Transatlantic, 1780–1890*, Joselyn M. Almeida persuasively demonstrates the efficacy of the practical application of transatlantic literary criticism as she expertly weaves together disparate writers and thinkers across national, linguistic and economic borders into a cohesive pan-Atlantic community.

In her introduction, Almeida notes the challenge that the ‘structural pervasiveness of the North Atlantic’ (p. 4) presents to her proposed project. This challenge is one of application rather than theory: Paul Gilroy and Paul Giles offer theoretical models that include transnational and multilingual elements, but their studies ‘remain confined to English-speaking writers’ and ‘Britain and the United States’, and therefore do ‘not fully account for the translations of language, cultural exchanges, and creolisations that emerge from this region’ (pp. 4–5). Almeida’s chosen range of authors and texts, in contrast, emphasises how ‘the prefix *pan-* in *pan-Atlantic* thus designates a multiracial and transnational space in which the ocean’s boundlessness pushes against national narratives predicated upon it’ (p. 6).

Almeida’s first chapter, ‘From New World to Pan-Atlantic: Opening the *History of America*’, examines transnational political debates over liberty and empire by triangulating three very different texts: Scottish historian William Robertson’s *History of America* (1777), Mexican Jesuit Francisco Clavijero’s *Storia antica del Messico* (1780) and former Afro-Briton slave Ottobah Cugoano’s *Thoughts and Sentiments on the Evil of Slavery* (1787). While recognising that criticism of Robertson as a supporter of genocide is ‘unfruitful and hubristic’, Almeida does mark the failing of his *History of America* as an overly narrow text that ‘exposed the limits of Eurocentric epistemology’ (p. 32). She then juxtaposes Robertson with Clavijero’s ‘major Creole voice into that most European of debates’, which ‘redraws a horizon that circumscribes the expansiveness of Robertson’s vision’ (p. 35), a voice that Robertson was forced to respond to in his fifth edition of the *History of America*. Similarly, Cugoano makes use of Robertson’s ‘foundational myth for European expansionism’ to form a critique of the transatlantic slave trade in what Almeida terms ‘an account of colonialism and slavery that counters the narrative of global European expansion and


imagines reform as having both local and transnational scope' (p. 49).

Next, in 'Francisco de Miranda, Toussaint Louverture, and the Pan-Atlantic Sphere of Liberation', Almeida 'examine[s] how nationalist and emancipationist narratives of liberation in the pan-Atlantic refract the discourses of European colonial, revolutionary, and abolitionist agendas' (p. 65). She distinguishes the European—and, specifically, British—responses to their attempts at revolution and self-governance: as Louverture's rebellion was predominately received with fear and hostility, Miranda deliberately differentiated himself through a prodigious literary output. While the 'racially coded reading of liberation' resulted in Louverture's efforts being rendered as 'monstrous' and therefore isolated (p. 65), Miranda's revolution was depicted as part of a common project: 'the transnational imaginary of continental America' (p. 89). Reading the two comparatively, Almeida asserts, 'opens up nationalist cultural histories to show that their struggles were coetaneous with the event that has long been read as the harbinger of modernity and a synonym with the Romantic age' (p. 67).

Almeida focuses on 'the relations between liberationist discourse and cultural capital' in Chapter 3 (p. 15). She begins by reading José Blanco White's translation of William Wilberforce, Thomas Clarkson and other abolitionist writings, *Bosquejo del comercio en esclavos* (1814), as a work with two purposes: following 'the political calculation of the first wave of British abolitionists who supposed that abolishing the slave trade would lead to the attrition of slavery in plantation societies', and the more 'radical strain' in which he 'advocated unequivocally against the law that required *pureza de sangre* [purity of blood] for Spanish citizenship' (p. 107). This interpretive act functions 'as a translation of sorts' and 'recognizes the interdependence between philanthropic abolitionist writing and the experience of the enslaved person' (p. 114). It also exposes a rupture in Blanco's adherence to Jeremy Bentham's notions of property, which he subverts as he 'attacks the rationale for considering Africans as less than human, or *semi-brutos*' (p. 120). Almeida reads White's work as a forerunner for Richard Robert Madden's translation of Juan Manzano's *Poems by a Slave in the Island of Cuba* (1840). This leads to problematic presentation, however: while the abolitionist Madden depicts himself as expanding Manzano's audience, Almeida invokes Jacques Derrida to demonstrate how Madden's position as a government official and the problematic exchange between author, patron and translator 'involves Madden's appropriation of Manzano's cultural labor' (p. 140), and 'reifies the position of the British subject as interpreter and consumer of the lives of others' (p. 141). Reading these two accounts together may suggest a disparity between Spain and the Spanish language as 'oppressive' when compared with 'the freer umbrage of Britain and English', but it also 'exposes the limits of the liberationist discourse [...] Madden's translation reveals that though Britain frees its slaves, it does not free itself from slavery' (p. 109). Almeida acknowledges that Blanco and Madden 'can be understood within the political context of British interests', but that 'such a Eurocentric focus' misses the larger role that these works play as 'part of the pan-Atlantic

crossings of British Romanticism' (p. 123).

In 'Positioning South America from HMS *Beagle*: The Navigator, the Discoverer, and the Ocean of Free Trade', Almeida turns to Charles Darwin's voyage to 'examine the discourses of freedom and commerce in relation to the *Beagle*'s hydrographic and "discovery" missions to analyze Britain's positioning of geopolitical, economic, and cultural relations across the pan-Atlantic in the early Victorian period' (p. 154). After reading the political and economic ideology of free trade alongside narratives of emancipation and liberation as a 'confluence [that] fulfilled the fantasies of humanitarian capitalism' (p. 154), Almeida analyses 'Darwin's positioning of South America as a space whose imaginative proximity can be mediated through narrative' (p. 155). She places Darwin's voyage within the 'centrality of the navy in Britain's national narrative' (p. 169) to show how the voyage of the *Beagle* 'recalibrates discourses of navigation, discovery, trade, and empire' (p. 170).

Finally, Almeida reads Thomas Carlyle, Edward Eastwick and W. H. Hudson to explore the jarring contrast of 'the symbiosis between the free market and slavery' and 'the liberationist discourse that portrayed Britain as the emancipator of the Atlantic world' (p. 197). Her focus is on extending the clash between free trade and free labour which 'is taken for granted in relation to Britain's relationship with the United States in the mid-Victorian period' (p. 196). *Reimagining the Transatlantic, 1780–1890* should be of great interest to scholars examining any of the individual authors or historical figures under consideration. It is also of great value as a practical example of transatlantic literary criticism, as Almeida expertly fulfils her goal of matching a theoretical framework to concrete literary analysis. 

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Teresa Barnard, *Anna Seward: A Constructed Life. A Critical Biography* (Aldershot and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2009), 208pp. ISBN 978-0-7546-6616-5; £55 / \$99.95 (hb).


ANNA SEWARD: A CONSTRUCTED LIFE is the first biography of the 'Swan of Lichfield' since Margaret Ashmun's 1931 account of the writer and her famous literary friends. However, this critical biography is more than just a long overdue study of one of the most fascinating women of letters of the eighteenth century; Teresa Barnard's biography of Seward (1742–1809) uncovers extensive archival material and manuscript sources that substantially alter our understanding of and appreciation for this extraordinary woman. As Barnard notes in her introduction, Seward had 'a confident awareness of the fascinating life she lived' and 'she decided that her correspondence would be her autobiography' (p. 1). Barnard's careful recreation of that autobiography, through a comparison of

original manuscript letters and the nineteenth-century edited versions, is one of the great strengths of this new biography. Less successful are Barnard's claims for Seward's poetic importance. Seward's writing life (and Barnard's account of it) has much to tell us about eighteenth-century letters, coterie literary practices, life-writing and the vibrant literary activity going on in provincial towns, but the poems themselves are better served in Claudia Thomas Kairoff's more recent monograph, *Anna Seward and the End of the Eighteenth Century* (Johns Hopkins University Press, 2012).

The biography consists of an introduction and six chapters, with appendices that include unpublished poems and a summary of the main bequests from Seward's 22-page last will and testament. True to Seward's own autobiographical aims, the chapters are organised around her letter collections, with two chapters dedicated to her juvenile letters (1762–68); two to letters written between 1770–80; one on her most productive writing years: "Born to write": 1780–1809; and a final chapter on Seward's carefully crafted last will and testament. Throughout the chapters, Barnard's meticulous attention to the variable contexts and contingencies of the surviving documents, and Seward's or others' role in their construction, results in a balanced and objective portrayal not just of Seward, but also of the many famous male figures in her life. Erasmus Darwin, James Boswell and Sir Walter Scott played important roles in Seward's public life as well as her posthumous reputation, and Barnard provides new perspectives and details on all of them. In Chapter 5, 'Born to write', Seward's coterie publications with Darwin, 'secret' letters with Boswell, and negotiations with male editors and publishers reveal the remarkable clarity and purpose with which Seward conducted her career and life. Though Scott comes off much the worst in the course of the book—he is depicted as an editor who 'destroyed' the 'life that Seward had attempted to construct' (p. 7)—Barnard is sensitive in her presentation of Scott's reasons for disregarding Seward's expressed wishes. Nevertheless, her documentation of his excising of material (literary, political and personal) from the letters Seward had, herself, already edited for publication, and his omission of key works, like her epic *Telemachus* (which angered her family and executors), proves him to be a less-than-faithful editor to his subject. Indeed, the afterlife of Seward's letters and works is a telling reminder of the need to revisit women's manuscript writings, but also the critical role of posthumous publication on the reputations of many women writers.

The majority of letters that Barnard makes use of, however, are those she wrote to female friends. In these letters, Seward's epistolary skill and awareness of the necessary shifts in tone and style for private or public missives provide an excellent example of the subtle codes of difference eighteenth-century writers and readers brought to bear on their letters. The adaptability of the form is also shown: letters do double duty as journal, diary or conduct book depending on their real or imagined recipients. The juvenile letters, in particular, function as the formative material for Seward's literary works and Barnard draws frequent comparisons between Seward's contemporary reading and her own literary

attempts. These early letters are didactic and sentimental; they champion the ennobling bonds of friendship; and they clearly show the influence of Richardson's *Clarissa*, Rousseau's *Julie*, Prior's 'Henry and Emma' and Pope's Eloisa, among others. In contrast, the two manuscript letter collections that Seward sent to her friends Mary Powys and Dorothy Sykes offer an example of the 'minutiae of life' and the unstudied "blots and blunders" of a busily-writing young woman' (p. 73). A restrictive word count probably hindered longer transcriptions of the many original letters quoted in the course of the biography, but a few more examples of these letters alongside the edited published ones would have greatly enhanced the picture Barnard paints.

Barnard makes an excellent case for Seward's epistolary self-construction and iconoclastic career; her biography also offers a wealth of insights for the student and scholar of eighteenth-century literary history. Seward's Lichfield literary salon is a lively counterpoint to the London-based Bluestockings; her joint poetic efforts with both male and female friends reveal the ongoing importance of manuscript circulation and collaborative composition; and her extraordinary self-determination in love and friendship offers an alternative model of how an individualistic woman could conduct her life in the eighteenth century. 

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Nina L. Dubin, *Futures and Ruins: Eighteenth-Century Paris and the Art of Hubert Robert* (Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2010), x + 197pp. ISBN 978-1-60606-023-0; £35 (hb). ISBN 978-1-60606-1404; £24.99 (pb).

A RELIABLE TREATMENT OF THE WORK OF 'ROBERT DES RUINES' (Hubert Robert, 1733–1808) has been wanting for many years, and Nina Dubin's *Futures and Ruins* will amply meet this need for a considerable time. It is certainly the best we have in English, and in many respects at least as good as any treatment of the artist in his native French. In a sense it prepares the way for the better integration of Hubert Robert's work into larger accounts of the fashion for ruins, the picturesque and the turmoil of the age of revolution, and if our recognition of the possibilities which open up suggest limitations in Nina Dubin's treatment of her topic, this is unfair. Interdisciplinary studies of the visual and verbal culture of the period can now for the first time be fed with a balanced account of this central though often underestimated artist, and his brands of ruinism, disaster painting and the aesthetics of urban change. The possibilities it presents are a measure of the work's contribution to knowledge and not a symptom of weakness.

The central thesis of the book is that the phase of anticipated ruinism which occupied the second half of the eighteenth century was formatted by the recent

growth in the mathematics of probability, which sought in part to explain the vagaries of fortune by means more grounded than the Wheel of Fortune or the guiding hand of Providence, and which accompanied the disastrous reliance on public credit which made the collapse of the French economy and governance inevitable. In this respect, Dubin maintains, Robert and his fellows stand on the brink of modernity. Robert, with his first great critic, Diderot, gave a new, deeper significance to visions of ruins, provoking reflection on the time when the ruined building was first erected, the anterior time to which inscriptions on the ruins refer, and the impermanence of the artist's and critic's own civilisation. Diderot was clear that significant ruins had to be grand, a view which became distinctly *passé* as the fashion for the picturesque took hold. Hubert Robert on the other hand kept up-to-date by turning to paintings of urban fires and of demolition, and the clearing or moving of burials. When he came to depict the Grand Gallery of the Louvre as it was intended it should be in its prime as a public attraction, and then added a vision of it as a ruin in the distant future, he was returning to an old link between ruins and grandeur, as befitted the growing self-conscious *gloire* of post-revolutionary France. It is one of Dubin's few lapses that she leaves the explanation of anticipated ruins as aggrandisement of the present until near the end of the book, whereas it should be a significant factor throughout, growing in importance as the future reputation of the Empire became an object of concern.

The ruins beloved by the late eighteenth century were usually produced by the collapse of one civilisation and the *translatio imperii* to another through conquest, attrition over time, natural catastrophe or economic collapse. Alternatively they were structures which were either unfinished or built to resemble ruins. Alongside the ruins of Athens, Rome, Palmyra and Balbec, too, was the supposedly more benign ruination caused by the urban planning of the period. Dubin deals very well with urban clearances and demolitions, and gives one of the best English language accounts we have of how the ground was already being prepared for Baron Haussmann and the responses of Baudelaire. On one minor point she is at fault: Paris did not lead the way in demolishing the houses on its bridges, London having already cleared those from London Bridge a decade before. All told, it is fascinating to be presented with the century's awareness of risk and the new discipline of urban planning as somehow linked phenomena. Construction as destruction of the familiar is a well-worn topic, but never more convincingly presented.

There are plenty of reminders of Robert's other careers as garden designer and then arts administrator, and to the attentive reader the complex shifts and overlaps of ideologies during his lifetime are clear enough. But the political contexts of his work and its reception are not clarified. The fact is that the underplaying of some of the contexts of the 'futures and ruins' which are the subject of this study serves to indicate where research should now go. Anticipated ruins in literature should one day be given due weight, and not just in French literature, but in English and German as well. After all it was that colourful

aristocrat and very minor poet, the 'wicked Lord Lyttelton', who as early as 1780 has a future American tourist learn that the ruin of London took place:


what time

The fall of public credit, that had long
 Totter'd upon her airy base, involv'd
 In sudden and promiscuous ruin, all
 The great commercial world.¹

Chance, credit and ruin were international phenomena, and no age is better prepared to appreciate them than our own.

Futures and Ruins is enlightening and Dubin's account of Robert's life and works is convincing. Perhaps she overplays the completeness of a swing from fatalistic thinking and superstition to more modern, quasi-scientific models. There is plenty of evidence that the so-called 'stadial' view of history persisted throughout this period and beyond. This view, which is a framework for much history in the century, including Gibbon's and Volney's, was a secularisation of the causes traditionally attributed to a deity. We are indeed teetering on the brink of modernity, but at the same time disasters continue to resonate with Old Testament notes of sin and punishment. The author's progressive model of intellectual history takes us onwards a little too smoothly, although it would be an overstatement to say that the French Revolution is invisible for much of Dubin's account. We all know it is there. We recognise dates and names as profoundly significant in its progress. Dubin, however, stands back and refuses to let the Revolution determine the elements of her story. Even if the effect is a trifle disconcerting, she is perhaps wise in her caution. A fuller evocation of the Revolution could completely swamp the story she has to tell. Yet I think we could ask for a little more, and must perhaps lay the blame in part on academic tradition and publishing conventions. Volney's *The Ruins: or Meditations on the Revolutions of Empires*, quoted in a rather late American translation, provides an epigraph for the Introduction, without any note as to the date or the significance of the original French work of 1791, a book Thomas Jefferson found so important that he immediately translated much of it. It will be said that one does not give full scholarly attention to an epigraph or to a literary quotation in a work of fine art history. Yet why should that be? Admittedly it is not always very important that an epigraph should be fully identified, but Volney is a vital part of the context. Unfortunately the same lack of exact information about the historical moment under examination recurs throughout the book. The author cannot be suspected of not knowing her history, but the reader, not carrying a mental timeline of the Revolution and its aftermath may need some reminders. We wait until page 117 for a more explicit recognition of the place of the Revolution in this story, yet there is still one paragraph on page 129 which mentions two versions of an argument from 1788 and 1790 without mentioning that 1789 falls between those dates. Perhaps the date is totally unimportant in this context, but the reader should be told as much.

Those of us raised in an age in which politics was deemed to be a large determinant of culture are surprised not to be told about one of the important power relations in the art of ruins until very near the end of the book, when we learn at last that predicting the ruin of a ruler's buildings was a form of compliment, since foreseeing a good future ruin reflected grandeur or nobility on the present. Perhaps we shy away from this explanation because it was a favourite of Hitler's architect, Albert Speer. By not taking it in hand early on, Dubin leaves the impression that this view originated with Robert and some of his associates, although William Chamber's 'Projected Mausoleum for Frederick, Prince of Wales Viewed as a Ruin' of 1751 shows that it was already established practice. There is of course a reluctance in French- and English-language critical traditions to quote each other, and the intertwining of London and Paris in politics, economics and the arts has only just become a recognised subject. Now there is a flowering of interest in the links. Future ruins, as well as the fashion for ruins in gardens, are recognised as crossing back and forth across the Channel, as too did perceptions of urbanism, and economic theories, particularly of trade, credit and banking. Proposals to enable ocean-going ships to reach Paris are now recognised as attempts to rectify the one matter in which, to French eyes, Paris might be thought inferior to London. Indeed, although retrospect and aesthetic judgment make us associate the opening up of medieval city centres with Parisian developments from the mid-eighteenth to the early twentieth century, the example of London was frequently cited in France at the time—a case of an early English start leading to a less than memorable conclusion, perhaps.

All these things narrow Dubin's analysis a little, discrediting nothing, but leaving the reader wishing the book could be filled out a little to embrace more context. Overall, we are given a full and very satisfying account of Robert's ruin pictures—better than any earlier treatment in either French or English—and undoubtedly the best source of information in English on the subject. The scholarship is detailed and accurate, so that Hubert Robert may from now on assume a more important role in our perception of his age, to measure up to the enthusiasm museum curators have always evinced for his canvases. 

NOTES

1. 'The State of England, in the Year 2199', in *Poems by the Late Thomas Lord Lyttelton. To Which is Added a Sketch of His Lordship's Character* (London: G. Kearsley, 1780), pp. 7–16 (pp. 9–10).

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John Gardner, *Poetry and Popular Protest: Peterloo, Cato Street and the Queen Caroline Controversy* (Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), xix + 272pp. ISBN 978-0-7546-6166-5; £50 (hb).

IN THE SECOND CHAPTER OF HIS FASCINATING AND AMBITIOUS STUDY, John Gardner reproduces a piece of advice given by Thomas Carlyle to veteran radical and survivor of Peterloo, Samuel Bamford: 'I own I had much rather see a sensible man, like you, put down your real thoughts and convictions in Prose, than occupy yourself with fancies and imaginations such as are usually dealt with in verse' (p. 24). Carlyle handed out this suitably Protestant piece of wisdom in 1849, when it seemed, at least to Carlyle, that the question of what poetry could and couldn't do was settled. Prose was for 'real thoughts'; poetry for 'fancies'. Scrutinising the tumultuous years of popular protest from 1819 to 182—from Peterloo, through the Cato Street Conspiracy, to the Queen Caroline affair—and the unique poetry this brief period produced, Gardner begs to differ. His book is powered by the conviction that 'literature can turn an event towards its own political ends [...] In short, poetry can do work' (p. 2).

Such work was, according to Gardner, best accomplished by the heterogeneous and often disreputable radical press, neatly embodied in William Hone, popular publisher and writer of satirical verse. Collaborating with caricaturist and illustrator George Cruikshank, Hone proved an innovative and gleeful virtuoso of mixed-media production. Works like *The Political House that Jack Built*, a savagely satirical depiction of the Peterloo massacre, were enlivened with Cruikshank's characteristically grotesque illustrations to 'aid the comprehension of the semi-literate' (p. 162). Even better, Hone's response to the Queen Caroline affair, *The Queen's Matrimonial Ladder*, included a unique souvenir—an illustrated ladder, issued free with each poem sold—'a children's toy with a very adult theme, telling the story of the marriage of George and Caroline in a way that perhaps even children could understand' (p. 162). The popularity and mobility of Hone's work meant that his accounts of these scandals dominated the public sphere. So much so that, whether on purpose or by accident, Hone comes through as the book's hero; Byron, Shelley and Lamb (the book's canonical poets) seem flat-footed by contrast.

Starting with the Peterloo Massacre, Gardner takes us through the Cato Street conspiracy and the Queen Caroline affair, viewing 'these three events as parts of one attempt to gain representation and universal suffrage [...] inseparably linked to each other and the poetry they inspired' (p. 2). Each section begins with a contextual précis, before taking in various poetic and artistic responses to the event under examination. As Gardner explains, 'focusing on poetry that responds to these events' reveals connections 'between canonical and non-canonical poets, such as Shelley and Bamford, Byron and Hone, and the writers of anonymous squibs' (p. 3). Such connections are a key concern of the book, challenging received notions of popularity, significance and canonicity.


The first section begins with Samuel Bamford, whose later disavowal of poetry in his autobiography belies the furious lines he wrote as both eye-witness and victim of Peterloo. Next is William Hone's *The Political House that Jack Built*, by far the most popular publication dealing with the massacre, and a work that, Gardner argues, strongly influenced Shelley. *The Mask of Anarchy*, the final text of the section, is Shelley's best attempt at abandoning 'the role of Romantic "author" [...] to speak rather in the anonymous voice of the broadside balladeer' (p. 7).

In part two, Gardner provides new archival evidence of the Government's active role in the Cato Street conspiracy. The State's connivance was enough to provoke Charles Lamb into print. Two sonnets, 'The Three Graves' and 'Sonnet to Matthew Wood', published in *The Champion*, show that outrage over the spy system took in a broad section of the public. Finally, Gardner reads Byron's tragedy *Marino Faliero* as a work irresistibly and uncomfortably intertwined with Cato Street.

The final section retells the complex events surrounding the Queen Caroline controversy. With reference to a variety of works by Hone, Byron, Cruikshank and various anonymous balladeers, Gardner presents the Caroline affair as one that forged 'an uneasy and unlikely alliance' between 'reformers, radicals, revolutionaries and royalists' (p. 155). Gardner concludes with an exhaustive reading of Shelley's underrated *Swellfoot the Tyrant*, arguing that Shelley's bridging of high Greek tragedy with Grub Street vulgarity is an attempt to channel and unify the energies of this alliance for revolutionary ends—a project quickly scuttled by government censorship.

While Gardner's fluency with his material, both familiar and new, is exhilarating, the book itself is often let down by a dearth of hard data and an insufficiently theorised notion of the Popular. Given his interest in popular print culture and the 'work' poetry can do, Gardner often neglects questions of audience and transmission—a deficiency easily remedied by reference to William St Clair's exhaustive *The Reading Nation in the Romantic Period* (2004). It seems strange that the book didn't find its way into Gardner's bibliography, particularly since St Clair pays special attention to Shelley. *The Mask of Anarchy* certainly deals with radical issues, and strikes a number of revolutionary poses, but doesn't make it into print until 1832, cautiously edited by an older, wearier and warier Leigh Hunt. Gardner registers the 'irony that none of Shelley's most urgently topical poems [...] were published at the time when they were written' (p. 100).

So whom, then, did Shelley reach? How did the poem spread its message? What *work* did it do? And, given that Shelley, as Gardner is at pains to point out, borrowed most of the poem's imagery and diction from Hone, wouldn't our time be better spent with him? Such questions are mitigated, in part, by Gardner's deliberate eschewing of 'binary definitions' for a broader, more fluid conception of the popular (p. 4). But while this allows Gardner to avoid the more mechanical and determinist sort of Marxism, his study gains agility at

the cost of coherence and incision. As it is, the book is enjoyably provocative and suitably suggestive, but not wholly satisfying in its conclusions. 

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Evan Gottlieb and Juliet Shields (eds), *Representing Place in British Literature and Culture, 1660–1830: From Local to Global* (Farnham and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2013), x + 221pp. ISBN 978-1-4094-1930-3; £60 (hb).

HOW MIGHT IT BE POSSIBLE, ask Evan Gottlieb and Juliet Shields in the introduction to *Representing Place in British Literature and Culture*, to ‘tell the whole story’ of the intersections of local, regional, national and transnational communities in Britain? This collection of essays was published in March 2013. On the twenty-first of the same month, the Scottish Independence Referendum Bill proposed to ask voters a related but somewhat starker question about the nature of British nationhood. The debates which have since been raised by politicians and media provide plenty of evidence that the problems considered by this volume—of national and local identity, tradition, migration, cosmopolitanism, the perceived dominance of the metropolis—not only are still relevant but are still shaped as much by culture and representation as politics and economics.


Gottlieb and Shields aim to resist the well-known ‘rise of the nation’ narrative of much eighteenth-century British cultural history, in which the nation–state opposes and subdues alternative forms of community. Yet, as Dafydd Moore’s responsive coda warns, it is not enough to simply replace the ‘imagined nation’ with another naïvely conceived ‘imagined region’ (p. 189). The contributions to this collection, instead, work from the assumption that a sense of place is not natural but constructed and reshaped by representation in text. Specifically, as might be expected from a new title in the series ‘British Literature in Context in the Long Eighteenth Century’, this book is interested in the workings of place in written text: mostly poetry, prose and novels, with an opening diversion into Restoration drama. Despite the ‘and Culture’ in its title, the collection’s focus remains very closely on the literary throughout—a category which is defined refreshingly broadly, and within which is produced a detailed, nuanced survey of the role of authorial tradition and reading practice. Nevertheless, given the widely understood centrality to ideas of nation, locality and globe of, for example, landscape art (acknowledged briefly by JoEllen DeLucia), topographical drawings and maps, music and song, and especially metropolitan, local and internationally touring theatres, the need for future complementary projects in other disciplines seems clear.

Eighteenth-century Britishness was, of course, continually defined against foreignness, most often against the vanities, vices and sophistication of the French. A sense of the nation also, though, emerged in terms of local mythologies

and ideologies which sometimes opposed and very often laid claim to an authentically British, because ‘un-foreign’, character. The first section of *Representing Place in British Literature and Culture*, ‘From Local to National’, offers a series of textual case studies of this complex relationship, chronologically ordered from the negotiations of local and London characters in seventeenth-century theatre (in Bridget Orr’s chapter) to the construction, in prose pastoral, of a perhaps more familiarly modern sense of national heritage emerging out of dislocation and nostalgia. Countering London-centric and Anglocentric versions of the formation of Britishness, Juliet Shields foregrounds the ‘centrifugal and peripheral’ (p. 37) nature of the national identities promoted by early eighteenth-century novels such as Penelope Aubin’s *Madam de Beaumont*, in which a stubbornly virtuous and homogeneous Wales resists the influx of exotic people and corruption spreading from London. Shields’ chapter goes on to demonstrate that this was only one of multiple outlines of British identity which could be delineated in early eighteenth-century novels, each linked to political sentiment and moral character, and attributing value to specific geographical regions within Britain: whether Wales, Scotland, London or the countryside between them. Moreover, Janet Sorensen argues, in an analysis of the puzzles of Scots poetry in the period, that such localised national identities may both mimic and resist gestures of cultural dominance which sought to portray them as translatable from confusion into harmony, and from obscurity into ‘the standard English of an improving Anglo-Britain’ (p. 56). The mechanics of text, local geography and loss delineated by Paul Westover in this section are echoed by Deidre Lynch in the last full essay of the book, a meditation on the domesticating ‘homes and haunts’ of English literature in the nineteenth century.

The next three chapters situate these complex ideas of nation and locality within a more explicitly transnational context. While Gottlieb’s use of this frame of reference recontextualises some well-rehearsed arguments about the gothic’s relation to nationalism, cosmopolitanism and patriotic conservatism, it is James Mulholland’s formulation of ‘translocal poetics’—as ‘intimate collaborations that cross vast distances’ (p. 130), connecting traditions and cultures into alternative forms of localism—which may provide the most useful tool for understanding the workings of literary texts in an increasingly globalised society. His chapter on the Orientalist poetry of William and Anna Maria Jones calls for a turn towards ‘the muddy middle ground between globalism and localism’ (p. 136) which is not limited to the national.

The book closes with a ‘Return to the Local’, examining Romantic regionalism as a transformative successor to the earlier forms of identity mapped out in previous chapters. Penny Fielding, for example, traces the poetic image of the river as a device structuring the spatial and temporal relationships between local points, seeing in the history of this tradition a movement from the grand national narrative to the Romantic construction of personal autobiography and *genius loci*. The most intriguing of the authors she discusses is Anna Seward, whose self-described ‘tender local devotions’ (p. 157) are also central to DeLu-

cia's rich chapter on Midlands literary culture and the development of a British local poetics. Like Fielding, DeLucia recuperates Seward as a poet of the local as well as the national, reflecting in her poems an emerging, decentralised and fragmented (because highly personal) sense of British identity. As such, she is an appropriate reference point for a book which refuses to offer easy or general answers to the complex questions that it poses. 

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George C. Grinnell, *The Age of Hypochondria: Interpreting Romantic Health and Illness* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), xi + 202pp. ISBN 978-0-230-23145-0; £52.50 (hb).

HYPPOCHONDRIA IS A HIGHLY SUGGESTIVE TOPIC FOR ROMANTIC CRITICISM, as well as for the period itself. The study of how minds and bodies might get entangled in all things psychosomatic (a coinage of Samuel Taylor Coleridge's, of course) should offer challenges and rewards in Romanticists' continued struggle to balance the significance of ideal or intellectual worlds against their troubled interaction with material or corporeal substrates, in the wake of the historicist ascendancy. There are also more immediate and pressing gains to be made. In wider contemporary discourse we have lost a sense of how 'hypochondria' or 'psychosomatic' describe a hugely important and still poorly understood sphere of interaction between body and mind, or have retained only an etiolated sense of these words which takes them to mean purely mental, imaginary, or factitious. The Romantic period did not have this problem because readers and authors were still able (in both clinical and lay writing) to draw on a wide range of medical cultures and sets of ideas, including various models of nervous sensibility or irritability, vitalism and even humoralism (if only in an literary-cultural afterlife bled of theoretical authority or therapeutic application) which could offer a richer sense of the entwining of mental and somatic health in (for example) stress and anxiety, the perception of pain, fatigue, digestive disorder, etc., than we may have even now.

It is therefore one of the most unfortunate deficiencies of George Grinnell's opaque and difficult book *The Age of Hypochondria* that the reader never gets a clear history of what the term meant in the period, or the medical contexts from which it emerged. It is extremely surprising that the book barely mentions hypochondriasis as precursor to the later disease concept. When Grinnell discusses connections between hypochondria and melancholia, his account of both terms is based on theoretical concerns rather than a historical sense of what such categories meant to Romantic period patients, doctors, readers or writers. While the book does offer an extended account of Thomas Beddoes' *Hygëia* (1802) and a range of references to medical writers such as Cheyne, Blackmore,

Buchan, Reid, Rush and Trotter, it is largely to dissect the rhetoric of these writers rather than giving their ideas much shrift, and beyond the reference to standard authorities there is little reference to an evidentiary basis drawn from case work, non-literary records or first-person accounts from the period's 'worried well' to support the book's large claims about 'the age', let alone its appeals to the 'lived experience' of health and sickness (p. 42).

Conversely, neither is the book particularly attuned to contemporary clinical or therapeutic thinking on health anxiety, as it is often now called, which more recent literary-critical work by Catherine Belling has been.¹ Despite or perhaps because of this, the book is very assertive about the nature of hypochondria, both in the Romantic period and now. Demurring from speculation, Grinnell nevertheless repeatedly posits 'this malady' and offers numerous categorical definitions of what 'it' is: variously, both anxiety about health of a more or less debilitating or somatic sort, and 'a figure for a class obsessed with well-being' (p. 29); 'imaginary disorders' (p. 50) and 'a real disease that produces illusions of infirmity' (p. 51); and then, with increasingly rococo abstraction in the course of the book, 'a mode of health that resists being resolved into presence' (p. 53); 'the disorder is, among other things, a somatization of the unpredictable reality of corporeality and efforts to materialize various social and personal conceptions of embodiment that are anything but illusory' (p. 86); 'it is a mode of being in the world that is constantly fighting to refocus attention away from the body', 'an abstracted state of the body' (p. 102); and at the book's most grandiose moments, 'the last health of the body', the 'ungraspable finitude of well-being' (p. 118). Elsewhere he freely diagnoses 'the period's hypochondria' (p. 42) as if it were a universal state.

At times these kinds of argument do gain some traction. Grinnell shares with Belling and others the premise that hypochondria is a 'malady of interpretation' (p. 57), a problem of epistemology as much as of epidemiology. Uncertainty about what health is, and how it can be conceptualised or figured either in individual lives or in a public discourse, or how the well or ill body can be seen, imagined, known, understood or controlled, and what sort of metaphorical work it does for bodies politic, are all germane. Hypochondria is often a site of anxiety about this uncertainty, not only for its sufferers, and this is Grinnell's theme. He makes good points about professional legitimacy and the challenges that the opacity of the hypochondriac body raised for the clinical gaze of medicine in his Beddoes chapter, and he offers some interesting readings of literary texts such as the passage in *Biographia Literaria* where Coleridge, that great valetudinarian, draws material from Buchan to position his readers as hypochondriacs, and where the 'ambivalent infirmity of a healthy body models an interminable crisis in understanding which Coleridge evokes as a figure for the sort of suspended understanding he would like his audience to master' (p. 67). Too often, however, here or in the later chapters which address varieties of what Grinnell takes to be the hypochondriacal mode in De Quincey, Mary Shelley's *The Last Man*, Charles Brockden Brown's *Arthur Mervyn* and

the autobiography of Mary Prince, tangible arguments are lost beneath waves of highly abstract or rhetorical theorisation (as in some of the examples quoted above) and still less does one get any sense of the real, lifelong consequences that result when the fragile ‘fog of optimism and uncertainty that passes for most of us, most of the time, as good health’ (Brian Dillon) dissipates before more disquieting prospects.² *The Age of Hypochondria* seems at some level to realise this: there are repeated articulations of an idea that ‘health was always being abstracted as an object of knowledge that risked making the corporeal body disappear into language’ (p. 85); that its subjects ‘ignore the lived materiality of infirmity in favor of an imagined state of somehow purely rhetorical disease’ (p. 86) or ‘raise the specter of diseased bodies [...] only to mark the flesh as something disappeared and replaced with discourse’ (p. 107). But this applies to nothing in the book so much as its own arguments. ☒

NOTES

1. *A Condition of Doubt: The Meanings of Hypochondria* (Oxford: OUP, 2012).
2. Brian Dillon, *Tormented Hope: Nine Hypochondriac Lives* (London: Penguin, 2010), p. 6.

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James Hogg, *Highland Journeys*, edited by H. B. de Groot (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2010), lxxvii + 404pp. ISBN 978-0-7486-2486-7; £65 (hb).

IN 1802, James Hogg embarked on the first of three excursions into the Highlands and Islands of Scotland. The young Border shepherd hoped to advance himself by leasing a farm and thereby joining the increasing number of farmers from the South profiting from the introduction of hardy Lowland sheep to the region. The journeys described were therefore reconnaissance missions, during which Hogg assessed the state of agriculture in the Highlands and the opportunities available there. Hogg kept a journal during these excursions, and, on his return to Ettrick, developed this account into a series of letters addressed to Walter Scott with the intention of publishing them in the *Scots Magazine*. His journeys into the north therefore combine the conflicting registers of the literary tourist and the farmer: the Sublime mingles with the price of sheep. This heterogeneity of content is indicative of the multiple discourses which surrounded the Highlands of Scotland in public discourse at the time. Hogg’s account manages to present the region as simultaneously romantic spectacle and a site of rapid agricultural modernisation.


Following Hogg’s progress along the highways and byways of Scotland is often a fun and light-hearted affair, and the inclusion of small maps by the volume editor further enhances this experience. The various sights and people

that the writer encountered are recorded with Hogg's characteristic light touch and wry eye for humour. He records the names of even the smallest hamlets he passes through, expressing his admiration or disapprobation, and we are therefore treated to the writer's impressions of everywhere from Inveraray ('I do not much admire the *natural scenery* of Inveraray'), to Stornaway ('I was indeed surprised, at meeting with such a large and populous town in such a remote and distant country') and even Kilmahog: 'you may guess by the name that I was glad at getting safely past from this village, for its name signifies, *the burial place of Hogg*' (p. 73, 119, 58). Hogg also repeats stories and legends (of varying authenticity) told by the people he encounters on his way. Hogg's faith in the reader's ability to interpret oral tales within the *Highland Journeys* signposts an attitude to the inclusion of traditional material that would remain a trademark of his literary output.

Reading Hogg's *Highland Journeys* it is impossible to ignore the fact that they document a period of massive social and political change in the region that the writer is traversing. H. B. de Groot's introduction to the volume does an excellent job of contextualising Hogg's descriptions of land management and Highland emigration within both the post-Culloden political climate and contemporary trends towards agricultural reform. De Groot cites Hogg's travels as the root of a preoccupation with the Highlands that would eventually lead to a more critical engagement with the history of the region in his writing. He convincingly argues that the young writer's largely positive reactions to agricultural development during his journeys are the first steps in a longer and more private journey towards the 'powerful account of the destruction of Highland society after the battle of Culloden in *The Three Perils of Woman* in 1823' (p. xxix).

The *Highland Journeys* have a particularly challenging publishing history, even among Hogg's diffuse body of works. Written early in his career, Hogg's 1802 journey was only published in part by *Scots Magazine*, while the author's 1803 journey was not published at all. The 1804 'Journey through the Highlands and Western Isles' was however published in its entirety in 1808 by the magazine, possibly (the volume editor suggests) due to Hogg's increasing literary reputation. Hogg himself intended to publish the journeys in full as a book along with his essay 'On the utility of encouraging the system of Sheep-Farming in some districts of the Highlands', but eventually gave up on this scheme. While parts of the journeys were published by Hogg's daughter in 1888 and by William F. Laughlan in 1981, a full edited volume such as the one Hogg had envisioned was never attempted. The Stirling/South Carolina Edition of the *Highland Journeys*, with its use of manuscript and published material, therefore constitutes the first opportunity to see this group of writings together in their entirety. Examples like this illustrate why the Stirling/South Carolina Edition is so key to making Hogg's works available to a wider audience, as it unites the author's varied and far-flung writings into a single collected edition that can be accessed without the use of archives.¹

The new edition also illustrates the added value that good editorial work can impart to a text. The extensive prefatory material, appendices and maps contextualise Hogg's journeys and bring interest and colour to passages on sheep farming, land-use and estates that might otherwise seem dry and inaccessible. In fact, the wealth of supplementary material included in the *Highland Journeys* can at first seem overwhelming; the fragmenting of the introduction into sub-topics makes it hard to find a narrative through which to interpret the already somewhat fragmentary raw material of Hogg's letters. However, this segmenting of information can also function as a very practical key to their content, allowing readers to target their research towards specific questions raised by the text. A tutorial on Highland travel writing of the period, for example, could easily be shaped by the various subheadings within the introduction and the appendices.

Bringing together published and previously unpublished writings and contextualising them within an extensive body of supplementary material, the new edition of the *Highland Journeys* is therefore both an entertaining and informative read for those interested in Romantic-period Scotland and an important resource for those already engaged in Hogg studies. 

NOTES

1. Further information on the work of the Stirling/South Carolina Edition of the *Collected Works of James Hogg* can be found at www.stir.ac.uk/artshumanities/research/areas/stirlingsouthcarolinahoggedition/.

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Jim Kelly (ed.), *Ireland and Romanticism: Publics, Nations and Scenes of Cultural Production* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 240pp. ISBN 978-0-230-27457-0; £50 (hb).

DID IRELAND EXPERIENCE ROMANTICISM? Certainly not in the uncomplicated way that scholarship assumes England, Germany and other countries did. In *Romanticism in National Context* (1988), Tom Dunne's contribution eschews the standard chapter title form—'Romanticism in England', 'Romanticism in Germany'—and indeed the term *Romanticism* itself. Instead, his title reflects Ireland's complex relationship with the movement: 'Haunted by history: Irish Romantic Writing 1800–1850'. The start of this period marked a significant moment in Ireland's relationship with England and Europe: the formal union of Ireland and the United Kingdom in 1800 was merely the rubber stamp to a process of colonisation that had been active for centuries, but the imposition of direct rule from London, seen as a hedge against the corrupting influence of revolutionary forces from the continent, served to intensify the Anglicisation of Ireland at the expense of native language and culture. Thus, the current social, political and cultural influence of Britain was paramount in Ireland at

this time, but its Romantic literary modes and tropes seemed more likely to cross the Irish Sea from Scotland than from England. The gothic was one of the notable common modes in fiction, however, while the 'national tale' has received attention as an apparently native Irish fictional form. In poetry, there is no canon comparable to England's 'Big Six', and marginality is a common characteristic of Irish (and Scottish) poets in considerations of archipelagic Romanticism. Characteristically, Ireland's most popular and successful poet of the period, Thomas Moore, has long exemplified the complicated connections to the concepts of Romanticism and nation that his compatriots shared.

In his introduction to *Ireland and Romanticism*, Jim Kelly acknowledges the difficulties scholarship has had in defining this period in Irish literature, while noting its acquisition of 'academically accepted capital' thanks to recent surveys and disciplinary enquiries by scholars such as James Chandler, Claire Connolly and Sean Ryder. He presents the collection as a snapshot of current research, and its strength lies in the broadness of its purview, with five sections covering a range of material that confirms that topical scarcity is not an issue within the field. The more pertinent question, which surfaces regularly throughout the collection is 'what is the field?' Kelly argues that as the Romantic period finds itself co-opted on either side by studies in the 'long' eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the period's transitional nature in Ireland offers the possibility of its separate categorisation. Stephen Behrendt, whose afterword provides the complementary bookend to Kelly's introduction, suggests some of the characteristics which might form a part of the field's future: greater focus on the transitory status of the Irish language and its literature in the period (as Proinsias Ó Drisceoil's opening essay provides); increased attention to the production, dissemination and consumption of literature (what D. F. McKenzie called the 'sociology of texts'); and the shrewd use of electronic technology and resources for scholarship.

The first pair of essays in the collection addresses issues of the urban and the rural. Ó Drisceoil's account of Amhlaoihbh Ó Súilleabháin (Humphrey O'Sullivan), a nineteenth-century Irish-language diarist, complicates the assumed kinship of linguistic allegiance and traditional culture. Caught in a transitory moment for Irish society, culture and language, Ó Súilleabháin provides documentary evidence in his diary of the competing attractions of tradition and cosmopolitanism, metaphorically articulated through the embattled Irish language. Timothy Webb discusses the career, trial and execution of government strongman and informer Jemmy O'Brien, highlighting the gothic rhetoric of monstrosity and cannibalism that was expressed by his prosecutor, and attributed to crowds that attended his execution. The episode provides an example of what Siobhán Kilfeather characterises as the 'gothicization of atrocity', and Webb provides an interesting commentary on the variance between contemporaneous and subsequent accounts of O'Brien's demise.

Two subsequent sections examine transnational issues: the influence of international writers on Irish literature of the period, and the literal and imagi-

native travels of Irish authors. Susan Egenolf provides a useful frame for these essays as she examines Lady Morgan's vision of personal and national politics in the aesthetic categories of Romanticism. Politics is inherent in Morgan's Romanticism, as she characterises it following the spread of European liberation movements. Her novels emphasise Irish cultural hybridity, implicitly linking the Irish cause to that of global republicanism. Thomas Moore's writings after 1807 are associated with articulating the Irish cause for an English audience, but Jane Moore addresses his earlier writings that are influenced by travels in the United States and Canada. The germ of Moore's later satirical writings is evident in his American poems, and Jane Moore traces the influence of Wordsworth, Coleridge and *Lyrical Ballads* in the Canadian compositions, linking them to the Romantic nationalism of the *Irish Melodies*. Moore is not ordinarily associated with the Lake Poets, and this article is an important addition to scholarship on a relatively neglected period of his career. On a similarly pastoral theme, Patrick Vincent discusses the travel narrative *A Ramble Through Swisserland* by United Irishman William MacNevin, and analyses the manner in which the author's Irishness conditioned his response to the archetypal location of Romantic and republican sentiment. Reflecting the author's political and scientific consciousness, MacNevin's *Swisserland* involved a romanticisation of the country's agrarian and democratic republicanism, rather than the sublimity of its landscape. His work reveals its Irish 'fratritism' for another country's republican endeavour, adding emphasis to the changing nature of Alpine ideology in the work of first- and second-generation English Romantic authors.


Percy Shelley acknowledged the influence of Pedro Calderón de la Barca on *The Cenci*, and was a more general devotee of Spanish issues, seeing in its literature and early-nineteenth century politics a distinctive reflection of his own ideological concerns. In some respects, Anne MacCarthy argues, Irish writers such as James Clarence Mangan and Denis Florence MacCarthy went further in aligning Spanish literature with Irish cultural nationalism. While Spanish nationalism, and more particularly its Catholicism, led to its literature being viewed with some suspicion in England, Mangan and MacCarthy saw it as a benign influence. Anne MacCarthy demonstrates the particular importance of Calderón and Spanish ballad poetry for incipient Irish literature in English, while Stephen Dornan reassesses Robert Burns's impact on Ulster literature and the songs of Thomas Moore, identifying hybrid language and variable register as characteristics shared by the Scot and Irish writing.

Thomas Moore reappears as the central focus of Adrian Paterson's essay; his regular presence through the volume tallies with Paterson's wonder at how and why Romanticism "seems to have got along quite happily without him." The article demonstrates how the notion of 'originality' was closely linked with prevailing Romantic ideas about nationality, history, language and aesthetics. Against claims that Moore's *Melodies* were founded upon the careless appropriation and gentrification of ancient Irish music, Paterson uses judicious quotation from Moore's own reflections about their genesis and composition,

and writings by Rousseau and Herder on Romantic aesthetics, to argue for the achievement and originality of the *Irish Melodies*. The second essay from the section on poetry sees Leith Davis discuss the figure of the bard in the poetry of Charlotte Brooke, Mary Balfour and Vincentia Rogers. Davis considers the poets' creative responses to the Ossian poems by analysing both textual and paratextual evidence from their works, and emphasises their difference from the antiquarian discourse which often surrounded the Ossian controversy.

The final section of the collection provokes some interesting ideas through parallels in the articles by Christina Morin and Jim Shanahan. Both seek to question the legitimacy of the 'national tale' as a narrowly-conceived literary form, suggesting that there are significantly fewer examples of the form, as it is critically understood, than scholarship assumes. This idea is the central focus of Morin's article, and she compares novels by Maria Edgeworth and Regina Maria Roche to illustrate that the formal categories into which they are currently placed misrepresent the essential hybridity of Irish Romantic fiction, deploying, as the novels do, characteristics of both the Gothic and the national tale. In Shanahan's view, the disproportionate and potentially misleading place the 'national tale' occupies in Irish literary history is an exemplar of a wider canonical imbalance in the period. He argues for the wisdom and necessity of attending to the literary aggregate—the exhaustive cache of novels identified by recent bibliography—if a genuinely representative canon of Irish Romantic fiction is to be constructed. In so doing, he makes very persuasive claims for the new responsibilities and obligations of scholars faced with the quantitative bibliographic work of William St Clair, and Rolf and Magda Loeber.

Charles Benson's short essay conveys some useful information about a pivotal moment in the history of Irish publishing: the end of the trade in unauthorised reprints which resulted from the extension of British copyright law to Ireland in 1801. Both Benson and Shanahan provide illustrations of potentially fruitful areas of future research which are alluded to in Behrendt's closing remarks. The facts and figures that Benson provides about the scale of native book production, exporting and importing of books, and constitution of reading audiences after 1801 require incorporation into scholarship about the period as a whole, just as Shanahan's appeal to recognise the corpus of Irish Romantic fiction points towards techniques like text-mining and text-analysis (though Shanahan indicates some reservations with the 'distant reading' methods of Franco Moretti). Behrendt is enthusiastic about the potential of Digital Humanities techniques for research in this field. He cites his own *Irish Women of the Romantic Period* as an example of a web resource that has 'revolutionized scholarship and teaching by making available in electronic form resources that have long been inaccessible for scholars'. He is correct about their potential, but for such resources to fulfil this potential they must be available free of charge to all web users, scholars and non-scholars alike. Some of the raw materials for future directions in Irish Romantic studies are certainly present in this volume, as they are in the fourth volume of the *Oxford History of the Irish Book* which covers 1800–91. Many of

Kelly's and Behrendt's remarks about scholarly prospects for this area of study urge interdisciplinary practice, and the debalkanisation of scholarship that has previously resisted interdisciplinarity: there is evidence in this collection to suggest that these ideas are already present in current research. 

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Bernhard Kuhn, *Autobiography and Natural Science in the Age of Romanticism* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009), 171pp. ISBN 978-0-7546-6166-5; £55 / \$99.95 (hb).

IT IS STRIKING THAT THE TURN OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY saw the earliest use—and swift adoption—of both *autobiography* and *biology* and their cognates in European languages.¹ Two very different disciplines of 'life-writing' that took βίος as their common object were named, if not born, together. Over a period in which ontogeny, or individual history, was often thought to recapitulate phylogeny, or natural history, Bernhard Kuhn's book suggests there was considerable interaction between these disciplines, across French, German, British and American literature. Kuhn argues that autobiography was for Romantic writers 'a fundamentally interdisciplinary enterprise existing on a continuum with psychology, sociology, anthropology, history, and other human sciences' (p. 142). He goes so far as to claim, indeed, that writing produced under this enterprise 'refutes the still entrenched thesis of "the two cultures"' (p. 1).

This is a bold and laudable claim. Unfortunately, it is not one that this book can substantiate. Its argument rests on a thin account of the history and philosophy of natural science, and a fragile model of interaction between scientific theory or practice and autobiographical texts. Given Kuhn's famous namesake, there is surprisingly little discussion of paradigms in the former at all, apart from some gesturing at the 'inductive approach to nature' and that familiar straw man, 'rigorously-detached', 'Baconian' scientific objectivity, set against either the weak constructivism of natural science as a 'discursive practice that foregrounds the experiential and perspectival dimensions of the naturalist's observations' (p. 2), or an 'organic and holistic view of the world' (p. 3)—terms like 'organic' and 'holistic' being the kind of glittering generalities that critical discussions of Romanticism really should have learnt to avoid, but which nevertheless float aromatically through this book without ever quite succumbing to the indignity of definition. The book needed rather to put terms like 'organic' under the critical microscope, to discover how and why they became central to the arts and sciences of life over the period. A more rigorous dose of Foucault than the smattering evident here, or his mentor Georges Canguilhem, whose extensive writings on *la connaissance de la vie* are finally beginning to appear in English, would have helped.

In terms of cultural interactions, Kuhn argues that writers such as Rousseau and Goethe had a ‘deep interest in the natural sciences precisely during the period of their most autobiographical activity’ (p. 142); while this is undoubtedly true, ‘precisely’ only draws attention to how weak a link contemporaneity (‘during the period’) can be. So it often proves for the book’s key analyses. In the introductory chapter, the main parallel Kuhn draws between autobiographical writing and natural history in the Romantic period is that both were popular (pp. 5–6), but this does not make them inevitably ‘coextensive’ (p. 8). When he moves on to the three authors discussed at length—Rousseau, Goethe and Thoreau—Kuhn does find specific and convincing connections. Very much the best part of the book is that on Rousseau’s *Confessions* and *Reveries* read in relation to his botanical writings. Here Kuhn shows how Rousseau’s ‘fantastical image of the autobiographer as auto-botanising plant’ drew, from his sense of a ‘temporalized natural world’, not a ‘single narrative model of development but [...] endless lines of correspondence and difference that can be traced from one episode to another’ (pp. 31–38). As Kuhn emphasises, this does Rousseau the great service of overturning a widely held view, propagated by Jean Starobinski, that his later botanising was a self-indulgent retreat from the social world; instead we gain a richer sense of Rousseau’s explorations of the tangled bank of human personality. Chapters on Goethe’s ‘morphological approach’, in which autobiographical selves and the forms of nature are both seen as ‘dynamically-evolving entities’ (pp. 112–13), also work well enough, and there are some interesting sections on that author’s writings on the aesthetics and science of colour and music, and *Dichtung und Wahrheit*. The final part of the triad on Thoreau and *Walden* (which unaccountably switches tense into an irritating historical present) sometimes loses sight of its author’s naturalistic interests chasing down his debt to Goethe, and though it quotes Thoreau’s interesting statement that ‘the purest science is still biographical’ several times, never manages to fully gloss it satisfyingly, although it has some good material and conclusions on Thoreau’s ‘proto-ecological’ (p. 124) moments.

Perorating, Kuhn praises Thoreau’s ‘sustained vision of the unity of the self’ (p. 140), deploying a formula—unity of self—that recurs throughout the book, alongside abstractions such as ‘higher unity’, ‘structural unity’, ‘the true nature of the self’ and so on. Once again, the lure of pleasant words in place of carefully examined or advisedly used terms is not very helpful. It is also revealing of Kuhn’s approach to the study of autobiography. The book is ultimately strikingly old-fashioned in its grandiose emphasis on ‘unity’ and its sense that Rousseau and other great men forged ‘the modern self’ in a select canon of literary autobiographies. It is almost entirely uninterested or incurious about popular traditions and genres of autobiographical and natural–historical writing, or indeed the autobiographical writings of scientists and naturalists themselves. It is probably enough to note here that passing reference is made to Gilbert White’s *Natural History of Shelbourne* [*sic*]. *Selborne*, the most widely read and influential work of natural history for English Romanticism, at least,

is exactly the kind of text that could have helped Kuhn to answer his question ‘where precisely does one draw the line between natural observation and personal narrative?’ (p. 2), as could any number of other collections of scientific letters, journals and travel writing from the period. This is a not a long book: it needed more time to be spent among more varied primary material to give a full picture of the interactions it begins to suggest. 

NOTES

1. Kuhn credits the latter neologism to Lamarck in 1802, although it was used earlier in English by that quintessential figure of Romantic natural science, Thomas Beddoes, in 1799. Another suggestive overlap is that biology has an earlier history in the lexicon as a rare synonym for biography (OED).

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Paul Youngquist (ed.), *Race, Romanticism, and the Atlantic* (Aldershot and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2013), xi + 267pp. ISBN 978-0-7546-6927-2; £65 / \$109.95 (hb).


‘BRITISH ROMANTICISM’, writes Paul Youngquist in *Race, Romanticism, and the Atlantic*, ‘is white’ (p. 91). Youngquist’s volume interrogates this ideology of whiteness, critiquing its systematic erasure of the violence in and across the Black Atlantic in the early nineteenth century. The collection brings together nine essays, organised into sections on ‘Differences’, ‘Resistances’ and ‘Crossings’. As the plural forms of these words suggest, the underlying idea is one of ‘multiplicity’, a term that appears multiple times in Youngquist’s introduction: ‘The hope that drives this collection of essays is that [a] renewed conjunction of imagination and multiplicity can disrupt the grim legacy of racism by recovering the multiplicity it disavows’ (p. 18).

Indeed the success of the project derives from this sense of multiplicity, not only demonstrated in the range of the subjects discussed, but also in the diversity of approaches to literary and cultural studies: Marlon B. Ross offers a meta-theoretical look at two early, unacknowledged practitioners of critical race theory, Olaudah Equiano and Mungo Park; C. S. Biscombe blends first-person travel narrative with historical analysis in his study of ‘Black Loyalists’ in Romantic-era Canada; and readings of literary texts are coupled with analyses of visual culture throughout the collection, from Elise Bruhl and Michael Gamer’s examination of Emma Hamilton’s ‘Nubian’ servant Fatima to Daniel O’Quinn’s reading of the boxing battles between the white Briton Thomas Cribb and the black American Thomas Molineaux. Taken together, these essays remind us that, as Ross puts it, ‘the tenets of race (and thus of racism) were [...] disjointedly sloppy’ (p. 27) and that, to begin to understand these tenets, we need a certain critical polyphony that, while not ‘sloppy’ in itself, calls forth

the messiness of race in the Romantic era.

Within the muddled discourse of race, this collection reveals, there are identifiable patterns and consistent themes that make race legible for the modern critic. Thus Youngquist's essay on Queen Charlotte and Debbie Lee's study of single black mothers demonstrate the inseparability of racial difference from *different* differences, in this case gender. The examples of Queen Charlotte, who was frequently depicted with 'Negroid' features, and the 'lone mother' dubbed 'Black Peggy' suggest that the markers of black femininity were highly adaptive, capable of dislocating and silencing women of vastly different circumstances.

Another key recurrence within the texts explored by these essays is what Grégory Pierrot calls the 'lonely hero myth' (p. 126), which imaginatively situates resistance within the efforts of a single figure, such as the abolitionist William Wilberforce. Pierrot is addressing here the nationalistic ideology that underlay the bicentennial celebration of abolition in Britain in 2007, but the essays in the collection suggest that this myth was already in place in the early nineteenth century. Three-Fingered Jack Mansong, the Jamaican rebel who, according to Frances Botkin's essay, inspired several fictionalised retellings during the Romantic period, is one such mythical character; the Jamaican guerilla Queen Nanny whom Youngquist introduces in the final pages of his essay on Queen Charlotte is similarly seen to embody the movement toward freedom. Clearly, the mythologising of such figures performs a rather different function than does the glorification of someone like Wilberforce: the symbol of the black-bodied hero means differently than that of the white saviour. And yet, when we pair these historical characters we begin to see how the Romantic cult of individuality shaped the discourse of race in the early nineteenth century and continues to inform our understanding of race today.

In fact, one issue that is clear from this collection is precisely the relevance of Romanticism's particular figurations of race to our present moment. Ross points to the 'racial trauma' (p. 32) of Hurricane Katrina; Botkin shows the legacy of Three-Fingered Jack in contemporary theatre; Giscombe details the personal importance of Black Loyalists to their direct descendants—when one such descendant, Debra Hill, is asked by Giscombe how she would like the community of Loyalists to be represented in his essay, she responds, 'Talk about our strength' (p. 77). In this way, Youngquist's collection is timely not just because it builds on an important trend in the field of Romanticism, continuing to remind us that any history of the era, literary or otherwise, must deal with the question of race, but also because our understanding of our own era is incomplete without a deep awareness of the legacy of Romanticism and its complex articulations of blackness. 

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NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS



Manuel Aguirre is Senior Lecturer at the Universidad Autónoma de Madrid, Spain. He holds a PhD from the University of Antwerp, Belgium. His publications include *The Thresholds of the Tale: Liminality and the Structure of Fairytales* (The Gateway Press, 2007), *The Closed Space: Horror Literature and Western Symbolism* (MUP, 1990) and (with Roberta Quance and Philip Sutton) *Margins and Thresholds: An Enquiry into the Concept of Liminality in Text Studies* (The Gateway Press, 2000); his 'Gothic Fiction and Folk-Narrative Structure: The Case of Mary Shelley's *Frankenstein*' appeared in *Gothic Studies* in November 2011. He coordinates the Madrid Gothic Seminar and heads the *Northanger Library Project* for the recovery of forgotten eighteenth-century gothic and related texts.

Bill Bell is Professor of English at Cardiff University. He is the general editor of *The Edinburgh History of the Book in Scotland*, of which he is also editor of volume 3, *Industry and Ambition 1800–1880*. Since 2008, has been the editor of the OUP quarterly *The Library: Transactions of the Bibliographical Society* and was for fifteen years the director of the Centre for the History of the Book at the University of Edinburgh. He has recently co-authored a book-length study of John Murray's travel writers, to be published by Chicago University Press in 2014.

Melanie Bigold is Senior Lecturer in English Literature at Cardiff University. She has published articles and chapters on eighteenth-century women writers, antiquarian biographers and the history of the book. She has also transcribed and edited manuscripts for *The Slave Trade Debate* and published a monograph on *Women of Letters, Manuscript Circulation, and Print Afterlives in the Eighteenth Century* (Palgrave, 2013). She is currently working on a joint biography of George Ballard and Elizabeth Elstob, and leading a project on marginalia and provenance in the Cardiff Rare Books collection.

Manu Samriti Chander is Assistant Professor of English at Rutgers University-Newark. His research interests include nineteenth-century world literature and aesthetic theory. He has published on Immanuel Kant, Pierre Bourdieu, Samuel Taylor Coleridge and Percy Shelley. His current project, *Brown Romantics*, traces the influence of British Romanticism in the literature of South Asia, Australia and the Americas.

Katie Garner recently completed her PhD on the subject of women's writing and the Arthurian Legend in the Romantic and early Victorian periods at Cardiff University. She is the author of the entry for 'Liminality' in *The Encyclopedia of the Gothic* (2012) and has recently published an article on women writers and Percy's *Reliques of Ancient English Poetry* in *Studies in Medievalism* (2013). She currently holds the role of Reviews Editor for *Romantic Textualities*.

Elias Greig is a tutor and PhD candidate at the University of Sydney. His research looks at Wordsworth's poetry from 1793 to 1798, with a particular focus on representation in poetry and politics. Other interests include the depiction of poverty and poetic form in 1790s Britain; Robert Burns; William Hazlitt; William Frend; and Helen Maria Williams. Elias is the postgraduate representative of the RSAA, and co-organiser (with Amelia Dale) of the Long Eighteenth Century Reading Group at the University of Sydney.

Richard Hill is an assistant professor in English literature at Chaminade University of Honolulu, Hawaii. Hill's research examines the production of the illustrations to the novels of Sir Walter Scott, and the influence they had on nineteenth-century illustrated fiction. He is the author of *Picturing Scotland through the Waverley Novels: Sir Walter Scott and the Origins of the Victorian Illustrated Novel* (Ashgate, 2010). Hill is now working on his next book concerning the lifetime illustrations for the works of Robert Louis Stevenson.

Tim Killick's first book, *British Short Fiction in the Early Nineteenth Century: The Rise of the Tale*, was published by Ashgate in 2008. His scholarly edition of Allan Cunningham's *Traditional Tales of the English and Scottish Peasantry* was published by ASLS in 2012. He has also written essays on the short fiction of the Romantic period and Modernist American fiction. He was a member of the team at Cardiff University's Centre for Editorial and Intertextual Research that produced the online *Database of Mid-Victorian Illustration* (www.dmvi.org.uk).

Maureen McCue (PhD Glasgow) is a lecturer in 19th-century literature at Bangor University. Her first monograph, *British Romanticism and the Reception of Italian Old Master Art, 1793–1840*, will be published later this year with Ashgate. Her next project, *Romantic Republics: Medieval Tuscany in the Romantic Imagination, 1785–1845*, will examine the ways in which the cultural geography of Tuscany offered British Romantic writers a space in which to pursue the possibilities of liberal politics and the imagination.

Jane Moore is Reader in English Literature at Cardiff University. She is the author of numerous books and articles on British and Irish Romanticism, specifically the Irish poet and satirist Thomas Moore, as well as the work of Mary Wollstonecraft. She is the author of *Mary Wollstonecraft* (1997), editor of *The Satires of Thomas Moore, Volume 5: British Satire, 1785–1840* (2003) and

a collection of essays on Wollstonecraft (2012), as well as co-author with John Strachan of *Key Concepts in Romantic Literature* (2010). She is currently writing a monograph on Thomas Moore's literary legacy in the Romantic period.

Sarah Sharp is a second-year PhD candidate in the English Literature Department at the University of Edinburgh. Her doctoral studies are supervised by Professor Penny Fielding and funded by a Wolfson Foundation Postgraduate Scholarship. She is a current member of SWINC (Scottish Writing in the Nineteenth Century) and is a research assistant on the *New Edinburgh Edition of the Works of Robert Louis Stevenson*. Sarah's thesis looks at the representation of burial in early nineteenth-century Scottish writing, focusing particularly on instances where burials depicted do not follow the standard conventions of a 'good death'. She is also interested in the afterlives of these texts, and the way in which they are echoed in other Scottish writing later in the century.

Ruth Scobie is a Mellon Postdoctoral Research Fellow at Worcester College, Oxford, and The Oxford Research Centre in the Humanities (TORCH). She is writing a monograph on eighteenth-century celebrity culture, globalisation and the British exploration of the Pacific; and runs an Oxford-based academic network for the study of fame and reputation (<http://oxfordcelebritynetwork.com>).

David Skilton is Emeritus Professor of English at Cardiff University, and specialises in the English novel before 1900, and on the relation of the verbal and the visual in the long nineteenth century. He was general editor of the Trollope Society edition of that author's novels (48 volumes), and has always sought to unite historical and linguistic scholarship with criticism. Before Cardiff, he held posts at Lampeter, Glasgow and Linköping, and was educated at King's College, Cambridge and the University of Copenhagen. His current ambition is to help steer Humanities Computing in new directions, particularly in respect of information resources for research into bimedial (verbal–visual) art-forms.

Justin Tonra is a University Fellow in English at National University of Ireland, Galway. He has research and teaching interests in the areas of digital humanities, book history, textual studies and bibliography, scholarly editing, and nineteenth-century literature. He worked as a Research Associate on *Transcribe Bentham*, a project to crowdsource transcriptions of the manuscripts of Jeremy Bentham, at University College London, and has completed periods of postdoctoral work at the University of Virginia and NUI Galway.

Brian Wall is a doctoral candidate in English Literature at the University of Edinburgh. His research focuses on Scottish and American literary representations of legal discourse in nineteenth-century literature.

James Whitehead is currently a Wellcome Research Fellow in the English department and the Centre for Humanities and Health at King's College London. His PhD was also undertaken in the English department at KCL, and examined the idea of the 'mad poet' in nineteenth-century writing, especially in relation to Romanticism and Romantic poets, drawing on poetry, journalism, early literary criticism, biographical writing, and medical literature. His monograph (*Madness and the Romantic Poet*) is forthcoming with OUP. James is currently working on a project concerning autobiographical writing about mental illness from the late eighteenth century to the present day.



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We have received review copies of the following books. Books that have been already assigned to reviewers are marked with an asterisk: if you are interested in reviewing one of the unassigned books, or if you would like to suggest a different book for review, please contact the Reviews Editor, Katie Garner (Reviews@romtext.org.uk).

2014

YOSHIKAWA, SAEKO. *William Wordsworth and the Invention of Tourism, 1820–1900* (Farnham and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2014), 280pp. ISBN 978-1-4724-2013-8; £65 (hb).

2013

*BIGOLD, MELANIE. *Women of Letters, Manuscript Circulation and Print Afterlives in the Eighteenth Century: Elizabeth Rowe, Catharine Cockburn and Elizabeth Carter* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), 312pp. ISBN 978-1137033567; £55 (hb).

COOPER, ANDREW M. (ed.). *William Blake and the Productions of Time* (Farnham and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2013), 362pp. ISBN 978-1-4094-4441-1; £70 (hb).

*GOTTLIEB, EVAN; SHIELDS, JULIET. *Representing Place in British Literature and Culture, 1660–1830: From Local to Global* (Farnham and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2013), x + 221pp. ISBN 978-1-4094-1930-3; £55 (hb).

GRANDE, JAMES; STEVENSON, JOHN; THOMAS, RICHARD (eds). *The Opinions of William Cobbett* (Farnham and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2013), 224pp. ISBN 978-1-4094-6432-7; £25 (pb).

JARVIS, ROBIN. *Romantic Readers and Transatlantic Travel: Expeditions in North America, 1760–1840* (Farnham and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2013), 218pp. ISBN 978-0-7546-6860-2; £60 (hb).

LANTENÉ, DAVID E. *William Maginn and the British Press: A Critical Biography* (Farnham and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2013), xiii + 362pp. ISBN 978-1-4094-4941-6; £65 (hb).

MURRAY, CHRIS. *Tragic Coleridge* (Farnham and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2013), ix + 184pp. ISBN 978-1-4094-4754-2; £55 (hb).

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*PRIESTMAN, MARTIN. *The Poetry of Erasmus Darwin: Enlightened Spaces, Romantic Times* (Farnham and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2013), 324pp. ISBN 978-1-4724-1954-5; £70 (hb).

- SHAW, PHILIP. *Suffering and Sentiment in Romantic Military Art* (Farnham and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2013), xii + 248pp. ISBN 978-0-7546-6492-5; £60 (hb).
- *SANDY, MARK. *Romanticism, Memory, and Mourning* (Farnham and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2013), 200pp. ISBN 978-1-4094-0593-1; £60 (hb).
- WHEATLEY, KIM. *Romantic Feuds: Transcending the 'Age of Personality'* (Farnham and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2013), xii + 191pp. ISBN 978-1-4094-3272-2; £55 (hb).

2012

- *CROSBY, MARK; TROY PATENAUE; ANGUS WHITEHEAD (eds). *Re-envisioning Blake* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), xv + 262pp. ISBN 978-0-230-27551-5; £50 (hb).
- HEALEY, NICOLA. *Dorothy Wordsworth and Hartley Coleridge: The Poetics of Relationship* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), xiv + 272pp. ISBN 978-0-230-27772-4; £50 (hb).
- *WESTOVER, PAUL. *Necromanticism: Travelling to Meet the Dead, 1750–1860* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), viii + 217 pp. ISBN 978-0-230-30443-7; £50 (hb).

2011

- *BAILEY, QUENTIN. *Wordsworth's Vagrants: Police, Prisons, and Poetry in the 1790s* (Aldershot and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2011), 230pp. ISBN 978-0-4094-2705-6; £55 / \$99.95 (hb).
- CHANTLER, ASHLEY; DAVIES, MICHAEL; SHAW, PHILIP (eds). *Literature and Authenticity, 1780–1900: Essays in Honour of Vincent Newey* (Aldershot and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2011), 242pp. ISBN 978-0-7546-6599-1; £55 / \$99.95 (hb).
- RAMSEY, NEIL. *The Military Memoir and Romantic Literary Culture, 1780–1835* (Aldershot and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2011), 282pp. ISBN 978-0-7546-5577-0; £60 (hb).
- STEWART, DAVID. *Romantic Magazines and Metropolitan Literary Culture* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 264pp. ISBN 978-0-230-25178-6; £50 (hb).
- VAN REMOORTEL, MARIANNE. *Lives of the Sonnet, 1787–1895: Genre, Gender and Criticism* (Aldershot and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2011), 216pp. ISBN 978-0-7546-6934-0; £55 / \$99.95 (hb).
- WINAKUR TONTIPLAPHOL, BETSY. *Poetics of Luxury in the Nineteenth Century: Keats, Tennyson, and Hopkins* (Aldershot and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2011), 222pp. ISBN 978-1-4094-0489-7; £55 / \$99.95 (hb).

2010

- *CRISAFULLI, LILLA MARIA; ELAM, KEIR. *Women's Romantic Theatre and Drama: History, Agency, and Performativity* (Aldershot and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2010), 292pp. ISBN 978-0-7546-5577-0; £55 / \$99.95 (hb).
- RZEPKA, CHARLES J. *Selected Studies in Romantic and American Literature, History, and Culture: Inventions and Interventions* (Aldershot and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2010), 287pp. ISBN 978-0-7546-6871-8; £55 / \$99.95 (hb).
- SCOTT, WALTER; J. B. ELLIS; J. H. ALEXANDER; DAVID HEWITT (eds). *The Betrothed* (Edinburgh: EUP, 2010), 448pp. ISBN 978-0-7486-0581-; £55 / \$99.95 (hb).
- SCOTT, WALTER; J. B. ELLIS; J. H. ALEXANDER; P. D. GARSIDE; DAVID HEWITT (eds). *The Talisman* (Edinburgh: EUP, 2010), 448pp. ISBN 978-0-7486-0582-8; £55 / \$99.95 (hb).
- STEVENS, ANNE H. *British Historical Fiction before Scott* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 224pp. ISBN 978-0-230-24629-4; £50 (hb).



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