CONSEQUENTIAL GROUND: MEMORIALS OF THE REVOLUTIONARY AND NAPOLEONIC WARS IN ROMANTIC CULTURE 1793-1877

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DISSERTATION

Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in English
in the Graduate College of the
University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 2019

Urbana, Illinois

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ABSTRACT

As we mark the bicentenary of the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars what memorials of the wars have we inherited? And who bequeathed that inheritance to posterity? From the Victorian monuments that remain, it would seem that the heritage of war was coherently patriotic and evidence of a pro-war, pro-victory popular culture. But there's another heritage of war that time has obscured: the failures to remember, the ambivalent erasures of war, and the anti-heroic memorial culture that thrived in politically progressive circles during and after the wars. Although one legacy of the wars is a patriotic myth of England's martial preparedness embodied in monuments to the likes of Wellington and Nelson, this dissertation will argue that our modern conceptions of Britain's national heritage are dependent upon a different legacy: the Romantic-era critiques of literary radicals against public war memorials. The intellectual roots of heritage consciousness in Britain run through literature that changed the way that Britons remembered the loss occasioned by war. Romantic writers promoted a conception of historical property as a collective inheritance, and in the process of disputing the memory of individual war heroes, they created the cultural conditions under which the charitable heritage societies of the late Victorian era would succeed in the work of preserving the past for all.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

My paternal grandmother anguished for years over our future. As a former teacher, she feared that the costs of higher education would be a barrier to her grandchildren. But she would be tickled pink if she knew that it all worked out. To my late uncle, William Porter Sellers IV, who refined my love of our family's Scottish heritage, I dedicate every mention of that ancestral ground. Taken together, their memory stalks these pages as my antecedents in higher education. The distinction of becoming the second "Dr. Sellers" and the first PhD in my family is a humbling and bittersweet culmination. As I match the example of the granddad who passed on before us, and whose example I was raised to follow, I do so without loved ones whose memories I carry. It's my hope that in concluding this work that I'll offer half as good a model to my daughter as my parents were to me, for they instilled in me a love of reading and learning that every child should know. That is, in its way, our family heritage.

The completion of this project would not have been possible without the faculty of the University of Illinois as well as the financial support of my home department, English. I'm grateful for having worked and researched among excellent teachers. Every student who has ever needed a resource on campus is indebted to our first-rate library staff and to the broader Illinois library system. Many are the librarians and support staff who tracked down volumes as part of this project, digitized texts, and made resources broadly accessible. Without their labor on behalf of our research and teaching, academe would cease to be a resource for the people.

Thanks to the National Maritime Museum (Greenwich), the British Library, the British Newspaper Archive, and Nineteenth Century Collections Online for their work towards making nineteenth-century culture accessible and for their permission to reproduce the images herein.

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The majority of Chapter 4 appeared in an earlier form in *European Romantic Review* 26.6. I want to thank the editors of that publication, Regina Hewitt and the late Diane Long-Hoeveler, as well as the anonymous reviewers, who helped sharpen the chapter. Their kind words and guidance encouraged a crucial turn in the overall project's arc.

The members of my committee, now my colleagues, all had a hand in my story as an educator and researcher. From Hina Nazar, my writing regained confidence and precision. Gillen Wood's inspired synthesis of art and Romantic poetry made me a better teacher and stimulated my research into the visual culture of the nineteenth century. Late-night seminars with James Hay helped me find to a theory for synthesizing literature, history, and geography and taught me to locate the past in time and space. To Ted Underwood, who supported my development on multiple fronts, through this project and others, I am especially grateful. Our collaboration here and in digital humanities scholarship has been an incredibly rewarding and fulfilling process.

Over these years, friends have come and gone. Many of them have a complex relation to graduate education. These colleagues in the cause of reform, who are striving to improve the condition of the higher education, are too numerous to mention en masse, but they have been and continue to be essential. Mom, Dad, and Sarah have always and will ever be the origin story of this project, for a kid who learns to love books is a challenge to the status quo. Kim, who married me in spite of it all, sustains me in all things and made Imogen possible. As John Prine observes, "against all odds, honey we're the big door-prize." No acknowledgements page could sum up the joy, which grows over years of loving another. Thanks most of all to this loving family, for which I am truly blessed.

For Kim & Jeanie

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

A horse ambled its way across a park in Hampshire on a Friday morning in November 1821. In the autumn of the year, the mottled leaves of the wood waved above the chalky downs. Not only were the forests well-maintained, the Lord's cattle bore the marks of shrewd husbandry. The rider, William Cobbett, moved high in his saddle for a better view of the trees, the flowing water, and the livestock. In his journal, he would name the 2nd Earl of Canarvon's land "the prettiest park that I have ever seen" (5). Long discharged from the Army, Cobbett was embarking on one of the first of his many tours of the English countryside for the purpose of reporting on the condition of the post-war economy. In little over a fortnight, the sixth anniversary of the Treaty of Paris (1815) would pass, the first anniversary of the cessation of war in the wake of the coronation of George IV and the death of Napoleon.

Cobbett was a most-unlikely radical, the rare case of a Tory war veteran turned reformist MP. Despite the counter revolutionary political climate of Britain during the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars, Cobbett refused to turn a blind eye to the poverty and unemployment wrought by decades of war. His intricate accounts of farms, soils, and rural life capture generational changes in British labor and population. Seen through the eyes of the farm boy raised in Surrey, the Canarvon estate was for Cobbett an example of management done right. Nonetheless, his characteristic bombast and resentment tempers that praise. Although a fellow Whig, Lord Canarvon had voiced displeasure with Cobbett's politics, or so Cobbett had recently heard. As a result, even a would-be ally earns Cobbett's contempt. He dismisses the seat of the Canarvon family, Highclere House, outright: "The house I did not care about, though it appears to be large enough to hold half a village" (5). In its Georgian style, Highclere was the forgettable error in an

otherwise well-managed park. Of course, Cobbett would not live to know Highclere as we know it today, as the remodeled Victorian castle of the Crawleys in Julian Fellowes' period drama, *Downton Abbey*.

Downton is the Highclere that we know and remember. Like much of Fellowes' drama, Edwardian fashions mask its contested pre-Victorian roots. As if to drive home the point, in episode six of season six, the Crawleys agree to a nine-hour open house to raise funds in support of the local hospital trust. Absent their former librarian, the Crawleys cannot answer basic questions from the crowds about the building's recent past. On one hand, the episode is a meta-commentary about the interdependence of stately homes and the public as well as a subtle nod to the perceived origins of the modern heritage industry.[1] Thanks to the success of *Downton Abbey*, tourism sustains Highclere and the Canarvon family in a passing way of life. Lady Edith reflects on this (supposedly) new arrangement, observing that the curiosity of the public "is sad in a way because it means our way of life is something strange, something to queue up and buy a ticket to see, a museum exhibit, a fat lady in the circus" ("Episode Six"). Because stately homes are so deeply associated with national heritage in Britain, it would seem that its preservation developed organically as an Edwardian scheme to preserve the Crawley way of life.[2] However, neither Highclere Castle nor its fictional counterpart Downton Abbey are especially old. An early-

[1] Robert Hewison, who coined the term "heritage industry," wrote during the 1980s about the proliferation of private museums and the increasing economic dependence of Britain on tourism. In *The Heritage Industry: Britain in a Climate of Decline*, he cautioned against over-investing in a belated, neo-liberal version of the past. Less cynical approaches to heritage include John Urry's counter to Hewison in *The Tourist Gaze*, which questions the efficacy of any partisanship baked into heritage. Like Urry, I am less pessimistic about the reception of heritage and more of the mind of David Lowenthal in *The Past is a Foreign Country*. There, Lowenthal acknowledges the potential of heritage to recall the value of change: "the past offers alternatives to an unacceptable present" (49). For example, Lowenthal observes that sites like Colonial Williamsburg may encourage political reflection on means for overcoming tyranny.

[2] On the belated interdependence of English country houses and heritage, see Peter Mandler's *The Fall and Rise of the Stately Home*. See also Astrid Swenson's *The Rise of Heritage*, which questions the respective claims of France, England, and Germany to have invented heritage consciousness in isolation from international models of heritage.

Victorian renovation provided the appearance of age. The Highclere that we and the Crawleys have forgotten is the modest Georgian home that Cobbett ignored out of spite.

While Julian Fellowes' model of heritage as a conservative inheritance is one vision of the past that exists in the public consciousness, it's not the real origin of heritage. When people think of heritage in the UK, they may still recall Romantic writers like William Wordsworth and Sir Walter Scott and with good reason. The Lake District and the Highlands of Scotland signify a kind of living natural heritage: a countryside passed down to future generations. Country houses embody another major portion of what we today call might call heritage with some discomfort due to the country estate's associations with an elite and often politically conservative class. Indeed, Fellowes' drama speaks to a Thatcherite nostalgia continuous with Tory conceptions of tradition descendant from Edmund Burke and Walter Scott.[3] But the charities that administer heritage sites and the blue plaques today did not come into being through the country estate. There's an alternative understanding of heritage that has gone invisible that I am reconstructing through in the chapters that follow. Our modern conceptions of heritage were made possible by the literary left: politically progressive, radical, and reformist writers in the early nineteenth century who were conscious of a heritage of war being disappeared.

The immediate predecessors to charities like The National Trust for Places of Historic Interest and Natural Beauty were philanthropic organizations that sought to preserve land and cultural resources for the poor. Those organizations, including the Kyrle Society, Open Spaces Committees, and Commons Preservation Society, arose out of communitarian and Chartist circles in the mid-Victorian era. Their membership often overlapped with women taking a

[3] For further examination of a "Thatcherite" conception of heritage and charges of elitism in the National Trust, see especially Hewison's *The Heritage Industry*, David Lowenthal's *The Heritage Crusade and the Spoils of History,* and Patrick Wright's *On Living in an Old Country*.

leading role, uniting the work of social reformers with a network of charitable volunteerism. But the genealogy of the preservation movement branches backward and reveals that the revolutionary spirit of the 1790s may have been more persistent than is normally assumed.[4] There's a through-line connecting the politics of literary radicals in the 1790s to the late-Victorian charitable trusts. And it's not a secret Walter Scott sedition that unites those two poles. The Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars were central to the formation of what would later be called "heritage."[5] Because the wars were so important to the development of historical memory in Britain during the Romantic era, war will be central to the intellectual and political roots of the political left's notion of "heritage," the inheritance of posterity.[6] This dissertation will argue that our modern conceptions of Britain's national heritage are dependent upon the remarkable persistence of Romantic-era critiques of memorials to the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars. In actuality, the heritage that literary radicals passed on, and which was taken up by Whigs,

[4] My emphasis on the war-time origins of an inheritable past builds on the recent work of Astrid Swenson, who dates the intellectual origins of "heritage" to roughly post-1789 and locates them geographically in transnational intersections of French, German, and British societies for historic and antiquarian research. Whereas Swenson argues convincingly for an international conception of "heritage" in dialogue with histories of national heritage, I consider the ways that cultures of war supported resistance to "national" heritage consciousness from within Britain. On the influence of the political climate of the 1790s on Wordsworth, Coleridge, and Thelwall, see Nicholas Roe's *Wordsworth and Coleridge: The Radical Years*. My own sense of the durability of radical politics beyond the 1790s extends Judith Thompson's important work on the dialogic relationship between Thelwall and his contemporaries in *John Thelwall in the Wordsworth Circle* to better account of his relationship with William Godwin.

[5] "Heritage" is a flawed term that almost reflexively assumes a political intervention. It is also a term that Romantics writers would not have used, for it is not of the nineteenth century and therefore anachronistic. Here, I use heritage out of convenience to loosely link developing conceptions of the past marked not as "private property" but as the inheritable property of posterity.

[6] An alternate but related account of heritage in this era might stress the plunder of war—the confiscation of art objects and statuary—and a counter response to imperial and national museum culture that surely was also a feature of the war. Art theft, for example, features in Swenson's account of France as an example against which Britain and Germany defined its heritage consciousness (30-47). While that oppositional dynamic fits well with the geopolitical alignment of the wars, Swenson's international perspective concerns the influence of antiquarians and historical societies more than the wars, which I consider as central to the formation of heritage consciousness in Britain during the period. Although this is not a comparative history of heritage, the international nature of the wars examined here would support further inquiry into the transnational influence of heritage consciousnesses.

progressives, and reformers in a protean preservation movement, is the legacy of a radical countryside and the decoupling of the national past from the law of private property.

When William Godwin published "Essay on Sepulchres" in 1809, his proposal to mark historical sites with "simple wooden crosses" was met with skepticism and supposedly forgotten.[7] But if it was an eccentric plan that no one actually took seriously how is it that something like Godwin's idea continues to resurface in nearly every decade of the nineteenth century? Because we have inherited the view of contemporary reviewers that Godwin's scheme was not serious, and have entirely forgotten John Thelwall's influence on Godwin, scholars have failed to see that a whiggish skepticism about monuments and remembrance became a sustained counternarrative to what Timothy Jenks calls the "victory culture" of war.[8] This skepticism connects many of the major writers during and after the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars including Ann Radcliffe, John Thelwall, William Godwin, Anna Barbauld, William Wordsworth, Felicia Hemans, Lord Byron, Percy Shelley, Charles Dickens, and John Ruskin. On surface, the notion of preserving a radical heritage sounds improbable and anachronistic. Radicals are not supposed to be the ones making monuments; that should be the purview of loyalists not Jacobin sympathizers or populist reformers. But historical consciousness took many

[7] "Essay on Sepulchres" has been swept up in the renewed critical inquiry surrounding Godwin. See for example, Westover's chapter on Godwin in *Necromanticism* (48-74) and Mark S. Phillips' "Godwin and the Idea of Commemoration" in *Society and Sentiment* (322-349).

[8] Jenks' study of the political culture of naval celebration and its promotion of individual heroes is essential to Chapter 4, but I will reference "victory culture" frequently as the impulse that radicals struggled to deflect. According to Jenks, celebrations of victory were not inherently nonpartisan as is often assumed (125). His work responds especially to a thread of influential histories of British nation that developed after emphasis on the Revolution Controversy in the 1980s. Linda Colley's *Britons: Forging the Nation 1707-1837*, for example, contends that a class-transcending social coherence developed organically in response to victories abroad (see especially her chapter "Manpower" on popular patriotism). It is this supposed popular patriotism that Jenks dubs "victory culture." Jenks reveals the degree to which "popular" displays of patriotism were messy and staged, designed to create the appearance of coherence (142-148). For a parallel account of the army's attempts to assert celebrity and control, Philip Shaw's reading of tensions between Southey's *The Poet's Pilgrimage to Waterloo* and Wellington's dispatch is essential (*Waterloo and the Romantic Imagination* 92-113).

forms from anti-memorials to negative acts of silence and forgetting, which are as important a consideration for understanding cultures of war as manifest displays of remembrance. Moreover, the political left had a good reason to define a relation to memorialization: war was one of the facts of everyday life across the Romantic era as monographs from Philip Shaw, Simon Bainbridge, Mary Favret, Neil Ramsey, Brian Southam and others have reminded.[9]

As we look back on the bicentenary of the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars and our inherited memories of the past, I wanted to know how its sites of memory were produced, by whom, and to what reception. From Nelson's column in Trafalgar Square to schoolchildren reciting "the boy that stood on the burning deck," it became apparent that these acts of remembrance involved the exercise of power on and through the public.[10] According to Linda Colley, the Napoleonic Wars are supposed to have been an epochal shift, marking the coherence of British nationalism in an otherwise newly united kingdom.[11] But for all the patriotic display and "charitable" building that resulted from war, there surely had to be evidence of resistance, which is what I hoped to discover. Were there coherent anti-war themes in literature produced by the political left during wartime despite the counter revolutionary political climate? Were Waterloo, Trafalgar, the Battle of the Nile, remembered in the same way or even a priority for

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[9] A preliminary survey of recent monographs on Romanticism and the wars includes Philip Shaw's *Waterloo and the Romantic Imagination* (2002) and *Suffering and Sentiment in Romantic Military Art* (2013); Simon Bainbridge's *British Poetry and the Revolutionary and Napoleonic* Wars (2003); Favret's *War at a Distance: Romanticism and the Making of Modern Wartime* (2010); Ramsey's *Military Memoir and Romantic Literary Culture: 1780-1835* (2011); and Southam's *Jane Austen and the Navy* (2000). Betty Bennett's anthology *British War Poetry in the Age of Romanticism: 1793-1815* (1976) assembles a staggering sample of anonymous and forgotten examples of occasional poetry that remind how extensive the cultural field of war remains.

[10] Hemans "Casabianca" appears in many Victorian and early twentieth-century anthologies geared specifically towards recitation and memory. An early example is *The English Orator: A Selection of Pieces for Reading & Recitation* (1838) by James Hedderwick, Jr., which features "Casabianca" as the fourth selection. Hedderwick's anthology draws heavily from Byron and Hemans but also features some of Southey's war poetry.

[11] Colley's account of a nation that coalesced around loyalist, patriotic impulses has been incredibly influential since its publication. See especially her analysis of military celebrity (180-197) and popular patriotism (288-325).

literary radicals during and after the war? And if war on the continent effectively closed Europe to British tourists, where did literary radicals go on holiday? After all, many Romantic writers were travel writers as much as they were poets, novelists, and dramatists. By staying close to home, what role might they have played in changing Britain's domestic tourism nearly two centuries before a "heritage industry?"[12] My view is that the wars were central to the formation of historical memory in a wide range of memorial culture from historical tourism and maps to poetry and monuments.

What I discovered was that the sort of grand narrative of nation sketched by Colley sacrifices an anecdotal specificity that would require us to return incessantly to questions of who creates and accepts the past. I collected a range of genre, material culture, and archival print sources to better represent the sort of divergence from victory culture that one finds at the granular level where non-writers got recorded. War is a great catalyst for storytelling, for myths that bring people together creating a public, collective memory. But not everyone listens carefully or even hears the story. Some of the stories that are told about war organize a resistance and children who grow up questioning history. It is in view of that density and variety of pasts that I generally eschew a singular causal story about the origins of heritage consciousness develops in the United Kingdom.

Forms of memorial culture were important during and after the wars to both progressives and conservatives. However, military command had such a disproportionate influence over the memory of war that it's hard to see the counternarratives and gauge their impact. Many of these

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[12] Whereas I offer a genealogy of the literary cultural influences on heritage consciousness, Swenson carefully documents the organizational underpinnings of heritage. I don't mean to dispute that organizational lineage and concur that the 1790s are essential to what we today consider "heritage." In fact, the same organizational precursors to the National Trust cited by Swenson are important here, particularly in Chapter 5, in part because writers like John Ruskin and William Morris played a pivotal role in the art and architectural culture of the Victorian era.

stories that I tell had to be resurrected from archival work in newspapers and material culture because popular cultures of resistance were not always literary or middle-class. Therefore, this project complements and extends Philip Shaw's *Waterloo and the Romantic Imagination*, especially his reading of Southey's journalistic rebuff of Wellington as "representative of the mobile bourgeois, a middle-class traveler whose claim to distinction rests upon the relentless production of writing" (93). Like Shaw, I'm concerned with how tourism disturbed the production of military history. But I'll argue that those tensions existed before Waterloo and that resistance persisted far beyond 1815. Distant war tended to suppress dissenting witnesses who might otherwise disrupt the authority of the officer corps. Thus, the cultural cohesion evidenced by patriotic parades and occasional poetry was more of an appearance facilitated by silence and the power of military hierarchy than a reality. Even supposed ex-radicals like Wordsworth harbored reservations about the way the wars were being remembered. I found that there were mutinies, anti-memorials, and a body of radical literature that had not otherwise been reconnected, which point to a broader cultural resistance to war.[13] From Raymond Williams we know that urban tourists would rediscover the countryside and create "a new kind of country writing, of which Cobbett is the outrider: a change of convention, so that the interaction of classes, now the decisive history, can begin to be described" (112). But even Williams underestimated the scale of those changes and the impact of the wars registered by Romantic writers.

[13] By radical literature, I mean literature that retains elements of the politically progressive spirit of the 1790s and specifically the influence of early anti-war writers like John Thelwall. By radical, I don't mean to suggest that all writers that I cite will be politically extreme. However, most of the texts that I cite betray some degree of reformist, progressive, Whiggish, or left-leaning ideology descendant from politics present at the war's outset.

I was not expecting to find progressive antiquarians, seditious guidebooks, or proposals to commemorate Wat Tyler and Peterloo in the patriotic culture that produced Trafalgar Square. Money for building these projects and a book-buying audience existed even though uncertainty over the scale of that audience will endure beyond this project. We already knew that Walter Scott and Lord Byron were among the leading literary visitors to Waterloo in the aftermath of battle.[14] However, what scholars have missed are the ways in which those better-known examples of memorial tourism were challenged and met with skepticism. For instance, naval battlefields and generational differences in visitation have been excluded from much of the recent critical work on the Waterloo bicentenary. In the chapters that follow, I'll restore these lacunae to provide a better sense of the complexity of the cultural legacy of the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars while at the same time better documenting sometimes-silent Romantic progressive and anti-war culture. In many ways, the Victorian preservation movement and its emphasis on the property rights of posterity can only occur through a reaction to large-scale war and its parallels to the long history of enclosure of common land.[15] By asserting the right of posterity over sites of memory, the literary left encouraged a more inclusive record of the past that kept the memory of war from becoming private property.

At the outbreak of the War of the First Coalition, writers tried to make sense of war by inferring lessons from the past. They visited historical sites without the sort of interpretive guidance that we tend to associate with battlefields today. Their guides were seldom experts on military history. Some tours made only passing use of a guidebook because they were

[14] See Canto III of Lord Byron's *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage* and Scott's *Paul's Letters to his Kinfolk* (1816). Shaw features both as resistance (Byron) and loyalist (Scott) readings of the field in *Waterloo and the Romantic Imagination*.

[15] As I note in Chapter 3, John Clare understands of the tension between private property and common land in retroactive terms through the wars: "Inclosure like a Buonaparte let not a thing remain / It levelled every bush and tree and levelled every hill" (l. 67-68).

cumbersome. In the late eighteenth century, guidebooks looked more like a county history to be read in a study than a compact reference. Because updates to their text were infrequent, guidebooks supported modes of travel like the picturesque that did not really answer questions about the impact of war. As a result of the unforeseen volume of people now traveling the countryside, domestic tourism and its cultural materials began to change in ways that responded to middle-class mobility, shorter trips, and new touristic practices. Through that process of changing domestic tourism, which is central to the second and third chapters, existing historical sites were reinterpreted by a younger generation with diverse politics. The egalitarian spirit of the first-generation Romantics and their attitudes about war survived in genres that we are still trying to understand like travel literature and guidebooks.

During and after the wars, memorial tourism was fashioned to reflect a range of historical consciousnesses. We are familiar with the aristocratic example of Walter Scott, and his fictional likeness Jonathan Oldbuck, the antiquarian collector hoarding the past for private collections.[16] Scott generated and inspired conceptions of historical memory in Scotland and abroad that remain visible to this day.[17] However, I'll show that there were viable alternatives to the memorial tourism exemplified by the solitary male antiquarian. Other traveling populations including tour groups, middle-class women, and the laboring classes didn't necessarily dispute Scott's military history, but they shifted its focus to the unnumbered dead. Although I'll mention

[16] The caricature of antiquarianism in Scott has been resisted and countered by Rosemary Sweet in *Antiquaries: The Discovery of the Past in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (xiii). For Scott's second-hand history and relic-gathering at Waterloo see Shaw (*Waterloo* 44-46). Yoon Sun Lee's chapter on Scott's Waterloo antiquarianism in *Nationalism and Iron*y (74-104) makes valuable links between Scott's experience of Waterloo and the character of Oldbuck in *The Antiquary*.

[17] Scott had a lasting impact on tourism and place throughout the nineteenth century both in the United Kingdom and abroad as Ann Rigney reminds in *The Afterlives of Walter Scott*. For some recent work on the intersections of Scott's fiction with illustration in travel literature, see Westover's *Necromanticism* (142-173). Meng's *The Mythology of Tourism: The Works of Sir Walter Scott and the Development of Tourism in Scotland* provides a sense of scale by tracking Scott's influence through nineteenth-century guidebooks.

familiar literary memorials of Waterloo like Byron's *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage* and Scott's *Paul's Letters to his Kinfolk*, I'll do so in a way that emphasizes their privilege and with new emphasis on the civilian guide. By the time that Scott releases *The Antiquary* in 1816, antiquarian tourism is already in its death throes as the influx of tourists and the commodification of Waterloo's memory rapidly multiplied the ways of seeing the past. Even Scott does not appear to understand his experience at Waterloo. In *Paul's Letters to His Kinfolk,* published just months before *The Antiquary*, Scott is Oldbuck and Jean-Basptiste de Coster, Napoleon's guide, is the contrarian voice of the eyewitness, Edie Ochiltree. Read together, Scott's real tour of Waterloo is hardly less comical than Oldbuck's erroneous discovery of a Roman encampment on his property. In both cases, it is the bardic local historian, Ochiltree and de Coster, who assert the unrecorded traditions that make the land a shared inheritance layered with many pasts.

Throughout this project, my aim has been to recover a few more Edie Ochiltrees to restore the tension over the production of space that Scott dramatized in *The Antiquary*. To make our existing sense of early conceptions of "heritage" more inclusive, I'll consider examples of women, sightseers, and guides traveling abroad and at home. By looking at audiences who resisted or ignored patriotic impulses, my dissertation asserts the social nature of collective memory. Memorials to the wars were not dreamt up by a few well-connected individuals and accepted outright as definitive. Instead, popular remembrances of war were always complex. This project does not retread Scott's centrality (or not) to creating Scottish and English heritages, nor does it privilege the authority of military command.[18] But this project does show how we

[18] Scott's role, whether real or exaggerated, in the construction of romanticized national pasts has been oft-noted since the nineteenth century. Margaret Oliphant, for example, argued in 1871 that Scott's writing was so central that Scotland had metaphorically become a living memorial: "Yet Scott has not lived in vain; for Scotland is his monument, and the nation his heir, proud to her heart of her poet, the type of our race, the flower of our genius, the noblest and truest, as well as most gifted, of all Scots who glory in that name" (256). For the importance of Scott's novels to the construction of "British" and "English" in the aftermath of the Acts of Union, see Liz Bellamy's chapter on Scott and Edgeworth. See also Peter Mandler on the historical novels of Scott and Ainsworth and their

plausibly forgot that innocent practices like sightseeing were once contentious and disruptive of attempts to form a collective memory of war. I'm more interested in texts that can shed light on how non-military families, ordinary soldiers, able seamen, widows, siblings, and children related to the past. In short, this is more rightly a story about the ancestors of the people queuing up outside Downton trying to make sense of the museum inside and its remove from their sense of the past.

Generational differences encourage us to account for the possibility that a range of responses to war existed, and that perspectives outside victory culture could also represent literary culture and public opinion. My emphasis on resistance builds on the work of Timothy Jenks, whose study of naval commemoration stresses the singularity of patriotic celebrations. Rather than assuming that public consciousness of war would be apolitical, Jenks encourages a healthy mistrust of patriotism, classing it as "a category of behavior, a public costume of rhetoric and symbolic activity" (10). Thus, patriotism is more appropriately one costume in a wardrobe of many. Although like Jenks I feature Romantic resistances to naval victory in Chapter 4, I also consider how new behaviors developed as others fell out of fashion. With an emphasis on the less-immediate responses to battles and a view of the post-war era, I want to counterbalance the more impulsive reactions to the wars.

Forgotten voices of resistance and grief feature prominently in the second half of this story as battles are won and the wars come to a close. So many families felt the impact of war but never recorded their story. Those silences are hard to register or read as a tacit popular

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role in promoting a Victorian popular culture of history (22-37). Juliet Shields helpfully observes that Scott's constructions of the past and of national unity were profoundly gendered. According to Shields, Scott promoted a masculine conception of history that sought to decouple Scotland from eighteenth-century pamphleteering that cast "Scotland as woman" and submissive (140). In Shields' reading, Walter Scott, James Hogg, and John Galt's female characters are the keepers of a revolutionary spirit—a Jacobite tradition at odds with post-Union community (141). On the challenges to military command see especially Shaw's reading of Southey in *Waterloo and the Romantic Imagination* and my analysis of Marryat's *Poor Jack* in Chapter 4.

acceptance of victory commemoration. To families of the dead, Waterloo might be a site of grief, but visitors with no genealogical ties to war might view the same battlefield with indifference or passing historic interest.[19] For writers who had siblings abroad like William Wordsworth and Felicia Hemans, remembrance of war was impossible in any literal sense. The memorials that they knew were seldom directed towards the rank and file. After years of worry and selective information, their experience of war trended towards suspicion and doubt. They could hardly have been alone in that response. In the case of Wordsworth's "Benjamin the Waggoner," I'll argue that his private disdain for Nelson betrays his unsettled politics and points to a more ambiguous timeline for his "radical years." We know that Hemans' "Casabianca" is not the rhapsodic celebration of military heroism that readers once assumed.[20] But scenes of Waterloo remembrance in the post-war second edition of "The Restoration of the Works of Art to Italy" have not been similarly historicized. For Hemans, the legacy of war needed to reckon with a collective sentiment of loss and the possibility of "each" having a unique relation to war. In short, a closer look at post-war writers suggests that memorial tourism and commemoration was not always about nation or a few exceptional officers.

Children born during and after the war like Charles Dickens could scarcely be expected to have experienced its horror, so their relation to war is often sanitized, learned, or imagined. The drift towards post-war education in the Victorian Era is perhaps the most insidiously

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[19] There is an alternative reading of war that might focus more on mourning and mortality, the sort of grief tourism that Paul Westover calls "necromaticism." Indeed, Philip Shaw's *Suffering and Sentiment in Romantic Military Art* reveals that art depicting wounded veterans could teach the public to suppress grief while also recalling the traumas of battle. As Mark Sandy has observed, many of the Romantic poets remained unsettled by death and the unpredictability of memory: "Romantic forms of memory and mourning offer consolation for some kind of retrospective (and proleptic) loss only to call these consolatory modes into question" (2). Forms of historical consciousness concerned with grief surely factored prominently in the post-war culture, but I am more interested in the political context of memory.

[20] In Chapter 5, I'll extend Tricia Lootens cautions about reading patriotism in Hemans' "Casabianca" to her post-Waterloo edition of "The Restoration of the Works of Art to Italy."

coercive phase of remembrance and one which was met with considerable resistance. Because children and the future have to be taught to know the past, how they remember can shape its coherence for generations.[21] In the fourth and fifth chapter, I'll consider the workings of nostalgia and the pressures that prevented memorial tourism from becoming a monolith. To support that generational view, the geography and temporal scale of this story extends beyond London and into the early stages of the Crimean War. If one allows that war might have alternate meanings outside London or across the border, in Manchester or in Scotland, the Napoleonic Wars begin to look less like an unqualified success. If one also allows that Britons such as Mary Seacole, raised in Jamaica, belong in a conversation about remembrance then victory culture begins to look short-sighted, English, and patronizing. These are the kinds of omissions that I hope to correct in a preliminary way. Children may have played a role in supporting the patriotic aims of nation, but we also know that their experiences of loss were complex, as witnessed by the mourning child of Wordsworth's, "We Are Seven" with her two siblings perpetually "gone to sea" never to return (l. 26). Ignoring the war outright, refusing to participate in commemorative culture, and stressing the unrepresentability of loss were ways that writers countered the physical embodiments of memory erected during the decades following the war. As a new generation of the political left realized that matching monuments with more monuments was a futile undertaking, their advocacy moved in the direction of preserving open spaces for posterity. By leaving the land open and free of the signs of private property, the Victorian preservation

[21] David Lowenthal's claim in *The Past is a Foreign Country* that the past defines present identity, as well as his sense of the social function of history, informs much of my thinking about the generational role that education plays after the wars (41-49). As Lowenthal observes, a generation may resist or oppose the past as a way of discovering the present: "to know what we were confirms what we are" (197). See also Linda Colley on how the teaching of history in public schools reinforced an elite loyalist class (171-173).

movement challenged the ideology of war memorials (and enclosure) by simply building nothing at all.

One of the overarching theorists of Victorian preservation was, of course, John Ruskin, a child of the post-war peace. In *The Seven Lamps of Architecture* (1849), Ruskin encouraged sustainable architecture and ethical construction practices that would insure the durability of buildings and monuments. As a result, he transposes ideas about a "radical" heritage from fiction, poetry, and travel writing into the domain of art and architectural criticism, where Ruskin had lasting influence. Although he writes primarily about the built environment, Ruskin takes a longer view to sustaining the inheritance of the future. From structures as modest as a cottage formed by an ancestor's hands to a grand public building, Ruskin theorized a kind of heritage property that transcends time:

> The idea of self-denial for the sake of posterity, of practicing present economy for the sake of debtors yet unborn, of planting forests that our descendants may live under their shade, or of raising cities for future nations to inhabit, never, I suppose, efficiently takes place among publicly recognized motives of exertion. Yet these are not the less of our duties; nor is our part fitly sustained upon the earth, unless the range of our intended and deliberate usefulness include, not only companions but the successors of our pilgrimage. God has lent us the earth for our life; it is a great entail. It belongs as much to those who are to come after us, and whose names are already written in the book of creation, as to us; and we have no right, by anything that we do or neglect, to involve them in unnecessary penalties, or deprive them of benefits which it was in our power to bequeath (171).

With his collective language, the various invocations of "our," Ruskin creates a sense of community that unites the past, the present, and the future (posterity) through its shared use of what is otherwise private property. Ruskin's conception of the earth as cooperative rental may

not feel intrinsically new because common land was used for agricultural purposes on a customary basis in England. But viewed in the context of the long history of enclosure and the privatization of land, Ruskin's challenge to the rights of private owners to improve and destroy at will expands customary rights far beyond agricultural use to include cultural heritage. He strikes a strange balance between progressive politics and tradition that makes sense looking backward through the story that I trace of the roots of his idea. I see Ruskin's "great entail" and its impulse to preserve as harmonizing with the anti-memorial skepticism of the post-war era and complementary if not essential to the Victorian preservation movements.

If the political left was wary about the reception of posterity or uncomfortable with the viability of monumentality, that skepticism was well-founded and not entirely new.[22] Although the writing remains, many of the material cues that might alert us to sites of radical memory were removed (allegedly) for the sort of hasty construction that concerned Ruskin. The blue plaques of English Heritage and the work of modern liberals have restored reference to some of these places. But there's a greater legacy to what was saved that goes beyond a few lost monuments. Because of English law, a property-based trust for the purpose of buying and maintaining land was improbable.[23] As Ruskin had hoped, the turn to conservation and preservation of the lived environment resulted in the expansion of rights held common by the people. For this reason, Ruskin is an important transitional figure in the legal and intellectual case being made for charitable preservation. But the women who made those ideas a reality, like Octavia Hill, had the still-greater effect of unmooring property from traditions of primogeniture and inheritance that

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[22] For example, Shakespeare posited the durability of poetry over monuments in Sonnet 55, "Not marble, nor the gilded [monuments] / Of princes shall outlive this pow'rful rhyme" (l. 1-2).

[23] Merlin Waterson recounts Octavia Hill and Robert Hunter's attempts to discover a legal framework for the National Trust in *The National Trust: The First Hundred Years* (25-29). On the early years of the National Trust see also John Gaze's *Figures in a Landscape* and Robin Fedden's *Continuing Purpose*.

characterized both war memory and landed property. The establishment of charitable trusts had the effect of creating new access and rights for women while preserving open spaces and cultural sites for future generations.

To account for this broader heritage of war, the literary field of this project is thoroughly cultural and persistently rich in documentation. My methods and materials reflect a commitment to understanding culture through multiple contexts, so I interpret poems through maps and monuments, pair novels with guidebooks and illustrations, and consider nonfiction as an interpretive text. Along the way, I break new ground in the biographies of understudied influencers like John Thelwall and William Godwin while documenting the material culture that they knew. With an emphasis on less-noted works, I feature canonical names who now appear more deeply engaged in the politics of war. Women, and the political left broadly, harbored a healthy skepticism about the past that I aim to rehabilitate because the project of memorializing war for posterity was often unrepresentative and inflected by ideology. That's resistance to material culture that merits cautious reexamination. Thus, my emphasis on "memorials" is plural because there was no one memory of the wars. Many "memorials" were forgotten. Mine is a literary history that wrestles with the politics of memory and the potential desirability of forgetting. As a result, the chapters that follow draw together and contribute to a nexus of scholarship that informs the critical legacy of the wars including Romantic historicism, new historicism, memory studies, and heritage studies.

By historicizing sites of memory including battlefields, monuments, and graves, my goal has been to restore a geographic specificity that was essential to the way that people understood distant war. In this way, I'm extending the important recent work of Mary Favret on the temporal dimension of Romantic literature about the wars to better account for role its spatial dimension.

The public learned to see the war in geographically specific ways, shaped by printmakers and urban spectacles like the panorama.[24] But outside London, in the country and in the periphery, the experience of the past varies widely over time. As Philip Shaw has recently observed in *Suffering and Sentiment in Romantic Military Art*, displays of war were "a risky business; thrown into unsustainable complexes of revulsion and enthusiasm, excitement and inertia as a result of the inherent instability of the medium, the audiences for military art might be drawn towards dangerous speculation on the origins and consequences of war" (5). I restore those "dangerous speculations" in literature in order to remind that the wars disturbed as much as they inspired celebration. Through the literary left, the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars begin to anticipate the unsettling and critical views of the wars to come, including the Crimea and WWI.

My approach to the texts and cultural materials that follow descends from late-twentieth century theories of space and cultural remembrance typified by Michel de Certeau and Pierre Nora. Writing about the experience of metropolitan New York, de Certeau observed that space is constantly made and remade through the movement of people at ground-level. Despite the "strategies" of design that otherwise control their movement and conception of space, pedestrians develop what de Certeau calls "tactics" of resistance that defy a singular reading of the city. In other words, the perpetual cycle of people "passing through" makes space textual and subject to conflicting interpretations: "The networks of these moving, intersecting writings compose a manifold story that has neither author nor spectator, shaped out of fragments of trajectories and alterations of spaces: in relation to representations, it remains daily and

[24] As William Galperin observes of Barker's popular battle scenes, "a panorama never stopped either responding to public pressure or, for that matter exerting pressure on the public" (44). Philip Shaw also acknowledges the "propaganda potential" of the panorama (*Waterloo* 83). On the wartime popularity of panoramas, see Chapter 3 of Gillen D'Arcy Wood's *The Shock of the Real*. To this chorus, in Chapter 4, I'll add Nelson's encouragement of Barker's panorama of the Battle of the Nile for its assistance in promoting Nelson's celebrity.

indefinitely other" (93). Although I look outside the city, which is the primary focus of de Certeau's chapter, I am nonetheless interested in tactics of mobile resistance represented by literary tourists passing through historical sites.

In the chapters that follow, I also make frequent reference to "sites of memory," a term that is consistent with Nora's broad definition of *lieu de mémorie*, "a place of memory," as any location (real or imagined) where memories accrete: "to stop time, to inhibit forgetting, to fix a state of things, to immortalize death, and to materialize the immaterial" (15).[25] Critics of Nora and of memory studies broadly have expressed concerns that accounts of collective memory tend to oversimplify the diversity of reception that accompanies representations of the past.[26] As Kerwin Klein admits, the construction of history as memory is well-intentioned, for it purports to access popular consciousnesses that tend to fall outside professional history (128-9). But as Wulf Kansteiner has argued, building on Klein, "collective memory" risks becoming a fantasy of an organic collective if we do not also acknowledge points of resistance and forgetting: "the more 'collective' the medium is (that is, the larger its potential or actual audience), the less likely it is that its representation will reflect the collective memory of that audience" (193). With historiography we tend to openly acknowledge the makers and influencers of history. Memory can be used in a way that effaces its own cultural production.

[25] Nora's examples are rooted in French collective memory that often has strong ties to the French state. However, I see a generational layering of meaning taking place in many of the sites associated with the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars, including the field of Waterloo, that are often public and less susceptible to state influence in a British context.

[26] Kerwin Klein's influential essay "On the Emergence of *Memory* in Historical Discourse" considers the unsettled definitions of "memory" and "collective memory" and their sometimes-oppositional relation to professional history. Wulf Kansteiner enumerates several key methodological critiques of memory studies including the need for scholars to de-couple collective memory from the individual, to better theorize reception, and to appropriate methods from media and communication studies to better study popular consciousness (180).

Instead of effacing the cultural politics of war, I'm going to be cautious about who is making memorials and for what ends.[27] Following Kansteiner, I account for some of Nora's blind spots by admitting the limits of audience and considering specific acts of memory that failed like the Hunt-Peterloo obelisk. Whereas Nora looks mostly at national heritage with ties to the French state, I'll also consider places of local, non-urban, and even landless significance like the naval battlefield. By synthesizing de Certeau and with a careful extension of Nora's approach to place, I'll show that sites of memory can inspire resistance that may invigorate or change a site over time.[28] The Victorian threads in Chapter 5 indicate that the memory of the Napoleonic Wars does not neatly square with literary periodization or the memorial places theorized by Nora. Some sites of memory were moved by later generations, including the Hadley Highstone obelisk featured in Chapter 2; others were removed, producing what we might call a "site of forgetting." Still others, like the open ocean, remain more placeless than grounded.

Romantic scholarship has long-participated in this conversation about space and memory through what might be termed the "geohistoricist" turn of new historicism typified by Marjorie Levinson and countered by Charles Rzepka.[29] Through their readings of Lake District geography, places that were remembered by the Romantics poets, such as Tintern Abbey are now understood as historically and spatially contingent. Levinson's new historicist critique of

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[27] See Marita Sturken's *Tangled Memories* on the political culture of memory, "To define memory as cultural is, in effect, to enter into a debate about what memory means. This process does not efface the individual but rather involves the interaction of individuals in the creation of cultural meaning. Cultural memory is a field of cultural negotiation through which different stories vie for a place in history" (1).

[28] Nora observes that this persistent and future reexamination amplifies the significance of historical places: "*lieux de mémorie* thrive only because of their capacity to change, their ability to resurrect old meanings and generate new ones along with new and unforeseeable connections" (15).

[29] By "geohistoricism," I mean a variation on new historicism that also accounts for spatial dimension to knowledge and power. As the editors of *Hérodote* posed to Foucault, much of his work implied a concern with space that combined the interests of history and geography, a "geo-history" (65). On memory and forgetting in Wordsworth, see also Alan Liu's "The Idea of the Memorial Tour" in *Wordsworth: the Sense of History* (455-499).

Wordsworth, with its emphasis on what is obscured from his view, informs my own examples of erasure and silence in Chapter 4. I apply their geohistoricism to a wider survey of places that were once collectively memorable to radical and anti-war memory including Aboukir Bay, the Hadley Highstone in Barnet, and Calton Hill in Edinburgh. By revisiting these sites and the literature that directly or indirectly produced them, my purpose is not to retread the what Kenneth R. Johnston dubbed the Tintern Abbey "controversy."[30] However, it's important recognize that the stories that writers constructed about places served memorial purposes that are easy to forget in an age where video, photography, and the internet makes it possible to visit the past (albeit virtually) and travel without moving or reading.

Poems, novels, and travel journals could function as written memorials—a virtual eyewitness to history. In these, the last wars before photography, the written record narrates the past in conjunction with visual culture to both make and contest the past. But like a photograph, which purports to capture a moment in time, literature can (and did at times) photoshop. I allow the potential for war and tourists to be partisan in order to be up front about what often lies beneath the impulse to preserve: a negative impulse—a fear that something else might replace it. Written memorials of place could be both acts of preservation and acts of resistance. In short, we'll learn from this project that what we might call "heritage" today was politically charged and selective even before it had a name. I found that the ideas of Romantic radicals embedded themselves in unusual places (in the practices of memorial tourism, in guidebooks, and in advocacy for lost monuments). Ideas like the conservation of a natural environment and national

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[30]Kenneth R. Johnston observed that the debate itself fractured into geographic points: "But in the last ten years, 'Tintern Abbey' has become the focus of extraordinary controversy, which turns very much upon where Wordsworth walked and what he saw on this trip. Where one stands now on 'Tintern Abbey' makes a big difference in Romantic scholarship—whether one stands with Wordsworth, 'a few miles above' the abbey, or with Gilpin, Warner, and many contemporary critics, down in the ruins of the abbey itself" (591).

heritage are concepts that we already knew at some level were influenced by an aging Wordsworth.[31] But Victorian impulses toward preservation are by no means remembered as the legacy of unrepentant radicals like John Thelwall. My story about how the wars were remembered works backward from the memory of the War of the First Coalition, which began a protracted present: an age of being in wartime and space.

Chapter 2, "The Haunts of 1793; or, the Memorable Transactions of John Thelwall and William Godwin," provides a genealogy of the blue plaques of English Heritage and traces the conception of accessible public monumentality to the partnership of John Thelwall and William Godwin. Although Thelwall's influence was supposed to have waned following his imprisonment and the Treason Trials of the 1790s, I'll build upon the ongoing work of Judith Thompson to rehabilitate Thelwall and show that his anti-war poem, "The Obelisk," composed during the early stages of the War of the First Coalition had an improbable and lasting impact. Appearing in Thelwall's self-published first novel, *The Peripatetic* (1793), "The Obelisk" speculates about the memory of the present war through a lengthy narrative poem about the fifteenth-century Battle of Barnet. Thelwall's poem is embedded in a hybrid guidebook form and inspired by his own encounter with an eighteenth-century monument to the Earl of Warwick. What Thelwall recognizes is that monuments attempt to fix the past for posterity and educate through political ideology. From the example of the obelisk, dedicated only to the memory of the Earl of Warwick, Thelwall recognizes that physical embodiments of collective memory tended to

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[31] In addition to Thelwall and Godwin, I would not omit mention of Wordsworth's proposal in *Guide to the Lakes* (1810) that the Lake District be preserved for posterity as a cultural legacy: "In this wish the author will be joined by persons of pure taste throughout the whole island, who, by their visits (often repeated) to the Lakes in the North of England, testify that they deem the district a sort of national property, in which every man has a right and interest who has an eye to perceive and a heart to enjoy" (93). Wordsworth features prominently as an originator and "patron saint" of the National Trust in John Gaze's *Figures in a Landscape* (9-11). On the influence of Wordsworth on Victorian preservation through his popular *Guide* and campaign against the Kendal and Windermere Railway see also Charles-François Mathis' account of Wordsworth's "sentimental conception of the environment."

be selective and patrician. The suffering and deaths of anonymous soldiers seldom earned such consecration. Thelwall correctly prophesizes that this trend would continue into the Revolutionary Wars. As a corrective, he proposes a scheme to mark "spots of memorable transaction" that would, if undertaken, open the past to people who didn't own guidebooks or county histories. Thelwall would have a conception of the past that recollected the costs of war. The idea might have ended there. However, Thelwall's proposal is almost exactly the template for English Heritage. In 1809, William Godwin will redirect the credit to himself. He claims to invent a plan to mark "the scenes of famous battles and other memorable transactions" while echoing Thelwall's exact phrasing. This plagiarism, whether intentional or not, has important biographical stakes for understanding Godwin and Thelwall's later years. But Godwin's plan supports a view that the vaguely seditious proposals of literary radicals survived far beyond their shelf-life. The lingering influence of Thelwall invites us to drastically reconsider the intellectual history of earmarking British cultural property for posterity: to shift that origin past well-known writers William Wordsworth or Walter Scott to a neglected poet-radical like John Thelwall.

Chapter 3, "Histories of Place: Ann Radcliffe's Guide and the Eighteenth-Century Guidebook," takes up the question of how the war changed middle-class tourism from existing modes of seeing landscape including the Burkean sublime, the picturesque, and the then-impossible Grand Tour. Though antiquarian tourism also predates the war, I'll complicate our understanding of the anonymous locals who facilitated the practice and its wartime popularity. With close focus on Ann Radcliffe's tour of the Lake District and her compassionate account of her guide, Doncaster, we'll see that local knowledge and the livelihood of human guides was threatened. Antiquarian writers who set about cataloging and recording the private property of genteel society did so with a view to replacing human guides. As the antiquarian William

Hutchinson claimed, guidebooks freed the public from an unreliable, if not dangerous, rabble. Thus, I'll consider the market and ideological pressures that the guidebook trade exerted on and through the public traveling during wartime. By connecting Radcliffe's tour of 1794 to her novels, we'll see that her guide characters are not unreliable nuisances nor are they sycophantic stock characters. In fact, I'll cast doubt on Hutchinson's claim and suggest that Radcliffe's novels sought to rehabilitate the laborer guide. Radcliffe's guides are more accurately the protectors of local custom and repositories of collective memory, who resist an antiquarian history predicated on cataloging private property. There is at least a hope in both Radcliffe and in Thelwall that memorial tourism during the wars might generate more inclusive records of the past for posterity.

Chapter 4, "Zero Ground: Mapping Maritime Commemoration in the Age of Nelson," primarily concerns the geographic character of writing about the navy, and in particular, Wordsworth's parody of Horatio Nelson's centrality to the Battle of the Nile (1798). But I build off the previous chapter's analysis of Radcliffe's guides by acknowledging the ease with which Walter Scott misread his antiquarian tour of Waterloo. I qualify Scott's turn as a Napoleonic reenactor by scrutinizing his source, Napoleon's guide, Jean-Baptiste de Coster. Although Scott assumed that he re-traced the steps Napoleon, the record that Scott (unwittingly) preserved for posterity is actually the memory of de Coster. Oddly, representations of naval and land battles did not differ all that widely in Romantic culture despite a sea "battlefield" having no land, hence the inversion of "ground zero" in the title. Material and literary cultures of war also tended to overstate the place of the officer corps regardless of branch of service. Scott buys into this general ethos of self-promotion, but others pushed back against the influence of the army and navy's elite. In a reading that complements Philip Shaw's account of Southey's resistance to

Wellington, I assert that Wordsworth's "Benjamin the Waggoner" enacts (against the navy) the very form of new historicism later used by Levinson to critique him. The sailor's battlefield simulation in Wordsworth's poem grossly overstates Nelson's position during Battle of the Nile while eliding the pivotal role of his crew in securing victory. By reading Wordsworth through material cultures of war, including maps and the panorama, I complicate our understanding of Wordsworth's sense of war and remind that naval celebrity also encountered meaningful resistance.

Chapter 5, "Consequential Ground: Sightseeing in the Post-War Generations" (1815-1877) takes a longer view of the decades between Waterloo and the Crimean War. I adopt a generational view for several reasons. First, despite the vogue for raising columns and statues, many well-known examples like Nelson's Column in Trafalgar Square were not completed until the 1840s. Second, decades of war resulted in generational memories of war that were diverse and increasingly imagined. As a result, the place of war became unsettled. Chapter 5 features a range of writers in order to map generational change including "the Corn Law Rhymer" (Ebenezer Elliot), Felicia Hemans, Charles Dickens, and Mary Seacole. The memorial tour of Lady Dedlock and Jo the crossing-sweeper in Dickens' *Bleak House* will provide a key dramatization of the process of forgetting as they visit sites associated with a deceased veteran, Captain James "Nemo" Hawdon. Jo's malapropism, "consequential ground," a misunderstanding of "consecrated ground," gives title to both the chapter and the dissertation itself. For Jo, who "don't know nothink of consequential ground," the past is both unknowable and unrepresentable. Within the political left's response to war, Victorian modes of representing the past shift from physical embodiment to acknowledging that any act of commemoration is subjective and contingent on the whims of posterity. I'll restore to view some examples of anti-memorials,

which attempted to compete with what Maurice Aguhlon called Victorian "statumania." As younger generations begin to recognize the uneven development of that memorial landscape, writers helped Britons think through how to better represent a collective sentiment of loss. Eventually, the literary left realized the futility of that earlier project and drifted towards the model of preserving open spaces encouraged by Felicia Hemans. Ironically, it is this whiggish skepticism about monuments and the precursors to the National Trust that brought about our forgetfulness of its intellectual roots in cultures of war. The very bedrock of the schemes that made charitable preservation possible got taken down and sold for scrap.

CHAPTER 2: THE HAUNTS OF 1793; OR, THE MEMORABLE TRANSACTIONS OF JOHN THELWALL AND WILLIAM GODWIN

In the spring of 1471, the armies of the Houses of York and Lancaster clashed near the town of High Barnet in Hertsmere, a mere ten miles north of London. As the morning fog lifted, men and horses lay trampled into the upturned earth. Soldiers that no history remembers came to rest, leveled with men of status whose names endure. For a time, they were equal. No record survives to name and number the lives of those citizen soldiers. They live on principally as commodities on a gift shop shelf: the anonymous toy soldier, mass-produced in one likeness. Beside them, the hand painted heroes—toy knights with titles—come with a higher price tag. But today in Barnet, even heroes are hard to find. Although the battlefield at Barnet is an English Heritage site, its location and scale remain unknown. The weight of centuries buried the battlefield of Barnet beneath homes and the local golf course. The particulars of that spring day passed into tavern talk and later made its way into obscure volumes of English history. Barnet no more resembles a war zone today than it did two hundred years ago. In the eighteenth century, antiquarian guidebooks offered little to recommend the town but a nondescript war memorial. Yet it was this obscure battlefield that prompted the poet-radical John Thelwall to pen his anti-war poem from *The Peripatetic* (1793), "The Obelisk," during the early stages of the French Revolutionary Wars.

Among the young radicals of the 1790s, John Thelwall was the firebrand orator, arguably the most famous of his time, and a major figure in the British reform movement. Like his friend, the anarchist philosopher and novelist William Godwin, Thelwall was one of the prominent English supporters of revolutionary France. Although their political philosophy did not always

harmonize, Thelwall and Godwin were consequential voices of political radicalism in the early war years, a moment that molded the worldview of "first-generation" Romantic poets. Despite their former prominence, Thelwall and Godwin are not exactly household names today. Their work is seldom studied outside academic specialists in the Romantic Era. But in their prime, Thelwall and Godwin were esteemed by poets like Wordsworth and Coleridge.

For a brief window in the spring of 1793, their ascendancy overlapped. As the War of the First Coalition drew Britain and France into a decades-long conflict, Godwin published his most-developed statement of political philosophy, *Enquiry Concerning Political Justice*. After April 29, John Thelwall began selling *The Peripatetic*, a miscellany that combines topographical sketches, poetry, and political commentary in the form of novelistic fiction. Due to its sketch-based nature, *The Peripatetic* is an eminently topical source on subjects such as travel, abolitionism, aesthetics, and rural economy. But my interest here is with the novel's displacement of a foreign war onto a domestic historical site. In one of the longest narrative poems in the novel, "The Obelisk," Thelwall narrates the fifteenth-century battle of Barnet in order to draw a not-so-subtle parallel to England's war with France. As the poem's title suggests, Thelwall is concerned with the uneven development of commemorative culture. The obelisk raised in remembrance of the battle is in reality a tribute to one death. This selective memory typifies commemorative culture in the Romantic era. In a sense, the post-war era vindicates Thelwall. But recent scholarship on the wars has ignored Thelwall's prophecy. His obelisk poem remains largely unexamined excepting Judith Thompson's notes to the 2001 edition of *The Peripatetic*. Given the relative indirectness of Thelwall's anti-war poetics, it is all the more astonishing that Thelwall's account of Barnet appears to have directly influenced—if not inspired—his estranged mentor, William Godwin later in his career.

Although in recent years there has been much critical reassessment of Thelwall's varied career, scholars are still trying to judge the intellectual influence of his work. As Judith Thompson masterfully reveals in *John Thelwall in the Wordsworth Circle: The Silenced Partner*, Thelwall maintained a far more consistent and significant dialogue with Wordsworth and Coleridge than was normally assumed (3). Because papers have been lost or destroyed, Thelwall's relations with his Romantic peers are challenging to document with certainty and often have to be read between the lines. Thelwall flaunted his radical politics in spite of Prime Minister William Pitt's surveillance state, marking him as a risky acquaintance. The perceived detachment of Thelwall's peers from him both personally and intellectually has long belied Thelwall's continuing relevance to Romantic writers. As I'll explain later, the fine details of William Godwin and John Thelwall's relationship are overdue for an update and some correction.

In 1906, Charles Cestre published a study of Thelwall, which includes abundant quotation from a lost Thelwall manuscript, purchased from Sotheby's at auction in 1904.[32] Of Thelwall's early relationship to Godwin, Cestre offers the following assessment: "Thelwall had entertained deep regard and sympathy for a man whom he was ready to hail his 'philosophical father,' as he had acknowledged himself Horne Tooke's 'political son'" (131-132). Cestre fails to cite where or if Thelwall ever used those terms to describe Godwin. It turns out that Cestre's source did not afford Godwin that status. In fact, it rarely mentions Godwin. Technically, the phrase "intellectual father" is more rightly that of Thelwall's wife, Cecil Thelwall. Cestre's study rearranges a line from Cecil Thelwall's incomplete biography of John Thelwall without attribution. In the original source, she characterizes John Horne Tooke as a surrogate for

[32] For the ongoing quest to locate the missing Cestre manuscript see Nicholas Roe's "The Lives of John Thelwall" in *John Thelwall: Radical Romantic and Acquitted Felon* (16-21).

Thelwall's biological father, who died young: "Thelwall, in a great degree, considered Horne Tooke in the light of his intellectual and political father" (76). She uses the same language more than once but not in reference Godwin: "It was well known that for four years the former [Thelwall] had treated the latter [Horne Tooke] in all respects with the consideration of a father" (344). Thus, it would be wrong to construe Cestre's assertion as a lost manuscript quotation from John Thelwall naming Godwin his surrogate father. Godwin and Thelwall were compatible on many fronts but perhaps not always so close as that.

The nuances of the Godwin-Thelwall relationship become spotty and are easily confused after 1795. As I explain later, Godwin continues to be credited for ideas that Thelwall formulated nearly fifteen years prior. It is my contention that consciously or unconsciously, Godwin echoes a proposal from Thelwall's "The Obelisk" in an era where both men are thought to have been largely estranged. Specifically, I assert that Godwin's much-examined *Essay on Sepulchres* (1809), a proposal to mark and map the burial places of historical figures, should be understood as a response to if not a plagiarism of his protégé. My examination of Thelwall's travel writing, adds weight to a growing body of evidence that Thelwall continued to impact peers who were thought to have abandoned him. I will expand a bit further on the model of Judith Thompson to complicate some scholarly assumptions about the originality of Godwin's essay. Ultimately, what is at stake here is the realization that Godwin's essay is no one-off eccentricity. It is part of a larger story about the radical roots of historical preservation in Britain. Godwin rightly features in that story, but he needs to be situated in a broader literary field that precedes and follows him. In short, if as Paul Westover claims, Godwin's plan is his "own National Trust *avant la lettre*," it is important to realize that Godwin was responding concretely to at least one plan that already existed (73). That "The Obelisk" has not yet attracted in-depth analysis is not entirely surprising

given its temporal displacement of anti-war poetics and its provocative author. But I hope to demonstrate that Thelwall's antiquarian interest in the War of the Roses was far more topical than it otherwise appears.

As Mary Favret persuasively argues in *War at a Distance*, decades of war produced a disorienting relation to time that Romantic writers sought to overcome, a phenomenon we now call living in "wartime." However, geography and the geo-spatial particulars of war, factors which Favret acknowledges without emphasis, were by no means an insignificant dislocating factor. Our critical understanding of "wartime" requires an equal attention to "war space," to war zones both real and imagined. The civilian response to the wars appears in strange places, far removed from the continental battlefront or the naval engagements abroad. During a period about which we know comparatively less, the early stages of Romantic wartime, writers were already trying to make sense of foreign war by visiting historical sites: battlefields, war memorials, and the graves of soldiers. As people do to this day, they looked to the past for hints about the present and future. But the lessons derived from these historical sites did not necessarily insure unified patriotic support for war. Antiquarian travel writing is an unlikely genre to mine for political dissent and contemporary war commentary, which likely explains why Thelwall's war writings have been mostly disregarded in a field crowded by the likes of Southey, Scott, Wordsworth, and Byron.[33]

[33] Thelwall makes direct reference to the wars in his lectures of 1795, which were self-published in his periodical, *The Tribune*. Generally, Thelwall takes a philosophical approach to war and dismisses it on principle for its affront to "the general happiness of mankind" ("The Duty" 84). Rather than reactionary punditry, Thelwall maintains a longer view to the human cost of war. He also contributed to the popular genre of occasional poetry, though later in his career. For example, the death of Lord Nelson in 1805 prompted the publication of Thelwall's commemorative ode, *The Trident of Albion,* and a companion lecture on the patriotic virtues of elocution. Among the mass responses to Nelson's death, Thelwall's ode was familiar to at least some of his peers. In fact, Judith Thompson makes a persuasive case that the eccentric performance of the sailor in Wordsworth's *Benjamin the Waggoner* satirizes Thelwall's effusive Nelson oratory (*John Thelwall in the Wordsworth Circle* 208-209).

Antiquarian guidebooks tended to be composed by gentlemen for genteel readers, and if they mentioned war, it was usually medieval. This temporal detachment insured that antiquarian guidebooks felt noncontroversial. They traffic in the sort of trivia necessary to disrupt an interminable carriage ride. By the 1790s, guidebooks had not fully transitioned to the portable pocket guides that became popular in the nineteenth century. Their content still reflects a mostly upper-middle class audience that was literate, had the means to purchase leather-bound books, and had the corresponding leisure time to use them. The writing produced to support antiquarian tourism tended to emphasize the history, lives, and property associated with that level of comfort. In a sense, they narrated a conservative, tradition-bound English heritage. An antiquarian guidebook had little to offer a young, radical reader of means. Thelwall's project in composing *The Peripatetic* was in part, I think, aimed at addressing that market gap even if he was largely unsuccessful in the long-term. He looks for a way to make historic places topical and reintroduces the role that normal people played in shaping local history. As I argue throughout these chapters, what came to be called historic preservation and the movement that established the National Trust has its intellectual roots in this species of radicalism associated with the political left—not in the more conservative practice of visiting country estates.

In keeping with Thelwall's broader political commitments, his wartime tourism is fundamentally democratic. He records memorials of common people who (quite literally) had no place in guidebooks: the cottager, the itinerant agricultural laborer, and so on. His work anticipates the anthropological study of country life preserved in William Cobbett's *Rural Rides.* Thelwall shares with Cobbett a commitment to documenting what picturesque tourism tended to merely aestheticize: rural poverty.[34] In the 1780s and 1790s the local landmarks that guidebooks

[34] For the characteristic aesthetics of rural poverty see especially John Barrell's *The Dark Side of the Landscape*.

normally recommend are stately homes or ruined edifices.[35] Thelwall would have travelers look instead to the laborer cottage and know a history that is decidedly modest and often dissident. Thelwall and Cobbett share an ideological agenda but so did most of the guidebooks that they disrupted. As is the case with the writers in the chapters that follow, Thelwall feared the erasure of history at the margins of society where war has an acute impact.

In rural communities where food insecurity was endemic, a soldier gone to war disturbed farming production in ways that could be felt throughout the community. There families had to overcome the loss of fathers and sons with little compensation or financial security, resulting in aggravated hardship. That Thelwall saw the war as an unjustifiable assault on working people is apparent from his dismissal of the coalition victory at the Siege of Valenciennes during the Flanders campaign:

> It is true, at the commencement of the present war, his Royal Highness took Valenciennes in the name of the Emperor of Germany; and he ran away from Dunkirk in the name of his Royal Father. Let the widows and orphans of those who were slaughtered in these glorious exploits, tell me, if they can, which of them was the most advantageous to the country? which of them afforded the largest proportion of comfort to themselves, or alleviated best the wants and anguish of their expiring relatives? ("The Duty" 84-85)

At the time of Thelwall's Tribune lectures of 1795, the coalition hold on Valenciennes had broken, negating the earlier siege. Here, Thelwall means to offend when he characterizes a Pyrrhic victory as a "glorious exploit."

No grieving widow or orphan would remember this defeat as a charitable recompense for the loss of a loved one. Ultimately, what is restored by Thelwall's questions above is the silent

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[35] John Vaughan's *The English Guidebook c. 1780-1870* serves as an excellent introduction and reference for these popular texts.

dissent. The widow or orphan's sobering view of wartime tends to go unremembered. What survives in her stead is a selective rebranding of a war zone—one that suppresses the memory of unwarranted bloodshed. Writers like Thelwall and Wordsworth were acutely aware that the "consecration" of a battlefield tended to be selective in practice. In other words, war memorials to individual officers increasingly became the face of an increasingly public memorial culture. Although an organized popular movement in support of historic preservation is not present during Romantic wartime, the notion that the dead and the unborn have property rights does manifest itself gradually.

As battlefields pass into history, the place of command tended to matter more. The vantage points of Wellington or Napoleon took precedence. Where other soldiers stood or died continued to get lost to time. This officer-centric view of battlefield space imposes upon the land an ideological spin modeled on landscape aesthetics and specifically the prospect view. Even at Barnet, certain square feet on the battlefield evidently mattered more than others. By spreading out the significance of history geographically to include dissident sites within one space, Thelwall's travel writing reclaims sites that belong not to an elite few but to the people. This is a point that may be lost on modern readers when a wealth of protected lands and heritage sites are accessible to travelers across the globe. But for anyone who visits or cares about these places, it is crucial to recall that it was not always so. Public access is a surprisingly recent phenomenon, hard-won and difficult to maintain. Then as now, the threat of privatization loomed large. I contend that Thelwall's radical antiquarianism should be read not merely as part of a genre "experiment,"[36] as Judith Thompson (and Thelwall) defined *The Peripatetic*. I propose to isolate

[36] *The Peripatetic* defies global definition with regards to genre. As Judith Thompson explains in her overview of the text's sources, Thelwall conceived the work as a "genre experiment" (*Peripatetic* 19-20).

its guidebook aspirations and consider *The Peripatetic*'s value as a foundational text for imagining inclusive and perpetual public access.

A Mutiny, A Departure, and An Inauspicious Return

Because Thelwall's treason trial and imprisonment in 1794 haunted the remainder of his career, we will never know a mature version of his antiquarian tourism for itinerant radicals. When Thelwall returned to composing travel literature in summer 1797, he could scarcely envision going anywhere without government spies tailing his every move. Even vaguely seditious remarks would have returned Thelwall to prison, and Thelwall knew the stakes of bearing his political soul. If Thelwall's rhetoric feels uncharacteristically safe in 1797, there is, I think, ample reason. In a preface, he accounts for his absence with a wry allusion to his continued persecution by the government: "Pursuits, indeed, of a very different nature estranged [me], for several years, from the indulgence of this propensity" (*Pedestrian* 532). On surface, Thelwall's explanation for a writing feels wholly unnecessary as travel writing remained a common feature in periodicals.

It seems unlikely that Thelwall expected to awaken a cult pining for a second installment of *The Peripatetic*. For this reason, I read the preface as a subtle attempt to vindicate himself before the public as he did throughout his career. These "pursuits…of a very different nature," strike me as not merely literary. Here, "pursuit" invites two if not three interpretations, all relevant to Thelwall's life. First, he jokes dismissively that his prison time resembled a pastime forced upon him. Second and more literally, he did work in different genre after 1793, including his public lectures and a volume of prison poems composed in the Tower. But there is also a third, subconsciously paranoid, meaning of "pursuit." Thelwall continued to be—literally—

pursued upon his release.[37] Whatever the motivation, Thelwall felt his work in tourism was incomplete. For this reason, I argue that *The Peripatetic* and *Pedestrian Excursion* participate in a common project that Thelwall reprises and that gives coherence to his anti-war sentiment. Because Thelwall hints at a continuity to his project, it is reasonable to speculate that he might have done more in the vein of *The Peripatetic* had other "pursuits" not been forced upon him.

A Pedestrian Excursion Through Several Parts of England and Wales During the Summer of 1797 is not exactly a manifesto that fundamentally changes the status quo for Romantic tourism nor is it a perfect match to its predecessor. In some regards, Thelwall's travel writing is unoriginal. The way out of London that Thelwall followed was well-traveled. From the sequence of towns Thelwall visits outside London, it is evident that he went by the Land's End coaching road, one of the major routes of egress, corresponding roughly to the modern A30. Thelwall captures views that passengers saw from a carriage on a regular basis. But what differs is how he interacts with those scenes. Beginning with the preface, Thelwall defines his tour against the norms of picturesque spectatorship:

> In the meantime, circumstances had produced another species of curiosity well calculated to go hand in hand with a passion for the picturesque and romantic. Every fact connected with the history and actual condition of the laborious classes had become important to a heart throbbing with anxiety for the welfare of the human race: and facts of this description are not to be collected by remaining, "like a homely weed, fixed to one spot." (617)

Although this "species" of writing relates to the picturesque, a guide that goes "hand in hand with" is not inherently *identical to* the picturesque. So much of landscape aesthetics in the

[37] This image of Thelwall as a hunted man evokes the seminal work of E.P. Thompson, and the organizing metaphor behind his study of Thelwall, "Hunting the Jacobin Fox" (republished in *Romantics* 156-217).

eighteenth century depends on an observer playing by the rules, standing in the right place, and facing the appropriate direction.

Purely by moving around and refusing to stay "fixed to one spot," Thelwall would have readers be mindful of their blind spots. What might be called Thelwall's "mobile spectatorship" transitions the viewer from a passive to a critical mode. Imagine, for example, being shown a scene then demanding to look around unsupervised. Guidebooks do not tend to encourage readers to consider what is being kept from their view. Such an exercise of the critical faculties represents a challenge to the theory of aesthetic education that permeates many guidebooks. As I explain further in my chapter on Ann Radcliffe, views of private property were believed to have a self-improving—if not mollifying—effect on readers of marginal middle-class status. It is hard to see a park landscape from a mansion and not also admire the owner or his wealth. But that is precisely the sort of landscape aesthetic that Thelwall disrupts with gusto. The theory of benevolent land management meets immediate rebuttal. What sets Thelwall's tour apart from conventional picturesque or antiquarian guidebooks is its insistent focus on "the laborious classes," who make these scenes possible. In moments where Thelwall appears to recommend a country estate, he turns the aesthetic on its head.

For example, in the parish of Shepperton, Thelwall baits readers with convention. At first, the landscape appears to credit the local landowners: "The affluence of nature, and the toil of man, conspire to produce one continued scene of fertility; while from every eminence the mansions of opulence overlook the prospect with exultation" (617). From the veranda, it would seem that life was and is good. The description conjures a fantasy of continuous productivity. But there were weeds lurking in the lawn. Prospect views of fertile parklands like this are abundant in eighteenth-century guidebooks. More atypical is the view from below that Thelwall

offers to reinterpret this same vista: “But man, aggregate man, seems little benefited by this abundance. Cottages (none of which have the advantage of a cow) are more thinly scattered; and little farm houses are still more rare…In short, every thing has the appearance of that deflating monopoly which makes fertility itself a deficit” (617). The resulting dialogue between the two stations encourages readers to reflect critically on a more comprehensive panorama of the countryside. Granted, this landscape is no less ideological, but Thelwall wants to advertise a patch of crabgrass. He cares about what gets omitted in the typical transaction between travel writer and aesthetic tourist. The omission, restored by the imagination to its dissident place, recalls how little the landowner actually did to help the community. The estate owner was not toiling behind the plow.

In other words, Thelwall’s mobile spectatorship restores the place of the “little benefited” recipients in the cottages. The “real” condition of the place exists in an unrecorded time between the estate’s imagined “fertility” of a continuous present and the present-perfect “want” registered by the phrase “seems little to have benefited.” By doubting historical continuity, or perhaps by simply asking the neighbors, Thelwall learns there is error. Only an “imagined *continuity*” got recorded. Although narratives of rural decline and scarcity are by no means new in 1797, guidebooks responded slowly to the kind of reformist fact-finding that concerns Thelwall. It was not uncommon for the text of a single guidebook to remain unchanged through several editions even as economic conditions changed. Because of its topical subject matter, *Pedestrian Excursion* provides a significant sequel to the sociological dimension of *The Peripatetic*. It is also a text worth mining for clues to Thelwall’s subsequent thoughts about travel during wartime. Though more muted than its predecessor, *Pedestrian Excursion* occasionally betrays the unrepentant radical behind the text.

Mutiny was in the air. Despite his precarious situation, Thelwall should be railing against war by the summer of 1797. In his way, he did what he could. Earlier in May, a group of ordinary seamen organized a blockade of the Thames for nearly a month. Their demands included better food and a raise to their long-stagnated wages. By E.P. Thompson's estimation, the naval blockades at Spithead and Nore were the zenith of the revolution that never happened: "the greatest revolutionary portents for England." Among the mutineers at Nore were members of the London Corresponding Society ("Making" 167-8). Given Thelwall's influential tenure in the London Corresponding Society, he likely followed the progress of the agitation closely. The resolution of the mutiny gave Thelwall ample cause for alarm. Richard Parker, the leader of the radicals, was tried, sentenced, and executed on 30 June 1797 (Gill 248). As Michael Scriviner notes, it is not also not hard to imagine that the episode prompted Thelwall to leave town: "There was much speculation at the time about the mutineers' revolutionary motives, so that it would not have been impossible for Thelwall to have gotten reimprisoned on some imagined link between him and the naval mutinies" (Scriviner 227). My own view is that the timing of Thelwall's departure is at the very least suspiciously coincidental. On the morning before Parker's execution was carried out, John Thelwall set out in the rain to visit Coleridge at Nether Stowey.[38] Later, Thelwall published what he characterized as "selections" from a journal from this trip in *Monthly Magazine.*[39] These excerpts appeared over the course of ten parts beginning in August 1799 and constitute the known portion of his *Pedestrian Excursion*.

A frank discussion of mutiny in print is about as far as one can get from safe speech for a man tailed by government spies. Sadly, we do not know exactly what Thelwall said when the

[38] This is the same trip immortalized by Coleridge with the "Spy Nozy" affair from *Biographia Literaria*.

[39] A more complete journal corresponding to Thelwall's tour has not surfaced but should have been in the missing Cestre manuscript.

subject came up. But on the day after the Parker execution, a laborer on the Land's End road outside Basingstoke invited Thelwall to comment. The details of the affair largely omit Thelwall's perspective but warrant reciting in some detail because I think Thelwall was being strategically evasive. On surface, the incident reads like a witty encounter with a village drunk pitched for light comic relief:

> His features, tho' considerably relaxed by intoxication, bore the stamp of intelligence far above his situation; and this impression was confirmed by his conversation. He was inquisitive, shrewd, and communicative. It appeared that he read *several* newspapers, and in all probability, is the oracle of every pot-house in the surrounding county. Unfortunately, however, we could no way turn his conversation into the channel we desired. He talked of nothing but Parker and the delegates, of war and of parties. In short, he was too full of liquor and *temporary politics*, to furnish any information on the subject of political economy. (619; emphasis in original)

Their brief encounter has attracted passing attention with good reason. On the execution of a working-class mutineer with ties to the *LCS*, Thelwall fits the profile for a source that historians hope to find in a chatty mood. But Thelwall treads lightly with the Basingstroke "oracle."

E.P. Thompson offered this passage as evidence of a behavioral pattern, signifying Thelwall's inability or unwillingness to "[transcend] the condescending conventions of class" (*Romantics* 167-8). Thompson is surely right that Thelwall was an imperfect champion of the people whom he purported to defend. Even in *The Peripatetic*, the narrator Sylvanus Theophrastus (the stand-in for Thelwall) never gets far beyond a superficial understanding of the people that he meets in his travels. Michael Scriviner's reading mostly comports with that of Thompson. However, he asserts Thelwall's "impatience" is not a sign of class prejudice but evidence of Thelwall's desire to overcome his outsider status (228). But I think both readings

overlook the obvious. Thelwall can't resist the opportunity of having *someone else* sound off for him *and* save his neck. While Scriviner is technically correct that "we have no account of the laborer's comments or Thelwall's response," I contend that Thelwall leaves subtle hints as to their exchange (227).

Lest it be overlooked here, Thelwall was a noted orator who devoted a considerable portion of his career to the teaching of elocution. If one approaches the Basingstoke "oracle" first with a view to Thelwall's skill as a rhetorician, he clearly liked what he saw and heard from the outset. On closer inspection, that positive impression persists. Although Thelwall initially judges the man based on appearance, "his conversation," meaning the laborer's speech, clearly impresses. Thelwall narrates his first impressions, and it should not be surprising that Thelwall measures people by elocution. For a laborer to pass that test before a renowned orator is no mean accomplishment. Yes, there is a self-effacing laugh to be had if we are to read the noted elocutionist as conned into praising intoxicated speech. But alcohol also introduces a wildcard into the conversation that I think deflects readers from the real issue—the dramatic intrigue that Thelwall creates through silence. Will Thelwall sign his own death warrant? Will he recant his politics and disavow a working-class uprising against the war?

The entire scene is genius for its ducks and dodges. The humorous bait and switch for readers is the incongruity of the county drunk being labeled its "oracle." But I'm not entirely convinced that we should accept a reading that assumes Thelwall had no time for a laborer. His fixation on the mutiny and the management of the war sounds more rightly in line with the civic literacy that Thelwall promotes in his Tribune lectures on war. Some readers may choose, as Scriviner does, to cite Thelwall's supposed desire to "turn his conversation" as evidence of displeasure. However, I'm not convinced that Thelwall didn't appreciate his radical compatriot.

If Thelwall felt any compulsion to correct or challenge the Basingstroke "oracle," he kept it hidden. Alcohol may impair pronunciation. But content is harder to slur. My own view here is that alcohol is a side-show deployed to cover Thelwall's tacit approval of the laborer's politics. After all, Thelwall lets slip that the laborer is "shrewd" in addition to "inquisitive" and "communicative." If the laborer is literate, versed in current events, and perceptive in Thelwall's estimation, I do not think it is much of a stretch to infer that he agreed with what the laborer had to say. Is it so much more likely that Thelwall would sincerely abandon his principles, praise the insights of someone with whom he disagreed, and set all that down in writing? I suspect not. I concede to Scriviner's suspicion that Thelwall's "bored disdain" could be read as verification of his freedom "from anything resembling violent conspiracies against the government" (228). That would certainly please Thelwall's persecutors enough to throw them off the scent. But do we know from appearances that Thelwall's "disdain" is not just an act? While we have no straightforward way to verify that this incident occurred as written, I contend Thelwall's point is to let the Basingstoke "oracle" stand as his surrogate.

If one considers the entire episode from Thelwall's position, what's more convenient than finding an anonymous laborer to introduce the political commentary that you cannot? I'd argue that it is far safer rhetorically for Thelwall to defer even as people would have preferred his comment. As written, it is really the only safe way rhetorically for Thelwall to acknowledge the mutiny without risking persecution or disavowing his principles. The entire episode fits Thelwall's broader project of preserving a laboring class history. Because of Thelwall's background in journalism, I suspect that he knew what he had and noted the Basingstroke "oracle" with good reason. He had captured a rare "man on the street" response to the Parker execution outside of the London bubble. By publishing it, he preserved contemporary evidence

that the common people maintained considered opinions about the efficacy of mutiny for disrupting naval meritocracy.

But by leaving his source anonymous, Thelwall judiciously shields the man from the sort of persecution that followed him everywhere. The entire exchange serves as a pointed reminder of scale and how little we can know for certain about the politics of people who could not vote. If the views of a massive portion of the population (both literate and illiterate) went unrecorded, can we always trust that our available resources to gauge public opinion during Romantic wartime are reliable? Did other travel writers actually adopt a Thelwallian "mobile spectatorship?" Were their sources trustworthy? Did tourists value honest reporting? Or do we need to stay conscious that we could be getting one side of the story in many cases? These are not easy questions to ask in wartime. I am also not convinced these are *the questions* that travelers cared about. But I do feel Thelwall detected that itinerant readers were being duped. A manufactured past was being sold to tourists with a view to stifling dissent.

Retconning Hallowed Ground

During Romantic wartime, historical sites were lost or threatened daily. The damage wrought by the commodification of the past runs deeper than the traffic in antiquities. We know well that the spoils of war bolstered the imperial collections of many nineteenth-century museums in Europe and the United Kingdom.[40] But there are far more granular losses than we will ever know unless we take seriously human-interest stories like the Basingstoke oracle. Sites of significance to soldiers and ordinary seamen went unmarked and unremembered. A numbing truth runs throughout the era that has to remain at the forefront of the way we know the public

[40]Some famous examples from the Romantic Era include the Rosetta stone, Napoleon's Egyptian antiquities, the Elgin Marbles, the *Younger Memnon* and so on.

heritage of war: loss traumatized countless families. Very few bodies ever returned home for burial in all the years of war, leaving a generation with few places to visit for comfort. Then as now, the "hallowing" of ground is an ideological decision by no means removed from the operations of capital. From merchandise the museum shops to local lodgings, economies of battlefield tourism are tempered by the blood of common people drawn into war. Their place is seldom secure.

In 1740, a local peer in Barnet, Sir Jeremy Sambrook, sought to revive interest in the town's historic character. His primary contribution to that cause came in the form of a sandstone obelisk strategically placed in view of the main thoroughfare (Figure 2.1). With dubious geographic precision, Sambrook's stone enshrined—but more likely invented—the very spot where the Earl of Warwick fell in the Battle of Barnet in 1471. One side bears the following inscription: "Here was fought the Famous Battle Between EDWARD the 4th and the EARL of WARWICK April the 14th ANNO 1471. in which the EARL was Defeated And Slain." Two sides feature directional data (mileage to St. Albans and Hatfield). The fourth side evokes Sambrook's gift, "THIS WAS ERECTED 1740." News of Sambrook's donation does not appear to have attracted much contemporary attention beyond passing reference in gentlemen's periodicals.[41] However, his obelisk attests to the deep roots of what became known as "the heritage industry" in the United Kingdom. As first popularized by British cultural historian Robert Hewison, the term "the heritage industry" describes the commercial promotion of the past. Although Hewison used the term to reflect on British anxieties about decline in the 1980s,

[41] One of the earliest travel writings to note Sambrook's obelisk is "A Journey to Nottingham in a Letter to a Friend," which was published in *The Gentleman's Magazine* of September 1743. In addition to crediting Sambrook with sponsorship, the anonymous contributor provides a reproduction of its inscription (492). As if to lend credence to the obelisk itself, the writer also calls attention to a relic of unverifiable provenance: "An alehouse man, at the Red Cow near the Obelisk, shews a bullet weighing a pound and a half, which he dug out of the ground, and supposes to be used in that battle" (492). The amateur (and unverifiable) discovery of artifacts establishes Barnet as an ideal destination for antiquarian collectors and tourists hoping to acquire dug militaria from the site.

similar uncertainties about global British influence marked the Romantic era. Sambrook's local revitalization project fed on nostalgic impulses that are still legible.

Figure 2.1. "Column at HADLEY, near Barnet," engraving by Sands circa 1809. From *London; Being an Accurate History and Description of the British Metropolis and its Neighbourhood, to Thirty Miles Extent, From an Actual Perambulation Volume 6*, by David Hughston. Printed by J. Stratford, 1809. *Nineteenth Century Collections Online*. From Hughston, David. *Nineteenth Century Collections Online*. © 1809, a part of Cengage, Inc. Reproduced by permission. www.cengage.com/permissions

Local history, space, and "heritage" saturate the legacy of Sambrook's monument and the contemporary guidebooks that promoted it. To suit the particulars of battle, the site had to be manufactured. By the eighteenth century, no one remembered where the fighting actually took place. In fact, the battlefield remains unconfirmed; its exact location and scale are the subject of open historical debate. Yet nothing on the monument attests to the obelisk's unhistorical

inexactness. Its bold inscription enshrines Sambrook's guess with little regard for accuracy. The monument's quiet legacy is both integral to and independent from the battle. On surface, the obelisk may seem nondescript—even to the people who live nearby. After all, it has been a feature of the community for nearly three centuries. Visitors today are further removed from the installation of the obelisk than Sambrook was from the War of the Roses. Time has afforded the obelisk its own historical significance as a long-tenured relic.[42] Flanked by four lanes of residential traffic in a narrow median, the obelisk scarcely warrants any more notice than the bus shelter a few yards away. But it formerly lent a solemn centrality to a site otherwise lost to eighteenth-century tourism. Back when the obelisk was still relatively new, sites of local historical significance served a political and pedagogical function lost on visitors today. To John Thelwall, Sambrook's obelisk was tantamount to a declaration of class warfare masquerading as "history."

In theory, the Barnet obelisk should have anchored the battlefield for the ages with exactness previously absent from the landscape. But unless you know the story of the obelisk, you miss the strangest part: the obelisk used to be elsewhere. Improbably, the Sambrook obelisk now sits in a more suitable—though still erroneous—location. As the town grew, the decision was made during the 1840s to shift the obelisk to its present site roughly 200 yards north in Monken Hadley at the junction of Kitts End Road and Barnet Road.[43] What then does a site marker mean upon relocation? The Earl of Warwick died in two places at once and nowhere at all? Should the "here" on the obelisk be "over there?" The obelisk embodies multiple sites of

[42] In July 2018, the Barnet 1471 Battlefields Society began a campaign to better document and potentially restore Sambrook's obelisk (Jones, "Restoration Plea").

[43] Today, Sambrook's obelisk (the Hadley Highstone) is listed "Planning" for its historical architectural significance ("Historic England"). For a Victorian encounter with the mobile obelisk in its new location, see Richard Brooke's *Visits to the Fields of Battle of the Fifteenth Century* (1857) (210-211).

memory including its former location in a web of networked, imagined pasts. As Sambrook would be surprised to discover, the site of Warwick's fall has been provided a retroactive continuity even though its 1740s inscription remains unchanged. What may seem an innocent tension between a historical site and local planners actually lays bare a problem that faced all parties involved in the eighteenth-century guidebook trade. Private property owners, book publishers, writers, and the readers all participated in the production of space.[44]

Before protective trusts, historical sites tended to been held in private ownership by men who could restrict and define access.[45] There was no durable legal mandate that historic sites be preserved or restored, so private individuals were free to modify the land in ways that potentially changes a site's meaning permanently. If the picturesque aesthetic and the popularity of ruins offered any guidance in that domain, it surely would have been more lucrative for a landowner to tear a site down rather than preserve its integrity. Technically, Sambrook's monument or an etching in a guidebook of the same do advance the cause of historic preservation but only incrementally and certainly without an emphasis on a site's integrity. The obelisk's inscription offers a very narrow justification for preservation: the Barnet battlefield matters only insofar as a man of wealth died there.

It is not entirely clear that is the lesson that a tourist would take from the site without the inscription. Here, I think it is important to begin to consider the impulse behind interpreting

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[44] As Henri Lefebvre observed of Venice, "social space is produced and reproduced in conjunction with forces of production (and with relations of production)" (77). In this way, spaces are inherently social both "produced" and "productive" (in other words both "made" and "making").

[45] Doreen Massey's critique of Fredric Jameson and David Harvey's emphasis on economy underlies my thinking about access not purely in class terms but with a view to the ways in which women were legally excluded from accessing spaces in the nineteenth century: "It is not only capital which moulds and produces changes in our understanding of access to space and time…Ethnicity and gender, to mention only the two most obvious other axes, are also deeply implicated in the ways in which we inhabit and experience space and place, and the ways in which we are located in new relations of time—space compression" (164).

historical sites in writing. Guidebooks and inscriptions are designed to supplement a human guide (or to replace one outright). My guess is that a local guide or innkeeper would have offered a very different history of the town in the 1790s—one that had little to do with medieval history. Imagine how vexed an antiquary collecting notes for publication would be to learn that the battle was largely forgotten. What if no one knew anything but that there was an obelisk down the road? Maybe a local's memory of the battle had little to do with the principal actors and more to do with his or her ancestor? What if a hired guide had a personal (or partisan) spin on the war that clashed with the writer's politics? These are some of the plausible scenarios that travel writers probably encountered during the drafting process. None of them are much more than a point of inconvenience in the big scheme of things. The prejudices of the guidebook genre are glaringly apparent if you consider that the knowledge of local people is deemed insufficient, unhelpful, or worse, to be avoided altogether.

That's not to suggest that a more comprehensive history of historic sites was always omitted. For example, later I discuss the prominent case of Jean-Baptiste Decoster, Napoleon's guide at Waterloo, whose services were promoted by Walter Scott. No guidebook can permanently silence the oral traditions that one might hear in a local pub. But for guidebooks to seem a useful surrogate, they had to at least create the illusion of deficiency in the domain of local memory. As I explain in my chapter on Ann Radcliffe, the justifications that writers offer for not hiring guides are mostly laughable complaints about their impertinence or unreliability. I tend to disagree with the view that this sort of competitor review warrants much consideration. While it is probably true that local guides were not well-versed in the minutiae of the distant past, I doubt that guides were a significant hindrance or threat to Romantic tourists. Occasionally, as in the case of Sambrook's geographical guesswork, we know that prominent

members of communities also got it wrong, went unquestioned, and had their imagined past validated through the reprinting of guidebooks. In short, when it came to authoring the history of a place, power wielded a significant influence over access and information. Historical sites are spaces of interpretation shaped like history through ideology and power. If the power underpinning acts of historic preservation concentrated itself in elite hands, it would be understandable in a post-Burkean world. However, something quite different happened. As more people traveled close to home and into the countryside, historical sites attracted attention that cannot simply be characterized as promoting a conservative version of "heritage."

Spots of Memorable Transaction

John Thelwall's publication of *The Peripatetic* (1793) coincided with the increasing popularization of pocket guides. During the earliest stages of that unprecedented market shift in the trade, publishers added colorful plates and found ways to repackage old text. The sheer scale of duplicated content across guidebook editions proves that writers and publishers were more apt to add ornamentation to a volume than bring its content in line with changing times. The egalitarian in Thelwall must have felt intellectually stifled by the modes of pedestrian contemplation because his guidebook prose is a significant departure from their example. In *The Peripatetic*, genre distinctions between sentimental journals, guidebooks, lecture, poetry, and fiction blur in ways that warrant continued untangling. As a hybrid novel, *The Peripatetic* is an incredibly ambitious work that weaves fragments of essays, poetry, philosophical dialogues, nonfiction travel writing, and more into the shape of a novelistic romance. If one brackets the novel's contrived marriage plot, *The Peripatetic* stands on its own merits as an eclectic survey of London and its environs. Whereas guidebooks tended to represent sites in prose, Thelwall's

characters take turns reacting in prose, verse, and oratory to virtually everything that they encounter around London.

Although many of these sketches are self-contained, *The Peripatetic* is not an easy novel to read *as a novel*. The miscellaneous nature of the characters' responses frustrates in part because the way that most people read novels and poetry does not necessarily correspond to how people read a guidebook. The episodic subject matter of *The Peripatetic* lends itself to linear and non-linear readings paths, which is odd for a narrative but entirely appropriate for a guidebook. By non-linear paths, I mean that readers can vary the sequence of reading without losing significant content. In other words, one could read a section on Bermondsey then jump ahead thirty pages to a passage on Shooter's Hill without significant impact on comprehension. That's not to imply that *The Peripatetic* should be read solely in this way. I would not endorse it as a teaching strategy to promote undergraduate reading. But I do believe Thelwall was shrewd enough to anticipate that *The Peripatetic could* be read in this way. In fact, a non-linear reading path through *The Peripatetic* should be more illustrative of its relation to guidebooks.

Thelwall's characters turn to guidebooks not as an engrossing read but as an occasional primer for contemplation. Not long after departing for St. Albans, Julian requests that the narrator consult a guidebook as a pretext for overcoming the drudgery of suburban London: "Come Sylvanus…we are dull; have you no pocket companion that may relieve our imaginations a little, till we have passed this dull scene of stupid formality, and left this odious wilderness of houses completely behind us" (291). Julian's cynical dismissal of suburbia foreshadows the moralizing pastoral mode that follows. The "real" landscape suited to their contemplation only exists in the mythical arcadia outside the suburbs where the architecture is still wooden but

technically just as artificial. Bored and disappointed though he may be, Julian accepts that with some supplement, the landscape could border on palatable.

What Julian is looking for in the meantime is stimulating content related to their location, anything to provoke a thoughtful conversation among friends. In theory, Sylvanus should turn to the corresponding section of a pocket guide and read aloud. But at least in this space of transition, Thelwall does not deign to recommend anything particular. His narrator instead produces a volume of Dryden, and a discussion of "Annus Mirabilis" carries them to the countryside. This otherwise quotidian scene models a guidebook's utility only to subvert its value in practice. Although a discourse on Dryden may be representative of Thelwall's literary conversations, the denial of a guidebook could also be calculated. Suburban London was by no means an unfamiliar landscape and well-documented by the guidebook trade. For Thelwall to deny that request is less surprising when one considers that he was more in his element among working people in the countryside.

It is hard to read *The Peripatetic* without detecting that Thelwall consulted guidebooks and traveled these routes regularly. However, the people and places that animated Thelwall did not tend to make appearances in the sort of "pocket companion" that Julian requests. As part of the composition of *The Peripatetic*, John Thelwall drew specifically on his knowledge (and probable ownership) of a successful London guidebook, *The Ambulator*. By the time that Thelwall began selling *The Peripatetic*, five editions of *The Ambulator* had gone to press with a

sixth following in the fall of 1793.[46] To date, the significance of Thelwall's appropriation of *The Ambulator* has not been treated in any systematic way.[47]

For the majority of the novel, the narrator Sylvanus Theophrastus (who is mostly a Thelwall mouthpiece) is joined on his excursions by a radical antiquary with a guidebook's name: "the Ambulator." I read the Ambulator (character) as a not-so-veiled antagonist for his guidebook counterpart's classism.[48] It is my contention that the guidebook trade of Thelwall's time applied significant political pressure on and through the reading public. Thelwall hoped to reroute that political pressure with *The Peripatetic*. Although largely forgotten today, the mass audience for the pocket guide did not go unnoticed for the market that it offered writers, who co-opted the genre to promote a range of special interests.

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[46] *The Ambulator* has a fascinating publication history, which is set down in a secondary preface to its sixth edition in 1793. This preface, which seems likely to have been written by Jane Bew (widow of publisher John Bew), attests to the cutthroat nature of the trade. John Bew maintained the sole publishing right to the title through three editions before a bankruptcy case temporarily forced him to forfeit his publishing rights. Bew managed to recover two-thirds of a copyright prior to the 1792 edition, which was a released as joint venture of Bew, Stracherd, and Whitaker. In the sixth edition preface, the writer explains that a dispute over royalties ensued, resulting from the loss and restoration of Bew's copyright. Upon the death of John Bew, the two-thirds share in the title passed to his widow. In order to capitalize on the title's popularity, Starched and Whitaker released an unauthorized fifth edition in late 1792-early 1793, for which Jane Bew received no compensation (*The Ambulator*, 6th ed., v-vi). Bew's widow and heirs resumed regular publication of the title in 1793, and its popularity carried it into the nineteenth century.

[47] Thelwall's reliance on *The Ambulator* is however a matter of established critical knowledge. As Judith Thompson observes in her introduction to the only modern edition of *The Peripatetic*, "Thelwall draws much of his information (some of it verbatim) [from *The Ambulator*]. But Thelwall differs radically from his sources in that he uses topographical description not to reflect but to reconfigure the historical, cultural, and economic landmarks of Britain and to resist the narrative they inscribe" (22). Thompson accurately characterizes Thelwall's revisions but does not adequately address the extent to which Thelwall interacts with guidebooks nor why *The Ambulator* figures so prominently as his source. It is my intention here to further contextualize the sourcing of the novel and its aspirational contribution to the guidebook trade. This is important to examine because the novel prescribes an atypical mode of touristic contemplation—one that I suspect is more or less a straight challenge to *The Ambulator* and an inspiration for Godwin.

[48] Judith Thompson explains that the Ambulator (character) is modeled on Thelwall's friend from Guy's hospital and fellow rambler, Edwin Le Grand (see note 36 in *The Peripatetic* 386). The extent of that tribute remains uncertain and frustrated by Le Grand's death about four years after the publication of *The Peripatetic*. An obituary for Le Grand in *The Gentleman's Magazine*, indicates that Le Grand died 25 Feb 1797 in Canterbury at the age of 25 following an extended illness. There he is remembered as a "surgeon; a young man of the fairest prospects and most promising expectations" ("Obituary" 174).

From its early editions, *The Ambulator* was decidedly patrician in its sense of audience. In the preface of 1782, the editor divides readers into three distinct groups that conflate "rank" with taste and academic ability:

> By its information,—the man of taste will know where to turn his pursuits,—the man of pleasure will learn, from the same source, how to diversify his recreations; while it will direct the person of inferior rank in his amusive excursions, be an improving companion on his way, and help to complete his knowledge of the environs of the city wherein he dwells,—to be ignorant of which would degrade any person who is placed above the laborious occupations of life. (*The Ambulator*, 2nd ed., iv)

The editor's benevolent tone does little to offset the galling sexism and classist assumptions that underlie his distinctions. I take this particular progression of readers to signify the editor's conviction that cultural and geographic literacy adheres to the mind unevenly and at the rate modulated by socioeconomic status. He goes as far as to warranty the accomplishments of men of refinement without surety. Their learning is marked certain by future tense verbs: "will know" and "will learn." On the other hand, the editor deems the abilities of the "inferior rank" far more contingent and in need of correction. Under this rubric, the son of a silk merchant like John Thelwall comes perilously close to an incomplete person, requiring "direction" and "help." The largely self-taught Thelwall is unlikely to have accepted such a reproach if he knew either the second (1782) or third edition preface (1787) in which this quotation appears.

Beginning with the fourth edition (1792), *The Ambulator* gets a new preface by R. Lobb, who jettisons its earlier assumptions about reader ability. Whereas the previous editions all account for changes in ownership and previous error, Lobb now recommends historical reflection as an alternative to art and nature: "where any place has been distinguished by some memorable circumstance…the incidental recollection of it may improve the sources of

conversation” (*The Ambulator*, 4th ed., ii-iii). There is good reason to maintain that Thelwall knew this passage. After considering the Barnet obelisk, Sylvanus echoes some of Lobb’s sentiment in essentially the same phrasing: “I must own, it would give me considerable satisfaction if, on every spot throughout the kingdom where any memorable transaction had taken place, a little square pillar, like the present, were erected, with some brief and simple narrative for the information of the traveller” (335). The word-level parallels between Lobb’s “[place distinguished by] memorable circumstance” and Thelwall’s “[spots of] memorable transaction” are quite strong. Synonyms, parallel syntax, and shared words such as “where any,” only intensify the connection. The similarity in the diction and syntax matters because there is still some uncertainty as to which edition(s) of *The Ambulator* Thelwall consulted. In her notes to *The Peripatetic*, Judith Thompson points to the first (1774) and third (1787) editions of *The Ambulator* as probable contexts.

But Sylvanus’ thoughts about preserving a connection between geographic place and memory could just as easily fit the fourth edition. My own view is that the fourth edition of *The Ambulator* (1792), while much closer to the date of publication, better explains what I believe to be Thelwall’s unacknowledged adaptation of Lobb. While my aim at present is not to undertake a collation of *The Ambulator* editions, that exercise may shed some light in future on Thelwall’s drafting timeline.[49] Even if Sylvanus is not taken as responding to Lobb directly, Thelwall’s sense of place still warrants some notice because of the importance of place-based memory to

[49] The episode at Barnet that closely parallels Lobb occurs roughly midway through the final volume of *The Peripatetic*. Given the 25 August 1792 signature of Lobb’s preface, it is certainly within the realm of possibility that Thelwall could have acquired and consulted the fourth edition of *The Ambulator* (1792) during composition. Thelwall signed his own preface to *The Peripatetic* eight months later on 29 April 1793. This brisk timeline for updating local history would also explain an apology that Thelwall included in his preface: “the local nature of many of [*The Peripatetic*’s] allusions hurried it recently from his brain” (72). One reasonable way to interpret that remark is that he reviewed those “local allusions” hastily upon receipt of a fourth edition of *The Ambulator*.

Romantic poetry.[50] Although I don't mean to assert that Thelwall's "[spots of] memorable transaction" or Wordsworth's more famous "spots of time" stem from a single source, Lobb's musings on site-specific memory should remind us to consider on the literary import of guidebooks more thoroughly.

Despite the probable case of patchwriting that unites the passages, Thelwall's plan, as articulated by Sylvanus, is far more ambitious than the casual recommendations of Lobb. It is true that Lobb's examples of historical tourism as literary pilgrimage would probably appeal to a persecuted writer such as John Thelwall or William Godwin. Lobb classes sites associated with James Thompson, Joseph Addison, and the antiquary Charles Lyttleton among "the favorite retreats of the benefactors and ornaments of mankind" (*The Ambulator*, 4th edition, iii). But this business of placing "little square pillars" all over the island appears to be entirely Thelwall's design. Read literally, the plan sounds so comically absurd as to explode the value of memorials like the Sambrook obelisk altogether. If square pillars were to be placed on "every spot" of memory, the island would disappear beneath a blanket of stone. But I think that's exactly the point. Under Thelwall's totalizing rubric "any memorable transaction," it is not just the Earl of Warwick who gets permanently remembered at Barnet. Rather than a single obelisk surrounded by grass, the field of battle would look more like a crowded cemetery.[51] This imagined space saturated with stone should produce an entirely different response in the observer; it would serve as a sobering reminder that war invites mass casualty.

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[50] One other well-known example of a memorable "spot" warrants mentioning here, one seldom attributed in any way to Thelwall, Wordsworth's "spots of time." For a staggering catalog of Thelwallian echoes in the two-part *Prelude*, Thompson's chapter "The Retrospective Glance" from *John Thelwall in the Wordsworth Circle: The Silenced Partner* is essential.

[51] The visual equivalent of Arlington National Cemetery or the American cemetery at Normandy comes to mind. Thelwall is prophetic in the sense that the imbalance of heroic memorials characterizes also Romantic war zones. No equivalent memorials to mass casualty would mark the fields of Waterloo or the waters of Cape Trafalgar.

Because Thelwall did not develop the plan further, it is hard to say for certain how seriously to take his endeavor. One could easily imagine "transactions" related to Wat Tyler, the London Corresponding Society, and perhaps the Nore mutineers would warrant some consideration. In hindsight, that sort of commemoration sounds so implausible that elements of the plan could invite readings of the proposal as dejected self-parody. Where the idea feels most sincere to me is in Sylvanus' interest in a monument's educational potential. These square pillars are "for the information of the traveller." In other words, the square pillars are represented as a common good. Instead of inflating fame or inventing distinction (impulses that Thelwall eschews), their use has more to do with promoting what Sylvanus calls "the right understanding of history" (335). In Thelwall's work, I take that "right understanding" to mean the study of the past that is critical and inclusive. A "right understanding" is one invested in using the past to help the future—just as Thelwall implicitly counsels his own country against war in "The Obelisk."

The Hovering Ghosts' Complaint

When Sylvanus and company arrive at Barnet, they go to the one site recommended in every edition of *The Ambulator* published prior to *The Peripatetic*: the Sambrook obelisk.[52] The first impressions of the obelisk occur in prose as a sort of conversational preamble to Sylvanus' poetic effusion on the same. This preamble establishes interpretive tension between Julian and the Ambulator (a character named after the guidebook) over ways of seeing the monument. First, Julian dismisses the obelisk as a feeble imitation of the far superior example of classical

[52] The first and second editions of *The Ambulator* quote the inscription on Sambrook's monument in total. Here is further evidence that Thelwall used either the third (1787) or fourth edition (1792). The third and fourth editions offer a less-detailed summary of the obelisk that omits the transcription. If one assumes that Thelwall's characters also read *The Ambulator*, the edition differences explain why the Ambulator (character) "was busied in taking down this inscription" in *The Peripatetic* (335). He would have no cause to transcribe if they consulted the earlier editions. Curiously, the third edition (1787) marks the final mention of Sambrook as the sponsor of the obelisk. For reasons unknown, the fourth edition (1792) excises his name from a description of Barnet that is otherwise relatively stable across editions.

architecture. Julian reads the monument historically, but his narrow reading of the obelisk as an art object decontextualizes the obelisk from its geographic location. Julian's architectural history provokes the Ambulator, who then issues a lengthy corrective. The Ambulator urges his companions to turn instead to the "serious and awful reflections" that a historian, politician, or moralist might extract from the scene. According to the Ambulator, the obelisk matters much less than the "sepulchral ground" that encircles it (327). He urges the travelers to look down at the ground rather than up to the obelisk. This visual redirection and downward glance matters because it renders "seen" that which cannot be seen from the surface without the aid of ground-penetrating radar: the unmarked graves below.

In keeping with the egalitarianism that is characteristic of the Ambulator's remarks in the novel, he invokes the memory of the people without monuments to make a political point about the management of war:

> Each of us, perhaps, now approaching the once-ensanguined scene, may trample upon the dust that was formerly the bone and sinew of some bold ancestor—some Yorkist or Lancastrian partisan—(or some retainer, more properly, of the imperious barons by whom the respective puppets were upheld,) who fired with the imperious rage of party rancor, glutted on this spot his rebellious fury in kindred blood, and expired in acts of parricide. (327)

Here, the Ambulator invites his companions to contemplate the production of this space and who stood to benefit from war. Without the body parts of that poor retainer would there be an obelisk? Would the War of the Roses have been sustainable? The answers to both questions seem emphatically to be "no." The success of "imperious barons" and "puppets" all depended on the use of citizen soldiers for personal gain.

These are questions that check the nostalgic myth that all soldiers drawn into battle were "bold" and died for a just cause. Some soldiers die frightened in excruciating pain. The "trampling" of the travelers feet subtly reenacts the gruesome scenes typical of battles involving cavalry like Barnet and Waterloo. Certainly among their number, at least a few of the wounded died mangled under a horse's crushing weight. In a dying moment, some unrecorded soul wondered if it was worth it. According to the Ambulator, there is a shared responsibility in "each of us," to reflect downward before glancing up to the trappings of fame and immortality. For Thelwall, any consideration of war requires a communal acknowledgement that people who have little stake in the outcome will be collateral damage. That's not a lesson easily abstracted from the obelisk itself because hundreds of years dull the traumas of loss. It is a striking physiological scene to match the Ambulator's fiery rhetoric: a group of travelers, heads downcast, reflecting on the soil. This preamble and the aforementioned plan for square pillars frame Thelwall's anti-war polemic, "The Obelisk."

"The Obelisk" is a seventeen-stanza narrative poem that reenacts from the Battle of Barnet in a form of poetic tableau.[53] Thelwall represents the battle through a sequence of historical scenes, cut by temporal cues like "see" and "now," interspersed with ill omens of the war with France. It is an unusual overlay because all that Sylvanus and company actually see is an empty field. The actors are imagined. For Thelwall, the battle tableau serves a subversive end. By diffusing the scenes of death and reconstituting the broader field of battle, Sylvanus isolates the obelisk to establish its artificial centrality.

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[53] I use the example of a tableau here because Thelwall's poetry grapples with the technical limitations of art in an age before video montage and sequence photography. By calling on the spirits of the dead to reenact the past, Thelwall participates in a broader intellectual tradition about the relation of fiction to the past. Paul Westover traces these mock-historical pageants to Henry Home, Lord Kames' theory of "ideal presence," a form of simulated eye-witness that he described in *Elements of Criticism.* As Westover explains, these scenes became a durable feature of Romantic "necro-tourism" or gravesite pilgrimage (Westover 17-21).

Thelwall reenacts the Battle of Barnet to critique the selective marking of the soil. From the obelisk's text, it would appear that the land and by proxy the memory of battle are the sole property of the Earl of Warwick. But in reality, Sylvanus argues the title to the land is more rightly held in common by the people. By stressing the site's status as sepulchral ground, Thelwall reasserts a right of corpses to the land, which is legitimized by the un-narrated visitations of mourning orphans whose tears still wet "the guilty turf" (332). The orphan's grief is for an immediate, personal loss that impacts communities. Because they have continued to wet the ground, the orphans have a legitimate claim upon the land resembling custom. Their visits have maintained and theoretically enriched the soil, which is a concept coherent with the established laws governing agricultural uses of common land. In a sense, Sambrook's gift to the community is just more visible. A form of perpetual care (from mourners) characterizes this earlier iteration of site management. Thus, Thelwall's poem enacts an elaborate property dispute between the marked site of Sambrook and the rights of an unrecorded dead, whose descendants were already doing the customary work of preservation.

The first four stanzas build a bloody panorama of a field piled with trampled corpses. "Humbler tyrants" recruited these men as cannon fodder to advance the interests up the chain of command. The initial scene terminates in the image of England being run through with its own sword to the delight of foreign powers: "Blind to the schemes by artful statesmen plann'd; / And British Freedom falls on Gallia's strand: / Self-slain she falls in a wild, misguided zeal, / And German Despots whet the fatal steel" (329). Stanza five makes it apparent that the scene is Thelwall's weakly coded prophecy of England's war with France.

Then Thelwall rolls out a conspiracy theory: the entire rush to war is a "scheme" calculated to solidify the positions of an elite few. That may seem an outlandish claim, but it is a

theory that Thelwall doubled-down on in his lectures. In his second lecture on war, Thelwall was deeply suspicious that the country had been rushed into war by ministers eager to create "a great variety of fresh places" ("The Duty" 84). Presumably, these "fresh places" refer to the lucrative production of officer commissions, government contracts, peerages, and so on that result from war. But beyond the economic rootedness we tend to associate with someone gaining a "situation" or "place" in genteel society, Thelwall's remark should also be read more broadly to account for geographic locations "created" or permanently "redefined" by war including battlefields, graves, and memorials. From his visit to Barnet, Thelwall was suspicious of large monuments and their patrons.

For Thelwall, war in the 1790s and the War of the Roses share common motivations. Similar classes of people stood to gain fame and immortality. If a medieval corpse's presence had lately asserted itself in a field of graves, it is only natural that Thelwall assumed (rightly) that there would be latter-day Sambrooks for his own time. By 1793, Thelwall would have had some trouble finding people to share his ire. There was no local outpost of Daughters of the War of the Roses to lobby. Because Thelwall could hardly turn to a lineal society or heritage organization for support, he had to enlist some unusual activists to his cause.

One of the strangest lines in "The Obelisk" has to be the invocation of the soil that begins stanza 13: "Poor groaning land whom equal ills betray / Beneath an idiot's or a tyrant's sway! Thy people slaves; a proud, but powerless throne, / Propp'd by the nobles' force, and not its own" (331). How is it that the land groans? It may be conceivable (though unlikely) that Thelwall presages some natural disaster. The syntax does have a distinctly Goldsmith-ian pattern that recalls the omens about Auburn in *The Deserted Village*, "Ill fares the land, to hastening ills a prey, / Where wealth accumulates, and men decay" (l. 51-52). More likely, these are simply the

groans of deceased soldiers. As the Ambulator observes in the preamble, the bodies of the medieval corpses constitute the greater portion of "dust" that surrounds the obelisk: an organic blend of plant matter and corpses. The soil speaks as one voice in protest against the obelisk's inscription above. In a sense, the "sepulchral ground" organizes a mass protest of the undead. Like the common people of Britain, the dead are unrepresented both politically through the "powerless throne" and textually by the inscription that remembers only Warwick.

This absolute identification of soil and soldier is not unique to Thelwall. As I'll note later in my chapter on Wordsworth, Byron teases the ghoulish act of mass-disinterment that would result from plowing the fields of Waterloo. As Ted Underwood has recently observed, there is even a subset of "historical catalog poems" in the Romantic era that predicts the rapture of bodies from the soil, exemplified by the patriotic poetry of Felicia Hemans (65-68). For Thelwall, the "right understanding" of history that frames the poem depends upon the bodies of the dead reclaiming their land rights from a public memorial.

The debate over the "right understanding" of the battle literally hangs in the air above Barnet: "still where hovering ghosts, with boding strain / To Fancy's ear of cruel Fate complain" (332). For its multi-dimensional examination of the field from above and below, "The Obelisk" is remarkably nuanced in its geography. That conflict extends into airspace is incongruous for a medieval battle. But the spectacle of it all is great fun. An undead army of spectral phantoms rises from the ground. They are medieval soldiers retrofitted with Thelwall's politics, summoned to his cause. Floating in the air, the ghosts are positioned ominously as if poised to extract justice from the obelisk. But they trade bows and halberds for a weapon more suitably Thelwallian: oratory!

While it is true that at first that the ground sounds inarticulate, the same is not true of the hovering ghosts. The spectral army speaks to visitors of what they left behind and how "cruel Fate" enlisted their service:

> To slight each fond regard of social life;
>
> To leave unpropp'd a parent's hoary age,
>
> …
>
> To fly the virgin's yet untasted charms;
>
> Or leave the widow o'er her babe to mourn,
>
> And weep for the joys that never must return!
>
> While they (what furies human bosoms tear!)
>
> Bled for the chains the rising race should wear.—(332)

There is little glory to be had in these scenes. The catalog of aged parents, widows, babies, and would-be lovers casts a wide net through the demographics of society and names an extended network of the war's traumas. But if there is a concession, time has made the spectral army remarkably self-critical and conscious of their exploitation. To those willing to listen, the ghosts complain of "chains," a physical manifestation of their slavery in life and its perpetuation through military service. This concluding line of the complaint recalls the abolitionist rhetoric Thelwall espouses earlier in "The Bird Catchers" episode of *The Peripatetic* and fits more broadly with the rhetoric of liberation so central to the revolutionary ethos. In short, the specters have turned radical democrats. This dissenting complaint is not exactly the message on the obelisk nor the prevailing attitude we might expect to discover in a wartime guidebook.

By listening and transcribing the complaint, Thelwall does grant a sort of retroactive immortality to the anonymous dead at Barnet that begins to correct an imbalance of preservation. It is not a feature of the poem that is easy to dismiss as a cheap conjuring trick by Thelwall.

Sylvanus meets and leaves these ghosts "still hovering." The continuity implies they were there prior and will likely remain in a sort of dissident purgatory. Ultimately, the tension between the spectral army's complaint and the inscription on the obelisk has to do with the ideology of memory. The memory and the memorial converge as they do subtly in the opening line of the poem: "Accurs'd remembrance of intestine rage!" Here, "remembrance" reads easiest as an apostrophe to memory and extends the descriptive emphasis on the bodily manifestation of anger that ends the preface. But the only material reminder of the battle or sign that anything happened on that site is also a material "remembrance:" the obelisk.[54] Because the Ambulator has dismissed the obelisk as unrepresentative of the sepulchral ground, the selective text and permanent stone work in tandem to suppress the memory of the bodies below. Forget the imagined past on the obelisk and it earns a fraudulent legitimacy that seems like fact or a legitimate record of the past. As far as Sylvanus ventures to guess, the future of the resistance depends on erecting stone pillars. In theory, this sort of vaguely seditious civic plot should not have survived the 1790s but survive it did.

William Godwin's Backward Glance

By 1809, John Thelwall should not be a significant intellectual influence among his reactionary peers. It is also improbable that Thelwall would inspire his estranged mentor, William Godwin. The details of Thelwall's break with Godwin have been well-rehearsed.[55] Following his acquittal, Thelwall lectured extensively and republished his speeches in *The*

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[54] As the OED indicates, another eighteenth-century noun usage for "remembrance" signals "a memorial or record of some fact, person, etc.; a biographical memoir." In fact, the OED cites several examples where memorial and monument gets used interchangeably with "remembrance."

[55] For related explorations of the 1795 rift, see (Claeys xxvii-xxx); (Scriviner 59-60); Johnston (25-27); and Philip ("Godwin, Thelwall" 69-75). More recently, John Mee makes a compelling case that the nature of their disagreement is complex if not misleading. Despite their differences, Godwin and Thelwall both advocated for "orderliness" at public meetings in ways that point to further common ground (Mee 92).

Tribune. At least for a moment in 1795, Thelwall's fire went both remunerated and unregulated. But as the story goes, Godwin shot first. In November 1795, Godwin published *Considerations on Lord Grenville's and Mr. Pitt's Bills*. In the pamphlet, Godwin "considers," without outright endorsing, the *Two Acts* through which the government outlawed the political meetings that made Thelwall in-demand. Thelwall correctly discerned the pamphlet's anonymous author and did not overlook Godwin's implicit censure of his lectures. Thelwall responded in kind privately in letters and publicly with his own pamphlet. At least on Thelwall's end, the blow appears to have been distressing if not enraging. Whether Thelwall saw it coming is harder to say. He felt compelled to account in a footnote for even listing Godwin with Edmund Burke and the anti-Jacobin John Reeves: "the bitterest of my enemies has never used me so ill as this friend has done" ("Sober" 382). This comment certainly underscores the severity of Godwin's slight. However, the durability of the rift has sometimes been exaggerated.

A prevailing sense of the post-1795 Godwin-Thelwall relationship has roots in the opinion of Godwin biographer Ford K. Brown, who asserts, "Thelwall showed no desire to return either Godwin's esteem or intercourse. It was a definite and serious break between the radical imaginative theory and radical business-like agitation" (105). To date this account of their post-1795 lives has received only occasional qualification. As E.P. Thompson advises, the dust-up over the *Two Acts* got re-litigated in August 1796. Thompson cites a letter from Thomas Amyot to Henry Crabb Robinson, which pretty definitively ends the hostilities in early August 1796: "GODWIN while at Norwich was reconciled to Thelwall at William Taylor's & I have since seen them walking together round our Castle Hill" (qtd. in *Romantics* 160).[56] To my eyes,

[56] The 16 August 1796 manuscript letter from Thomas Amyot to Henry Crabb Robinson is among the *Crabb Robinson Correspondence* at Dr. Williams's Library, London.

that second part is the bigger scoop. The two have slipped back into peripatetic converse. We may never know the content of those conversations but Godwin and Thelwall's walks point to a pattern of contact that fits Thelwall's interests. The ramble observed by Amyot could have included—given the relative proximity of Norwich Castle—a foray into Thelwall's dissenting antiquarian tourism. However, E. P. Thompson does not see much cause for further analysis, noting "Godwin continued to keep his distance from Thelwall (and all activists)" (*Romantics* note 20, 205). For Thompson, Godwin comes across as aloof and insincere. But if we take Amyot at his word, within the year, the two had overcome their differences enough to remain more than detached acquaintances.[57]

I'm increasingly convinced that the evidence supports a durable and productive bond between Godwin and Thelwall. Gregory Claeys follows E.P. Thompson on the supposed distance following the Norwich reconciliation (xxx). But there is contemporary evidence that Godwin and Thelwall continued their social contact into the nineteenth century. Claeys also seems wary of the 1796 reconciliation because he remarks parenthetically several pages later of a party attended by both men, "old wounds…apparently healed" (xxxiv). Claeys does not explain his hesitation, but by citing the autobiography of John Britton, Claeys actually reinforces the long bond between Godwin and Thelwall. The antiquary John Britton devotes roughly six pages of his autobiography to his interactions with Thelwall. Although Britton does not positively date his introduction to Godwin, Britton lists Godwin first among the people he encountered at "[Thelwall's] private dinners and evening parties" in London (185).

[57] Godwin biographer Peter Marshall cited the Amyot letter roughly ten years prior to E.P. Thompson and characterizes the *Two Acts* rift as "short-lived but symbolic" (143). Marhshall is more hopeful than Thompson in his characterization of the mend: "[Godwin and Thelwall] had too much in common to remain enemies" (143).

Britton recalls enough specifics to establish that these parties occurred squarely within the period of Thelwall's London residency after 1806. The mention of Godwin comes at the end of a paragraph where Britton provides a chronology of Thelwall's return to London society. Briton first reflects upon the establishment of Thelwall's elocution school in London in 1806. Then, he witnesses Thelwall's restoration to the London lecturing circuit.[58] From a final temporal cue, the meetings of Thelwall's Historical and Oratorical Society, we get an outer range of approximately late-1809.[59] Thus, a rough timeline emerges: 1806-1809.[60] If Britton was attending parties in conjunction with Thelwall's lectures and Society as he claims, in all probability Britton met Godwin prior to 1809 in the company of Thelwall. It is hard to discern if Britton saw Godwin repeatedly, but Godwin does get name-dropped first. Unfortunately, Britton supplies no additional details of their encounter(s). But I would not be surprised if there are further links to recover. Britton's witness extends their contact and well beyond the publication

[58] The lecture topics that Britton cites, "elocution, history, the classics, polite literature, impediments of speech, &c." correspond to several themes explored by Thelwall in his lectures of 1806-1807. See Judith Thompson's website "Chronology of the Life of John Thelwall" and *John Thelwall in the Wordsworth Circle* (87-88).

[59] Thelwall advertised his "Historical and Oratorical Society" in *Monthly Magazine* on 1 September 1809, 152-157. But the society had already been active for nearly three years. Thelwall explains that its "first proceedings" dated to the end of 1806 as an extension of his elocution teaching and expanded gradually to include distinguished literary figures ("To the Editor" 154). Pupils and honorary members would perform written or extemporaneous speeches on a predetermined subject, viewed historically. For example, the roots of English institutions and laws featured prominently, but Thelwall was adamant about the historical frame. He was aware of the scrutiny that he could attract, and the past afforded him necessary cover. Thelwall specifically mentions an antiquary, an honorary member of their Society, who addressed their meetings around 1808. This could very well be John Britton ("To the Editor" 155). Thus, it is reasonable to read Britton's remark as reference this pre-1809 iteration of the Society that coincided with Thelwall's lecturing. Both references from Britton point to Godwin and Thelwall interacting prior to *Essay on Sepulcres*. In March 1809, Thelwall and Godwin came together yet again for the funeral of Thomas Holcroft (Marshall 284; St. Clair 305).

[60] For a visual representation of the same, Judith Thompson's "Thelwall Chronology" website corresponds neatly with Britton's 1806-1809 timeline for meeting Godwin at Thelwall's parties.

of Thelwall's novel, *The Daughter of Adoption* (1801), which includes a scene that evokes the 1795 rift.[61]

This is sort of a big deal. The Britton timeline signals an additional decade of potential contacts between Godwin and Thelwall to check.[62] I want to now add textual weight to the circumstantial evidence of this late-career Godwin-Thelwall reconciliation and argue that we need to consider turning some tables on the absent "intellectual father" narrative. Consciously or unconsciously, Godwin was being influenced by his disciple.[63]

I stress the 1806-1809 Britton timeline because it puts Godwin squarely in contact with Thelwall in time to draft *Essay on Sepulcres*. In this case, I believe E.P. Thompson's sense of the distance between Thelwall and Godwin misses the mark. Through *Essay on Sepulcres*, Godwin's promotion of gravesite pilgrimages serves as a pretext for the heritage action identified in the essay's subtitle, "A Proposal for Erecting Some Memorial of the Illustrious Dead in All Ages on the Spot Where Their Remains Have Been Interred." Later in the essay, Godwin outlines a plan to catalog and mark the location of significant burial sites for posterity. He calls for funds to be raised by subscription to support an organization that would undertake the work. Workers would be tasked with restoring unmarked gravesites and with the installation of wooden crosses and slabs to insure perpetual site access. In the long term, Godwin hoped that the proposal would translate to a map and catalog—something like a guidebook where the information would be

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[61] As the editors of the Broadview edition of *The Daughter of Adoption* note, the debate occurs between Edmunds and Parkinson (25).

[62] Thelwall also continued to review Godwin's later work favorably, including a review of *Letter of Advice to a Young American* published in *Monthly Repository* for April 1818 (Marshall 342). *Of Population* (1820) also met with approval for its cross-examination of Malthus' *Essay on the Principle of Population* (Marshall 348).

[63] For the only prior study to examine their relationship in detail see B. Sprague Allen's "William Godwin's Influence upon John Thelwall." Allen provides valuable insight into Thelwall's thorough understanding of Godwin's *Political Justice*. But for Allen, the relationship was one-sided: "Thelwall is Godwinian" or "like Godwin" but not the inverse (667-668, 673, 676, etc.).

compiled for public consumption. He even proposed its title: “The Atlas of those who Have Lived, for the Use of Men Hereafter to be Born” (24-29). Upon its release in early 1809, Godwin’s idea was met with something like bemused confusion. As Mark Philip observes, the few publications that granted it review “were as mystified as many modern readers are by Godwin’s intent” (“Introductory Note” 3). As far as I can ascertain, no one asked why Godwin was reprising *The Peripatetic*.

On the question of intellectual context, recent accounts of the essay have stressed Godwin’s debt to sources as varied as the associationalist doctrine of Archibald Alison and the Burnsian tourism of Wordsworth.[64] But the origins of the plan itself—Godwin’s eccentric marking scheme—have garnered little consideration. In his preface to *Essay on Sepulcres*, Godwin anticipates some of the criticism and stresses both the novelty and “wholly visionary” nature of his design (5-6). By visionary, I do not take Godwin’s diction to be self-aggrandizing. Rather, he is probably referring to his plan’s hypothetical or incomplete nature, a theme that Godwin leans into as a tool to forestall critics. But Godwin’s claim of novelty is more dubious: “Whatever is wholly new, is sure to be pronounced by the mass of mankind to be impracticable” (5). While I agree with Paul Westover’s characterization of the essay as the era’s “most fully developed description of tourism as a quest to locate the dead,” I question the honesty of Godwin’s notion that his plan is “wholly new.”[65] One of its core proposals, several of its examples, and even select phrasings are not exclusive to Godwin. Put bluntly, the trail leads back to John Thelwall. The parallels are too close and the source too familiar to make the similarities

[64] For the assocationalist contexts as well a discussion of the influence of Henry Home (Lord Kames) and Samuel Rogers see Mark S. Phillips’ *Society and Sentiment* (327-332). To Kames, Paul Westover adds the model of Wordsworth’s sympathetic visitation to Burns’ unmarked grave (55). For a more complete survey of recent critical approaches to Godwin’s essay see also Paul Westover’s *Necromanticism* (48-49).

[65] *Essay on Sepulcres* features prominently in Chapter 3 of Westover’s *Necromanticism* and is central to his account of Romantic era necro-tourism (Westover 48).

between Thelwall's proposal at Barnet and Godwin's plan purely coincidental. Why Godwin would reread *The Peripatetic* years later, or at least recall it unconsciously, I don't know. There may be a sympathetic motivation behind it all—another devastating loss for Godwin. As William St. Clair observes, the composition of the essay does coincide roughly with the terminal illness of their mutual friend, Thomas Holcroft (304-305). It would not be unheard of if that blow inspired a backward glance from Godwin to the height of their reformist agitations.

Whatever activated the memory, *Essay on Sepulcres* finds Godwin in a familiar place, the battlefields of the fifteenth century. He claims that his map is modeled on the example of battlefield cartography. Godwin offers of the campaigns of the War of the Roses as a touchstone: "The various fields in which 'York and Lancaster drew forth their battles,' bring to my mind the generous feelings and indistinguishable attachments which kept alive that contention, and the deplorable examples of cold-blooded murder with which it was attended" (21). Given the fact that *The Ambulator* was still in print and tourists were still guided to Barnet, it seems entirely plausible that Godwin may have read the same guidebook as Thelwall in some form. Could Godwin and Thelwall visit a battlefield and have related experiences? Absolutely. But here again it is important to distinguish Thelwall from his sources and recall that Thelwall proposes the stone pillars scheme—not *The Ambulator*.

If Godwin read *The Ambulator*, that still would not explain more meaningful links to *The Peripatetic*. It may be that Godwin muddled the memory; the clues are a bit scattered in Godwin's essay. But when he speaks of battlefield tourism and maps, he uses wording straight from Thelwall's plan: "*where* the scenes of famous battles and other *memorable transactions* have been pointed out by a mark" (20; my emphasis). Here, Godwin follows Thelwall in language, order, and essential content. If this unattributed expansion of Thelwall's idea feels like

a tangent in Godwin's essay, I believe it is because Thelwall's plan is not an unqualified fit for Godwin. The Sambrook obelisk is not a mark on a map; it attempts to mark a place of death. Thelwall does not propose a corresponding cartographic scheme or subscription-based trust to oversee his proposal. Moreover, Thelwall's "memorable transactions" theoretically include more than graves. Those inclusive "spots" that should be at some odds with an essay about marking the "Illustrious Dead." Other parallels are subtle but deepen Godwin's connection to Thelwall in ways that look beyond the plan itself.

A few pages after the battlefield cartography, Godwin gives voice to a concern expressed by the Ambulator (character) in the preamble to "The Obelisk." Godwin argues that his memorials should be unassuming so as not to distract from the memory of the corpse being visited. Mark S. Phillips helpfully reminds that the simplicity of Godwinian monuments would have been received as obsolete compared to the public war memorials being produced at the time, "the classically draped statues of British naval heroes that were beginning to fill St. Paul's" (325). In that sense, Godwin and Thelwall's outlook on war memorials aligns quite well. Godwin declines the trend and prefers the understated simplicity of wood, which would mark "without diverting our thoughts to the sculptor" (24-25). This quibble about scale and materials places Godwin in the same boat as the Ambulator, who in Thelwall's novel has little patience for Julian's tangential remarks on architectural aesthetics. Because the preamble to "The Obelisk" is easy to forget in broader novelist frame, Godwin may well have read portions of *The Peripatetic* as part of his drafting.

Differences between Thelwall's plan and Godwin's proposed actions do matter, but at times, they are minor. Whereas Godwin endorses the use of quasi-sacred white crosses of wood, Thelwall prefers the more secular square pillar. But there is the trouble of wood being subject to

rot from exposure. Actually, that detail does not faze Godwin much. It turns out he would readily adopt Thelwall's choice of materials. Provided the donations are generous enough to allow it, Godwin comes out as a cold stone supporter: "A horizontal stone on the level of the pavement, or a mural tablet, where the grave is inclosed in a building, is abundantly enough" (25). Thelwall belongs in this conversation.

If this subject came up between them at some point, the discussion should have been productive given the common detail. This is not to imply that Godwin is somehow unimaginative in his proposal. Godwin is abundantly more detailed than Thelwall. He envisages the course of his plan and outlines actionable steps that Thelwall never develops in print. Godwin also has a more concrete interest in marking the "mighty dead" that is at odds with the all-inclusive "every spot" of *The Peripatetic*. A testy exchange over the Barnet obelisk's emphasis on the Earl of Warwick would not have been out of the question. But as is characteristic of their relationship, I think it is easy to overstate the divide between Godwin and Thelwall. For Godwin to not only reconcile with Thelwall personally but to also give his ambitious proposal a considered afterlife is no mean gesture. *The Peripatetic* should be reduced to a footnote by 1809—the sort of untouchable Jacobinism that the government worked so hard to silence in the wake of the 1794 Treason Trials. Yet through Godwin, consciously or consciously, Thelwall got another fair hearing.

One might rightly ask if there were guidebooks, why were more "square pillars" or "horizontal stones" necessary for a "the right understanding of history?" Thelwall's square pillars would make history accessible to people who did not own books. Tourists don't need a guidebook to read a monument. As long as the space is public and free, the histories of place remain open access. Thelwall's plan facilitates guidebook obsolescence. Want to know the

history of a place? Take a stroll and discover it on your own. Ask the locals and engage in the community. He may not receive any credit for the idea today, but roughly thirty years after his death something like Thelwall's plan made its way to Parliament. The Victorians got on just fine with it. Anyone who has taken a walk around London will be familiar with the vindication of Thelwall's (and Godwin's) proposal: the blue plaques of English Heritage. According to English Heritage, the notion had a Victorian birth—the scheme of MP William Ewart.[66] But I hazard to guess that Thelwall would have recognized his handiwork on the walls of London. In 2018, the entire project came full circle. A blue English Heritage plaque now marks the memorable transactions that took place at 40 Buckingham Place—the site of Thelwall's school of elocution in London.[67] May the shades of Godwin and Thelwall hover in approval.

[66] Following Ewart's proposal to the House of Commons in 1863, the first plaque of its kind was installed in 1867 to mark the birthplace of Lord Byron ("English Heritage").

[67] The approval of the application made to English Heritage by The John Thelwall Society and the preliminary details of an unveiling were recently announced by Sean Creighton on 8 July 2017 ("John Thelwall: Radical Networks"). Thelwall's blue plaque is now indexed by English Heritage at https://www.english-heritage.org.uk/visit/blue-plaques/john-thelwall/

CHAPTER 3: HISTORIES OF PLACE: ANN RADCLIFFE'S GUIDE AND THE EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY GUIDEBOOK

In the summer of 1794, Ann and William Radcliffe celebrated the success of *The Mysteries of Udolpho* with a European holiday. When the Radcliffes walked back through the doors of their London home and set about unpacking, the scenes of Germany and Holland and the march of French troops occupied her thoughts. Soon the Radcliffes departed again, commencing a modest tour of the Lake District. This itinerant Radcliffe contrasts sharply with the private and reclusive lifestyle recorded by her early biographer, Thomas Noon Talfourd. As Talfourd asserts, the summer of 1794 was an anomaly, "the first and only occasion, on which she quitted England" (1: 14). Because of this biographical detail, Radcliffe's domestic tours garnered little attention until recent critical studies of women's travel writing. Talfourd's biography and Georgian tabloid journalism cultivated the myth of Radcliffe the recluse. As a result, Radcliffe's traveling characters still maintain a peculiar relationship with their creator. After all, Emily St. Aubert and Ellena di Rosalba traverse European vistas that Radcliffe only encountered in books and paintings. This disjunction between the imagined landscape of Radcliffe's fiction and the real content of those landscapes has long vexed critical attempts to historicize Radcliffean geography. Although Radcliffe was not especially well-traveled, she will always seem rooted if compared against the eighteenth-century gentleman who took the Grand Tour. Her movements and preferences provide insight into how domestic tourism was changing as war made Europe less accessible.

What is particularly attractive about Radcliffe's perspective on place is its unremarkable scale. Her (comparatively) limited mobility and means offer a representative snapshot of middle-

class English tourism in a period where war made continental tours prohibitive to the vast majority of the English population. In an age of revolution, only a very limited sample of England's writing women traveled as extensively as Hester Piozzi had through France, Italy, and Germany, deep into the heart of Catholic Europe.[68] Radcliffe's sense of place testifies to the inward turn of 1790s Anglo-tourism and the unique concerns of women writers traveling during the French Revolutionary Wars. Like many Britons, Radcliffe set about the rediscovery of a scenic countryside found sites of historical curiosity closer to home. These are, of course, the same settings that would animate the loco-descriptive poetry of the *Lyrical Ballads* and the rural poetics of John Clare and Robert Bloomfield. For some, particularly gentlemen collectors, antiquarian tourism emerged as an extension of patriotic feeling and a desire to document an ancient British nation. But it is my contention that Radcliffe's tour acutely attuned her to the pressures that national history puts on the preservation of local community and other forms of historical consciousness. As her journals recount, the Radcliffes relished the discovery of local tradition and sites of antiquarian intrigue, a fascination which runs through her last fictional works, *The Italian* and *Gaston de Blondeville*. Although the discovered manuscript was a common trope of Gothic fiction, both novels, and particularly *Gaston de Blondeville*, have to do with antiquarianism and feature disputes over historical authority.[69] Read as a reaction to

[68] The continental European settings of Gothic fiction in the 1790s disproportionately gravitate to the three countries that Hester Lynch Piozzi visits in *Observations and Reflections Made in the Course of a Journey Through France, Italy, and Germany* (1789). For a geographic distribution of Gothic settings, see, for example, fig. 3 of Franco Moretti's *Atlas of the European Novel* (16). Piozzi's tour is a useful reminder that English women writers were traveling in France, Italy, and Germany prior to the French Revolution. The revolutionary climate of Europe not only has tantalizing political implications for writers but also interrupts existing patterns of human mobility. Spaces previously open to women writers close, and a generation of English travelers rearranges their plans. These changes in land access, like the ongoing acts of enclosure, redefine the way that writers represent property.

[69] *Gaston de Blondeville* begins with an interrupted tour of England where Willoughton and Simpson encounter a village antiquary, who interprets the local ruins with reference to a discovered manuscript. This "trew chronique," in translation, comprises the bulk of the novel and tells of a merchant, Woodreeve, who is imprisoned for speaking out against Sir Gaston de Blondeville and accusing him of murder. In the novel, the village antiquary preserves the record of class discrimination and injustice through Woodreeve's history. In this sense, Radcliffe's antiquarianism is

contemporary antiquarian guidebooks, the tense exchanges over the production of history in both novels makes her fiction sound much more responsive to contemporary events than is normally assumed. She puts faith in a source of historical knowledge that guidebooks tended to dismiss as untrustworthy if not dangerous, the local guide.

Critical scholarship typically discards the operatic manservants and guides of Gothic romance for their conventional obsequiousness, but Radcliffe's sympathetic representation of their history suggests that her fiction became increasingly critical of the class and gender prejudices perpetuated by antiquarian guidebooks. This concern for the erasure of local historical sites and oral history marks a historical realism seeping into her fiction, which reconnects the wandering heroines of Gothic romance to the realities of domestic tourism during the wars with France. My reading of Radcliffe's fiction in this context encourages us to reconsider the aims of her comedy and points to the coherence of a politically progressive thread that has been observed but often dismissed in her writing. To date, Radcliffe's late fiction has not been consistently assessed in the context of her provincial English tourism and the growth of the English guidebook trade. Specifically, I propose that Radcliffe's *Observations* appropriates the historiographic methodology of late eighteenth-century English guidebooks in ways that seek to restore their omissions and the anonymous contributions of tour guides.[70] Improbably, John Thelwall and Ann Radcliffe are unknowing co-conspirators in restoring the place of a working-class history to posterity.

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not the typical county history of the late eighteenth century. It stresses the deeds of insignificant townsfolk like Guy the sexton and Timothy Crabb, the schoolmaster while incriminating Baron de Blondeville.

[70] *Observations during a Tour to the Lakes of Lancashire, Westmoreland, and Cumberland* (1794) are shortened herein to *Observations*.

Between the publication of *The Mysteries of Udolpho* and *The Italian*, Radcliffe published her oft-overlooked travel journal, *A Journey Made in the Summer of 1794, through Holland and the Western Frontier of Germany, with a Return down the Rhine. To which are added Observations during a Tour to the Lakes of Lancashire, Westmoreland, and Cumberland*. The contents of Radcliffe's journal confirm that her tour was not especially unorthodox. As she walked through the Lake District and surveyed the countryside from her carriage window, in her hands she held a guidebook. Its pages recommended sites of local significance and narrated county history, details culled from sources recent and anecdotal. Although the lengthy scene descriptions in Radcliffe's romances have meaningful connections to picturesque landscape and the Burkean sublime, neither adequately accounts for the inclusive historical perspective on place found in Radcliffe's *Observations* and in her later romances.

Radcliffe's fiction maintains a strong association with the rootedness of picturesque landscape. In the late eighteenth century, no responsible would-be travel writer left home without a journal. Autobiographical travel journals were the tourist's camera. Before the snapshot, sentences did the work of preservation and memory. The form and content of autobiographical travel journals testify to the mass appeal and value that readers placed on visual representation and memory. But those journals also demonstrate the diversity of practical and aesthetic rationale behind individual acts of preservation. Not every picturesque tourist balanced a Claude glass in one hand and a precariously wobbly sketchbook in the other. That would be, of course, a gross historical oversimplification. However, it illustrates a useful point about the range of tourist practices in the late eighteenth century: people got bored, went off the beaten path, and talked about current events. William Gilpin and Edmund Burke's aesthetic theories are so influential to

landscape art that it is easy to overstate their representativeness in the increasingly commercialized trade in guidebooks and travel literatures.[71]

Since the mid-1990s, Ann Radcliffe's tour has garnered only occasional attention, primarily through feminist literary criticism and life-writing studies. According to Angela D. Jones, the late entry of women's travel journals into critical circles is the legacy of a genre that defined legitimate tourist practices by trivializing aesthetic responses to landscape associated with femininity (499). Women like Wollstonecraft and Radcliffe published accounts of travel in an age when the rules of landscape representation regarded highly the solitary walker, assertive in the face of sublimity. As Anne Mellor asserts in *Romanticism and Gender*, the essential distinction that Burke makes between the sublime and the beautiful divides landscape representation into two gendered spheres of response: "The sublime is associated with an experience of masculine empowerment; its contrasting term, the beautiful is associated with feminine nurturance, love, and sensuous relaxation" (85). However, as feminist literary critics

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[71] As John Vaughan concedes in *The English Guide Book c. 1780-1870*, "it is easier to recognize a guide-book than to define one" (62). Guidebooks are a form in flux during the late eighteenth century. Because I also attend to the hired "guide," my use of "guidebook" is admittedly a retroactive label used for clarity, applied to books that were during the late eighteenth century known primarily as "guides." According to Vaughn, only a nineteenth-century audience would have identified a "guidebook" as we would today: "the earliest recorded use of the term 'guide-book' is in Lord Byron's poem *Don Juan* (1823)" (62). The Radcliffes were familiar with several early guidebooks, which pre-date but are nonetheless ancestors of the mass-produced Murray Handbooks popularized by John Murray III. During the late eighteenth century, many guidebooks read like histories, sparsely illustrated with engravings that depict country estates and English heraldry. However, gradually, guidebooks become decoupled from wealthy patronage and begin to appeal to a down-market audience seeking portable, practical travel information. For clarity, I attend primarily to the style of local and antiquarian guidebooks cited or alluded to by Radcliffe in *Observations during a Tour to the Lakes of Lancashire, Westmoreland, and Cumberland*.

My definition of travel literature remains deliberately broad because its forms and contents vary widely across geography and from decade to decade. This chapter deals primarily with historical tours in England at the level of towns and counties, although I acknowledge that broader travel discourses exist that transcend local, national, and international spaces in ways that defy coherent categorization. Because my interest lies in the supplemental nature of the guidebook, I use "tourist" primarily as a sign of someone "taking a tour" and whose progress is mediated or selected by some external direction, be it guide or guidebook. For clarity, I generally avoid reproducing the high/low cultural distinction between "traveler" and "tourist." Jonathan Culler's semiological account of this distinction remains especially instructive.

like Mellor have helpfully acknowledged, Burke's distinction between a powerful, masculine sublime and a languorous, feminine response to beauty is not necessarily typical of the way that all men and women interacted with landscape.[72]

As the lengthy titles of travel journals, pocket companions, and guidebooks attest, a wide range of possibilities motivated provincial travel in the eighteenth century. For example, *The Ambulator*, the duodecimo companion book used by John Thelwall, imagines at least four rationale for a walking tour of London in 1774: *The ambulator; or, the stranger's companion in a tour round London; within the circuit of twenty-five miles: Describing Whatever is remarkable, either for Grandeur, Elegancy, Use, or Curiosity*. A cursory survey of these neglected volumes quickly reveals how frequently publishers repurposed texts and marketed them to meet changing tastes in tourism. Over twenty years of publication and seven editions, the title of The Ambulator tracks an evolution in tourist practices, even if the text itself remains largely unaltered in subsequent editions. When John Bew first published *The Ambulator* in 1774, "the remarkable" sites recommended were those of "Grandeur, Elegancy, Use, and Curiosity." This initial title appeals to a refined readership desiring high-minded reflection on the grand scale of London architecture, with particular emphasis on the gardens and terraces of "our opulent families in any of these delightfully cultivated villas" (*Preface* 2, 1774). It is a substitute sublime for a landscape devoid of roaring cataracts: the astonishing scale of a well-manicured lawn.

Here, Box Hill in Surrey, a property now under the stewardship of the National Trust, will do: "[Upon] the ridge of the hill that runs towards Mickleham, the sublime and the beautiful

[72] As Mary Wollstonecraft confirms in her visit to the Fredrikstad falls, her sex has nothing to do with her ability to comprehend the sublime in nature. The scene turns her thoughts not to its beauty but to the power of its sublimity: "Still the tumultuous emotions this sublime object excited, were pleasurable; and viewing it my soul rose, with renewed dignity, above its cares--grasping at immortality--it seemed impossible to stop the current of my thoughts, as of the always varying, still the same, torrent before me--I stretched out my hand to eternity, bounding over the dark speck of life to come" (*Letters* 89).

both join in forming a most grand and delightful scene. You here look down, from a vast and almost perpendicular height, upon a well-cultivated vale, laid out in beautiful enclosures" (18, 1774). That the prospect view from Box Hill finds its "grandeur" in rural sublimity is hardly surprising given the conundrum of differentiating "grandeur" and "sublime" in the language of landscape aesthetics.[73] But what is remarkable about guidebooks like *The Ambulator* is what they reveal about the trade and the tastes of a mobile reading public. Old books get repackaged. Although the Box Hill passage and many other "grand" sites remain unrevised twenty years on, the publisher re-titles the volume in 1792 to market its emphasis on "antiquity" and "rural beauty."[74] Notably, this title revision not only discards "use" and "curiosity," but also reorders the priorities, featuring "antiquity" ahead of "grandeur." Is the language of the Burkean sublime falling out of favor with book-buying London tourists? Why suddenly prioritize "antiquity" and "rural beauty" in an old title? Is vintage back in style? Perhaps. However, antiquarian studies were hardly in their infancy by 1792. These revisions suggest that enough English readers contemporary to Radcliffe sought portable guidebooks on local history to warrant some notice by the publishing trade. Regardless of the size of that market, The Ambulator would be a low-risk text for a printer to offer to satisfy book-buyers seeking a volume whose utility and function was narrowly restricted by geography.

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[73] See for example Hugh Blair, who describes grandeur and sublime as "terms synonymous, or nearly so." Lecture III in *Lectures on Rhetoric and Belles Lettres* (1783) (1: 46).

[74]*Ambulator: or, A pocket companion in a tour round London, within the circuit of twenty five miles: Describing whatever is most remarkable for antiquity, grandeur: elegance, or rural beauty: including new catalogues of pictures, and illustrated by historical and biographical observations: to which are prefixed a concise description of the metropolis and a map of the country described* (1792). This edition, the same referenced by John Thelwall, was the last edition published during Bew's lifetime under a tenuous partnership with Scatcherd and Whitaker, who retained the title into the nineteenth century. The preface to the six edition of 1793 offers a striking account of the politics of copyright that ensued in the period spanning Bew's bankruptcy through the settling of his estate. The 1793 edition including a scathing indictment of Scatcherd and Whitaker, who published an unauthorized fifth edition to the exclusion of Bew's widow.

Radcliffe's *Observations* and her late fiction owe much to her own experience in this mode of historical tourism, supported by readings from antiquarian guidebooks. Although several recent studies have acknowledged Radcliffe's reading in guidebooks, they seldom factor into analysis.[75] To my knowledge, no study has considered her fictions' rendering of history in the context of English guidebooks: books that she appears to have carried or at least consulted liberally during her travels. That omission becomes especially consequential given the course of her provincial tourism and her use of guidebooks as source material.

Dorothy McMillan proposes that Radcliffe's 1794 tour marks her waning interest in conventional landscape aesthetics, particularly the linguistic ambiguity of Burke's terminology and the practices standardized by Gilpin. Written accounts of Keswick so elevated Radcliffe's expectations that the real prospect of Derwent Water struck her as incredibly anticlimactic: "Expectations had been raised too high: Shall we own our disappointment? Prepared for something more than we had already seen, by what has been so eloquently said of it, by the view of its vast neighborhood and the grandeur of its approach, the lake itself looked insignificant" (*Observations* 319-320). The "eloquent" commentary of the travel writer deserves ample blame for Radcliffe's disappointment. However, McMillan contends that Radcliffe's response also turns remarkably self-critical, as if in the act of writing she feels her own methods passing into cliché. McMillan assigns substantial weight to this "loss of conviction" in scenic description and maintains that it portends if not justifies outright Radcliffe's abrupt retirement from publishing (52). If Radcliffe's sense of place conveyed only complacent imitation of Burke, Gilpin, and others, this claim would be slightly more persuasive. Although the act of documenting "real"

[75] Rictor Norton, *The Mistress of Udolpho, The Life of Ann Radcliffe* (1999), 119-121. George Dekker, *Fictions of Romantic Tourism: Radcliffe, Scott, and Mary Shelley* (2005), 49.

places certainly impacts Radcliffe's prose, as some of Radcliffe's contemporary reviewers noted, the representation of place in *The Italian* is not necessarily as derivative as McMillan suggests.[76] If Radcliffe lost conviction in her earlier craft, I can certainly agree that her romances become less reliant on the sublime and the picturesque over time. However, as her *Observations* and the sources she consulted attest, Radcliffe contemplates an alternate way of seeing landscape, one which emphasizes historical content and local traditions associated with the land. Her sense of place becomes sensitive to oral tradition and local memory, the kinds of historical knowledge transmitted to potential travelers by guides and county guidebooks.

Preserving the Lake District

Radcliffe either owned or closely consulted several of the prominent Cumbrian guidebooks available in the 1790s: *The History and Antiquities of the Counties of Westmorland and Cumberland* (1777) by Joseph Nicolson and Dr. Richard Burn; *The Antiquities of Furness* (1774) and *A Guide to the Lakes* (1778-1793) by Thomas West. Naturalists and antiquarians like Thomas Pennant, Gilbert White, and Thomas West played a crucial role in the elevation of English tourism during the late eighteenth century alongside the canonized contributions of poetry and landscape aesthetics. Guidebooks require updating, which makes it easy to ignore the fact that county guides became a staple of travel for their portability and specificity. Newness of edition mattered much less to a reader seeking the past. Despite the much-satirized methods of antiquarian research, Burn and West cite liberally from manuscripts and county records, resulting in meticulous text-based historiographies. These guides document local particulars that no

[76] See for example *Monthly Review* 18 (Nov 1795: 241-246) qtd. in *The Critical Response to Ann Radcliffe*: "Her admirers will, indeed, still find her employing powers of description, but evidently with the closeness of the copyist, rather than with the freedom of an original inventor. Her pictures of nature are still interesting: but it is because the scenes are beautiful or romantic: her accounts of works of art, and delineations of men and manners, are pleasing, because, from the circumstantial mode in which they are given, the reader feels conviction of their truth" (46).

multivolume history of Britain or national tour could due to scale. Although White's *The Natural History and Antiquities of Selborne* (1789) has enjoyed over two hundred years in print, few of White's peer publications garner attention that reaches beyond scholarly footnotes and the shelves of a rare books library. In their time, antiquarian guidebooks enjoyed a small but varied readership. Subscription lists included in *Antiquities of Furness* suggest that attorneys, clergymen, doctors, and landed nobility were the main patrons of West's work, but a significant number of women, schoolmasters, and merchants also appear in the lists. Historical tourism found audiences across class and gender. In practical terms, however, the earliest illustrated English guidebooks were curiosities for show: coffee-table books designed more for the study of a reclining antiquarian than the economical tourist on a day excursion.

A Cumbrian tourist would not want to be lost in Penrith with Nicholson and Burn's antiquarian guidebook in two quarto volumes. However, a county history would prove indispensable for a tourist in search of the remnants of a former age. County guidebooks supplied access to facts otherwise unavailable to the traveling public in any systematic way. As Dr. Burn's preface attests, records resided in the private collections of parish clergy or moldering in the libraries of country estates. Early guidebooks often resemble anthologies of county records, interspersed with memorials of prominent residents. Although Burn and other antiquarian writers laud the accomplishments of a British nation, towns and counties maintain their autonomous character. As is typical of a county guidebook, Nicholson and Burn emphasize the distinctive qualities of place: geographic boundaries, architecture, ecclesiastical history, and local tradition. Each volume includes a simple fold-out map, dividing the county into wards. But these maps offer little practical information beyond the names of rivers and towns and would be largely useless to a pedestrian tourist.

No roads or footpaths appear, and ornamental marks convey only a crude sense of the mountainous terrain. In the original map, Westmorland and Cumberland form a disconnected cluster of town names and rivers plotted in blank space. If not for the names of surrounding counties, Westmorland would look like a county without a country. This turn to magnified scale matters because the map conveys a sense that the names and locations of small towns would be of more consequence to a reader than a precise sense of Westmorland's place within the Great Britain. I flag this small detail because it speaks to a slight but important development in the way guidebooks represent place. The engraver, Thomas Kitchin, attempts a level of detail that invests both the artist and the audience in local communities. Even though George III appointed Kitchin hydrographer to the king, this map offers no grand allegory of Britannia. Instead, it marks a narrowing of cartographic scale and signals a turn towards helping people find their way alone.

Despite the limitations of Nicholson and Burns' county history, Radcliffe recommends their account of Penrith and the borders: "Dr. Burn's History contains many curious particulars; and there are otherwise abundant and satisfactory memorials, as to the state of the debatable ground, and the regulations for securing passes and fords, and even to the public maintenance of slough dogs, which were to pursue aggressors with hot trod, as the inhabitants were to follow them by horn and voice" (*Observations* 291-292). Here, Radcliffe offers only ambiguous allusion to the Penrith portion of the second volume of the Nicholson-Burn guidebook. However, she singles out a transcribed warrant dated 19 September 1616, which anticipates the pursuit of border raiders through bog land:

> [S]lough dogs, for pursuing offenders through sloughs, mosses, and bogs, that were not passable but by those who were acquainted with the various and intricate by-paths and turnings. These offenders were peculiarly styled moss troopers: And the dogs were commonly called bloodhounds; which were kept in use till within the memory of many of

> our fathers. And all along, the pursuit of hot trod (flagrant delicto, with red hand, as the Scots term it) was by hound and horn and voice. (Nicholson and Burn cxxx)

Marauding campaigns of seventeenth-century moss-troopers are by no means an extensive portion of Nicholson and Burn's guidebook. Yet Radcliffe's reference speaks to her keen sense of the guidebook's supplemental role in relation to her work. Visit Penrith with Burn's guidebook and you nearly fall into the pages of a Radcliffe romance: in this very place brigands once flourished, disappearing into the night because they alone knew local geography. Perhaps the Italian banditti of Radcliffe's fiction become less foreign when guidebooks authenticate the analogous yet not-so remote threat of moss-troopers in England. Although the manhunt warrant capitalizes on a lurid moment in local history, the melodrama survives because of its powerful attachment to memory and family heritage. It is a community's history that belongs to the collective memory of "many of our fathers" and their families regardless of class or who owns the original warrant. This recognition that the anecdotal and its documentation not only deserves preservation, but also communal ownership marks an achievement of antiquarian research that years of caricature suppressed. These texts were marginally inclusive at times and did open access to documents that women like Radcliffe might not otherwise have been afforded. Although Gibbon and Hume played a pivotal role in shaping the form of Britain's national historiographic discourse, antiquarian research testifies to the depth and variance of cultural preservation at a community level that paralleled the rise of nation. Enumerable records, traditions, and images live on, preserved in the pages of county guidebooks for the good of a literate posterity.

When Ann Radcliffe recorded her visit to Furness Abbey, she consulted Thomas West's *The Antiquities of Furness* (1774) for reliable documentation on everything from custom to measurements of the Abbey. West had no way of knowing in the eighteenth century that Furness

Abbey would one day pass from private ownership into the stewardship of the Historic Building and Monuments Commission or "English Heritage," England's nongovernmental heritage trust. However, West sold his guide to Lord George Cavendish with a view to protecting its documents and architecture for future generations: "your Abbey of Furness, once the pride of princes, and desire of kings, long buried in ruins increased by mouldering, all-devouring time, is now preserved by your protection, a lasting monument to ancient grandeur, and religious pomp" ("Dedication," *AOF* 2). West's heavy reliance on intensifiers such as "long buried," "increased," and "all-devouring," draws attention to the compounded damage wrought by years of neglect. Some of that intensification belongs to the sycophantic praise so characteristic of patron dedications. Nonetheless, the fragile state of the abbey speaks to the urgency of his antiquarian enquiry. Because the ruins of Furness Abbey remain in the present day, the gravity of West's numerical survey, which records the dimensions of the structure, may seem of little consequence today. Before photography, numbers and engravings offered writers an efficient and economical way to assign data-based objectivity to prose description. Radcliffe's citation of West's calculations suggests that picturesque approximation produces a written image deficient enough to warrant a mathematical supplement. These dimensions offered Radcliffe and West's readers a sense of the site's scale, which coordinated with a fold-out engraving of the Abbey to produce a permanent record of the site in miniature.

Over two hundred years later, visitors to historical sites still turn to brochures for this numerical scale. Web mapping technologies like Google Maps now offer us composite images so striking in their verisimilitude that we can easily forget that at base accurate engravings provided readers a low-tech version of virtual tourism. A comprehensive survey furnished tourists with opportunities to approximate travel without the expense of taking the actual trip. Moreover, if a

building falls into disrepair, a guidebook like West's invariable participates in the work of its conservation. Therefore, guidebook writers like Thomas West created historical artifacts that transcended the commercial aims of mass market tourism.

West's estimation of his own work rings prophetic because guidebooks record the only permanent visual records of some eighteenth-century spaces: "In the year 1727, an elegant east perspective view was taken by the Society of Antiquaries; and the same year a south view was taken by the ingenious Samuel Buck: a ground plan therefore was the only thing wanting to give a just and satisfactory account of the whole and to preserve its memory to future ages" ("Preface," *AOF* 2). Ground plans, views, and measurements may seem the sort of routine information a historian would gather on an endangered building. But in the eighteenth century, no single entity or systematic methodology existed to regulate the preservation of significant architecture for posterity. Private property laws did not weigh building improvements against their cultural or historical value. By recording the Abbey in verbal and visual form, West insures the passage of personal property (documents) and images of private buildings into public hands indefinitely. Even if little real property leaves private ownership in this exchange, West like Nicholson and Burn invites readers to consider the essential nature of that transaction to community. West's repeated claim that his work participates in the Abbey's preservation matters especially for the sweeping sense of its benefit "to future ages" and "to posterity" ("Dedication," *AOF* 3-4). While contemporary caricatures of antiquarian research imagined collectors hoarding curiosities for private collections, West's research has little to do with collecting and exhibition and much to do with curating place for public benefit. His goal of a "just and satisfactory account" conveys a degree of impartiality, and West's concern for a scholarly level of accuracy.

Although organizations like the National Trust emerge late in Victorian England, this emphasis on historical realism in literary productions laid much of the intellectual framework for the modern heritage preservation industry. If the legacy of Thomas Gray and Oliver Goldsmith remains a hyper-sentimentalized sense of the local, writers like Radcliffe and West signal a transition towards a data-driven conservation. Real endangered sites attract a new kind of mathematical attention, mindful of the quality and scale of historical preservation.[77] Oftentimes this careful documentation of place furnishes a permanent record of customs and the everyday lives of townsfolk, who might otherwise disappear from the historical record. For example, Radcliffe's tour of Furness paraphrases West's account of the winter traditions of Furness shepherds, who hand-feed their sheep from holly trees. West acknowledges the practice to account for the local abundance of holly but uses the opportunity to approve their stewardship of the land: "This custom has never been discontinued in High Furness; and the holly-trees are carefully preserved for that purpose, where all other wood is cleared off; and large tracts of common pasture are so covered in these trees, as to have the appearance of a forest of hollies" ("Descriptive," *AOF* xlv). That the shepherds "carefully" preserve their trees evidences the dutiful pastoral care necessary to sustain livestock. But beyond that practical reality, their stewardship cultivates community through a tradition that becomes inseparable from the Abbey's historical associations with a religious version of pastoral care. Despite their historical association with political commentary and sentiment in pastoral literature, the shepherds of West and Radcliffe's tour do not exist to cultivate nostalgia for a simpler past. Instead, Radcliffe revises West to denounce the deforestation of an otherwise protected countryside: "Whenever the

[77] According to the *OED*, linguistic expressions for grading preservation do not emerge until the mid-eighteenth century in Britain. The first documented reference to a "state" of preservation comes from Ralph Schomberg's 1748 translation of Richer's *Life of Maecenas*: "A very beautiful marble bust, in a most complete state of preservation, was lately dug up."

woods are felled, which is too frequently done, to supply fuel for the neighboring furnaces, the holly is still held sacred to the flocks of these mountains" (*Observations* 384). Here, the aside that felling occurs "too frequently" registers Radcliffe's dissatisfaction with selective deforestation. By holding the holly "sacred," the Furness shepherds perform a protean form of historically-minded ecological conservation, an environmental extension of the work of preservation done by West and Radcliffe. However, Radcliffe's aside implies that effective conservation does not merely protect one tree. Acts of conservation require a more comprehensive stewardship mindful of the overall health of the site. For an eighteenth-century writer, Radcliffe's assessment of forest health sounds acutely conscious of sustainability, but she does not elaborate her rationale concretely. Because trees grow slowly, her judgment may question the prudence of the removing valuable timber from private property, or from a picturesque vantage, selective deforestation severely limits the aesthetic diversity of natural scenery. Legal or posterity-based rationale for criticizing deforestation on private property would have been hard to come by during the ongoing acts of enclosure in the eighteenth century. Whether Radcliffe closely guarded a progressive interpretation of land use or simply disapproved on aesthetic grounds remains ambiguous, but her unsettled rationale is not surprising given both the turbulent political climate of the 1790s and the nascent antiquarian research of county historians.

Although West's influence on Radcliffe's response to historical sites would be impossible to quantify, West's recommendations dictated many of the sites that Ann and William Radcliffe visited in fall of 1794. In addition to *The Antiquities of Furness*, Radcliffe also appears to have consulted West's most successful work, *Guide to the Lakes* (1778). When the Radcliffes visited the Lake District, *Guide to the Lakes* was already in its fifth edition. After West's death in

1779, posthumous editions followed roughly every four years (1780, 1784, 1789, and 1793). West's publisher, Richardson and Urquhart, capitalized on the volume's success, expanding on his work with over one hundred pages of notes and addenda. By 1794, publishers transformed West's work from a simple octavo volume to an essential text for Lake District tourism, lavishly illustrated with a map and twenty engravings by William Byrne. In *Observations*, Radcliffe never directly acknowledges *Guide to the Lakes*. However, she follows routes suggested by West and may have plagiarized his local history.

When West dedicated his *Guide to the Lakes* (1778) to "lovers of landscape studies," he affirmed his guidebook's association with the intellectual aspirations of picturesque tourism. But even in the first edition West betrays a sense that picturesque tourists require historical context. Both West and the biographical preface to his second edition (1780) advertises the work's value as a useful, clear, and accurate repository of "local knowledge" (*GTTL* 3). Throughout *Guide to the Lak*es, West notes property ownership, architectural history, and recent discoveries of artifacts. That a guidebook records and supplies this level of detail tells us about the kinds of local information tourists sought: facts that only a primary source or local guide could provide. Both of West's guidebooks chronicle the inhabitants of Furness Abbey with attention to dates and their traditions. For example, in *Guide to the Lakes* (1780), West recounts their origins and the historical particulars of monastic fashion: "It was peopled from the monastery of Savigny, in Normandy, and dedicated to St. Mayre's of Furness. The monks were of the order of Savigny, and their dress was grey cloth; but on receiving St. Bernard's form, they changed from grey to white, and became Cistercians; and such they remained till the dissolution of the monasteries" (*GTTL* 37). In this instance, West does not identify the origin of his particulars. However, biographical preface to the 1780 edition, republished in every posthumous edition of West's

guidebook, his publishers assure that "besides consulting the most esteemed writers on the subject (as Dr. Brown, Messrs. Gray, Young, Pennant, &c.) he took several journeys on purpose to examine the lakes, and to collect information concerning them, from neighboring gentlemen" (*GTTL* v). West's claims of accuracy derive from predictable sources of eighteenth-century historical authority, esteemed men and their private document collections. Radcliffe, lacking West's antiquarian connections, likely had to consult West's guide for the particulars of ancient monastic life. Among paragraphs of Radcliffean scene description, her unattributed historical turn sounds uncharacteristically banal: "It was dedicated to St. Mary, and received a colony of monks from the monastery of Savigny in Normandy, who were called Gray Monks, from their dress of that colour, till they became Cistercians, and, with the severe rules of St. Bernard, adopted a white habit, which they retained till the dissolution of monastic orders in England" (*Observations* 399). The motivations for Radcliffe's unattributed borrowings from West are murky at best. But her selections from West's guidebook provide us with enough precision to speculate that Radcliffe could not otherwise obtain particulars regarding Furness Abbey's human community. We also know that West's tendency to register the human history of endangered sites creeps into Radcliffe's own prose. Whereas documents and propertied men of "esteem" offered sufficient historical proof in the eyes of antiquarians, Radcliffe assigns far more authority to the experiential knowledge of anonymous hired guides than her peers. By anthologizing their anecdotes Radcliffe perpetuates a connection between places and common people who would otherwise pass into oblivion.

Un-Guided Tours: Replacing the Hired Guide

This synthesis of antiquarian research and oral history matters not only for its scale of detail but also for who Radcliffe gets involved in the production of historical discourse. In both

fiction and nonfiction prose, Radcliffe places anonymous men and women of limited means in the position to exercise historical authority in a literary realm. Even if these anecdotes appear sporadically in her canon, it matters that Radcliffe seems to take guides quite seriously and documents their particulars with respect seldom seen. Contemporary accounts of Cumbrian tourism authored by men like William Hutchinson scoff at the local knowledge of tour guides with gusto. In his third edition of *Excursion to the Lakes in Westmoreland and Cumberland* (1776), Hutchinson attempts to locate an unrecorded spring near Ullswater that he had only viewed from a distance several years prior.[78] Curiously, Hutchinson attributes the illusiveness of the spring to the machinations of a treacherous tour guide: "On my second visit to this lake, I enquired industriously after this valuable curiosity, with intention to ascertain its qualities, but could not return to it; and from the assurances given me by Mr. Robinson, that he had never heard of such a spring, I am inclined to believe the account given us was erroneous;—so liable are strangers to be deceived and imposed on by their guides, on whose veracity they are sometimes obliged to rely for the information they obtain" (69). Here, Hutchinson's allegations of deception and misinformation, though corroborated by nothing but Robinson's vague "assurances," work to discredit an entire trade. Nowhere does Hutchinson entertain the possibility that a "curiosity" of questionable "value" could escape both the methodical "industry" of an antiquarian and the purview of a local landowner.

Although Hutchinson's zealous quest does little to recuperate the caricature of the doddering collector, his abrupt condemnation of guides emphasizes stakes of their interactions with tourists. Any representation of guides as frauds opens a lucrative opportunity for writers marketing a reliable alternative. Because guides earned income in direct competition with the

[78] William Hutchinson, a member of the London Society of Antiquaries, first published *Excursion to the Lakes in Westmoreland and Cumberland* in 1773 but later expanded the octavo volume following a 1774 tour.

authors of guidebooks, it is important to consider the fairness and potential motivations of Hutchinson's charges. Often, written criticisms of guides offer little substance beyond slander. For example, Hutchinson lashes out against the operator of a barge in Keswick following an undefined outrage: "a nasty, leaky fishing-boat, with an impertinent, talkative, lying pilot" (176). Taken at face value, Hutchinson's caustic comments fail utterly to substantiate any of his denunciations. Therefore, guidebooks do not necessarily describe the reality of tourist-guide relations. My caution here is that the "talkative impertinence" that gets cited by William Hutchinson also requires us to turn a critical eye to the man levying the charge against an anonymous guide whose side of the story we will never know. Plenty of insults could pass for "impertinence," but Hutchinson likely felt some degree of class-inflected disrespect from the pilot. Local guides would have been almost universally of a lower socioeconomic station than the tourists who employed them and expected to capitulate in most matters. However, that class separation and implied deference to authority does not mean that guides only performed servile duties like ensuring safe passage. Guides regularly answered as authorities on local custom and played a role in stewarding county history overshadowed by the "neighboring gentlemen" consulted by West.

Some of the most potent passages of Radcliffe's tour preserve narratives of human intrigue derived from her first-hand contact with common people in the Lake District. At Skiddaw, a hired guide led the Radcliffes and their horses through narrow paths of mountainous terrain without incident. According to a caution Radcliffe urges her readers near Bampton, careful travelers enlist human guides instead of resigning their safety to the reliability of guidebooks: "The danger of wandering in these regions without a guide is increased by an uncertainty, as to the titles of heights; for the people of each village have a name for the part of a

mountain nearest to themselves, and they sometimes call the whole by that name" (227). These concerns over variations suggest that despite the emphasis on documentation in antiquarian guidebooks, tourists were wary enough of the shortcomings of maps and written directions to respond to their authority equivocally. Because the popularity of guidebooks is so well documented, particularly during the heyday of picturesque tourism, it is notable that a well-informed travel writer like Radcliffe defers to a non-print source as the historical authority on topographical tradition. The correlation that Radcliffe draws between her own security and guides values a kind of "residential" authority in matters of geography, based on a guide having settled in that place.

That the Radcliffes felt neither "deceived" nor "imposed on" by their guide resounds in the fact that her final impression of Skiddaw largely ignores its landscape. Although she records the picturesque content of her descent from Skiddaw, Radcliffe feels compelled not to reflect on what she has seen but to offer her guide unequivocal praise for his efficient direction:

> We reached Keswick, about four o'clock, after five hours passed in this excursion, in which the care of our guide greatly lessened the notion of danger. Why should we think it trivial to attempt some service towards this poor man? We have reason to think, that whoever employs, at Keswick, a guide of the name Doncaster, will assist him in supporting an aged parent. (342)

Her endorsement of Doncaster is unconventional for its specificity in a genre crowded with anonymous guides. Although we have no way of quantifying the financial impact of a published testimonial on Doncaster's trade, it matters that his short excursion with the Radcliffes not only impressed upon them the desperate situation of "poor men" in the English countryside, but also moved Radcliffe to recommend his services to future travelers. Her emphasis on the "great lessening" marks Doncaster as a legitimate and reliable answer to "dangers" that in retrospect

stress the hazard of giving way to historical tourism reliant on engravings and document transcription. Notably, Radcliffe's advocacy of Doncaster furnishes a key departure from Thomas West who in 1778 anticipated that *Guide to the Lakes* would render the awkwardness of asking for directions obsolete, "[relieving] the traveller from the burthen of dull and tedious information on the road, or at the inn, that frequently embarrasses, and often misguides" (3). Radcliffe resists, somewhat paradoxically, guidebooks that she cites as historical authorities, but that does not mean that she rejected antiquarian inquiry. Rather, her attentiveness to the anecdotes of common people contests preservation that defines the interests of posterity through the whims and relics of propertied men. As a result, Radcliffe's memorial tourism encourages a more-inclusive record of the past at skeptical of individualism and closer to communitarian cooperation.

Native Place and Memorials in *The Romance of the Forest*

At first glance, historical realism and the eighteenth-century gothic romance make strange bedfellows. However, the historicized conception of local community that emerges from Radcliffe's English travel writing is by no means inconsequential to the European communities represented her fiction. As Wolfram Schmidgen persuasively argues in *Eighteenth-Century Fiction and the Law of Property*, European settings did little to dissuade Radcliffe's readers from discerning the realities of contemporary English life in her fiction (154). Schmidgen contends that in *A Sicilian Romance*, the crimes of Marquis Mazzini invite a pointed critique of the corruption of property owners, whose jurisdictional rights enable a farce of justice, undermining the legitimacy of landed property as a model of community. Radcliffe lays bare these abuses; however, the alternative model of community that Schmidgen finds (sympathetic attachment

triggered by a monument) only derives from Radcliffe's mid-career work and largely omits the intersections of class and gender that complicate benevolent patriarchy.

For example, in Schmidgen's reading of *The Romance of the Forest* (1791), the Savoyard village of Leloncourt offers an idealized alternative to feudal community through a form of communal feeling that emanates not from La Luc's ownership of parish property but from his benevolent acts. Schmidgen makes a convincing argument that La Luc's good will towards the greater community derives from his sentimental attachment to the memorial urn marking his wife's favorite place (182-183). The resulting alternative to property ownership that Radcliffe imagines, then, is a model of community articulated through sympathy and sentimental attachment to objects like the urn. According to Schmidgen, La Luc's urn indirectly binds the community together. Ritualized visitation to the urn triggers fond memories of La Luc's wife that spurs La Luc to acts of charitable giving, which in turn promote sentimental attachment. This vision of community fits well with Schmidgen's history of objectification, but it requires some amendment. La Luc's genealogical background as an exile "descended from an ancient family of France" at the very least complicates his representativeness in a village of native-born Savoians (245). Schmidgen also neglects forms of attachment that already existed in indigenous people whose name is not La Luc. The spot that moves La Luc receives little notice from Peter, so it is hard to be sure that the village's collective identity actually springs from La Luc's ritualized mourning. As an alternative to feudal property, the benevolent patriarchy that Smidgen cites is more sympathetic than the typical Gothic tyrant. But it's not clear that Radcliffe's novel invests primarily in La Luc's memory, for Peter's tour of the village calls attention to natural objects (rocks and trees) that provide his community with a still-deeper natural history.

While I find Schmidgen's analysis of La Luc's sentimental preoccupation with his wife's memorial a persuasive explanation of La Luc's limited concern for his land holdings, if we only validate the representation of community that derives from influential men, we risk ignoring the legitimate perspective of the villagers of Leloncourt. Indigenous forms of collective memory can pre-date and disrupt La Luc's belated influence even if Radcliffe does not emphasize them in depth. That Schmidgen overlooks Peter's estimation of his home and community should not be particularly surprising given the fact that Radcliffe's guide and servant characters have long been dismissed in critical literature as little more than idyllic affirmations of feudal servitude.[79] Seldom do scholars consider the knowledge of local history and custom imparted by guides to be a sincere and historically valid alternative to picturesque aesthetics. For example, Chloe Chard dismisses Peter's enthusiastic return to Leloncourt as an unsophisticated "local patriotism," which elevates Adeline's high-minded reflection on picturesque landscape.[80] Peter is not an English soldier, and *The Romance of the Forest* pre-dates the French Revolutionary War. But it's hard to deny that his twenty-year absence and return sounds prophetic of scenes of rural soldiers returning home. The "local patriotism" that Chard cites stems from the environmental contexts of community, and those contexts rely on local scenery that soldiers would recognize as integral to their pre-war memories of home.

That Adeline endures "artless expressions" from Peter may affirm Chard's interpretation, suggesting that the narrator or Adeline associate picturesque description with cultured reflection.

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[79] Janet Todd, for example, associates Radcliffe's servant characters with stereotypes of the increasingly mobile and homogenous servant class of the 1750s. Todd argues that Paulo of *The Italian* over-performs his devotion and submissiveness in order to clearly express the ideal characteristics of the feudal servant. Because in Todd's view this characterization of servants was "scarcely a believable vision," Gothic fiction, and particularly Radcliffe's romances, provided readers with a world capable of repeatedly sustaining a fantasy of devoted servants and rigid class hierarchy (31).

[80] For an alternate interpretation of Peter's remarks see endnote 240 of Chard's edition of *The Romance of the Forest*, p. 384.

However, our limited record of Radcliffe's own tourism prior to her published travel writing makes it much harder to define with certainty exactly what is "artless" about Peter's response to his home. Is his sentiment excessive? Is his diction lacking? Are his outbursts irritating? Is his historical perspective on nature inferior to a picturesque description of a cottage? Even if Adeline dismisses Peter in this moment, her weeping reflection on the considerate society of Peter's villagers and the comforts of his home suggests that his village tour acutely affected Adeline (242). Therefore, Peter's impact on Adeline matters because it actually refocuses her picturesque reveries to educate her in the virtues of local custom as a feature of memorial tourism. Significantly, when she awakes, her impulse is not to race for a prospect view nor to evaluate Savoy in relation to a French nation. Instead, she asks for the loco-specific information typical of English guidebooks, an account of the people and place.

In keeping with the histories of notable landowners found in early guidebooks, Radcliffe provides a chronicle of the La Luc family and its role in the village. Here, the family sketch reveals more about the domestic life of La Luc family, his melancholy, the situation of their chateau, and the character of Clara La Luc than it does about the broader community. Adeline learns that the La Lucs contribute to civic good, regularly providing medicine to families. But beyond brief mention of a sick family in the village, the broader community exists only on the margins of this sketch. As a form of local history, the sketch of the La Luc family resembles the antiquarian guidebooks compiled by clergy and landowners. Despite La Luc's benevolence, their sketch is a history of domestic comfort articulated through the eyes of privilege.

Certainly, it is an image of idleness at odds with the barefoot peasant children who run alongside Adeline's horse as they enter the village and the anonymous well-wishers who greet Peter at every turn. Disparities between Peter's home and La Luc's chateau disturb Adeline's

first waking impression following her removal to La Luc for medical care: "[On] recovering her senses, she found herself in an apartment very different from any she remembered. It was spacious and almost beautiful" (243). Here, it is important to note that Adeline "recovers" not from a state of wonder but from a prolonged attack, which renders her unaware that she left Peter's cottage. Her disbelief at awakening to the dream-like "pleasing vision" of a spacious apartment matters because she remembers only Peter's crowded cottage, and it is through that memory that she recognizes the domestic situation of the La Lucs as "very different" from that of his parishioners. I set aside the La Lucs from their community not to suggest that they do not play an important role in Leloncourt but because La Luc's strongest memories attached to place centers on an urn of recent date. A distinguishing characteristic of La Luc's sentiment is his need and financial means to translate memories of place into a physical and permanent memorial. Adeline encounters no one else in the village who has the means to produce monuments, but her experience with Peter suggests that the past is more embedded in the natural world and accessible through commonplace landmarks that no eighteenth-century guidebook would record. The memorable trees and ordinary cottages that concern Peter are by their modest and unrecorded nature a challenge to a narrative that only renders local community with an eye to the waterfront chateau. Even if La Luc's urn has nothing to do with war, Peter's tour emphasizes artificial importance of La Luc's urn much like Thelwall's "The Obelisk" and its critique of Sambrook's memorial.

Although the cooperative economy of Leloncourt sounds remarkably idealized in relation to the realities of country life in eighteenth-century England, my contention is that Peter's attachment to the natural history of his hometown is an entirely credible alternative to both La Luc's sentiment and Adeline's picturesque representation of Leloncourt. Even if

Adeline's picturesque is the most-approved response to landscape in Radcliffe's romance, it matters that the first perspective on Leloncourt and Adeline's introduction to the village derives from Peter—not from La Luc nor from Adeline herself. Adeline's experience of Leloncourt as a tourist does not diverge far from what we know of the record of Radcliffe's later English tourism. When Peter sees his village, he immediately moves to historicize the site through autobiographical reflection on nature: "'Thank God,' he said, 'we are near home; there is my dear native place. It looks just as it did twenty years ago; and there are the same old trees growing round our cottage yonder, and the huge rock that rises above it. My poor father died there, Ma'amselle. Pray heaven my sister be alive; it is a long while since I saw her" (241). The local memory that Peter transmits to Adeline is a form of laboring class preservation that even county guidebooks did not tend to record in the eighteenth century. Trees, rocks, and bushes are the sort of old living things perpetually endangered by enclosure of common land and ancient footpaths. For a villager like Peter, they awaken historical consciousness, connecting Peter to his community and the memory of his departed father. Natural landmarks like historic trees and old rocks can accrete multiple layers of the past that exist simultaneously. Some of those accretions were apt to escape antiquarian detection, as typified in Walter Scott's *The Antiquary* by Edie Ochiltree's memory of building the mound mistaken by Oldbuck to be of Roman origin (43-44). The Peters and Edie Ochiltrees of Radcliffe's Britain were typically the hired guides who knew the past through generational memory that was seldom recorded elsewhere. In the case of Peter, the natural landmarks are representative of a pre-enclosure tradition of common land that English readers would have understood. They are the natural history of community and the geographic referents that root his sense of the past. Thus, Peter speaks more properly as the hometown

historian, whose authority derives from his native birth and a long acquaintance with Leloncourt and its people, not from any relation to La Luc.

The brief representation of Peter as a historical guide is unusual not only because Adeline acquires passing insight into the autobiographies and local customs of peasants, but because Peter's history gets rendered as speech instead of summary. Eighteenth-century travel writers did not make a habit of recording the minutiae of laboring class life let alone quote and name their sources. Granted, Adeline is not a heritage tourist in the contemporary sense nor is Peter's homesick remembrance of a rock a radical departure from La Luc's sentimental urn. If the sincerity of Radcliffe's commitment to Peter is ambiguous or haphazard, that is not entirely surprising. It took a very long time in the United Kingdom for parish records and local tradition to move beyond their reputation as a curiosity for antiquarians, thereby excluding them from "serious" historical enquiry. Peter offers none of the primary documents familiar to antiquarian tourists to substantiate his history: no parish registers or deed books get produced to explain who owned or planted the timber. So, it is not strange if, like William Hutchinson and other writing tourists, Radcliffe and Adeline appear cautious when it comes to transcribing unsourced local history from guides. Because Leloncourt's peasant community never develops with specificity beyond Peter and fades into generality, Peter's environmental history may appear like an outlier. Despite his relative obscurity in proportion to La Luc, Peter should not be overlooked because his welcome and rapport with his neighbors draws private reflection from Adeline that reduces her to tears: "The difference between her own condition and that of other persons, educated as she had been, struck her forcibly, and she wept. 'They,' said she, 'have friends and relations, all striving to save them not only from what may hurt, but what may displease them" (242). Because this reaction comes immediately after she receives a warm welcome into Peter's home amidst his

many "friends" and sister, his closest "relation," Adeline's tearful recognition of her own isolation is hard not to interpret as an explicit approval of Peter's peasant community.

Although Adeline may dismiss Peter's history as artless, her own art, picturesque scene descriptions get crowded out by what is essentially a written genre painting of everyday life by Peter. Peter's tour subtly deflects Adeline's reduction of his home to a picturesque prospect by investing the landscape with people and historical depth. The memory of the death of his father, for example, assigns sentimental power to what would otherwise be to Adeline a mere tree-lined peasant cottage near a large rock. Small uninhibited acts preservation such as these, though not disputing Adeline's picturesque, signal Radcliffe's recognition that local guides supply consequential historical detail that exists beyond the purviews of landscape aesthetics or traditional antiquarian prejudices. The temporal expressions that dominate Peter's interpretation of his home "twenty years ago," "the same old trees," and "a long while" redirect Adeline's view from the "romantic situation" of the town to the human history of common people (241). In Peter's estimation, his community endures through the continuity of nature.

Unlike La Luc, Peter does not have to build monuments in order to access the past and social relations if the land stays the same. However, Peter's local history is far more ephemeral. Without Peter the significance of landmarks and structures passes into obscurity: an old tree is just a tree, and his father's cottage reverts to being just another shack easily torn down by an improving landlord. As long as the twenty-year-old image in his memory matches the real content before him, Peter's historical authority looks increasingly like anti-enclosure agitation on Radcliffe's part—just displaced to Savoy. Notably, Adeline never orders Peter to stop "retracing the scenes of his former days" nor does she attempt to shift their tour towards more lucrative picturesque stations (241). This passive acquiescence by Adeline to Peter's own art, "tracing" or

the reenactment of images from the past, sanctions a form of preservation that emulates Leloncourt without Thomas West's familiar deference to private property.

Histories of Place: Historical Authority and the Gothic Guide in *The Italian*

Historical authority derived from a guide's memory is a democratizing thread running through both Radcliffe's prose nonfiction and *The Italian*, a romance that immediately announces its antiquarian project through the Gothic tradition of manuscript discovery. The brief prefatory frame to *The Italian* announces the romance's temporal relevance to 1790s England in unambiguous terms through the arrival in Naples of English travelers on a grand tour during 1764. According to the manuscript that the English tourist acquires, the events that comprise *The Italian* occurred only six years prior in 1758. For English readers then, it is merely thirty-nine years since Vincentio Vivaldi first saw Ellena Rosalba in the church of San Lorenzo at Naples. Because Radcliffe wrote *The Italian* prior to Walter Scott's *Waverle*y and envisioned a less-distant age, the syntactical similarities between the first sentences of these fictional volumes remind us that Gothic fiction maintained consequential but unappreciated relationship to contemporary historical discourses, an association long overshadowed by the historical novel. Radcliffe's continued reappraisal of English memorial tourism can be easy to overlook in a romance whose title evokes a national, Italian geography.

Read in insolation from Radcliffe's provincial experience with guides and guidebooks, Schedoni's anonymous peasant guide from Zanti remains little more than a footnote in Radcliffe scholarship. According to Maggie Kilgour's *The Rise of the Gothic Novel*, the Zantian guide in *The Italian* is simply a functional device, providing narrative insight otherwise unavailable to characters because of their aristocratic codes (Kilgour 181). The guide relates an oral memoir of the ruined villa of di Cambrusca because Schedoni does not know its history. Supposedly, Gothic

guides are only subtly important to plot because their stories dutifully answer questions. Kilgour does not suggest that historical authority lies in these servant narratives because they tend to be "disjointed" and so unable to precisely convey their point that the servants become a source of humor (182). For Kilgour, the hilariously digressive nature of the guide's debates with Schedoni are little more than a playful self-reflection on Radcliffe's own narrative style instead of a trenchant discourse on the nature of memory. Kilgour acknowledges the robust debate between the guide and Schedoni, but she does not suggest any significance for their opposition beyond authorial self-reflection. My own reading of the guide builds on the contention of Edward H. Jacobs that Radcliffe's guide's comedy derives from its subversion of class distinction (210-212). I contend that the argument at the ruins of di Cambrusca and the guide's insistence on facsimile is actually thinly veiled criticism of the tendency of monuments and English county guidebooks to erase the place of common people. Thus, Radcliffe's sympathetic representation of Doncaster in her Lake District tour remains consistent through her fictional guides and menservants.

Shortly after Ellena and Schedoni contract a guide to lead them through the forests bordering the town of Zanti, the party stops for an evening meal among the picturesque ruins of an abandoned villa. Marveling at the failings of the sturdy architecture, Schedoni suspects that the damage confirms seismic activity, an assumption which leads him to appeal to his guide for information: "Do you know any thing of the history of this place, friend?" (228). The ambiguously worded request of Schedoni prompts a recursive dialogue between the Zantian guide and Schedoni, which ranges over two very amusing chapters. The crux of Schedoni's irritation derives from the guide's unwillingness to abridge his memoir and its utter disregard for the themes that interest Schedoni. This scene enacts the tension between the monkish estate

history typical of antiquarian guidebooks and the laboring-class history of local community that Peter articulates in *The Romance of the Forest*. As if now moderating this debate, like Radcliffe caught between Doncaster and her guidebooks, Ellena steers the conversation towards the human history of the ruin and enables the guide to communicate experiential knowledge.

From the outset, the Zantian guide's account of the ruin resists the conventions of site-histories typical of local guidebooks. The guide strays immediately from "the place" concerning Schedoni to the forest and the guide's point of reference a witness the earthquake:

> "I shall never forget the earthquake that destroyed it, Signor; for it was felt all through the Garganus. I was then about sixteen, and I remember it was near an hour before midnight that the great shock was felt. The weather had been almost stifling for several days, scarcely a breath of air had stirred, and slight tremblings of the ground were noticed by many people. I had been out all day, cutting wood in the forest with my father, and tired enough we were when—" (228).

The history of the earthquake and the destruction of the ruin require Schedoni to interpret events and the ruin through the unremarkable memory of gathering firewood. Although traveling men like William Hutchinson were quick to dismiss the authority of local commoners, Radcliffe crafts a history, which defies Schedoni's attempt to inject property and classism into the production of history. Given the precise temporal information and meteorological data recounted by the guide about the seismic activity, Schedoni can hardly challenge the guide's minutiae. Moreover, the magnitude of the event itself allows the guide to wield trauma as an assurance of accuracy. The guide "shall never forget" because he witnessed the event firsthand. Although the guide bases some of his authority on his proximity to the ruin in the nearby forest, he carefully reminds Schedoni that this history transcends his own knowledge of the site. That the foreshocks were "felt all through the Garganus" and "by many people" suggest that the greater community

abounds with witnesses who know and perpetuate similar versions of the event. Thus, his individual experience technically operates as a stand-in for collective memory. Schedoni never meets the guide's father nor consults other sources; however, Radcliffe provides no indication that anyone in the community would dispute the guide's representation of the ruin or its past.

This promotion of the guide's memoir is all the more striking if we acknowledge that in the revolutionary climate of the 1790s, Radcliffe digresses into a sympathetic account of the condition of a laboring class guide amid a what is essentially a ruined castle. If one recognizes that castles tended to function as a military defense against to siege, war is perceptible in the castles so long associated with Radcliffe's fiction. To my eye, the ruined landscape of the Italian coast begins to look as much like a port bombarded by cannon as it does the one recovering from an earthquake. Even though it contributes nothing to Schedoni's knowledge of the ruin, the guide's complaint and exhaustion from hard work documents the living conditions of the community that surrounds the ruin. If we bracket the visual similarity of the ruined villa to the bombarded castle, the guide's history still reveals a community recovering from the ruins of an ancient order. Here, the Baron no longer matters. What remains is the broader community returning to everyday life in a ruined countryside where the villa has been reimagined as a monument to old corruption.

In Schedoni's mind, site "history" signifies the records of land ownership, some account of prominent men and their property: "'This is the history of yourself,' said Schedoni, interrupting him, 'Who did this place belong to?'" (228). Notably, "the history of yourself" or autobiography is not radically distinct as a historical genre from the biographies of prominent men so common in guidebooks. The inadequacy of autobiography here has more to do with Schedoni's fairly transparent bias against the socioeconomic situation of his guide and his desire

to learn more about the ruined villa's past. Because Schedoni dismisses the guide's autobiographical context but requests biographical insights about Barone di Cambrusca, he implies that laborer lives do not matter. Schedoni's attempt to conform the guide's history to the guidebook model communicates satire by Radcliffe because the guide never actually submits to the genre expectations forced upon him. Instead, Schedoni's question merely affords the guide an opportunity to vocalize the contempt of locals for the character of the Barone di Cambrusca, a dangerously radical sentiment for anyone to be expressing in the repressive aftermath of the Gagging Acts and Treason Trials of the 1790s. If guides articulated pointed criticisms of eighteenth-century landowners, the examples are few and far between in guidebooks. It is not, however, unusual for traveling writers to express passing sympathy for a rural village or upon seeing a laboring family by the roadside. The significant and often politically inflected departure from these sympathies, though, occurs when someone like Ellena takes a step down and dismounts from a horse or leaves a carriage to genuinely interact with someone like the Zantian guide.

In light of the earthquake's devastation, Schedoni's preoccupation with the identity of the property owner of an uninhabitable ruin sounds callous and insignificant, a detail which Ellena subtly amplifies through her twice-repeated concern for the earthquake victims: "Did any person suffer here?" (228). Ellena's sympathetic question and persistence shift the guide's history from Schedoni's demands into an account of the inhabitants of the villa and their situation on the night of the earthquake. This cooperative dialogue contrasts sharply with the guide's increasingly antagonistic relationship with Schedoni. Between Ellena and the guide, significantly, the conversation about the ruin remains earnest and respectful. Conflict only arises between Schedoni and the guide. It is Ellena's inclusive concern not only for the Barone but "any person"

that explodes Schedoni's implication that local history should be revealed through the landowner. Ellena's sentimental concern for a general record of human suffering functions mirrors concerns about securing the collective record of loss after Waterloo, which I'll discuss later in Chapter 5 with reference to Felicia Hemans. Unlike Adeline's unsettled response to Peter, Ellena hangs onto the guide's every word, even moving through the space at his direction.

The guide notes the isolated bedchamber of the Barone and shows Ellena how to distinguish its features in the rubble: "Well, that was one of the windows of the very chamber, Signora, and you see scarcely any thing else is left of it. Yes, there is a door-case, too, but the door itself is gone; that little stair-case, which you see beyond it, led up to another story, which nobody now would guess had ever been; for roof, and flooring, and all are fallen" (229). This verbal reconstruction of the Barone's tower bedchamber underscores the significance of oral records to the legibility of the past. The villa of di Cambrusca would pass into obscurity if not for the community and the guide's desire to relate the particulars of its destruction. The absolute conviction that "nobody now would guess" the notable features of the former villa foregrounds the causal link between the guide's knowledge and the future coherence of the site, whose history already borders on illegible. Curiously, Radcliffe places a common laborer in the position to keep alive the memory of the villa and its property owner. It may be tempting to dismiss the guide's history of the villa as an unremarkable account, one which merely perpetuates the memory of buildings from a bygone age of feudal property. After all, the guide does not single out any cottages or barns for preservation. However, the guide's defiant interactions with Schedoni and his judgment that the Barone, crushed beneath the ruins in the earthquake, ended up "most likely where he deserves to be" marks the guide as far from a simple affirmation of an old order (228). Quite the contrary, through history the guide and his local sources (particularly

his father and cousin) refashion the villa as a site that memorializes the removal of di Cambrusca and the justice enacted by his death. What remains in the absence of records are the stories perpetuated throughout the collective memories of the community, which insure the preservation of local traditions associated with landmarks even if buildings crumble to ruins.

Although less rigorously site-specific as a history, the guide's extended narrative of Old Marco and the abandoned fishing house attests to the absolute trust that the Zantian guide and his community place on witnesses and their oral traditions about local landmarks. Schedoni, concerned by the guide's familiarity with Spalatro, prevails upon the guide to recount the "strange history" associated by the community with an abandoned house. For nearly a chapter, the guide faithfully replicates every detail of Old Marco's story despite Schedoni's many attempts to redirect and shorten the narrative. Much to Schedoni's dismay, the guide's sincerity descends into a devout preoccupation with duplicating even the word by word order of the narration: "I tell it you, Signor, just as my father told it me, and he had it from the old man himself" (244). Trust in the quality of oral tradition operates nearly as an article of faith in the guide's community. Here, precision and provenance, coupled with the many mundane details of Old Marco's story, lend the guide's account of the house an authenticity universally acknowledged in the community as its collective memory.

Beyond the lurid discovery of a corpse in the house, very little of Marco's story as related by the guide warrants any suspicion. Marco returns to shore from fishing on a stormy night and trails a suspicious man with a lantern carrying a heavy sack along the beach. In search of shelter from the storm, Marco enters an empty house and offers the man (assumed by locals and the guide to be Schedoni's accomplice Spalatro) fish in exchange for shelter. By the light of the fire, Marco discovers a sack containing a corpse and flees into the night. Schedoni lends no credence

to the story because old Marco could not with absolute confidence identify Spalatro as the man seen years prior. Schedoni has no desire to see his connection to Spalatro known. Therefore, it is vital to acknowledge that Schedoni's quibbles with the story of Old Marco have much to do with deflecting the guide from knowledge of Schedoni's guilt.

Although the history of the cottage adds up to hearsay, Marco's reputation with others in the community insures that the story endures with the house:

> [T]hen besides, nobody could prove what they had heard, and though every body believed the story just the same as if they had seen the whole, yet that, they said would not do in law, but they should be made to prove it. Now, it is not one time in ten that anything can be proved, Signor, as you well know, yet we none of us believed it the less for that! (243)

For my purposes, the particulars of Old Marco's story are not nearly as revealing as the general community response. The tense exchanges between the guide and Schedoni, and their class-inflected argument over the form and content of local history remind us that antiquarian guidebooks of counties, towns, and cities initially offered a very narrow and unrepresentative account of the diversity of provincial history within Great Britain. Heritage preservation emerges from these examples as an omnipresent factor of everyday life, underlying the formal decisions made by the guide in his telling. Moreover, the transmission of local heritage serves as a uniting force in the community, who rally around Old Marco and his history with little regard for the documentation expectations that animate Schedoni's denunciation of their form of heritage preservation.

Guides like Peter and the Zantian guide are the unacknowledged historians of eighteenth-century locality and the front lines of a resistance to a past that enclosure sought to render private property. In rural communities, the erasure of the past by the Actos of Enclosure came to be identified with the plight of communities blasted by war. As the Northhamptonshire

poet, John Clare would recollect over a decade after the wars, in his poem "Remembrances," "Inclosure like a Buonaparte let not a thing remain / It levelled every bush and tree and levelled every hill" (l. 67-68). Our sense of the quality of the history produced with the aid of guides will remain marred by stereotype and the pronouncements of eminent antiquarians unless we admit their biases. To appreciate the tension between the commercial aspirations of the guidebook trade and the understudied role is to remember that guides were important to the trade itself. But their actions also had the effect of alerting future generations to landmarks and the disappearance of common land. Memorial tourism led writers like Ann Radcliffe to correct some of the biases of earlier travel writers while fostering new bonds of community which transcended gender and socioeconomic class. Ellena herself heeds Radcliffe's call to promote the trade and support the families of local guides. In one of the most affecting moments in Radcliffe's fiction, Schedoni brutally beats both the Zantian guide and his horses. Upon their arrival at an inn, the guide refuses his bed of straw out of compassion for his abused horses. Ellena, so moved by the guide's sympathy for their condition, makes a heartening offer despite her precarious situation: "she gave him, unnoticed by Schedoni, the only ducat that she had left" (240). Because this exchange not only ends a chapter but marks Ellena's final, direct contact with the guide, Radcliffe lends their interaction a degree of gravity. She reflects approvingly back to Doncaster and recollects his plight, a passing memorial of Skiddaw, which saved an otherwise anonymous guide from oblivion.

CHAPTER 4: ZERO GROUND: MAPPING MARITIME COMMEMORATION IN THE AGE OF NELSON[81]

Through a line of trees to the west of the old Great North Road, a two hundred year old naval battle remains suspended in the unlikeliest of places, a Northumberland horse pasture. Until his death in 1829, Admiral Horatio Nelson's close friend Alexander Davison maintained a watchful eye over the Egyptian port of Aboukir Bay from the windows of his country estate. Over twenty years after Nelson's death, Davison rose daily from his bed to an interminable sense of déjà vu. Every sunset fell on Swarland Park as it did upon Admiral Brueys and the French fleet at anchor on the fateful eve of August 1, 1798. This grand naval drama played out over day and night, without incident or bloodshed, because Davison rooted the principal actors in the Northumberland soil. In an ambitious synecdoche for the might of the Royal Navy's wooden warships, Davison planted clumps of trees on his estate representing the tactical positions of Nelson's fleet during height of the Battle of the Nile. Within two years of Nelson's death, Davison was converting the sprawling grounds of Swarland Park into a living memorial to the line of battle.[82] Today, east of Park Road, in the village of Swarland, only a few clusters of trees remain, holding the line in Davison's grand "Battle-Park." Although the prestige of one man's private victory arboretum in the country pales by comparison to the iconic Victorian naval monuments of metropolitan London, Nelson's column in Trafalgar Square and Cleopatra's Needle, the Swarland Battle-Park bears witness to the forgotten idiosyncrasies of

[81] An earlier version of this chapter appeared as "Zero Ground: Mapping Maritime Commemoration in the Age of Nelson." *European Romantic Review*, vol. 26, no. 6, 2015, pp. 679-698.

[82] For a survey of the historical record and local traditions regarding a "Battle-Park" at Swarland, see geographer Leslie W. Hepple's account of the Davison estate.

commemorative culture in Nelson's age. Despite the mass-marketing of commemorative militaria and the vogue of international battlefield tourism, Britons at home struggled to resolve the meaning and legacy of the physical sites of the Romantic Era's historic naval engagements. It is my contention that as the Napoleonic wars ended, deceptively simple forms of militaria attuned nineteenth-century writers to the occlusion of ordinary seamen in victory culture.

Even a seemingly reformed radical like William Wordsworth became suspicious that nostalgia inflated the prestige of command in military histories. After the counter-revolutionary climate of the 1790s, it should follow that English commemorative culture would feed nationalism and inspire Burkean interpretations of historical sites. Although the victories of the Napoleonic era inspired many occasional poems in praise of Nelson, Romantic writers were far from unanimous in their estimation of the naval battlefields that became synonymous with his name. Dissent rings indelicate in the afterglow victory; its voice gets shouted down by cheers from the crowd and muted by eulogizing. However, Wordsworth's poetry provided a tactful consciousness of the workings of power in commemoration. As reenacted in "Benjamin the Waggoner," Wordsworth's Battle of the Nile dramatizes the tendency of victory culture to abridge. In a sense, Wordsworth's narrator performs the functional role of new historicist critic not to denounce Nelson but to censure an overemphasis.

Dissent expressed in private seldom becomes public record and can go unnoticed even in domestic scenes common to all wars. No number of parades returned the deceased to their newly widowed spouses. No amount of artifice could unburden a child of the memory of a parent's name tallied in a casualty list. The pomp and circumstance of a state funeral like that of Admiral Nelson offered good show, but grand displays of nostalgia did not similarly fête the mourning widows of ordinary seamen. These excesses changed the way that Britons thought about the

future of war and how it would be remembered. Prior to the 1790s, the relation of local memory to posterity was neither ahistorical nor free of ideological commitment; however, forms of local memory associated with graveyard poetry and Ossianic epic defined posterity as the afterlife. Through the naval battlefield, I assert that Wordsworth reinterpreted posterity with a view to heritage preservation, conscious that maps can lie to the future about the past. My reading of the sailor in "Benjamin the Waggoner" restores an early skepticism of cartographic practices that scholars like Ron Broglio and Rachel Hewitt date to Wordsworth's later Black Combe poems.

A consequential fact of geography differentiates army battlefields from those of the Royal Navy: armies fight and bury their dead on dry land. Civilian armies of tourists and antiquarian collectors traversed the field of Waterloo. Although war made Cape St. Vincent, Cape Trafalgar, and Aboukir Bay household names, the sea quickly engulfed the evidence of naval conflict. No submersible Walter Scotts scoured the floor of Aboukir Bay following Nelson's victory dispatch in October 1798.[83] The oceanic sites of naval conflict offered little spectator intrigue and far less material justification for historical preservation than their counterparts on dry land. As Rev. Cooper Willyams reported on 19 September 1798, Aboukir Bay furnished few proofs of the conflict. When *Swiftsure* returned with designs on salvaging valuable timber from the wreckage of the French fleet, Hallowell's crew found those resources significantly depleted: "as all the ships of our fleet had been employed in the same way while we were cruizing off Alexandria, it required more labour and industry to procure what we wanted" (Willyams 99). Because salvage rendered the site illegible to veterans within a month, it is remarkable that an expanse of water compelled Alexander Davison as well as civilian writers and

[83] The arrival of official naval dispatches often significantly delayed public response in England. As Timothy Jenks observes, Nelson's historic victory at the Battle of the Nile was not officially confirmed and reported by the government until two months later, although "unofficial reports and rumours had been circulating in London for almost two months" (126).

artists to map the battle for posterity. The tactical positions of the fleets became one of the most enduring images reproduced through Nile commemoratives. From pitchers to prints and poems, battlefield geography offered a conceptual framework that enabled Britons to mitigate the traumas of maritime warfare.

Although commemorative militaria certainly supported a national, patriotic discourse, as Linda Colley influentially observes in *Britons: Forging the Nation, 1707-1837*, patriotic feeling fails to explain why the geographic character of maritime commemoration developed. As Timothy Jenks demonstrates in his recent history of maritime victory culture, official celebrations were less coherently patriotic than scholars normally assume. For example, the day of national thanksgiving for the Nile victory met with spotty attendance and dissent. In London, the festivities represented only a narrow sample of wealthy loyalists and not a class-transcending revelry (141-2). Therefore, what the Nile victory meant at a national scale does not necessarily reflect the scale of parishes and maritime communities. In neighborhoods where the families scoured casualty reports and grieved for the losses of individual sailors, not everyone beat the patriotic drum.

Because storing corpses was impractical, a generation of Navy families lost loved ones whose bodies never received a proper burial. Although the army's dead did not return home for related reasons, sailors and maritime communities endured a unique relation to posterity through the constant threat that an afterlife would be denied by the eccentricities of sea burial. As David Stewart explains in his anthropological account of burial practices during the Age of Sail, funeral rites were never as certain for sailors as they would be for soldiers on land: "During battle, the bodies of the dead were often thrown overboard rather than being kept until a funeral service could be performed" (111). According to Stewart, informal burials at sea unsettled sailors and

mourners alike because it did little to insure spiritual peace. After a land battle, graves could be dug, and rites could be read even over a mass grave. Maritime mourners suffered a compounded and placeless insult: spirits of the improperly buried and their physical remains were apt to wander. For years after the Battle of the Nile, corpses continued to appear on the beaches of Aboukir Bay to reawaken the traumas of war with gruesome persistence:

> Heaps of human bodies, cast up after 'the action of the Nile,' as it has been rather improperly termed, and not having been exposed to the devouring jackals, still presented upon the shore a revolting spectacle. Captain Clarke, who was with us, employed the crew of his cutter in burying their remains; and we were proud to aid their pious labour. (Clarke 182)

Here, a neglected ritual of sea burial provides the sensational subtext. If a corpse is not weighed down, the sea itself can deny geographic rootedness to bodies.

In lieu of a costly pilgrimage to survey a watery grave, Britons grieved through geography. Decades of war abroad certainly dislocated the temporal dimension of lived experience as Mary Favret has recently argued in *War at a Distance*. Time and the marine chronometer became integral to eighteenth-century navigation in ways that sought to overcome the disorienting nature of maritime space. However, geography, and the geo-spatial separation to which Favret frequently alludes, was by no means an insignificant dislocating force in victory culture. The naval battlefield, removed from the possibility of immediate civilian witness, inherently lends itself to a dizzying array of alternate geographies, each of which entails varied affective, historical, and ideological implications for mass culture. Even as new and better maps sought to render the world known, battlefield maps cultivated overconfidence in cartography as an objective form of representation.

As Anna Letitia Barbauld recounts in "Eighteen Hundred and Eleven," the image of a female mourner seeking solace in maps became as routine as the daily publication of news:

> Frequent, some stream obscure, some uncouth name
>
> By deeds of blood is lifted into fame;
>
> Oft o'er the daily page some soft-one bends
>
> To learn the fate of husband, brothers, friends,
>
> Or the spread map with anxious eye explores,
>
> Its dotted boundaries and penciled shores,
>
> Asks *where* the spot that wrecked her bliss is found,
>
> And learns its name but to detest the sound. (l. 31-38, emphasis in original)

Barbauld's intensification of "*where*" as well as the absolute precision implied by "the spot" dramatically visualizes the consolation that mourners found in mappable places.[84] Here, an ambiguous drawing of "some stream obscure" disappoints even an amateur geographer. The mourner demands a magnification of scale only characteristic of professional naval charts. In order to positively identify a "spot" on water, maps require precise longitude and latitude, the kind of data gathered constantly through soundings and navigation. Although Barbauld imagines "her bliss" as a metaphorical shipwreck, her desire to ground it spatially in the physical reality of the map represents virtual closure. She acquires the certitude denied to women as mourners by the unpredictable outcomes of maritime burial: to map the coordinates of that spot is to mark it for all time. In future, she may look back to the map from a place of closure, but that closure will be artificial. Burials at sea could never be so permanently guaranteed.

[84] Coordinates and boundaries trump any fidelity to the name of the "stream obscure." Spellings of Aboukir Bay by English writers and mapmakers range widely. The variety of misspelling perhaps accounts for the grandiose appropriation of Egyptian antiquity entailed in renaming the conflict "The Battle of the Nile."

She may need that mark sooner and for an even more sobering purpose: to explain the death of a parent to a coping child. As the “anxious” movement of the mourner’s eye reveals, her vision scans the printed water for a permanent referent on which to fix her gaze, an affective center to the historically determined space of the battlefield. Of all the significant spaces that battlefields produce, individual sites of memorialization, such as the precise location of a sailor’s burial underscore the fragmentary nature of battlefield spaces. This act of assigning a singular, affective center to a battlefield invites interpretation and an imposition of enduring order on a space that can never be preserved in absolute geographic terms.

A generation of military conflict transformed local memory in Europe during the Romantic Era. Sites of battle, formerly anonymous fields, attained landmark status in maps and guidebooks. However, the memorialization of naval battles on English soil stretches the geography of local memory in a peculiar fashion. English strategy for physically marking naval battlefields is not especially dissimilar from the forms of war memorials that characterized commemoration in the twentieth century. War memorials like the Swarland Battle-Park, the WWI Cenotaph in Whitehall, and the Vietnam Memorial in the Washington, D. C. produce new spaces of remembrance geographically disconnected from the places and events that they commemorate. Because war memorials take many forms, the geographical themes of maritime commemoration in the Age of Nelson suggest that honoring veterans and the dead was actually less important than preserving a simulated experience of the place. With the exception of Nelson and his officers, the names and likenesses of ordinary seamen never adorned mass-produced crockery or stone monuments. The unrecorded roles of seamen disappear, like their peers in the army, into understated columns of casualty numbers. No permanent monument offered sweeping recognition of loss across the ranks so where exactly did maritime mourners turn?

Battlefield commemoration thrived in a flourishing culture of public visual entertainment.[85] By reproducing battles in prints, reenacting them on the London stage, or planting a private arboretum, commemoration preserved an opportunity: a chance to witness history approximated. The act of seeing the very spot where the battle took place enabled grieving families to confront the trauma of their physical separation from loved ones. Therefore, one clear motivation for the local character of war memorials and commemoratives derives from a compassionate desire to facilitate the operation of sentiment. War memorials, like any monument, are ultimately for the living and the unborn; they provide a public space in the community for remembrance and education. A degree of empathy certainly accompanies visual tributes to veterans who made an ultimate sacrifice. Even for widows holding funerals for empty caskets, the steady attention the battle garnered must have offered some consolation. Although twentieth-century war memorials tend to formalize decorum, accompanied by signs requiring respectful, private reflection, Britons preserved the battle with a heavy dose of show. Because the battle site was not merely reproduced for mourning families, at least two additional motivations encouraged the local geography of maritime commemoration, one commercial and the other especially partisan.

Historical simulations like the battle panorama exhibited by Robert Barker in Leicester Square provided unprecedented visual access to the news of war in an age before photography and television. From "eight till dusk," visitors to The Panorama could acquire a paragraph-long chronology of the battle and survey its actors from the comparative security of Barker's exhibition. For visual detail and an appropriately distanced perspective, see Figure 4.1. Cannon

[85] Philip Shaw's recent account of battlefield panoramas in *Waterloo and the Romantic Imagination* adds to a host of critical studies of panoramic mediations of the Napoleonic period. See especially William Galperin's The Return of the Visible in British Romanticism on Barker's relationship with Nelson and his claim to represent historical truth (37-39, 44-46).

smoke and images of battered ships brought spectators physically close to the sights of carnage that sailors would have witnessed during the climactic destruction of the French flagship *L'Orient*. But the novelty of the simulation was so engaging that its allure represented a challenge to the historical authority of produced by veteran eyewitnesses. Enlisted seamen looking to monetize their insight faced a highly competitive news market as well as the pressure of new media. Panoramas share the ability to influence public opinion in ways not unlike writing, but they expand the potential audience for news.

Visuals mediate history in ways that allow illiterate spectators to access historical content otherwise available only in writing. As I observed earlier of Thelwall and Godwin's plans and will reinforce later, memorials have a pedagogic function outside traditional book-based literacy. Literary commemorations seldom succeeded to a second edition, a fact that explains their status as ephemera in rare book libraries. News of victory stimulated a remarkable canon of commemorative poetry, mostly anonymous and newsy in content.[86] The memoirs of veterans and eyewitnesses, like the poets, also enjoyed the short-lived favor of publishers. That few of these texts have ever enter scholarly analysis outside naval history suggests that contemporary responses to battles not named Waterloo have the potential to better complicate our understanding the cultural response to the costs and byproducts of England's foreign policy.

Like the eighteenth-century guide, the witness and legacy of Jack Tars, the ordinary seamen of the Royal Navy have long been overshadowed by the "official" interpretations of battle authored by Nelson and his officers in dispatches. Even if dissent in the record of battle is not especially pronounced, the persistence of a class bias in the production of local memory is striking in what is ostensibly another niche of the domestic tourism market. While battlefield

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[86] Abundant examples of commemorative poetry appear in Betty Bennett's excellent anthology, *British War Poetry in the Age of Romanticism: 1793-1815*.

tourism is a bit of a misnomer for the form of memorialization at work in maritime commemoration, panoramas simulated the opportunities for spectatorship and antiquarian intrigue that later insured Waterloo's legacy as a popular destination. Given the restrictions on foreign tourism, memorials of naval battles would have provided a safe and inexpensive way to reflect retrospectively on the implications of recent history. Even though the local memory in guidebooks became increasingly attuned to the everyday lives of ordinary people and the condition of neglected buildings, local memory in maritime commemoration maintained rather emphatically patrician frame of reference.

PANORAMA, LEICESTER SQUARE.

SHORT ACCOUNT OF

LORD NELSON'S

DEFEAT of the FRENCH at the NILE.

ON the First of August, 1798, the French Fleet were first discovered by the Zealous, Capt. Hood, laying at Anchor, in Line of Battle, at Aboukir Bay.—The Admiral hauled his Wind that Instant, and was immediately followed by the whole Squadron. The Goliath and Zealous had the Honor to lead Inside, and were followed by the Orion, Audacious, and Theseus, and these Five took their Stations close by the Enemy's Line. The Vanguard anchored the First on the Outside of the Enemy, within half Pistol Shot of Le Spartiate, the Third Ship in the Enemy's Line, and was followed in a close Line by the Minotaur, Defence, Bellerophon, Majestic, Swiftsure, and Alexander. The Leander advanced likewise on the Outside, and dropped his Anchor athwart Le Franklin's Bow, raking her with great Success. The Action commenced at Sun Set, 31 Minutes past Six: at 10 Minutes after Nine, L'Orient caught Fire, and blew up about 10 o'Clock; and the Wreck of the Masts, Yards, &c. &c. which had been carried to a vast Height, fell down into the Water, and on Board the surrounding Ships. At 11 in the Morning, Le Genereux and Guillaume Tell, with Two Frigates, cut their Cables, and made off, leaving all the Remainder either Taken, Sunk, or Burnt.

	Guns		Guns
The British Fleet engaged were .	12 of 74	French were . . .	1 of 120
	1 of 50		3 of 80
Culloden run on Shore . .	74		9 of 74
	1 of 14		1 of 48
			1 of 44
			1 of 36

Taken of the French, Seven of 74, and Two of 80.——Burnt One of 110, One of 74, and One of 36.—Sunk One of 36.

THE

VIEW OF MARGATE

IS IN THE UPPER CIRCLE.

☞ *OPEN FROM EIGHT TILL DUSK.*

1799.

J. ADLARD, PRINTER, NO. 39, DUKE STREET, WEST SMITHFIELD.

Figure 4.1. "Panorama, Leicester Square. Short Account of Lord Nelson's Defeat of the French at the Nile." Printed by J. Adlard, 1799. © *National Maritime Museum*, Greenwich, London.

Barker's Nile panorama garnered enough acclaim that his work secured him an audience with Admiral Nelson at Palermo in December of 1799. According to his posthumous memoirs, Barker dined at the invitation of Lady Hamilton and enjoyed a robust endorsement from Nelson: "I was introduced by Sir William Hamilton to Lord Nelson, who took me by the hand, saying he was indebted to me for keeping up the fame of his victory in the battle of the Nile for a year

longer than it would have lasted in the public estimation" ("The Panorama" 47). Granted, it would be impossible to corroborate the public estimation of the panorama. However, Nelson's particular interpretation of public opinion insinuates that their attentions were otherwise volatile and easily redirected. Good publicity would have been lucrative for Nelson for a number of reasons. From a purely political perspective, victories insured the favor of Parliament in matters of public policy, filling the coffers of the Royal Navy. Publicity kept Nelson in the good graces of Earl Spencer and the Admiralty, who in turn executed promotions that elevated the profile of Nelson and his officers. Nelson appreciated exaltation and praised Barker not for merely drawing attention to the battle but specifically for the personal tribute: "keeping up the fame of his victory" (emphasis mine). In the eighteenth century, a commander would usually enjoy the principal credit for a victory, but that does not absolve Barker of partisanship.

Barker insisted on a Nelson-centric interpretation of history consistent with the prevailing ideology of command. Battlefield panoramas exhibited during wartime by Barker certainly depicted ordinary soldiers; however, the simulative effects of the panorama assured their anonymity. As Philip Shaw argues in *Waterloo and the Romantic Imagination*, Barker's Waterloo panorama and its written guide trained spectators to identify with Wellington but denied the class-transcending experience of historical witness through Wellington's first-person perspective. This "fiction of Wellington's omnivoyance," according to Shaw, reveals the workings of a propaganda that resisted the social unity that it appeared to cultivate in its audience (90). Despite its appearance as a scene of interdependent soldiers, the panorama did not unite the country in memory of the anonymous dead and wounded that populated the scenes. Instead, the affecting scenes served to isolate the heroism of an elite few.

From the “Short Account” that accompanied Barker’s Nile exhibition, it is entirely unclear what role if any sailors played in his panorama. On the printed page, a battle appears to rage between abandoned ships where cannon fire provides the only suggestion of a crew. Although we can only infer the original detail of Baker’s panorama, its stark companion nonetheless reinforces the panorama’s message. Victory belonged not to the Royal Navy but to one name writ large: “LORD NELSON.” Despite the irony of his amputated arm, Nelson did not defeat the French fleet single-handedly. As with any visual records, it is just as vital to consider what commemoratives exclude as what they preserve. Here, the role of the crew disappears entirely from the narrative and visual. Painters and printmakers in the eighteenth century were no less guilty of photoshopping history than anyone who crops an image or strategically positions a digital camera.

My reading of late eighteenth-century visual perspective finds Wordsworth attuned to the ideology of perspective. In a sense, Wordsworth’s critique of victory culture anticipates the new historicist methodology that Marjorie Levinson later applied to his poetry in her influential reading of “Composed a Few Miles Above Tintern Abbey, on Revisiting the Banks of the Wye During a Tour, July 13, 1798.” The historical content of landscape, as represented selectively by writers, artists, and picturesque tourists, begs that we carefully consider the deliberate geography of prospect views in their original context. It was where Wordsworth’s poem did not look that was especially revealing for Levinson. Reading the historical geography of the Wye Valley through its guidebooks, Levinson proposed that Wordsworth’s unusual elision of the Abbey in the poem entailed a conscious decision to ignore the itinerant poor who sought shelter amongst its ruins (35). For Levinson, this peculiar application of erasure preserved only the sights of history that Wordsworth wanted to endure. Here, Levinson’s methodological intentions were

well founded and evidenced the value of geographic contexts to a historical analysis of literature. Although I disagree with Levinson's reading of the conditions that Wordsworth encountered at Tintern Abbey, like Levinson, I contend that Wordsworth cultivated an acute awareness of geography's influence on the representation of history.

If the many attempts by scholars to better historicize sites associated Romantic literary culture have taught anything especially vital about method, I would argue that we know from Tintern Abbey that the seen and the unseen matter in equal measure. Moreover, attempts to simulate the past are only as reliable as the range and depth of contemporary sources available to critical inquiry. As Charles Rzepka so vigorously countered, the poem more reasonably reflects environmental, human, and geographic conditions that Wordsworth would have encountered if the historical sample of material contexts broadens (156-157). The tension between these two very different conclusions about a geographic past reflects limits of historical simulation known in Wordsworth's time. Where Rzepka's account satisfies most, I think, is through its nuanced application of contemporary maps, prints, and neglected travel writers. Even if our best sense of place remains fragmented and incomplete Levinson and Rzepka testify to the value of site specificity to new historicism.

In short, what might be termed an effective "geohistoricist" analysis of place scrutinizes the spatial dimension of history but lays bare our inability to render a site's past definitively. Though I find Rzepka's reading more persuasive, I think the questions of geographic presence and erasure posed by Levinson are vital on their own terms. Acts of historical preservation are not necessarily motivated by the positive desire to protect the past but also can be driven by a negative reaction: fear of what might replace it. Less than one month after Wordsworth visited Tintern, cannon smoke filled Aboukir Bay. At the height of the Battle of the Nile, no one had a

comprehensive prospect view of the events, yet Wordsworth's peers would memorialize the site with surprising uniformity and clarity of vision. Like Levinson, I question the clear as well as the cataracted eyes of history.

Placing Nelson in the Fog of War

On August 1, 1798, the British discovered the French fleet anchored in formation at Aboukir Bay. As naval historian Brian Lavery observes, three key places facilitated the British victory. First, the proximity of the Egyptian coast permitted French leisure. While many sailors went ashore on orders from Admiral Brueys, Nelson's decision to fight at dusk caught the French fleet undermanned (Lavery 172). Second, their decoy, *Guerrier* anchored in the wrong spot. Brueys crafted the French position to lure the British perilously close to a shoal shallow enough to ground Nelson's ships. Just a few yards of open water precipitated a tactical nightmare for the French. G*uerrier*'s anchorage left enough space between its bow and the shoal to allow *Goliath* and a number of other British ships to round the undermanned French line. Because the French anticipated no engagement on their port side, the cannon facing the Egyptian coast were grossly unprepared for battle. While the French rushed to position heavy cannon that do not move easily, British cannon balls exploded timber amidships. With relative ease, the British unmasted the lead ships of the French line (178-180). Perhaps the fatal French error, though, came from the placement of mooring lines.

In addition to anchors fore and aft, Admiral Brueys instructed his fleet to connect each ship in the line by cables. In theory, this tactic insured that no English ship would be able to slip through the spaces between each successive ship in the line. It would have formed an impenetrable chain of ships at anchor, tethered to one another by bow and stern. However, at least *Tonnant* and *Heureux* did not form this vital link, replacing a barrier with gaps of open

water (172-173). To make matters worse, varied lengths of anchor chains allowed enough drift to permit the British to anchor between the French and concentrate fire in the vulnerable bows and sterns of the French.[87] The battle raged into the night, despite the danger of decreased visibility, until the French flagship *L'Orient* caught fire, igniting a blaze that spread to its powder magazine. Although accounts of the exact moment range from 9:37 to 11:30 PM, *L'Orient* exploded like a bomb of metal and wooden shrapnel, sending a deafening plume of debris and limbs into the air (199). Cannon fire continued into the night and resumed in the early morning of August 2 at the end of the French line, but the final French surrender did not take place until August 3 (210-212). In the hours of active combat, the destruction of *L'Orient* looms large for its tactical significance. Because the explosion occurred in just a few dramatic seconds, *L'Orient* occupies an unusually central place in the battle's visual legacy. The simple fact that combatants move, each occupying a unique and shifting vantage point, underscores the range of interpretation entailed in any attempt to represent a battlefield historically. Every map, painting, and eyewitness account of a battle provides only a selective representation of the reality of that space at a given moment in history. Therefore, it is vital to acknowledge that those decisions of representation entail a level of subjectivity, leaving plenty of room for manipulation and self-aggrandizement. It is no accident that representations of battle from crockery to history painting stray into political propaganda and image-making during the ongoing wars with France.

Even battle plans sold by printmakers that purported to merely represent the "exact" or "accurate" positions of ships offer only a questionable degree of objectivity. For example, Laurie and Whittle sold "An Exact Representation of the English and French Fleets," which visualizes

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[87] Lavery's account of the battle meticulously documents its tactical nuances through a wealth of primary source material. See especially his analysis of the initial stages of battle leading up to the destruction of *L'Orient*, which serves as the basis for this summary (172-185).

not only the tactical position of the ships but also the climactic destruction of *L'Orient*. The battle plan itself remains subtly partisan in spite of its claim of objective accuracy. *L'Orient* suffers the compound insult of having its image as well as the words "*L'Orient* Flag Ship" engulfed in the yellow flame. Miraculously, none of the ships of either fleet are dismasted, as was certainly not the case by the time *L'Orient* caught fire. In the bottom corners of the battle plan, a view of Aboukir Castle and the portrait of Nelson diverts attention from the error that led *Culloden* to run aground. Although conspicuously absent from the line and aground, *Culloden* remains upright with sail ready as if they were mere moments from rejoining the fleet, when in reality, the crew of *Culloden* could only watch from a distance as the battle raged. That Laurie and Whittle feature this particular tactical position as opposed to other moments during the battle invests the destruction of *L'Orient* with special geographic significance in the bay and as well as the distinction of occupying the center of the map itself. While that was certainly a pivotal moment during the battle, the limits of that representation matter because it downplays compelling earlier events, such as the decision of *Goliath* to round the French line. It also consciously elides some of the Royal Navy's later failings, including the escape of *Guillaume Tell* and *Généreux*. As a visual reenactment of the battle, Laurie and Whittle's plan offers a remarkably narrow perspective, one which inherently predisposes its viewers to bracket the remainder of the battle.

To understand how *L'Orient* acquired its status in the historical and cultural record, the debris of *L'Orient* requires untangling from Nelson's own mythology. Because spoils like wages reflected the hierarchy of command, senior officers invariably possessed lucrative artifacts from battle. Of all the relics recovered from the scene, none compared with the bizarre trophy coffin hewn from the mast of *L'Orient* by order of Captain Hallowell as a gift for Nelson. That the mast

of *L'Orient* was Nelson's prize suggests that his officers invested the very center of the ship with significance that deemed it an ultimate tribute to Nelson's legacy. However, Robert Southey implies that Hallowell's gesture unsettled certain onlookers in an ambiguous fashion: "Such a present was regarded by the men with natural astonishment" (*Life of Nelson*, 2: 42). Even though the precise rationale for this "astonished" reaction remains unspecified by Southey, at least some of their pause must have derived from pondering Hallowell's decision to refashion a memento into memento mori. Nelson's own servant advised against keeping the coffin on display in the admiral's cabin and after some debate convinced Nelson to stow it permanently (*Life of Nelson,* 1: 239). The gift's association of *L'Orient* with Nelson may also have baffled thoughtful witnesses to the battle.

Technically, Nelson engaged *Spartiate*, several ships away from Hallowell's *Swiftsure*. Unlike *Vanguard*, *Swiftsure* played a vital role in the destruction of *L'Orient*. To those unacquainted with the order of the line, the coffin appeared to attribute to Nelson the destruction of a ship that *Vanguard* did not attack directly. The reality of Nelson's role in the line proves far less glamorous and borders on catastrophic. An error of communication brought *Vanguard* parallel to the starboard guns of *Spartiate*, which was already taking fire from *Theseus* on the port side. *Vanguard* finished off a wounded target. Nelson's position not only brought *Vanguard* parallel to *Spartiate* but also dangerously close to a broadside of friendly fire from *Theseus*. To prevent the very real threat of a cannonball intended for *Spartiate* striking the British flagship, Captain Miller withdrew, "giving [his] proper bird to the Admiral" (Miller qtd. in Lavery 182). For experienced seamen, such mistakes do not warrant commemoration. Triumphs drowned out inevitable miscalculations in the condensed histories that the public consumed. Yet silenced

errors shifted Nelson's place in ways that preserve only very loose connections to the historical realities of the Nile battlefield site.

In *Poor Jack* (1840), Capt. Frederick Marryat uses the muddle of Nelson's own historical position in order to lampoon the impulsive interpretations that Nelson's dispatches incited. That is not to suggest that Wellington and the Army did not provoke impulsive patriotic displays or that Nelson and Wellington exercised radically divergent forms of influence through their dispatches. However, modest differences in maritime mourning and the reporting of sea battles were not insignificant. Although Marryat publishes his novel decades after the battle, news from the fleet remains a matter of geographic assurance to their families. Tom Saunders and his friend Old Ben, a Greenwich Pensioner, review a twopence summary of the battle over a glass of porter.[88] Like Barbauld's mourner, Tom scans the pages for news of his father only to be disappointed by imbalance of named officers among anonymous dead and wounded. As the son of a boatswain's mate, Tom represents, among other things, commonplace anxieties about the human costs of war at home and abroad.

To understand how Marryat subtly differentiated Tom's anxieties about place from those of Army families, it is worth pausing to consider the function of the pensioners around Tom who help him to judge the battle's legacy. Conversation turns to posterity as afterlife when Anderson later recollects the image of *L'Orient*: "Merciful heaven! so many poor fellows launched into eternity in one moment" (88). Their sudden, airborne end effectively guarantees that by "eternity" Anderson means eternal purgatory, for the lack of formal burial rites suggested the

[88] For the British reading public, dispatches authorized the historical reality of maritime conflict. Tom reads accurate casualty numbers in the form of reporting used in Nelson's dispatch: numbers for wounded followed by a cumulative total of dead. Although the sequence of ships is slightly different, the document that Marryat places in Jack's hands at the very least imitates Nelson's dispatch: "A Return of the Killed and Wounded in His Majesty's Ships under the Command of Sir Horatio Nelson, K.B. Rear Admiral of the blue, in Action with the French at Anchor, on the 1st of August, 1798, of the Mouth of the Nile."

creation of wandering souls. The *L'Orient* explosion disturbs patriotic feeling; it conjures up traumatic consciousness of sea burials (or lack thereof). Though bodies could be disinterred or left unburied on land, Tom learns that the sea is particularly liable to exhume and relocate remains without human intervention. In short, Anderson's function for Tom and for Marryat's readers is to bear witness to an imbalance of probability known in maritime communities. On land, the bodies of soldiers are more likely to receive a permanent burial. Maritime mourners appear far less likely to gain the comfort of a single resting place for their dead. As a result, Tom is apt to cope with this uncertainty, like Barbauld's mourner, through geographic illusion.

Ambiguity in the reporting of sea battles also encouraged undesirable historical resistance as evidenced by Marryat's caricature of Old Ben. True to his penchant for speculation, Ben misreads the columns of casualties and injuries as a statement of spatial relations. Upon hearing the figures for *Vanguard*, Nelson's flagship, Ben extols the predictability of Nelson's valor: "Yes, Jack, that was Nelson's own ship; and he is always to be found where the shot fly thickest" (Marryat 86). As Tim Fulford has shown, Marryat, Southey, and others advanced a romanticized conception of Nelson and his officers as exemplars of strong character that contrasted sharply with the dubious morality of court and the governing classes (162). One way to approach Marryat's representation of the battle would be in support of Fulford's narrative, for Ben certainly wants Nelson to be exemplary in deed as well as place.

Ben's assumption that a correlation exists between casualty and the intensity of combat seems sensible. On the other hand, his contention that Nelson marks the central spot, "where shot fly thickest," lasts only the space of a single line of text before Tom's reading disputes Ben's confidence in Nelson:

> "Bellerophon—forty-nine killed, a hundred and forty-eight wounded; total, a hundred and ninety-seven."

> "Well, she was in the thick of it, anyhow!" observed Ben.
>
> "Majestic—fifty killed, a hundred and forty-three wounded; total, a hundred and ninety-three."
>
> "Why, she and the Bellyruffron seem to have pretty well shared and shared alike. You see, Jack, they led into the action, and had all the cream of the fire." (Marryat 86)

Here, Ben's halting qualifications of his original thesis stress the contentious nature of assigning a central point to a battlefield. Notably, Ben's concessions are so slight that they mock of his impulsive patriotism. *Vanguard* merely shifts from "thickest" to "in the thick," an adjustment that still overstates Nelson's historical position, roughly five ships away from *L'Orient* anchored beside *Spartiate* at the rear of the British line.[89] The insistence of "anyhow" proves that Ben remains unwilling to accept a narrative that disputes what he feels to be true of Nelson. To put Marryat's emphasis another way, Ben's instinctive defense is wrong and needs correcting—not Nelson's deeds. In a sense, Ben need not be a sailor to make Marryat's point. It would be easy, for example, to envision a Chelsea pensioner as rapturous about Wellington. Ben stands in for the hapless pundit whose inability to bear witness to the battle disrupts the very narrative he intends to support.

Subtle bias devolves into outright spin as Ben hilariously attempts to dismiss the casualty numbers from *Bellerophon* and *Majestic* as petty breaches of table etiquette. As over-indulgent eaters, they metaphorically consume "all the cream," a delicacy which by implication should have been reserved for *Vanguard*. Although Ben alleges that both ships "led into the action," *Bellerophon* and *Majestic* were in reality the ninth and tenth ships respectively to anchor in

[89] Sequence was a common visual strategy for grounding ships in maritime geography. See for example, "An Accurate Delineation of the Positions of the British Squadron and the French Fleet in Battle, fought Aug 1, 1798, in Bequier Bay, between Alexandria and Rosetta." Here, Nelson's flagship, *Vanguard*, occupies position 4. *L'Orient* is the seventh French ship in the line. http://collections.rmg.co.uk/collections/objects/108193.html

line.[90] Therefore, their alleged breach of decorum denies what Ben perceives to be Nelson's rightful spot in the historical line of battle. Ben's partisan defense speaks to the ease with which local memory manipulated the public perceptions of war abroad.

Gaps in dispatches offered room for conjecture and distortion: move the ship and change the image. When the smoke clears on a naval battle, water presents endless possibilities for reframing and erasing history. Because civilian witnesses would be much harder to find in a sea battle, water also significantly diminishes the probability that credible dissent would undermine Nelson's dispatches. Although Ben's reading hasty and wrong, simulations of battlefield space by civilians and veterans authored outside the officer corps became legitimate challenges to the ideological coherence of battlefield history.[91]

Sir Walter Scott, Waterloo Reenactor

Naval battles denied the forms of on-site reenactment that later attracted civilians like Walter Scott and Robert Southey to Waterloo. According to Scott, tourists went to great lengths to stand in specific stations on the field of battle to survey the prospects recently commanded by the likes of Wellington and Napoleon. When Walter Scott played the part of Napoleon in a private reenactment upon the field of Waterloo, how do we read his eccentric simulation, which was orchestrated by Napoleon's personal guide, "Honest John Lacoste" (Jean de Coster)? That de Coster became "the person in most general request" implies that an obsession with historical reenactment—not just picturesque scenery—motivated a substantial percentage of battlefield spectatorship (Scott 196). With de Coster in tow, Scott sought the heady experience of retracing

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[90] For an incisive diagram of each ship's course and position, see Brian Lavery's *Nelson and the Nile: The Naval War Against Bonaparte 1798*, p. 183.

[91] As Neil Ramsey observes of veteran eye-witness and memoir, the perspective of ordinary seamen and soldiers circumvented traditional channels for disseminating news to the public (16).

Napoleon's footsteps: "It was, however, with no little emotion that I walked with de Coster from one place to another, making him, as nearly as possible, show me the precise stations which had been successively occupied by the fallen monarch on that eventful day" (196). Scott's request for a "[succession]…on that eventful day" differentiates battlefield tourism from forms of temporality found in picturesque tourism. For picturesque tourists, stations provided ideal spots from which to develop proper aesthetic judgments. If Scott merely sought an aesthetic response to the landscape, a picturesque reading of Scott would expect his writing to judge the scenes like a painting. Scott needs de Coster because he instead reads the field like a military historian, retrospectively and with narrow temporal reference to its condition at specific points on a single day in the past. Like many of his peers, Scott understood the geography of battlefields to be objective and dependent upon the position of officers. Therefore, the authenticity and authority of Scott's history depends upon how closely he recaptures Napoleon's vision.

Battlefields occupy an unusual space in the geographic context of the Romantic Era. Private property in small foreign towns and water in the vicinity of harbor communities provided the stage for battles whose immediate geographical contexts were intrinsically local. Culture transformed sites of combat from local place names into slogans testifying to the might of a British nation: "the Nile," "Trafalgar," and "Waterloo." It was as if battle had marked these places for all times, not unlike other place names that signify historic events like Pearl Harbor or "Ground Zero." Although many residents profited from the sale of artifacts looted from the field of Waterloo, not everyone was keen on history preserving their neighborhood's association with mass slaughter. As Robert Southey discovered, the label and implied locus of Waterloo remained a point of some contention: "Our guide was very much displeased at the name which the battle had obtained in England. Why call it the battle of Waterloo? he said,...call it Mont St. Jean, call it

La Belle Alliance, call it Hougoumont, call it La Haye Sainte, call it Papelot,...any thing but Waterloo" ("Poet's Pilgrimage" 215). The guide's objection evokes the instability of battlefield: a site that seldom has a single, permanent referent.[92] All of the locations cited by Southey's guide signify spots of tactical consequence. Each implies a new set of spatial relation to the lines of Wellington and Napoleon, a judgment about the conflict's center, and an interpretation of what deserves to be preserved. To subsume these spaces into a single field and import the battle's name from a nearby village entails deliberately redefining locality.[93] Southey's guide disputes the Waterloo label because in his eyes, the English get local geography totally wrong.

With each passing day, it becomes harder for visitors to discern with any certainty what actually constitutes the field of battle. Not every battlefield tourist saw the need to keep those details conspicuous. In particular, in Canto III of *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage*, Lord Byron advocates for the natural reversion of the field to an anonymous plot of arable land: "As the ground was before, thus let it be; —" (l. 150).[94] This return to normalcy acknowledges the rights of local landowners and dismisses the need for monuments. Surveying the ruts, hoof prints, and craters that scar the ground, Scott laments the speed with which the land will recover: "These transitory memorials were in a rapid course of disappearing, for the plough was already at work in several parts of the field" (201). He pauses at the realization that the plow vandalizes

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[92] According to Philip Shaw, Wellington's insistence on the battle name "Waterloo" in dispatches represents a blatant campaign to downplay the role of Blücher's coalition forces, thereby shifting the glory to his own command: "Were the victory to be renamed Belle Alliance it would cease to be the sole property of Wellington and the British establishment; an internationalist history would be the result" (95).

[93] On the night prior to the battle, Wellington boarded in Waterloo, the nearby village ("The Battle of Waterloo" 97). To locals like Southey's guide, this transposition of a nearby place name onto a site with an existing name seemed a perplexing if not deliberate error. By naming the battle, Wellington permanently reshaped how future maps would label a plot of foreign ground that already had a name.

[94] Technically, the only way to wholly actualize Byron's vision of the ground restored to a previous state entails a massive disinterment of corpses, a fact that the poem subtly advertises. Imagined visually, Byron's particular interpretation of Waterloo resembles the Parisian catacombs. Harold does not stand upon a field of battle but instead finds his feet atop a "place of skulls," a grisly pile of disembodied limbs.

“memorials,” erasing the physical record of battle for all time. But even as Scott reflects on the meaning of those marks, the scene does not impede his quest to extract relics, the very materials that made those marks evident. The simultaneous marking, erasing, and retracing of the field of Waterloo exemplifies the muddle of simulation and guesswork that characterizes the production of history in war poetics. Given the haze of gun smoke and deafening cannon fire, it is all the more striking that Romantic writers attempted to penetrate the fog of war and root the history combat in geographic space.

Just under a year before the principal actors assumed their fateful positions upon the field of Waterloo, Walter Scott’s prose marshaled an army of Jacobites through the morning mists off the Firth of Forth. The field of Prestonpans grounds the climactic battle of Scott’s historical novel, *Waverley*, in the local particulars of military geography. As the highland charge emerges from the morning fog, the theatricality of local atmospherics impresses itself upon the memory of Edward Waverley: “the vapours rose like a curtain and showed the two armies in the act of closing” (339). The image of the ascending curtain attempts to frame the spectacle of the battlefield in the bounded space of theatre. Despite the atmospheric clarity implied by this simile, the ensuing stagecraft of battle obscures Waverley’s tidy demarcation of the field’s border through smoke and noise. In retrospect, Waverley renders his memory of battle only in gaps and uncertainties, as a “crisis of hurry and confusion” (341). His confusion derives from spatial relations, the “hurry” of moving soldiers and multiple sites of combat that develop when the lines of infantry contact. At a pivotal moment in the melee, Waverley sees fighting to his right but can only make sense of a passing vision, Colonel Gardiner amongst a “scene of smoke and slaughter” (340). Through the distortion of Waverley’s eyesight, Scott dramatizes a critical

historical problem: When do you know that you are actually at "the site" of a battle? Who defines it? How do you delimit it spatially and account for time?

At Waterloo, Scott places familiar emphasis on the situation of commanders in the field. Surveying the field of Waterloo with de Coster, Scott betrays surprising conviction in the truth of his Napoleonic prospect: "The field of battle plainly told the history of the fight as soon as the positions of the hostile armies were pointed out. The extent was so limited, and the interval between them so easily seen and commanded, that the various maneuvers could be traced with the eye upon the field itself, as upon a military plan of a foot square" (*Paul's Letters* 198). The problem with "witnessing history" is the retrospective nature of the past. The command-centered narrative that the field documents only exists through de Coster's memory. Scott's seeming praise of the field's "plain" speech matters for the unwritten subtext that it obscures: his dependence on his guide. Before de Coster makes the history of the place legible, Scott merely stares at a field, oblivious to what its marks mean. Without de Coster, Scott perceives nothing but up-turned earth. De Coster must have interpreted the ground with an ease that made Scott feel uncomfortably amateurish. That Scott proceeds to shrink the boundaries of the site to make them seem entirely uncomplicated, "so limited" and "so easily seen and commanded," only calls attention to how little he knows even at this scale. I find his final simile especially revealing for its presumptions about the general state of cartographic knowledge.

Scott's identification of the site with a "military plan of a foot square" reflects the prideful certainty that the British public attached to the cartographic labors of the Ordnance Survey. Originating in the aftermath of the Jacobite rising of 1745, Britain's national mapping agency produced the first comprehensive defense maps of Great Britain. Commercial maps and guidebooks already documented the geography of counties, but their methods and updates varied

widely. Through consistent scale and form, the Ordnance Survey standardized the representation of locality with unprecedented detail (Seymour 1). By the Battle of Waterloo, defense maps or "military plans" of the United Kingdom had achieved increasing parity with the work of their European peers. For guides like de Coster, defense mapping portended a creeping obsolescence and the passing of a way of life. Because the Ordnance Survey allowed the English to phase out their reliance on human guides, the persistence of civilian witnesses like de Coster reveals that the systematic plans produced by the Army left significant blind-spots. Even in an age of satellite imagery and time-lapse surveillance, today's geographic record of the recent past remains at best a flawed composite. Scott's confidence in the interchangeability of the historical field and the military plan assumes that the ruts in the ground have a singular interpretation, visible only from Napoleon's perspective. These gaps in Scott's reading of the field of Waterloo bear witness to how superficially military and commercial cartography captured historical reality.

If Walter Scott occupies the exact position where Napoleon stood during battle, he does not even see what he thinks he sees. Philip Shaw has recently noted that de Coster was Scott's "immediate source" for first-hand memories of Waterloo's carnage, but Scott makes it easy to understate de Coster's authority (45). Because the vision of the field replays through the unremarkable eye of de Coster, Scott never actually reenacts the experience of Napoleon. The footsteps that Scott retraces are the fresh tracks of his guide. Moreover, the plain history of battle that Scott conveys to posterity derives from and is organized by de Coster. This bait and switch on de Coster's behalf precipitates a dupe that Scott seems blissfully unaware of having chronicled. De Coster's vicarious authority, at the very least, subtly diminishes the ideological control of command over the historical record. The Royal Navy did not have to worry about tourists or meddlesome tour guides similarly contradicting their dispatches. The official records

of naval battlefields during the Napoleonic Wars derived in large part from groupthink and an obedient submission to command. Therefore, disruptions of that order from within or without humanize a figure as sanctified as Nelson and provide vital context to the limits of patriotic feeling at the height of its theatricality.

The Battle of the Nile Revisited

Within a year of the Battle of Trafalgar and the death of Nelson in 1805, Wordsworth had still not shaken the Battle of the Nile and its scenes of commemoration. His own shifting political commitments during the early years of the nineteenth century explain in part his circumspect response to partisan interpretations of war. But buried in that caution, embers of a fiery skepticism smoldered in ways that warrant renewed scrutiny by Romanticists. When Wordsworth reflects on the legacy of the Royal Navy's triumph in 1806, his writing about Nelson appears rhapsodic on surface. I maintain that Wordsworth privately denounced the grand spectacle of Nelson's funeral as well as the culture that exploited war casualties for gain.

During a period of profound nostalgia for naval power, Wordsworth turns to a critical reassessment of Nelson's image, an audacious move for a poet known for discretion. Thoughtfully, Wordsworth generally avoids the gossip that followed Nelson and instead disputes his place in naval history.[95] On February 11, 1806 Wordsworth confides to George Beaumont his sense of the error in too much eulogizing: "The loss of such men as Lord Nelson is indeed great and real; but surely not for the reason which makes most people grieve, a supposition that no other such man is in the Country: the Old Ballad has taught us how to feel on these occasions: I trust I have within my realm / Five hundred good as he" (*LWDW* 7). Admittedly, Wordsworth's first remark is cryptic. Even as Wordsworth places Nelson in perspective, he prefers to comment

[95] For Wordsworth to emphasize the scandal of Nelson's affair and daughter by Lady Hamilton would have been intensely hypocritical in light of his own complicated relationship with his French daughter, Caroline.

more generally about "such men as Lord Nelson." The deflection matters because instead of unchecked esteem, Wordsworth piles qualifiers upon Nelson's legacy. Even as Wordsworth grants Nelson's value to the war effort, he calls attention to systemic inequalities that prevent many from actualizing parallel success. In short, for Wordsworth, it is a time to mourn the five hundred Nelsons that could have been.

A poem relegated to the periphery of Wordsworth's canon amplifies this critique: "Benjamin the Waggoner," which remained in manuscript form until its eventual publication in 1819. Instead of the metropolitan setting of Nelson's state funeral, Wordsworth removes scenes of hero-worship to provincial tavern. There, enticed by a discharged sailor, Benjamin participates in a reenactment of the Battle of the Nile and surrenders to the temptation of drink. After a night of diversion, Benjamin's hangover results in the late arrival of his cart. A didactic shaming follows at the hands of his master, leaving Benjamin unemployed.

For its seemingly derivative didacticism, Paul Betz, editor of the Cornell edition, drew attention to the poem's teetotaling moral and its nod to classical forms of temptation and tragedy (4). My own geohistoricist concern with the ideological implications of the discharged sailor's performance revises and extends John Williams' reading of the poem as a subversive dissent from Nelson worship. For Williams, the sailor's effusions regarding Nelson mark a subtle dig at a spurious sanctity that the admiral's record achieved in death (196-197). Although I mostly endorse Williams' contention that the poem demonstrates Wordsworth's political independence in matters related to the war, I maintain that Wordsworth's geographic emphasis looks where many others did not, thereby exposing the historical biases of cartography through a form of local memory more characteristic of his later Black Combe poems.[96] At the end of his analysis,

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[96] As Rob Broglio and Rachel Hewitt have both recently noted, in 1811, Wordsworth deliberated upon the presence of the Ordnance Survey, Great Britain's defense mapping agency, in the Lake District and placed particular

Williams proposes that Wordsworth may have learned from his brother John of the nautical context of “waggoner,” an alternate meaning whose interpretive implications Williams does not explore in Wordsworth’s poetry (197). According to the OED, for sailors well into the nineteenth century, a waggoner would have denoted “a book of navigational charts.” Beyond Benjamin’s profession as a driver of wagons, the sailor’s dramatic simulation as well as Benjamin’s fall depend entirely on Wordsworth’s radical cartography.

At a critical juncture in the evening, the sailor disrupts a lighthearted rural dance, trailing a bizarre curiosity: “A gallant stately Man of War, / Fix’d on a smooth-sliding car” (l. 383-384). The incongruous assemblage of a ship on wheels calls immediate attention to its overwrought design. Unlike generic sailboats that children launch into ponds, his model bears the formidable features of a warship. To achieve the level of size and detail necessary to be legible as both “gallant and stately,” the ship requires an enlarged scale that privileges design over function. Wordsworth hints that the ship’s size signals the absurd: wheels and a cart prove necessary to facilitate its movement. Critique develops in the poem through a series of written sight gags predicated on visual mockery. For example, Wordsworth subtly inverts Benjamin’s profession in order to satirize the brawn of the sailor. Instead of the mule pulling the cart, Wordsworth visualizes the sailor as a beast of burden, dragging a decidedly impractical novelty. That the tavern falls silent invites all manner of interpretation of this sight.

In this moment of awkward pause, Wordsworth withholds the precise estimation of the patrons of the tavern, whose eyes seem to simultaneously turn to the sailor. The sudden explanation proffered by the sailor implies that their glance trends closer to an eye-roll:

> “This,” cries the Sailor, “a third-rate is—

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emphasis on the limits of their technology in extreme topography. No recent scholarly publication documents the forgotten origins of the Ordnance Survey as thoroughly as Hewitt’s *Map of a Nation*.

Stand back and you shall see her gratis!

This was the Flag Ship at the Nile,

The Vanguard—you may smirk and smile,

But, pretty maid, if you look near,

You'll find you've much in little here!

A nobler Ship did never swim. (l. 389-395)

The particular facial reaction of the maid, her "smirk and smile," infers a sense of incredulity that keeps the sailor defensive. His absurd pronouncements vindicate her pause as well as her distrust of his history. "This," twice stressed by the sailor, insists upon an oddly assertive literal identification of his imitation with Nelson's historical flagship.

No familiarity with maritime history is necessary to recognize that the replica is not Nelson's flagship. Mounted to a car, the model has no nautical value. Moreover, wheels visually undercut the replica, implying its function as a plaything to be pulled rather than sailed. I read the maid's smug response as subtle foreshadowing of the sailor's failure to proselytize about Nelson's legacy. Even a seemingly uncomplicated eulogy to Nelson's flagship becomes incredibly provocative when juxtaposed with Wordsworth's toy ship. Because this replica is mounted to a car, it will likely "never swim," and hence, the faux-nobility assigned by the sailor's superlatives become an unintended affront to *Vanguard*. If by implication, no nobler ship than this toy has sailed, Wordsworth cannot be said to offer an unambiguous elegy to Nelson. It seems improbable that Wordsworth intended a particularly wide-ranging offense to other ships given the loss of his brother, a captain, in the wreck of the *Earl of Abergavenny* just months prior to the death of Nelson. That the sailor names no other ship but *Vanguard* affirms the narrow focus of Wordsworth's slight as the sailor reenacts a familiar distortion of history. After

unfurling sails, the sailor attempts to authorize his history by clarifying a series of professional nautical terms to his audience.

As abruptly and emphatically as Marryat's Ben, the sailor shifts to defining the singularity of Nelson through his location in Aboukir Bay:

> And then, as from a sudden check,
>
> Cries out—"Tis there, the Quarter-deck
>
> On which brave Admiral Nelson stood—
>
> A sight that would have rous'd your blood!
>
> One eye he had, which, bright as ten,
>
> Burnt like a fire among his men;
>
> Let this be Land, and that be Sea,
>
> Here lay the French—and thus came we!" (l. 403-410)

Of all the physical traumas he could choose, the sailor's attention to Nelson's one good eye casts the admiral in a particularly gruesome light. In the heat of the Battle of the Nile, shot tore Nelson's face above the eye, blinding him a grisly head wound, which necessitated his immediate removal from command upon the quarterdeck.[97] Careful readers of the battle's events needed few proofs of Nelson's intermittent participation and peripheral position after this moment. In fact, Nelson nearly missed the climactic explosion of *L'Orient*. Reportedly, he appeared on deck in time to order the recovery of French survivors (*Life of Nelson* 233). Although Nelson's sudden appearance doubtless inspired the crew of *Vanguard*, the sight of his face likely would have chilled the rush of patriotic sentiment that the sailor anticipates in the

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[97] As Southey relates in his biography of Nelson, "the great effusion of blood occasioned an apprehension that the wound was mortal: Nelson himself thoughts so; a large flap of skin of the forehead, cut from the bone, had fallen over one eye; and the other being blind, he was in total darkness" (*Life of Nelson* 231).

tavern crowd. This discontinuity in the image of Nelson's eye, his simultaneous keen vision and historical blindness, mimics the narrow compass of the eyewitness view of the battle.

With improvised references for land, sea, and the French fleet, the sailor superimposes the geography of Aboukir Bay onto the rural tavern. This overlay constructs a tactical battle plan in 3D through which the sailor maneuvers his toy. If the sailor uses *Vanguard* as a visual synecdoche for the whole of the British line, the poem embellishes the role of *Vanguard* to an extreme. Only *Vanguard* visually resembles a ship. He improvises the fleet from "borrowed helps": glasses, chairs, bowls, and so on. Anyone who has ever enlisted the help of tableware in the act of storytelling knows the strategy. Here, however, Wordsworth's visual association of *Vanguard* with verisimilitude and finery invites contempt for the privileged position of command. Through his desultory props, the sailor's simulation assigns the fleet an incidental status in battle. Such a gross reduction of the fleet in scale and likeness compounds his slight, visually dissociating the remainder of the ships from any nautical referent.

In a strange act of redaction, the plot of the poem shifts from live narration into a retrospective summary of the sailor's exhibition. This denial of the battle simulation matters ideologically for the history that Wordsworth expunges in the gap of narration. Like an extraneous prop, the historical battle exists only to the extent that Nelson participates in the poem. The movement implied by "thus came we" can only trace the route followed by *Vanguard* before the fighting commences. As maps of the line prove, no two ships followed the same course. Each tracked as necessary to the port or starboard of the French line. Therefore, in a single motion, the sailor could not conceivably simulate the courses of the entire fleet. Narration breaks off in the initial approach of the Royal Navy before any combat would have occurred. This pause insinuates that the sailor merely preserves *Vanguard*'s path. In fact, the only scene

from the whole of the Battle of the Nile preserved by the poem remains Wordsworth's gruesome vision of Nelson wounded on the quarterdeck. Visually, the poem isolates Nelson not to exalt his actions but to deny them. In a sense, Wordsworth dislocates Nelson to the silent spaces where commemoration tended to place ordinary seamen.

The anticipation that Wordsworth builds through repeated references to silence seems on surface to capture a tavern absorbed by the telling:

> Hush'd was by this the fiddle's sound,
> The Dancers all were gathered round,
> And such the stillness of the house
> You might have heard a nibbling mouse;
> While borrowing helps where'er he may,
> The Sailor through the story runs
> Of Ships to Ships and guns to guns;
> And does his utmost to display
> The dismal conflict, and might
> And terror of that wondrous night! (l. 411-420)

In silence, no one dissents. If read in isolation from the corrupting influence of the sailor, the attentiveness of the crowd would be easy to misconstrue. Here, Wordsworth does not reflect with nostalgia on rapt displays of patriotism. The superlatives in the sailor's tale, heightened by his persistent use of props, point to how the crowd has been duped by spectacle. Nearly every sentence that the sailor utters bursts forth in cries punctuated by exclamation points. By Wordsworth's diction, the sailor's guise of objectivity obscures bias. Though he advertises his simulation as a free "display," the sailor's prefatory remarks on Nelson direct the audience to a narrow interpretation of that "display" like Robert Barker's "Short Account." Rather than

preserve the newsy function of commemorative poetry, Wordsworth elides the battle to critique Nelson propagandists. Although the sailor is an eyewitness, his precise role disappears into the periphery, subsumed under the hierarchy of command. In sum, only the place of Nelson seems newsworthy, a glaring slight to veterans laid bare by one of Nelson's own men.

That is not to say that Wordsworth goes out of his way to absolve the sailor of his complicity. Wordsworth makes a point of stressing that the sailor is not only a charlatan but also an absent father and spouse. During the whole incident, the sailor's wife and baby exist on the periphery, outside while he drinks, having "quite forgotten her" (l. 361). In the poem as in victory culture, the wives and children go unnoticed in the revelry despite their conspicuous presence and sacrifices. Any gravity that the poem assigns to Benjamin's turn from sobriety exists only through the sailor's failings as a spouse, father, and historian. Benjamin's toast forsakes both the show and performer to eulogize Nelson: "A draught of length / To Nelson, England's pride and treasure, / Her bulwark and her tower of strength!" (l. 422-424). Like Barker's panorama, the toast sustains the admiral at the expense of the sailor and his peers. If the sailor felt anything but vindicated by Benjamin's conversion, Wordsworth shows no remorse in the sailor's triumphant exit from the tavern, "like a hero, crown'd with laurel" (l. 435). Instead of the commemorative medals struck by Alexander Davison for Nile veterans, the tavern crowd bestows a satiric anachronism: laurels for a rousing reenactment. Because the sailor's role in the battle goes unnarrated, the poem's silence technically performs the very forms of erasure implied by its critique of Nelson. All that remains of the Battle of the Nile is a form of what Arjun Appadurai calls "'imagined nostalgia,' nostalgia for things that never were" (77). The sailor earns laurels for his performance but only through the willful distortion of history.

The provocative fate of the *Vanguard* toy, however, piles insult and dissent upon the nostalgia that commemoratives offered to posterity:

> Back to her place the ship he led;
>
> Wheel'd her back in full apparel;
>
> And so, flag flying at mast-head,
>
> Re-yoked her to the Ass (l. 436-439)

Such an affront to Nelson's flagship would have bordered on blasphemous in 1806. Wordsworth's sight gag likely accounts for the caution that kept the poem in manuscript form until 1819. Any patriotic bona fides that the poem promotes clash sharply with the visual humiliation implied by "[Vanguard's] place" behind the ass. *Vanguard*'s inglorious course borders on the scatological with her sails receiving the full force of foul winds blowing aloft. Wordsworth reserves equally seditious dishonor for the Union Jack, "flying at the mast-head," and weathering the same disgrace. Because Nelson's flagship is "re-yoked" by the sailor, the implication is that this position has been its rightful place for some time. Although it is possible to interpret this act narrowly and turn a scolding eye towards the sailor, Wordsworth neither corrects nor conceals *Vanguard*'s final anchorage in the geography of the poem.

Militaria in the National Maritime Museum reveals that improvised simulations by Nile eyewitnesses were no anomaly. They remained conspicuous subject matter in maritime commemoration long after Wordsworth released "Benjamin the Waggoner." In 1827, Henry James Pidding evoked the limits of reenactment in his painting exhibited at the British Institution, *The Battle of the Nile, Greenwich Pensioners Disputing the Line of Battle* (see Figure 4.2).[98] Through a tense exchange between two disabled veterans, Pidding superimposes the

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[98] Several of Pidding's works became popular engravings in his lifetime, including his reflection on the Battle of the Nile, which was later reproduced by mezzotint and adapted to pottery. The original painting was dedicated to John Russell, the Duke of Bedford, a prominent Whig politician.

military geography of Aboukir Bay on a tavern table. Assembled from broken pieces of pipe, the French and British fleets remain wholly anonymous as fractured pieces without sails or labels. In contrast with Wordsworth's simulation and the maps sold after the battle, Nelson's place has with time become strikingly ambiguous. Over twenty years separate the image from Nelson's death (nearly thirty in the case of the Battle of the Nile). In those intervening years, embodied by the aging veterans, the nuances of the site fade.

Two pensioners linger to a standstill over the place of a single ship, presumably in the French line. As the hovering pipe of the pensioner in full uniform suggests, only one veteran still seems sure of the proper ship order. Pidding's interpretation of the waning confidence in memory maps the generational workings of imagined nostalgia. Inside the window, a male patron turns away from the simulation; his attentions shift to a secondary conversation indoors concerning the exhibition below. By his age, he may have been alive at the time of the battle, but his position reinforces his disinterested stake in the tactical dispute. Only the woman within looks directly on the map like Barbauld's mourner, poised as if to dismiss the entire scene for its gross historical imprecision. Two spectators closer to the argument stand at some distance, disregarding the faces of the two sailors. To the left of the image, a swain born years after the Battle of the Nile holds a pitchfork: a visible reminder of his separation from a distant battle fought years ago. Pidding's pensioners stage their youth with little regard beyond the visual compass of the folding table. The battle goes untold like the silence of Wordsworth's simulation. Pieces of pipe signal a prelude to battle, but the battle disappears in a moment of ellipsis that shields the battle from interpretation. The marks of battle, missing legs and an amputated left arm, offer the only unambiguous record of its history. Therefore, the second "Battle of the Nile," implied by Pidding's title is the one still being waged: the battle to fix its place in history.

Figure 4.2. *The Battle of the Nile, Greenwich Pensioners disputing the line of Battle*, mezzotint by Henry James Pidding circa 1827. © *National Maritime Museum*, Greenwich, London.

The partisanship of that history runs deep in places far removed from the sea. Romantic roots of maritime commemoration remain well-watered and still bring forth new growth. In 2009, the National Trust announced its campaign to restore the Nile Clumps, a second victory arboretum, rising from Salisbury Plain. Like its nearby neighbor, Stonehenge, the Nile Clumps remain the subject of much conjecture. Local tradition attributes the original plantings to the influence of Lady Hamilton (Cork). Battles over the provenance of heritage sites provide fresh case studies in the clash between a fragmented written record and the persistence of oral anecdote. The recent recoveries of victory arboretums bear witness to the ways in which local advocacy and satellite imagery continue to transform the way that we document the past. The consequential advocacy of Lady Hamilton may prove harder to verify than the seemingly straightforward spatial relations of the original trees. However, the material parallels between the Nile Clumps and Davison's tribute are so compelling that the National Trust finds itself in the unusual position of reforesting a simulated naval battlefield. Like Pidding's painting and the sailor's tale, arbortetums suspend history geographically in a moment of stasis that denies error and miscalculation while imposing permanence on a singular reading of the past. As the saplings planted by individual donors and the Amesbury Rotary Club come of age, an imagined nostalgia for the truth of their design insures new growth for Nelson's hearts of oak in the geography of local memory.

CHAPTER 5: CONSEQUENTIAL GROUND: SIGHTSEEING IN THE POST-WAR GENERATIONS (1815-1877)

This project began from an interest in a wartime travel ban and a desire to explain why so many erstwhile revolutionaries sought inspiration from historically significant places. As I have shown in the previous chapters, the travel ban resulted in domestic tourism and new tourism practices that sought to document a politically progressive version of the past. After the wars, the United Kingdom was quickly becoming overrun with national monuments designed to narrate a Tory interpretation of the wars for the travelling public. But a Whiggish skepticism about monuments and memorial tourism developed in left-leaning circles as a challenge to this burgeoning commemorative culture even as the war wound down. Though I concede that John Thelwall and William Godwin's marking proposals are not the only historical basis for that skepticism, I still insist that the inclusivity that characterizes radical memory was something new and more egalitarian in the post-war era. Through the examples that follow, I'll scrutinize as a meaningful act of resistance what we might otherwise reasonably assume to be the inaction or failures of post-war radicals to shape commemorative culture. Because Victorian statuary from the post-war era remains, it's easy to assume that the public went along with the general tenor of patriotic commemoration. But that's not necessarily the case. It's much harder to track the acts of resistance and disillusionment that complicated victory culture long after the initial rush to Waterloo passes. I extend my timeline for remembrance beyond conventional definitions of the Romantic era because so many memorials to the war are of Victorian construction. Through that longer time scale, we can begin to glimpse generational changes in the way the wars came to be remembered and forgotten.

One radical alternative to building an obelisk was building nothing at all. Like Byron signaled in Canto III of *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage*, some preferred to let the field of Waterloo alone and maintain its open status unmarked by "columns" or "colossal busts": "As the ground was before, thus let it be" (l. 150). There's a great leveling to that alternative that surely attracted Byron. An unmarked field allows the disillusioned soldier and the grieving spouse to coexist with the hero-worshiper on an even plane where the ground's significance remains contested. If a focus of commemorative counterculture becomes leaving the landscape of memory open to the public, as it did, we may begin to anticipate where this story goes. Two poets, Percy Shelley and Horace Smith echoed Byron's subversive open spaces in the pages of *The Examiner*. On the occasion of Giovanni Belzoni's transportation of a colossal statue of Ramses II to the British Museum, both poets imagined apocalyptic wastes that reinterpret statuary. In Shelley's poem, "Ozymandias," the "boundless and bare" desert around the statue recalls Byron's vision of an unmarked Waterloo (l. 13). Although Shelley's "Ozymandias" is not overtly about the Napoleonic Wars, the Egyptian statue that inspired it became a spoil of war, abandoned by Napoleon's Egypt campaign only to be collected by the British.[99] After the wars, Byron and Shelley's poetry entertain ways of remembering the past that allow for interpretation and reexamination of the past. In this final chapter, I'll explain why monumentality stopped being a concern for the literary left. I trace a preliminary genealogy of the conservation and preservation movement in the United Kingdom from post-war resistance against monuments to the open spaces advocacy of Octavia Hill, one of the founders of the National Trust.

[99] On the diplomatic efforts of the British to obtain antiquities as part of the war effort see Hoock's "The British State and the Anglo-French Wars over Antiquities." For an account of the transnational influence of French art theft on conceptions of "British" and "German" heritage during the wars, see Swenson pp. 30-47.

While the National Trust today calls up associations with country houses and a conservative national heritage industry, the literary left played a significant role in establishing the intellectual preconditions for its birth.[100] Some scholars might contend that the more immediate stimulus for the preservation movement was the long history of enclosure or the public health reforms of the Victorian era.[101] Although I grant that those contexts are essential to the preservation movements of the post-war era, it's also true that urbanization and suburban sprawl were not the only forces of development co-opting the land. The wars promoted a public consciousness of threats to the material legacy of the past. Places of cultural importance that might pass to future generations were regularly being sold, altered, or demolished to make way for new construction, railways, and so on. What open memorial ground remained in Britain (graveyards, parks, common land, and some battlefields) might be open and public for a time, but there was no legal organ to slow or prevent development and privatization those spaces. Because public monuments to the war were being raised at a breakneck pace well into Victoria's reign, the imposition of new heritage encouraged debate about who owns the past and how it might be protected. I'll reference battlefields frequently in this chapter, but I want to avoid the impression that the preservation movement had a single end or one genealogy. The preservation movement was not just about preserving spaces of war memory, but the recent example of battlefields dovetailed with other advocacy around open spaces. Together, various threads of open space advocacy helped undercut the logic of monumentality. Monuments stopped being a

[100] On heritage and stately homes see especially Mandler pp. 71-106. For the economic intersections of heritage with conservative values in the 1980s see Hewison's *The Heritage Industry*, Lowenthal's *The Heritage Crusade and the Spoils of History,* and Wright's *On Living in an Old Country*.

[101] As Astrid Swenson has persuasively shown, a case can also be made for the international roots of what we now call "heritage." Important connections existed between movements in France, Germany, and Britain during the post-revolutionary era, which call into question any European nation's claim to having initiated a notion of national heritage in isolation. Although I don't attempt to match Swenson's impressive transnational analysis, I consider how the inheritance of posterity was challenged from within at scales below and including nation.

concern for radicals because they recognized the futility of embodying the past. In fact, monuments were often met with significant protest and could generate unwanted attention.[102] One high-profile example of this post-war resistance is the National Monument of Scotland in Edinburgh, a faux Parthenon built to honor the Scottish war dead. Inaugurated in 1822 during George IV's famously expensive Scottish pageantry and backed by Walter Scott, the monument remains unfinished to this day due to cost, earning it contemptuous nicknames over the years including, "Edinburgh's Disgrace."[103]

My aim is to restore a view of that irreverent counterculture, which recent literary scholarship has tended to overlook in accounts that privilege the immediate cultural response to the Napoleonic Wars. With a more granular focus on commemoration outside London and a longer temporal scale, the examples in this chapter challenge our assumptions about the acceptance of British victory culture.[104] I begin from two speculative campaigns to counterbalance Tory monuments with radical statuary: the case of the Hunt-Peterloo obelisk and Ebeneezer Elliott's rehabilitation of the exiled Scot, Thomas Muir of Huntershill. On surface, it's a strange turn. Liberals, radicals, and reformers are not supposed to be the ones building monuments and obsessed with the past. But given the relative stability of Tory rule during the Romantic Era, it's not altogether surprising that the counterculture initially looked like Tory commemoration. More representative models were not available. The government did not raise a

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[102] Richard Westmacott's nude statue of Achilles (1822), dedicated to the Duke of Wellington, was featured in multiple political cartoons that mocked the statue and Wellington's political career as leading Tory. For Westmacott's disruption of heroic public statuary see Henk de Smaele's "Achilles or Adonis."

[103] In April 2017, Queen Elizabeth II's official sculptor, Sandy Stoddart announced his "extremely radical" intention to campaign for the completion of the National Monument of Scotland (Narwan).

[104] See Timothy Jenks' study of the limits of popular patriotism occasioned by naval victory, a response to war which Jenks calls "victory culture." Jenks counters Linda Colley's claims about the coherence of loyalist sentiment during the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars and its centrality to defining British nationhood.

Napoleonic War equivalent to the Vietnam Veterans Memorial, which enumerates the names of servicemen in a regular font and spacing scheme.[105] However, I contend that the germ of a more equal memory began to take hold in Romantic popular culture during the post-war era. It is true that judged by our standards, the "hold" was tenuous and "more equal" usually meant lip-service to inclusivity. For example, radicals honored Charles James Fox posthumously with two London memorials.[106] By expanding the pool of monuments to include their own "great men," the political left reinforced inequalities of representation that remain conspicuous in the London landscape. But statuary was only one early thread of the counter-cultural resistance. In less than fifty years, the obelisk dedicated to Henry Hunt and Peterloo comes down, and open space advocates decide not to restore it. Why did they not rebuild? I'll argue that the inheritors of their legacy had become more skeptical about monumentality in the aftermath of John Ruskin and William Morris' anti-restoration advocacy.[107] Rather than accept that a statue can embody collective loss, they decided not to build more monuments. In short, the legacy of post-war memory in the literary left is another "curious incident" of the dog that "did nothing in the night-time."[108]

Felicia Hemans supplied an early model for open space advocacy through her endorsement of unmarked battlefields as the egalitarian alternative to statuary. As I'll show with

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[105] According to Geoff Archer, the dominant mode of public military statuary emphasized individual heroes until after the Crimean War. The Guards Crimean War Memorial (1861) by John Bell is an early example of that transition to slightly more inclusive statuary (98-99).

[106] In addition to Fox's memorial in the north transept of Westminster Abbey, he is represented as a Roman senator, in Bloomsbury Square.

[107] For Ruskin and Morris' links to the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings and criticism of Victorian restoration methods see Swenson pp. 78-84.

[108] Thus, I'm building a case of negative fact metaphorically modeled on Doyle's "The Adventure of Silver Blaze." In that mystery, Sherlock Holmes establishes the guilt of a trainer by recognizing that a prize racehorse could only have disappeared with the aid of an insider known to the animals. Because the trainer was familiar, the dog didn't bark in the night (Doyle 190). I'll show how open space advocates got comfortable with forgetting.

Hemans' early poem, "War and Peace" and her post-Waterloo edition of "The Restoration of the Works of Art to Italy," her prophetic vignettes represent the open field as the rightful war memorial for the future to inherit because it grants the access and interpretation of "each." If our sense of the politics of post-war memory is filtered through the prominent examples of Lord Byron and Walter Scott, it seems as though the material evidence of war was destined for private collections where the past could be kept for individuals. After Waterloo, Hemans can already envision a time when graves will be overgrown and monuments obscured from view. In its second edition, Hemans' "The Restoration of the Works of Art to Italy" predicts that future travelers may only feel a vague connection to Waterloo as a graveyard consecrated to the memory of the war dead. It's a battlefield tourism more contingent on genealogical ties than military history. To put it another way, the young tourists anticipated by Hemans' poetry are more properly "sightseers" than amateur military historians.

From Byron and Scott, we know much about the nature of memorial tourism in the *immediate* aftermath of Waterloo.[109] But mass casualty expanded the definition of what constituted "a place worth visiting" far beyond what Byron or Scott knew. Neither had to reckon with bored children or the range of interests that can distract a group of tourists from the narrow program of retracing battle chronology. Because the cessation of war inspired a flood of tourism at continental battlefields, we might expect the eighteenth-century's Grand Tour or picturesque tourism to return to fashion. But the resumption of overseas travel did not roll back the generational changes wrought by years of people traveling close to home. As that pool of tourists expanded, groups of visitors developed diverse reasons for visiting a site and chose their history

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[109] See Canto III of Lord Byron's *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage* and Scott's *Paul's Letters to his Kinfolk* (1816). Shaw features both as resistance (Byron) and loyalist (Scott) readings of the field in *Waterloo and the Romantic Imagination*. See also Yoon Sun Lee on Scott's Waterloo antiquarianism in *Nationalism and Irony* (74-104).

à la carte. The practice of à la carte visitation became so common that a new form of travel emerged in the 1820s with the occasional support of guidebooks and monuments: sightseeing.[110] Unlike Scott who tediously retraced specific stations in order to imagine Napoleon's strategy, the sightseer's goals and sense of direction are highly subjective. In its earliest sense, "sightseeing" simply meant the practice of visiting places of interest. These "sights" could be the local tavern, churches, art galleries, scenic vistas, spectacles, or a random spot mentioned by a loved one in a letter. In short, sightseers went anywhere they deemed worth visiting.

As if determined neither by guide nor guidebook, sightseeing as a practice encourages site visitation more than any fixed interpretation of what is seen. Sites of memory become places someone could choose to acknowledge while passing through an area, sometimes only for a matter of moments. For example, Lady Morgan returned to France in 1829 not as a grand tourist but as a self-described "sight-seer." In Paris, she concluded that the collection of French antiques belonging to Monsieur Sommerard would "well replay the visit of the English antiquary; and as a mere object of sight-seeing, will afford amusement to those unimbued with a decided taste for antiquarian pursuits" (1: 515).[111] Although Lady Morgan's association between sightseeing and "mere objects" may sound like disdain, she does not suggest that a sightseer is amateurish and can know nothing of the past. In fact, Lady Morgan classes her visit to Sommerard as one of the last stops on a "sight-seeing day" (1: 515). Thus, I suspect the point of her contrast is that the past could be a feature and not necessarily the sole focus of sightseeing. Antiquarian pursuits are then "merely" one of many "objects" integral to the practice of sightseeing at the Paris arcades.

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[110] The OED, attributes the first use of "sightseeing" to the 1824 journal of Reginald Heber, the bishop of Calcutta, published in his *Narrative of a Journey Through the Upper Provinces of India* (1828): "I had been sight-seeing from five till nearly ten o'clock" ("sight-see").

[111] Lady Morgan visited Sommerard and the Cosmorama in conjunction with the composition of *France 1829-30*, the sequel to her controversial celebration of post-war France, *France* (1817).

As Morgan's own movements on that day indicate, a sightseer could move seamlessly from a hall of antiques to a gallery to the urban spectacle of an illuminated peepshow at Gazzerra's Cosmorama, where images were viewed through magnified lenses.

By its hybrid nature, sightseeing provided a transgressive contrast to the prescriptive rules of travel present during the early stages of the War of the First Coalition. This open-ended distinction means that a sightseeing group could visit the field of Waterloo in an afternoon, caring only about the places mentioned in a family member's letter, before moving on to something else.[112] Sightseeing made it possible for tourists to radically reconfigure Waterloo as genealogical destination or site of anecdotal historical interest. To an amateur military historian like Scott, sightseeing would have been an anathema—a gross misreading of the past. But that's precisely the range of collective memory that Hemans encourages in "The Restoration of the Works of Art to Italy." Although Hemans never uses the word, "sightseeing," in her poetry, honoring the unnumbered dead and recognizing the interests of travelers who are not antiquarian men, dovetails with the spirit of access that is central to the open spaces movement. Anyone can sightsee without having to hire a guide or purchase a book, and it can be accomplished in a brief holiday.

From Hemans' prophecy of collective memory, I turn to Dickens' novelistic commentary on how war was being forgotten at home despite post-war monumentality. *Bleak House* is a novel that is seldom invoked in scholarship on the cultural impact of war, yet the unnarrated life of an impoverished army veteran shapes one of the novel's central mysteries. In one of the pivotal scenes of *Bleak House*, Lady Dedlock tours the St. Giles rookery to see places linked to

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[112] The sightseer's resistance to a single touristic program parallels the sort of "tactics" that de Certeau observes at work at ground-level in New York (96). The sightseer reinterprets the past through acts of re-historicizing (or perhaps even de-historicizing) place.

important events her former lover's life: the shop where he lived as a nameless law writer and the mass grave where he was buried. For Lady Dedlock, the places only have significance insofar as they relate to the life of Captain Hawdon. Of course, one persuasive way to read Lady Dedlock as a sightseer is to observe that her concern for the past willfully ignores the rookery's impoverished present. This failure to "see" urban poverty is well-trod terrain in scholarship on Dickens' fiction.[113] The tension between Lady Dedlock and Jo (her crossing-sweeper guide) absolutely reflects the economic gulf between them, but it has been less-observed that their respective ages matter. We need only look to the assumed identity of Lady Dedlock's former love, Captain "Nemo" Hawdon, for clues that Dickens' unknown soldier is quite plainly an allegory for forgetting the wars. Hawdon is literally "no one" in Latin. As a sightseer, Lady Dedlock's function is to discover how England forgets even the most recent military service. For the much-younger Jo, who implies that the burial place is of no consequence, war is just one of the many things about which he "knows nothing." Thus, Lady Dedlock's belated sightseeing tour points to a broader generational problem: the failure to remember those who came home from the Napoleonic Wars. Viewed through this generational divide, the statuary campaigns of the 1840s begin to look more like a desperate attempt by an aging generation to keep the wars relevant. Rather than advance those projects or create new monuments, novels like *Bleak House* wryly acknowledge the futility of consecration and affirm Hemans's prophetic vision.

To further reinforce the generational detachment prophesized by Hemans and affirmed by *Bleak House*, I close the survey of commemorative counterculture with Mary Seacole's ambiguous response to Cape St. Vincent en route to the Crimean War. Roughly fifty years on,

[113] Among the many influential studies of the "condition of England novel" are Louis Cazamian's *The Social Novel in England* and Shelia Smith's *The Other Nation*. For a recent study of the affective implications of readers encountering the poor through novels, see Carolyn Betensky's *Feeling for the Poor*.

Seacole is called up to witness the site of two of the British Navy's signature naval victories only to bemoan the unreasonableness of the hour. For Seacole, who generally omitted reference to the battles that she witnessed in the Crimea, Cape St. Vincent and Trafalgar warrant a single, forgettable sentence, marking it as a comparatively insignificant sight among her many adventures. This final devolution of naval ritual into an inconvenience invites us to consider the long-term failures of sites of memory. In this final chapter, I make the case that between Waterloo and the Crimean War, writers across genre asserted the common right of posterity to shape sites of war memory on their own terms even if it meant forgetting. In so doing, the more inclusive histories of place that they encouraged broadened heritage consciousness and established an intellectual milieu where Victorian debates about preservation, restoration, and access rights could occur.

To conclude our tour, I'll reflect on how we forgot the counter-cultural roots of the National Trust and the broader preservation movement. It was one of the founders of the National Trust, Octavia Hill, John Ruskin's copyist and one-time property manager, who outlined the legal justification for commons preservation in her 1877 essay collection, *Our Common Land*. Like Ruskin, Radcliffe, Hemans and others, Hill championed the right of posterity to access public space in perpetuity. Though Hill is rightly credited as one of the most significant actors in several of the pre-National Trust societies, the preservation movement would not have succeeded to the levels that it did without the campaigns of the post-war generation. This is not the only plausible genealogy of national heritage. I won't argue that Ruskin or Hill were produced by a certain reaction to the wars. The counterfactual origins of heritage are many and occasionally loosely linked causally. In fact, the genealogy that I trace is a story that Hill's generation, born decades after the wars, appears guilty of unwittingly

disappearing. Their well-intentioned conversion of disused cemeteries into public parkland marks both the realization of a counter-culture's vision of the future and its erasure. By restoring links between collective memory in post-war literature, the open spaces movement, and Victorian statuary, we can discern that the marking proposals of John Thelwall and William Godwin were not an eccentric speculation but a thread connecting major elements of Romantic and Victorian culture. We'll begin and end in Manchester at one of the least-likely places to get a monument: Peterloo.

The Lost Peterloo Obelisk

As the crowd began to assemble in the burial ground adjoining Rev. Scholefield's chapel, a passerby had good reason to wonder what occasioned the latest unrest. By contemporary newspaper estimates, roughly fifteen thousand Manchester locals turned out on Good Friday in March 1842 for a man seven years dead: Henry "Orator" Hunt. With his radical politics and rousing oratory, Henry Hunt had inherited John Thelwall's place as a tribune of the people, risking imprisonment for seditious speech. Although the crowd that assembled in 1842 was there to remember Hunt, a single day in his life loomed large. At a fateful gathering in August 1819 at St. Peter's Field, Manchester, an attempt to arrest Hunt failed spectacularly. Cavalry dispersed the spectators by charging the crowd. In the chaos, soldiers drew sabers, and as panicked horses reared in confusion, significant bloodshed ensued. Hunt's arrest came with a body count. The incident was dubbed, "the Peterloo Massacre," to insult the veterans of the late war involved in the melee. Accounts of Peterloo served to galvanize radical sentiments, and the resulting trial kept Hunt's message prominent in the London newspapers. Veterans of the Napoleonic Wars—the 15th Hussars—turned on unarmed civilians. It was a shocking tactic that transformed a field in Manchester into a household name. Despite Peterloo's prestige in the history of working-class

agitation, the more immediate legacy of the *site* itself tends to be disregarded.[114] Peterloo should have been among the most unlikely places to earn a conspicuous stone monument. Yet that is precisely what the people of Manchester lined up to see on that Friday in 1842: a stone-laying ceremony to honor Henry Hunt and the Peterloo dead. The government had used veterans against its citizens, and this monument sought to fix the event before the public view. Statuary in public spaces remains one of the most recognizable ways that Britain remembers the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars.[115] But it is my contention that even in the post-war period, the memory of the wars was disputed—especially in public spaces—in ways that helped build the justification for preserving open access to sites of memory.

As Thelwall and Godwin anticipated in the 1790s, activists along the political spectrum recognized the symbolic power that monuments could exercise in the service of ideology. Although much of the post-war statuary promoted nationalism and nostalgia for the officers' corps, places removed from the London metropolis honored local heroes more homegrown than Lord Nelson or Duke Wellington. By no means were post-war monuments all national in scale or unambiguously pro-war. Because national monuments tended to be highly visible in cities, it is understandable that radical statuary has garnered scant academic attention. Some of the most obvious proofs of a commemorative counterculture were unceremoniously removed over a century ago leaving disparate examples and a distinctly Chartist footprint. In places where

[114] See E.P. Thompson's influential account of Peterloo as "class warfare" in *The Making of the English Working Class* as well as his assessment of its enduring significance (685-690, 710). See also James Chandler on the epochal readings of Peterloo in *England in 1819* (18-28).

[115] Geoff Archer points to the new prominence of St. Paul's Cathedral and corresponding public funeral displays as impulses that encouraged the vogue for public statuary related to war in the early nineteenth century. For an excellent overview of the heroic statuary raised in honor of Nelson and the challenges of representing the commander-turned-politician Wellington, see Archer pp. 65-93.

traditions of village greens and cooperative use complicated attitudes about property, the memory of war was only provisionally set in stone.

Although it may seem improbable today that fifteen thousand people would turn out for a stone-setting, such ceremonies were common at the height of the statumania of the 1830s and 1840s. The Hunt-Peterloo obelisk had its genesis in 1835 after the funeral of Henry Hunt.[116] At a meeting of the monument committee, a Mr. Nuttal of Manchester hailed the project for its audacity: "The erection of a monument to Mr. Hunt would be the bitterest pill to the aristocracy that was ever compounded" ("Hunt's Monument" 685). According to the *Poor Man's Guardian*, Nuttal's observation was met with rousing enthusiasm. But the project had contemporary political stakes beyond the provocative commemoration of Hunt. The obelisk invited onlookers to associate the reformist politics of Hunt with the working-class activism of local Chartists and the man called upon to set the honorary stone, their leader, Feargus O'Connor. According to the *Manchester Times*, O'Connor reinforced the connection in speech and in deed. Below the stone, O'Connor placed "the memoirs of Henry Hunt, a copy of his Letters to the Reformers of Great Britain…an account of the massacre at Peterloo, a likeness of [himself] &c." ("Monument to Henry Hunt" 3). Entombed together, these texts constituted a sort of time capsule of reform writing. It was a subtle, but ineffective, way to authorize a definitive history of the place—more for show than preservation. Traveling Victorians could hardly be expected to return and read texts buried beneath what became a thirty-foot obelisk. Despite the spirit of optimism that guided

[116] According to The *Poor Man's Guardian* on 26 Sept. 1835, Mr. W. Robinson stressed the monument's status as a joint memorial to Hunt and Peterloo from the inception of the project: "Our object in erecting a monument to Mr. Hunt is twofold. We have not forgotten, and never shall forget, the infamous and atrocious deeds committed on Peterloo—we have not forgotten the blood-thirsty, the drunken, and infuriated Yeomanry, cutting and slaying our fellow-countrymen in public meeting…It is to record this monstrous atrocity, and do justice to the principles of Mr. Hunt, that we call upon you to support us in this our cause" ("Hunt's Monument" 685). It is in acknowledgement of this "twofold object" that I refer to the obelisk as "Hunt-Peterloo" despite the obelisk never being named as such.

O'Connor's hand that day, the dedication was the obelisk's greatest hour. The organizers intended to sell a few Staffordshire miniatures of the obelisk and collect 6d. admission from attendees to help fund the project. Ample admission funds were generated, but the miniatures promotion failed.[117] If the Hunt-Peterloo obelisk ever garnered any significant visitation beyond that periodically afforded lavish grave markers, I have not been able to discover it. The *Manchester Guardian* were informed on October 3, 1888 that the obelisk had soon faded from view, "shut in by a high brick wall, it fell into a state of much neglect" ("Mr. Henry Hunt").[118] It was a radical proposal in theory that got forgotten in a country saturated with monuments. Less than fifty year later, the citizens of Manchester will decide against restoring or rebuilding it. Why not restore this once-popular memorial funded by the people? In this chapter, I'm going to explain the conditions that made inaction acceptable.

[117] According to the Lancashire and Cheshire Antiquarian Society's investigation in 1889, the Staffordshire models were designed but met with mediocre sales ("Transactions" 324).

[118] This view of a monument in decay was reinforced by the *Manchester Courier and Lancashire General Advertiser*, which savaged the lack of effort to maintain the site on 19 Oct 1888: "For years [the obelisk] has stood unheeded. It became gradually more and more rickety, and not a hand was stirred nor a sixpence subscribed to save it from utter collapse ("It is Satisfactory" 5).

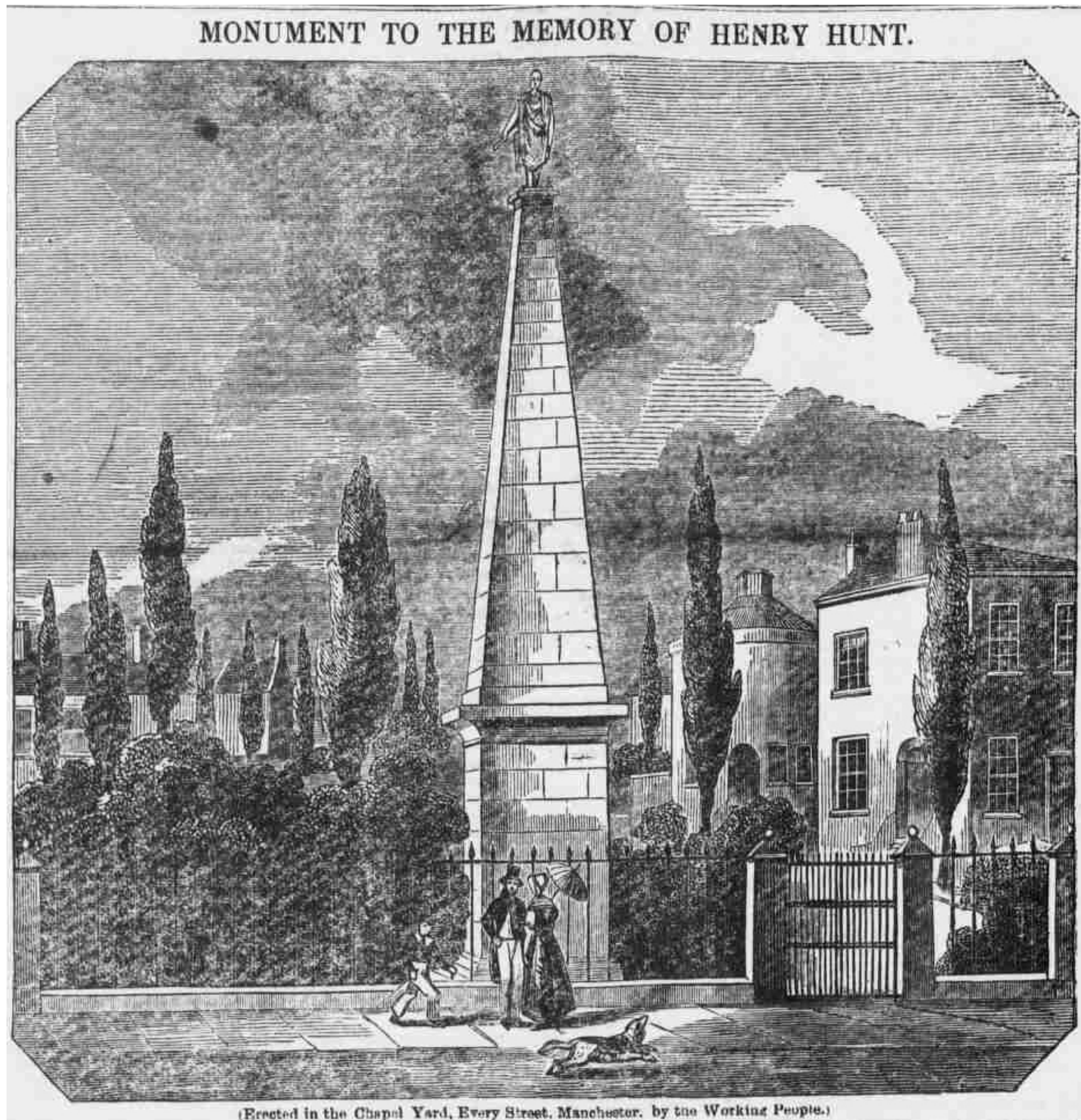

Figure 5.1. “Monument to the Memory of Henry Hunt.” *Northern Star and Leeds General Advertiser*, 20 Aug. 1842, p. 1. *British Newspaper Archive*. Newspaper image © The British Library Board. All rights reserved. With thanks to *The British Newspaper Archive* (www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk).

That a Hunt-Peterloo obelisk was constructed at all testifies to a contemporary wish to preserve the memory of Peterloo. After all, there is little cause to bury documents or build a monument unless you anticipate the public forgetting or misinterpreting the past. As Rev. James

Scholefield explained on behalf of the monument committee, the gathering and the obelisk had most to do with posterity: "To perpetuate the memory of Henry Hunt, Esq., and those who fell in that action, it was resolved to erect a public monument, and thus show future generations how the people of these times estimated sterling worth, and how they appreciate genuine patriotism" ("Monument to Henry Hunt" 3). Here, the committee's adjectives testify in a roundabout way to their contempt for monuments that would define "patriotism" as Tory and pro-war. If the reformist agitation of Hunt assumes the traits associated with fine craftsmanship, "genuine" and "sterling," it is reasonable to infer that the opposite, *fraudulent* or *silver-plate* patriotism, is that which was being mass-produced in London for the nation at-large. A hint of fatalistic acknowledgement tempers the committee's deference to posterity: radicals were never going to achieve total parity with Tory statuary. Construction projects were too costly to sustain.

For a time, the counter-cultural response to monuments like Nelson's Column looked like a desperate game of one-upmanship. The political left went through a phase of imitating the heroic approach to memorialization before settling into what becomes a recognizable advocacy for open spaces. Scholefield speaks past contemporary critics who he knows would suppress Peterloo while understanding that their narrative is apt to override his own. Rather than try to affect those indifferent or opposed to Hunt's ideals, Scholefield appeals to those already on his side and encourages a future audience to vindicate "the people of these times." The "people of these times" to whom Scholefield alludes are more precisely the highly motivated attendees who helped fund the monument: Chartists and supporters of Hunt. We know precious little for certain about the politics of common people in the post-war period. And yet people in a crowd are by their presence and participation a metric worth some consideration.[119] Scholefield subtly reminds

[119] Civic engagement has certainly been used as evidence of popular pro-war loyalism. For example, Linda Colley cites factors such as volunteerism as a register of support for the war in her chapter, "Manpower" pp. 289-325.

that the crowd—the thousands of anonymous people who paid 6d. to support the project—also gets their politics enshrined through the monument. It is a crucial point that is too often overlooked: monuments tell us about the people who paid for them.

A monument can actually serve as material evidence of mass protest. Although it is not my aim here to estimate the number of radical agitators in Manchester, if we count even a fraction of the estimated fifteen thousand on-hand to witness Scholefield's and O'Connor's speeches, it is safe to assume that hundreds if not thousands of men and women believed sincerely in the project. Only the most-motivated supporters tend to turn out for public events, and it takes meaningful commitment to contribute financially to a cause. Thus, the Hunt-Peterloo obelisk matters precisely because it was not funded by a small pool of large donors. Rather, this most-provocative of obelisks was made possible through a grass-roots campaign.[120] People whose views are normally very hard for contemporary scholars to measure spoke through the small subscriptions that made the obelisk possible. That's not to say that everyone in the crowd cared deeply, agreed, or even paid. Nor do I mean to suggest that by opening a Manchester newspaper that we can make sweeping inferences about the rest of the country. The anonymous backers of the Peterloo obelisk matter because they can help us to envision the real appeal of radical and anti-war culture in the post-war era where it is not otherwise well-documented. When one recognizes that normal people contributed financially to developing radical sites of memory, the trends that I have been tracing begin to look more like the kernels of a modest cultural movement than an isolated project for a literary elite.

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[120] As the *Northern Star and Leeds General Advertiser* reported on 22 Jan 1842, Rev. Scholefield had received £30. 8s. toward the construction effort, collected primarily through small donations ("Manchester.—On Tuesday" 8).

If the Hunt-Peterloo obelisk included a short narrative, it would have been a near-perfect realization of Thelwall's vision and would have pushed the idea further along. Typically, monuments mark an endpoint: the death of a person, the ending of a war and the resumption of peace, and so on. On one hand, the Hunt-Peterloo obelisk looked like closure; they had put Hunt to rest. It would be understandable for the conservative press to hail the affair as a victory—the endpoint of the resistance. Not only was the political left stealing their statuary, the notion of a radical "tradition" sounds unavoidably Burkean. On the other hand, to read the Hunt-Peterloo obelisk as closure would be to overlook its speculative nature. Stranger monuments insist that past is present or that the future is also past. According to *The Observer*, the Hunt-Peterloo obelisk intended to be updatable, to follow the progress of reform into the future. Its communal vault offered vacant space—a ghoulish boon to inspire like-minded individuals: "who shall distinguish themselves in promoting the principles advocated by the late Henry Hunt" ("Monument to the Late Henry Hunt" 3). In theory, the obelisk would have been something entirely new: a time-bending memorial to radicals past, present, and future. Although he may not have defined it as such, Scholefield appears to have expected the site to serve as a point of pilgrimage and an aspirational shrine.[121] To put it bluntly, the obelisk did not become the Manchester Westminster. As far as I can discern only one Manchester weaver, Joshua Lyons,

[121] In addition to providing the open space in the churchyard free of charge, Rev. Scholefield funded the initial construction phase, which consisted of the footing and vault space beneath the obelisk: "the ground work has been excavated, walled, and otherwise completed,--being formed into vaults for the reception of such as continue faithful unto death, that their remains, if the people wish, may be duly honoured, and their names recorded on this monument of national and universal liberty. The above has been done so far at the sole expense of the Rev. Mr. [Scholefield]" ("Manchester.—On Tuesday" 8). Thus, the future vaults appear to have been Scholefield's major financial contribution in the obelisk.

was laid to rest in the shadow of the Hunt-Peterloo obelisk.[122] Scholefield's offer must have lacked appeal or have been forgotten altogether.

After the obelisk was completed, it is hard to say whether Victorian passersby cared about the obelisk. It seems doubtful that visitors even did so much as pull weeds from its base let alone restore the "genuine patriotism" of the Peterloo fallen.[123] The monument committee meant well. By acknowledging the Peterloo dead generally, the obelisk would have honored not only the men but also the women who died. However, I have not found evidence that an inscription to honor "those who fell" was ever added. Beyond the dedication ceremony, the monument committee did little in practice to rebrand Peterloo. In fact, the obelisk may have been entirely blank. A plain stone would have been in keeping with the earlier Godwinian model.[124] However, a blank stone is unlikely to spontaneously generate a gender-inclusive narrative. In all likelihood, the obelisk became narrowly identified with Henry Hunt.[125]

Any connection between Scholefield's burial yard and Peterloo was a pure fabrication. Like the Sambrook obelisk from *The Peripatetic,* purporting to mark the Barnet battlefield, the Hunt-Peterloo obelisk would have been well-removed from St. Peter's Field. In this regard, post-

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[122] Newspaper accounts contemporary to Lyons' death indicate that the ongoing strikes and agitation by Manchester millworkers provided the backdrop to the incident. Lyons was assaulted as he left a mill in Salford and died of wounds to the head ("Further Disturbances" 1). The exact burial site of Lyons is ambiguous in the newspaper accounts. According to the *Preston Chronicle*, Lyons' body "was deposited in the tomb over which the obelisk in memory of Henry Hunt is erecting" ("More Riots" 3). *The Manchester Courier and Lancaster General Advertiser* suggests only close proximation: "20 or 25 yards behind the obelisk" ("Funeral of Lyness" 2).

[123] Occasionally, the obelisk gets noted in guidebooks of the Manchester area, such as *Black's Guide to Manchester and Salford* (1868). However, the references are brief and lumped among notable burials in local cemeteries: "In Every Street, Ardwick, there is also a burying-ground, in which there is a monument to the memory of Henry Hunt better known as 'Orator' Hunt. The foundation stone of this monument was laid by Feargus O'Connor" (21).

[124] The detailed account of the ceremony that appeared in the *Manchester Times* makes no mention of a planned inscription: "We understand it is to be about 30 feet high, and is to consist of a plain neat pyramid shaft, springing from a pedestal, the sides of which will be almost two yards in width" ("Monument to Henry Hunt" 3).

[125] Although Richard Wright Procter's *Memorials of Bygone Manchester* (1880) cites the obelisk in his account of Hunt, the dual association with Peterloo goes unacknowledged: "The large monument erected to the memory of Henry Hunt is still a conspicuous object in Mr. Scholefield's chapel-yard, Every Street, Manchester" (110).

war statuary did not evolve far from the modes that vexed Thelwall in the early stages of wartime. Ultimately, an obelisk in a public burial ground did not drastically reshape the Manchester landscape in the cause of reform. That's not to reduce the Hunt-Peterloo obelisk to an eccentric outlier. On the contrary, it is confirmation that real, completed monuments existed to perpetuate a counter-narrative to victory culture. What is at stake here is the recognition of a distinct culture of post-war protest in Britain that produced complex sites of memory. Fifteen thousand people turned out to honor Henry Hunt and the dead of Peterloo at the same time that Trafalgar Square was under construction in London. Neither narrative had a monopoly on public space.

"Marble Forms in Mockery": Ebenezer Elliot and the Scottish Political Martyrs' Monument

On Calton Hill, above Edinburgh, another post-war obelisk still records the sins of the revolutionary panic of the 1790s: the Scottish Political Martyrs' Monument. Roughly triple the size of the Hunt-Peterloo obelisk, the Martyrs' Monument remains one of the most recognizable features of the Edinburgh skyline. Even if tours don't immediately call attention to the site's history, the dead honored there were consequential champions of civil liberty and the expansion of voting rights in Scotland. But the Martyrs ran afoul of the Scottish political establishment of the late eighteenth century. Raised in 1844 by subscription and endorsed by Feargus O'Connor, the monument commemorates the lives of five men tried in Scotland for sedition and sentenced to transport in Australia during the early stages of the wars: Thomas Muir of Huntershill, Thomas Fyshe Palmer, William Skirving, Maurice Maragot, and Joseph Gerrald (Bewley 185-189). Their oratory and pamphleteering challenged the twin forces that stifled Scottish representation for over a generation: a severely limited franchise and the political network of

Henry Dundas, Viscount Melville, the man who controlled Scotland's place in Parliament.[126] Their conviction hung over the treason trials of John Thelwall, Thomas Hardy, and John Horne-Tooke and provided an effective deterrent to further agitation. Despite its stifling effects in the short-term, the trial of the Scottish Martyrs provided the next generation of reformers with useful a controversy.

The past has an insidious way of recuperating individual legacies and of producing narratives that suit the present. After escaping from Botany Bay, Thomas Muir of Huntershill had even been an enemy combatant. A monument to the exiled enemies of the state sounds like an impossibly extreme proposition. But on Calton Hill, Lord Nelson and Thomas Muir coexist. In April 1797, months before the Battle of the Nile, Muir fought with the Spanish in a naval battle against British blockade of Cadiz. During the skirmish, shrapnel so severely disfigured Muir's head that his wounds prevented his identification and arrest (Bewley 157). Though ostensibly forced into temporary service, Muir can be counted among the veterans like Nelson whose bodies became a living memorial to the physical and mental trauma wrought by war. Even if the Martrys' Monument only preserves Muir's role in war by association, it shows that Scotland produced its own dissident statuary.[127] The obelisk matters as a point of contrast to the Scottish nationalism popularized by the novels of Walter Scott and the war memorial he funded on the very same Edinburgh hill. Probably more than anyone else, Scott insured that war memory looked loyalist and suited to Tory politics. But if someone as contentious as Muir was capable of having his legacy rehabilitated, even the revolutionary spirit of the 1790s could

[126] For details regarding Muir's anti-Dundas agitation, see Bewley pp. 32-42.

[127] Muir's role in the battle off Cadiz was by no means forgotten. In fact, Joseph Hume featured the incident as part of his remarks occasioned by the obelisk's dedication. See for example, the rough transcription of Hume's speech in the *Caledonian Mercury* of 22 Apr. 1844 ("Monument to the Scottish" 3).

overcome its status as "past" under the right conditions. Post-war reformers could claim that they were simply resuming the democratic work undertaken by misunderstood patriots as if the war had been an inconvenient pause and not a more permanent conclusion to the revolution. Reform that is familiar or coherent with the past somehow sounds more palatable to those on the fence. Like Peterloo, the Scottish Martyrs supplied what the public wanted: a good story and new, old heroes to canonize.

According to Alex Tyrrell and Michael T. Davis, the radical MP Joseph Hume deserves core the credit for completing the Martyrs' Monument after nearly a decade of advocacy (30-31). But his project may have drawn inspiration from—or at least found a like-minded champion in—Ebenezer Elliot, the English reformer-poet better known as "the Corn-Law Rhymer." I want to highlight this Anglo-Scottish connection to further underscore the fact that post-war radicalism has a coherence that transcends geography and local variation. In a sense, the conflicted messaging that is still present on Calton Hill is something of a microcosm of the post-war culture. To Ebenezer Elliott, there was a thread uniting Scottish and English reformers to a revolutionary past, and it was a link worth helping the people to see. Though they may not have known each other well, Hume and Elliott moved in similar circles, maintained contacts in the Chartists, and endorsed the political reforms of the 1830s. Both men also featured prominently in the establishment of the Anti-Corn Law League in 1839 (Prentice, 1: 49-50). In short, they were like-minded contemporaries if not more. Hume's campaign for the Martyrs' Monument coincided roughly with the publication of Ebenezer Elliott's *Corn-Law Rhymes* (1831), which encouraged the reimagination of Muir as a Scottish hero.

Although frequently republished, from its earliest editions, *Corn-Law Rhymes* featured two sequential poems that vindicate the Scottish exiles not as enemies of the state but as victims

who made reform possible: “Judas” and “Epitaph on Thomas Muir.” The former castigates the Tories for crimes against liberty, including but not limited to the Peterloo Massacre and the transport of Muir. “Epitaph on Thomas Muir” is a topographical elegy of sorts that contemplates the present legacy of the Martyrs in France and Scotland. The six-line poem (quoted in full below) begins with its cosmopolitan elegist addressing Chantilly, the site in northern France where Muir died in 1799, then contrasts Muir’s burial place with that of his persecutors in Scotland:

> Thy earth, Chantilly, boasts the grave of Muir,
>
> The wise, the lov’d the murder’d, and the pure!
>
> While in his native land the murderers sleep,
>
> Where marble forms, in mockery, o’er them weep—
>
> His sad memorials telling future times
>
> How Scotchmen honour worth and gibbet crimes.

Perhaps the most familiar feature of the poem’s opening is the elegist’s affinity with guidebooks. Because Chantilly is unlikely to trigger the name recognition of a site like Waterloo, Elliott has to contextualize as antiquarian guidebooks did, by providing some history of the place. At its base, the poem contrasts two destinations and recommends one. Here, Chantilly “boasts the grave of Muir,” as if to imply that in a transcontinental rush to memorialize the Martrys, Chantilly claimed first prize. By the poem’s estimation, the gravesite of Muir lends Chantilly its geographic significance and defines its worth as a place worth visiting.[128] Despite having “marble forms” like Chantilly, Muir’s native Scotland has little to recommend to the living. It is possible to read the poem as anti-Scottish prejudice, though I suspect the poem’s animus has to

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[128] Elliott’s assertion is not radically dissimilar from Byron’s representation of Waterloo as a place marked by an important death: “the grave of France” in Canto III of *Childe Harold’s Pilgrimage* (l.155).

do narrowly with Muir's persecutors. But Elliott's poem is more complex than a bit of reformist travel information set to rhyme. The spectator implied by "future times" foregrounds the poem's endgame: to change how the Martyrs were being remembered in the United Kingdom. As the poem reminds, prior to the Martyrs' Monument, there was no permanent memorial in Muir's "native land." If monuments speak, as the poem suggests, the message from the grave is for the future. Like Rev. Scholefield in Manchester, the elegist anticipates a future visitor more amenable to the cause of reform, someone who would restore ideas that seem otherwise at an end. In the examples of Thomas Muir and Henry Hunt, the notion of a radical heritage to be inherited begins to take a stable shape.

Elliott's poem functions as a bit of good of press that surely would have assisted Hume in his fledgling project. Rather than branding Muir as a seditious agitator and enemy combatant, the elegist hails him as an innocent: "the wise, the lov'd the murder'd, and the pure." Readers unfamiliar with Muir but accepting of Elliott's politics were not liable to suddenly mistrust this judgment deep into a volume of his poems. Therefore, the prime audience for Elliott's poem fits the profile for the eventual supporters of the obelisk—people like Joseph Hume. In short, "Epitaph on Thomas Muir" is an elegy preached to the choir. It underscores the threatened status of Muir's legacy. According to Christine Bewley, that threat was very real. Muir's gravesite appears to have been disregarded and eventually lost (183). Edinburgh sightseers had to look elsewhere to find a connection to Scotland's revolutionary past, and that is where Hume's campaign begins to sound more like a direct response to Elliott's poetry.

Elliott's elegist suggests that the memory of the Martyrs' trial was already being remade with old materials: the "marble forms." As we have seen, the meanings behind monuments don't necessarily remain stable. Monuments get defaced, or moved, or become sites of protest.

Normally, monuments do not come to life to inspire protest. But that's the literal vision of Elliott's poem. Elliott's elegist turns the "marble forms" into living penitents. Rather than commemorate judges and barristers for their just application of law, the "marble forms" have turned on their "murderous" referents. As if repentant, the stones drop metaphorical tears on the judges "in mockery." Elliott's bizarre vision of a monument wracked by emotional distress is, of course, grossly overstating the reality of Muir's rehabilitation in Scotland. But Elliott is discerning in his transfiguration of the "murderers' marble" into a kind of anti-memorial. An inscription is no guarantee that the past remains stable. Surround these stones with new monuments (as Hume did), saturate the ground with new memories, and the interpretation of a site changes. Monuments that were once prominent become comparatively inconspicuous as the context changes. Although these changes to the past can come from a community's desire to atone for some past oversight, the cultural impetus can be ideological or even accidental. But Elliott's politics are not subtle here. The "sad" memorials must be converted to "happy" (presumably with new monuments) if the Scots are to avoid the disdain implied by the poem's final line. As Rev. Scholefield later suggested at the Hunt-Peterloo dedication, what is ultimately at stake is more than a single person's legacy. Rather, Elliott's poem predicts that the people who made the memorials will be judged by future generations for their sense of the past.

Upon completion, the Martyrs' Monument mattered mainly in Scotland and for the retroactive justice that it achieved. Elliott's promotion of the Scottish Martyrs simultaneously underscores the impossibility of recovering the past. If as Elliott's word choice implies, Muir is at present "wise" and "pure," he cannot escape the reality that those words bracket. Both "loved" and "murdered" mark Muir as past tense. There may technically be a way to soften the edges and convince the future to love Muir again. However, there is no way to un-murder and undo the

physical death of Muir. Although the obelisk gave a place to the placeless dead, its location reinforces the termination of the Martyrs. The most obvious location for a monument, Parliament Square, was out of the question. The High Court—the site of the Martyrs' trial—was not likely to add a stone *mea culpa* to its grounds. When Edinburgh Town Council eventually endorsed Calton Hill as the site, the only lot deemed acceptable for the monument was one surrounded by graves (Bewley 186). While we might expect a similar fate to the Hunt-Peterloo obelisk to have befallen the Martyrs' Monument, that was not the case. In fact, Hume managed to erect a second obelisk to the Martyrs in February 1851 at London's Nunhead Cemetery.[129]

At least in the case of the Scottish Political Martyrs, the future has been kind to the past. The Martyrs' Monument has now been in Edinburgh for so long that its controversial roots are probably lost on the majority of people who pass it daily. To the modern political left, the function of the Political Martrys does not diverge radically from their place in the 1830s: Muir became part of their genealogy. Recent memorials to Muir still echo the sightseer's casual relation to the past. An 18km "heritage trail" bearing Muir's name has, appropriately, revolutionized cycling from Campsie to Glasgow. Provided that pedestrians have a smartphone, they have access to the past through QR codes, which point out sites associated with Muir's life. But users are also encouraged to get off the trail and enjoy a diversion in the towns.[130] For all their novelty, self-narrating tours and QR-linked interpretations are the residual legacy of sightseeing in the early nineteenth century. Cyclists and hikers are free to see the land through whichever lens they choose, including historical, but they're also encouraged to see beyond the

[129] Tyrrell and Davis note the relative indifference of the London press to the obelisk in Nunhead Cemetery. The first acknowledgement occurs two years later in the *Illustrated London News* (43-45).

[130] The Thomas Muir Heritage Trail was established through a rails-to-trails conservation effort, which repurposed the Glasgow-Edinburgh railway line as a public footpath ("The Thomas Muir Heritage Trail"). Its website also features maps, links, and a brochure that recommends sites off the path.

one-dimensional emphasis on Muir. It's easy to forget that sort of à la carte program was not always an acceptable practice. Depending on who you asked during the 1820s, a roving sightseer was either a menace or an egalitarian trendsetter.

Felicia Hemans, Post-War Prophet

Roughly a decade after the first recorded use of "sightseeing," the women's monthly *Court Magazine and Belle Assemblée* published a poem entitled "Song" by "M" that speaks to the lingering influence of Wordsworth's youthful excursions to Tintern Abbey.[131] As if anticipating Wordsworth's later campaign against the Kendall and Windermere Railway, the poem accuses Lake District sightseers of defacing shrines once sanctified by the solitary rambles of young boys: "Here the ruins of Tintern, once hallowed and hoary / Alas! now profaned by a sight-seeing crew" (l. 22-23). It seems that the nature of this profanity has more to do with perception rather than the physical state of Tintern Abbey's preservation. The poem offers no evidence that the visitors literally altered the structure in any way. Thus, the inauthenticity of the sightseers' visitation must have an alternate source. A casual misogyny permeates the poem's third stanza where we get some potential clarity about the problem. Here, sightseeing is implicitly cast as a gendered act. For the "I" of the poem, what has been compromised is a sort of patrilineal right to wander alone in the landscape: "Every dream of the heart that I wandered here dreaming, / Our fathers have dreamt, as their fathers before; / For the breast of bold boyhood, with fond fancies teeming, / But catches an echo from ages of yore—" (l. 15-18). This emphasis on "boyhood" further codes the possessive nature of "our" as masculine. Solitary wandering is thus marked as a threatened male right. What then is afforded girlhood but silence and the

[131] The OED cites "Song" by M as a second early example of "sightseeing." At present, I have found no other scholarly analysis of the poem or notation of authorship beyond its mention in this definition.

present? Ultimately, it is unclear what if anything M's poem offered to the female readers of *Court Magazine* beyond this uncompromising erasure of their connection to the "ages of yore."

This patrilineal entitlement to the past is an inequality that was further reinforced by the absence of women in the military. As I demonstrated in the previous chapter, military command was quick to claim title over battlefields as if they were private property by right of primogeniture. The Nile and Trafalgar were "Nelson's." Although the Peninsular Campaign provided Roncesvalles in Spain, the signature property in Wellington's portfolio was Waterloo.[132] It is through this tension over who "owns" historical sites—between public and private property—that I want to examine one of the most popular poets of the post-war era, Felicia Hemans. Because Hemans was narrowly marketed to the public as a poet of domestic affections, Hemans significance as a consumer and producer of travel writing is only recently coming into focus.[133]

Early scholarship on Hemans' relation to war helpfully restored our sense of the subtle complexity of popular post-war poems like "Casabianca" and "England's Dead," which were once read narrowly as uncomplicated patriotic exercises.[134] Renewed attention to Hemans' poems about ancient war have further repositioned Hemans as one of the prominent voices in post-war popular culture.[135] To that chorus, I want to add a poem less-studied in the renewed

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[132] Wellington maintained a sense of ownership years after the battle. The Dutch memorial *La Butte du Lion,* constructed in 1825, has long been framed as an affront to Wellington. Reportedly, on first sight, Wellington provided the oft-repeated rejection, "They have spoiled my Battlefield" (Longford 79).

[133] See, for example, Robin Jarvis on Hemans' careful examination of contemporary travel writing in *Romantic Readers and Transatlantic Travel*.

[134] For "Casabianca," see Lootens p. 241. Susan Wolfson's reading of "England's Dead" as imperial graveyard continues to provoke useful conversation in classrooms (xvi).

[135] For Hemans' use of the siege to render the impact of global war, see Simon Bainbridge's reading of *Siege of Valencia*. For the Tory impulses of Hemans' chivalric poetry, see Rothstein pp. 54-59.

scholarly interest in war attending the bicentennial of Waterloo, "The Restoration of the Works of Art to Italy." If examined alongside a much earlier poem composed by Hemans at age fifteen, "War and Peace," I believe that a democratizing prophecy of battlefield tourism emerges that further corroborates what Susan Wolfson has called the "cultural ambivalence" of Hemans' war poetry (xvi). My reading of the poems together repositions Hemans as a consistent advocate of open public access. Because patriotism can vacillate between sincere and calculated performance in her poetry, it is plausible to read Hemans as reclaiming a martial past that tended to be marked as masculine property.

To show that the post-war ambivalence of Hemans' poetry was not a chance response to the end of war, I need to work forward from an early poem, "War and Peace—A Poem" (1812), which as Juan Sánchez has recently argued, "appears to check the jingoistic tendencies of her earlier writing" (411).[136] "War and Peace" reads like the sort of poem one might expect from a sibling of two soldiers.[137] It faults the French and extolls the virtue of the English troops while appearing uneasy with the human costs of war. The poem builds from an invocation of peace to an effusive lament on the deaths of three prominent military commanders: James Wolfe at the Battle of the Plains of Abraham (1759), Horatio Nelson at the Battle of Trafalgar (1805), and John Moore at the Battle of Corunna (1809). Although the first thirteen pages of the poem sound straightforwardly rhapsodic, Wolfe, Nelson, and Moore are represented as mortally wounded. For example, one vignette depicts Moore on the edge of death as his "band of heroes"—the

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[136] See also Tricia Lootens' helpful reading of the tension between patriotism and grief in "War and Peace," the reversals of which she describes as the Hemans "roller-coaster." Lootens contends that Hemans' transition from naïve patriotic verse signals "a kind of vital, fragmented, and self-subversive catalog of feminine patriotic subject positions" (241). My own view is that what Lootens calls "self-subversive" is in fact Hemans asserting the patriotic legitimacy of domestic protest.

[137] Hemans' brothers, George and Thomas Browne, were both veterans of the Peninsular War. See Wolfson, *Felicia Hemans* pp. 475-756 n. 2-3.

anonymous soldiers—turn the battle to a British victory (100-101). As was the case with Nelson, Moore sat out a significant portion of a signature victory due to a fatal injury. Like a glaring asterisk, the scene underscores the fact that Moore was sidelined and minimally involved.

Through this descriptive emphasis on the injured bodies of Wolfe, Nelson, and Moore, whether intentional or not, Hemans' poem stresses the literal detachment of command from the battle. The visual drama matters because the scene envisioned by Hemans' poem cuts against the prevailing messaging that the poem seems to promote. Yes, it is possible to read Corunna as a testament to Moore's leadership. But the poem also shows that the soldiers got on without him. Therefore, I want to be careful with appearances and propose that the effusion to Gen. Moore may be hyperbolic to the point of inviting suspicion.[138] If Hemans' poem undercuts the legacy of command, as I observed of "Benjamin the Waggonner" in the precious chapter, Hemans provides a place for the common soldier. "War and Peace" dramatizes the disconnect that mourners felt between two types of funerary outcomes: on the one hand, the grandiose statuary and state funerals afforded heroes; on the other, the empty urn and the mass grave afforded the rest. Thus, the "Cenotaph sublime" that the poem envisions for Moore matters precisely for its contrastive value. As an empty tomb, Moore's monument would elevate one soldier's name above the rest for posterity.

You won't find families of common soldiers in "War and Peace" aestheticizing an empty tomb with a view to inspiring patriotic feeling or sublime transcendence. An orphan maid weeps

[138] When we acknowledge that the imagined scene undercuts the rhapsodic text, one of the poem's structural oddities begins to make sense. The stanza transition from the Moore effusion to imagined scenes of post-war mourning has confounded scholars and is usually read as an abrupt shift in tone and message. Tricia Lootens, for example, supposed that Hemans meant her scenes of battlefield tourism as "a bridge…[chastening] England's victory celebrations" (240). While I agree with Lootens that the post-war scenes are chastening, they are not ideologically incompatible with the complexity of Moore effusion because the scene performs both heroism and inaction.

beside an empty tomb only to recognize that her prayers for her father's return were ineffectual (104). The contrast in form is purposely stark with emphasis on the private grief resulting from distant burial: "where, with pallid look and suppliant hands, / Near the cold urn th' imploring mother stands" (102). Unlike the public cenotaph, the empty urn isn't the outward face of post-war commemoration. Rather, it's the private record of how most dealt with remembrance and the costs of war. Whereas the United States began to systematically mark and manage the burials of war dead after the Civil War, the United Kingdom did not establish its war cemeteries and registration practices until World War I. Our understanding of commemoration after the Napoleonic Wars depends largely on permanent stone marking because other transitory memorials (like the urn in Hemans' poem) did not survive or went undocumented. Throughout her poetry, Hemans speaks to the appropriateness of open spaces as a memorial: the battlefield and the sea where marks are otherwise absent.

To the extent that mothers, widows, and "orphan-maids" can and did visit battlefields, Hemans represents the open field as a space for all. Repeatedly in "War and Peace," an allegorical Victory is pressed with prophetic visions of the aftermath of war:

> *Then* could thine eyes each drooping mourner see,
>
> Behold each hopeless anguish, caus'd by thee;
>
> Hear, for each measure, of the votive strain,
>
> The rending sigh that murmurs o'er the slain;
>
> See, for each banner fame and victory wave,
>
> Some sufferer bending o'er a soldier's grave; (105, emphasis in original)

Although it might be tempting to dismiss the frequency of "each" as a young poet overusing a word, the four successive emphases of "each" can also have the effect of insistence, underscoring a right afforded without exception. "Each" acknowledges that battlefields are consecrated to the

memory of the dead on all sides. But bluntly, post-war culture could be tone-deaf enough to need an over-encouragement of inclusivity. “Each” means opening memory to women like Hemans, who tended to be shut out from writing the culture of war on their own terms. If we step back think about the imperative to number the dead, “War and Peace” begins to sound less like the dutiful work of an unambiguously pro-war poet. It is strange that Hemans dodged the criticism that assailed Anna Barbauld’s *Eighteen Hundred and Eleven*.[139] “Each” speaks to individualizing forces that could resist the formation of a collective memory of war. In this regard, the vision of remembrance in the poem is almost scandalously tolerant. But this openness is a value that Hemans maintained even as the wars ended.

For the second edition of “The Restoration of the Works of Art to Italy: A Poem” (1816), Hemans expanded her popular poem, adding new stanzas to reinforce its exigency. Although the poem deals chiefly with the repatriation of Italian artwork seized by Napoleon during the war, its second edition features scenes of Waterloo tourism that revisit Hemans’ earlier “War and Peace” prophecy. The sequence of the new stanzas echoes the earlier poem’s tense midsection: a patriotic effusion about Wellington transitions to scenes of mourners. Because Wellington survived to live a long life, he escapes the elegiac treatment afforded Wolfe, Nelson, and Moore in “War and Peace.” However, Hemans’ inclusive language returns in full force with a new prophecy regarding the field of Waterloo in the ages to come:

> There shall the Bard in future ages tread,
>
> And bless each wreath that blossoms o’er the dead;
>
> Revere each tree, whose sheltering branches wave

[139] This disconnect between the criticism of Barbauld and the success Hemans has been attributed by Simon Bainbridge to Hemans’ relative youth and credibility as a soldier sibling. See *British Poetry and the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars*, 152-4. For an in-depth consideration of the two poets’ war writing, see Evan Gottlieb, “Fighting Words: Representing the Napoleonic Wars in the Poetry of Hemans and Barbauld.”

> O'er the low mounds, the altars of the brave;
>
> Pause o'er each Warrior's grass-grown bed, and hear
>
> In every breeze, some name to glory dear (l. 69-74)

Here again, the multiple instances of "each" encourage an egalitarian way of seeing Waterloo. Through the figure of the bard, Hemans' poem may cultivate a sort of folk resistance to the authority that military command exercised over the historical record. Instead of Wellington's dispatches or the columns of anonymous fatalities, the wind restores the names of the unrecorded dead. A history that catalogs the details of every death for posterity would be a major shift from the conventions of war memory in the nineteenth century. Instead of Walter Scott misidentifying Napoleon with his guide Jean Decoster, Hemans treats us with visions of an Ossianic public works project recording the names and place of the dead. With hindsight, her prophecy sounds analogous to the work undertaken by the Commonwealth War Graves Commission in the aftermath of World War I.[140] The botanical vitality of the site suggests ongoing maintenance as if the bard has become Waterloo's literal caretaker, sustaining the site as a place of burial.

Of course, the historical authority of the sightseeing bard gets undercut subtly by a late arrival at Waterloo and the unreality of an aeolian interlocutor. Her new stanzas about Waterloo dramatize anxieties about development near battlefields that remain to this day. In the immediate aftermath of battle, Hemans' poem enters into the debate posed by Byron: what becomes of Waterloo now and later? Should it be preserved? To what extent should it be restored in future? Who owns it and makes these decisions? Ultimately, none of these questions had easy answers. If Hemans was a Tory poet who fed pro-war nationalism, her prophetic vision of Waterloo actually has more in common with Byron's preference for a pre-battle naturalness than with

[140] An interest with recording the unrecorded dead is also coherent with the global graveyard of empire that Hemans maps through her oft-anthologized poem, "England's Dead."

Walter Scott's reenactment. Covered in soft grass and "sheltering branches," the field of Waterloo is in danger of losing all visible association with war. The prophetic bard seems more occupied by the natural scenery: the wind, the trees, and the blossoms. Although Hemans' bard may not be a military historian, it is true that the poem does nothing to discredit the unfocused relation to the past that underscores the bard's affinity with sightseeing. Nor does the poem do anything to discourage a view of Waterloo as a well-maintained bardic graveyard. Thus, public access to open spaces of remembrance is a constant—but speculative—outcome encouraged by Hemans war poetry.

To the limited extent that we can infer attitudes about a future movement from the poetry that precedes it, there's every reason to believe that Hemans and other sentimental accounts of mourning helped the public to see what it would mean to honor the sufferings of everyone. As in "War and Peace," the unmarked field remains the proper alternative to statuary: "What tho' to mark where sleeps heroic dust, / No sculptur'd trophy rise, or breathing bust, / Yours, on the scene where valour's race was run, / A prouder sepulcher—the field ye won!" (*Restoration* 1. 61-64). By eschewing busts and trophies, Hemans, like Byron, comes across as attuned to the inequalities perpetuated by monuments and skeptical of their ability to embody collective memory. Better then to let the open field alone so that the ownership entailed in "your" becomes common and protects the right of posterity to remember all manner of heroes, regardless of rank.

If a battlefield converts to a sacred place of burial, it becomes less of a space for commodification and individual profit. The relic hunt that attracted Scott gives way to a passing interest in Waterloo with varied touristic outcomes. For example, Hemans predicts a sort of genealogical sightseeing where a gravesite is one destination among many "spots":

> Thither unborn descendants of the slain,
>
> Shall throng, as pilgrims to some holy fane,

> While, as they trace each spot, whose records tell,
>
> Where their fathers, prevail'd and fell,
>
> Warm in their souls shall loftiest feelings glow,
>
> Claiming proud kindred with the dust below! (*Restoration* l. 77-82)

According to Hemans' prophecy, Waterloo will change to a repository of family identity. Like Hemans' later poem, "Graves of a Household" and Wordsworth's "We Are Seven," war graves generate a private history about ancestry and a sense of belonging to a familial narrative. It is significant, I think, that the "unborn descendants" are gender neutral because Hemans validates the right of women to access the "the ages of yore" otherwise denied in a poem like "Song" by M. Both young boys and girls earn equal access to the soul-elevating thrill of memory. Though it may not be surprising that Hemans encourages access that she would have wanted, her insistence on equal access for posterity was in itself transgressive. In a roundabout way, men and women share title to the land equally in both of her poems with rights to perpetual property access being theorized. That equality would not exist in any legal sense until a much later date.

Not only is Hemans boldly joining the prophetic tradition that essentially ended Anna Barbauld's career, her vision of land use falls more in line with Byron's highly political act of erasing Waterloo. But Byron's optimism and bold erasure get replaced with Hemans' collective sentiments of loss. Within Hemans' prophecy, historical consciousness is not about the individual Byronic tourist of the present. Instead, the "heritage" of Waterloo becomes about what is passed to future generations. While the pleasures of reenactment enjoyed by the "unborn descendants" above also sound like Walter Scott's battlefield simulation, Hemans assigns their "tracings" a secondary—if not childish—status. The "tracing" exists within the broader context of a sacred pilgrimage as one of but not the only practice uniting visits to "each" spot of family significance. Collective rights to the field itself are what pass to the future, the inheritance of the

"unborn." Despite the fact that Hemans may not yet have "sightseeing" available to her vocabulary, that is more or less what her prophecy encourages future generations to do, to visit the places preserved for posterity. This is not to deny that Hemans' prophecy gets balanced with convention and mediated through the ambiguous authority of the bard. Ultimately, it is Hemans' vision of what could be—an alternative to monumentality.

Encoded in Hemans' war prophecies is a clear-eyed acknowledgement of the contested nature of ground consecrated by war. Heritage is inherently political because it involves making decisions about the future use of property, about who can access it, and for what purposes. Waterloo could be a shrine to war, a field, or a graveyard. Ideological forces on the political right had a vested interest in keeping it a war shrine for as long as possible. But to remember "each" and not the one is to adopt a broader view of the wars' geography and temporal significance—to recognize that definitions of heritage change from one generation to the next. Monuments tend to foreclose on generational changes in heritage: to teach children to see the past as whole instead of fragmented and incomplete. I've been using Hemans prophecy to show that even in the early stages of peacetime, writers anticipated problems with monumentality. To show that Hemans' prophecy was right, that physical embodiments of heritage did in fact begin to move towards open space, I need to move slightly beyond the statuary campaigns of the 1840s to the years leading up to and including the Crimean War. Even into the 1850s, work was still being done on memorials like Nelson's Column.[141] Decades on, the state of war memorials was far from settled. It was more properly an interminably delayed construction site.

[141] The brass reliefs at the base of the column were not installed until 19 May 1854 (Mace 107). For the decades-long wrangling over the design and construction of the Nelson Column and Trafalgar Square see Mace pp. 56-109.

Consequential Ground: Remembering the Unknown Soldier in Dickens' *Bleak House*

Despite the post-war monuments there were places where memory was already failing—where veterans were being left behind—closer to Waterloo Bridge than Waterloo. Because so many characters in Charles Dickens' novel *Bleak House* (1852-3) have a stake in the judicial system, the novel is normally read as an elaborate satire of the Chancery courts. Although I grant that Victorian judicial reform is a central and persuasive context for the novel, *Bleak House* should also be read as a novel subtly (but thoroughly) about the fragmented memory of military service during the period leading up to the Crimean War. A large portion of the plot in *Bleak House* hangs on recovering the identity of Captain James Hawdon, aka "Nemo," the lost father of Esther Summerson. Dickens shows the darker legacy of the Napoleonic Wars, for Hawdon is a veteran turned addict. George Rouncewell, Captain Hawdon, and Matthew Bagnet exist on the periphery of the novel's world somewhere between respect and repulsion, between remembrance and selective amnesia. They are provisionally marked as heroes by their service and easily identifiable to civilians as military men. For example, George gets hailed by names designed to signify respect, such as "commander" (by Phil Squod) and "general" (by Ms. Flite). But those nicknames overstate George's rank and reinforce the public perception that only officers did deeds worth remembering. In short, no one really cares or knows enough of the late war to set the facts right. Excepting George's mother, Mrs. Rouncewell, older civilians in the novel put little effort into keeping the war's memory alive. For the children of the post-war era, war exists mostly in the imagination or outside the bounds of memory.

The novel's composite image of Captain Hawdon points to how ready the public was to move on from generational war. Although remembering war seems on surface a noble undertaking, *Bleak House* entertains the possibility that for some forgetting could be as desirable.

Dickens' representation of Captain Hawdon should be of more interest to scholarship on the culture of war in the long nineteenth century because it speaks to how the public wrestled with reminders of the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars such as the disabled, the unemployed, and the addicts. Veterans play an important (though often unacknowledged) role in "condition of England" novels of writers like Charles Dickens and Elizabeth Gaskell. Whereas the veterans in Gaskell's serial novels from *Household Words*, Captain Brown (*Cranford*) and Frederick Hale (*North and South*), are known for their humanitarian charity (Brown) and radical politics (Hale), Dickens' soldiers remain a bit of an enigma.[142] I propose that enigmatic status, at least in the case of Captain Hawdon, is what makes *Bleak House* an even-handed representation of the unsettled legacy of military service in the post-Waterloo era.

Hawdon's biography is one of the great puzzles in the plot of *Bleak House*. But Hawdon's past didn't have to be mysterious. Dickens populates the novel with characters who don't care to know Hawdon or his military service. It's a subtle but damning commentary on post-war memory. Yet it's also true that Hawdon sought to distance himself from the wars. By becoming "Nemo," literally "no one," Hawdon is consciously leaving his military identity ("Captain") behind. Although the novel is silent as to his motivations, Hawdon likely witnessed the deaths of soldiers under his command. Death was a fact of military life. Each mention of "Captain" underscores the nexus of deference and power over human life at the heart of the officer corps. Not every officer could look back with unchecked pride or certainty in the wisdom of their orders. In Dickens and in reality, segments of the population chose to move on, and that's in part why an absence of "Captain Hawdon" haunts *Bleak House*.

[142] On Frederick Hale's naval mutiny, see Michael D. Lewis' "Mutiny in the Public Sphere." For a survey of Dickens' soldiers see John Peck's *War, the Army, and Victorian Literature* (105-110).

Two significant witnesses (George Rouncewell and Jo) have stories about Hawdon. George could, in theory, speak authoritatively on his service in the army. No one asks. Jo's account of Hawdon's poverty never makes it into the record of the coroner's inquest. Even for a literate officer, the class of soldier more likely to be remembered, the past remains fragmented. It becomes easy for the public to forget when all that they understand is surface or left unsaid. The anecdotes about Hawdon cut across demographics in such a way that many characters have only scant knowledge of Hawdon. For example, Krook "knows next to nothing of his habits" and Snagsby, his employer, admits "that I no more know where he came from, than I know—" (152-155). In a sense, what is true of Hawdon is true of the memory of the Napoleonic Wars. Beyond edifying example of a few key heroes, the nuances of war faded from the broader public consciousness. That process of forgetting only intensified with time, and it is a thread running through the martial contexts of *Bleak House*.

The condition of the peacetime navy is downright bleak from the novel's opening page: "Fog lying out on the yards, and hovering in the rigging of great ships…Fog in the eyes and throats of ancient Greenwich pensioners, wheezing by the firesides of their wards" (11). For all the pride that naval power evoked in the Age of Sail, the "great ships" are most likely rendered inert by the fog in the harbor. From the perspective of nineteenth-century navigation, fog tended to keep ships in port: the danger of collisions or running aground seldom warranted the risk. If by "yard" Dickens meant "shipyard," the setting would be entirely in keeping with the realities of London's maritime footprint. Along the Thames, the "great ships" of the navy were more accurately anchored for repair or in the process of being broken down for scrap. However, the atmospherics are far more foreboding than say, Joseph Turner's painting representing that process, *The Fighting Temeraire* (1838). To the extent that we see sailors in opening scenes of

the novel, they are now chilled, sick, and elderly—by no means the image of Lord Nelson's battle-worn tars, ever-ready to do their duty. Dickens hits closer to the complicated reality and subtly debunks the nostalgic myth of military preparedness that would define naval heritage in the United Kingdom for generations.

The army fares little better in Dickens' London. George Rouncewell runs a shooting gallery but only narrowly avoids ruin; he depends on financial support from his fellow veteran, Matthew Bagnet. What little we know of Captain Hawdon suggests that he likely served to some extent during the Napoleonic Wars and perhaps beyond. In either case, his time in the military was by no means financially lucrative nor did it generate a sustainable pension. If, as is generally accepted, the novel is set sometime in the early 1830s, Captain Hawdon would have been an officer in his twenties during the final stages of the Napoleonic Wars where he served as a captain of the Dragoons alongside George Rouncewell.[143] After the war, Hawdon would have struggled to find work like so many of his peers. As a civilian, Captain Hawdon's income and labor were largely contingent on his speed as a law writer. He earned an income from copying barely sufficient to pay rent. Neither veteran is represented by Dickens as living well in peacetime. Captain Hawdon dies at age forty-five, alone and destitute, in a spartan room above Krook's rag and bottle shop after succumbing to an opium overdose. The life of a Dickens veteran is meager, dark, and allusive to private pains treated with drugs. To a great extent, the condition of England question at the heart of Dickens' writing on urban poverty is also the condition of his veterans. They meet the same end: a pauper's burial in a festering churchyard amid disinterred bones and scattering rats. The contrast with the prevailing statumania should be

[143] A.E. Sullivan proposes that Hawdon belonged to the King's Dragoon Guards, "the senior cavalry regiment after the Household Brigade, and one well befitting the lover of the dashing Lady Dedlock" (142).

obvious. There are no grand burials, no monuments, nor even the faintest public acknowledgements that Hawdon did anything in life that that mattered.

Like the Napoleonic Wars, Hawdon should be increasingly "past" if not forgotten. He leaves no memoir. No stone marks his grave. In life and in death, Hawdon is "Nemo." However, forces with personal agendas (especially the parallel investigations of Tulkinghorn and Guppy), insist on making his memory relevant. Their enquiries lead Lady Dedlock to enlist Jo the crossing-sweeper as her guide on what is quite plainly a sightseeing tour. Lady Dedlock's program for visiting St. Giles is entirely à la carte and contains stipulations not otherwise represented by pre-war tourism: "Listen and be silent. Don't talk to me, and stand farther from me! Can you shew me all those places that were spoken of in the account I read? The place he wrote for, the place he died at, the place where you were taken to, and the place where he was buried" (239). Although the use of Jo as a guide and the reliance on a newspaper report share some affinity with earlier modes of travel, this visit is neither picturesque nor is it a grand tour or antiquarianism. Lady Dedlock requests sites associated with a deceased loved one on the model of Hemans' prophecies of genealogical sightseeing. As in Hemans' "The Restoration of the Works of Art to Italy," the gravesite only represents a portion of the sightseeing tour. Places with biographical significance balance the finality of the grave. "The place he wrote for" (Snagsby's) and "the place he died at" (Krook's) provide Lady Dedlock a window on where her lover lived and worked after returning home. Because the tour begins with places associated with life instead of at the grave, Dickens creates the impression that Lady Dedlock's aim is to retrace if not virtually restore the past.

Such a simulation would theoretically resemble Walter Scott's emphasis on Napoleon at Waterloo. However, for Dickens, the tour does not affirm the conservative view of the land and

the past as private property. Jo's role as a guide goes beyond simple recall, for if one attends to the nuances of Jo's speech, he expands the definition of property. Snagsby's and Krook's belong not only to the landowners but also to the temp employee and the deceased tenant.[144] For Dickens, like many of his peers, history and private property remain contested. Jo's notion of property dramatizes this tension:

> "Krook's house. Jo stops again. A longer pause.
>
> 'Who lives here?'
>
> '*He* lived here,' Jo answers as before'" (240).

What the narrator marks as "Krook's" does not match Jo's past tense answer, "[Hawdon] lived here." By a conservative, legal definition of property as well as a literal response to the question, Jo's answer to Lady Dedlock should have been "Krook lives here." If Jo comprehended the ancient constitution, he would certainly not make the basic mistake promoting a nineteenth-century equivalent to "George Washington slept here," "Hawdon lived here." But the narrator has prepared readers for this supplanting of Krook by repeatedly stressing Jo's lack of literacy. In the same chapter, in fact, the narrator calls attention to Jo's ignorance of the legal frameworks underpinning English society: "Jo's ideas if a Criminal Trial, or a Judge, or a Bishop, or a Government, or that inestimable jewel to him (if only he knew it) the Constitution (237). Before a property trust was theorized in a legal sense, we might expect to see some notion of a changing attitude towards property. Select places or cultural artifacts should begin to be deemed "shared" or to have a common public interest that can be inherited by "the people." In a subtle way, I think Dickens, Hemans, and others are reflecting this developing heritage consciousness, which

[144] As Claire Wood has recently observed, Krook's shop remains heavily contested as a matter of property ownership. Although barely a shop, it numbers among several properties in the novel "marked by the presence of their former owners" (121).

isn't necessarily predicated only on national attachment. Their view of property observes the rights of mourners, local interests, and communities of dissent. Since these changes take time, Jo and Lady Dedlock pausing in a street does not actually upend Krook's title, but the incident is symptomatic of notions of "heritage" or inheritable pasts taking further hold.

Although Lady Dedlock represents a land-owning interest, the past becomes inaccessible without Jo, and together they briefly see Krook's not as a shop to be owned but as a destination for remembrance. The sight of Hawdon's room from the street produces a memory of common loss: for Lady Dedlock a loved one and for Jo the generous friend who "wos wery good to me" (165). I would not go as far as to say that Dickens' sense of property here is radically distinct from Hemans' prophecies of collective memory; both are essentially egalitarian in sentiment. But whereas Hemans envisions open access to the land for "each," Lady Dedlock's sightseeing remains privileged. Her money buys silence and detachment from her guide. Such a tour also has a limited impact; their route means nothing to anyone unfamiliar with Hawdon. One-time tours negotiated verbally are much harder to document at a macro level and refuse a consistent way of relating to place that might register more readily as an epochal shift in cultural practice.

Despite the moments of pause between Jo and Lady Dedlock, the connection that they feel to a shared past passes quickly. Part of that rupture comes down to Lady Dedlock's unchecked prejudices. But a less-observed tension between them results from the simple fact of their respective ages. Lady Dedlock's memories of Hawdon are of a time long before Jo's birth. Whereas she would have lived through the Napoleonic Wars, Jo is too young to remember. Thus, the pedagogical function of victory culture has failed to teach future generations like Jo to see the past as heroic. Because Jo can't read, the past that he remembers is one where England has moved on. He does not even know Hawdon as a veteran; he is just another Londoner, "the

man…him as wos dead" (239). If monuments were designed to teach future generations about how previous generations saw the recent past, victory culture appears to have failed Jo entirely. John Peck cites these shifts in value as an explanation for the dearth of soldiers in Dickens' novels, but he proposes that the prestige of the army was replaced by "new mechanisms of social control, in particular the police force" (106). On the other hand, Lady Dedlock is not so young as to have discarded earlier notions of military service. Many of Dickens' contemporary readers would have discovered Captain Hawdon's undignified end like Lady Dedlock, with shock and in view of statuary campaigns to embody a heritage of war.

Scholars have tended to view Dickens' representation of Hawdon's burial through the sanitary reform campaigns of the 1850s and not for any particular connection to post-war memory. Those readings are persuasive and borne out by Dickens' actions. Not only was Dickens acutely aware that London was running out of space for burial, there is ample reason to see the graveyard from *Bleak House* as a thinly-veiled exposé on a real place in London.[145] One plausible way to interpret what Lady Dedlock calls its "scene of horror" is to acknowledge the public health implications of mass burial. Rats scurrying in and out of decaying corpses adjacent to kitchen windows should cause anxieties over health and safety. But the melodramatic surface of Lady Dedlock's shock makes it easy to overlook the fact that the proximity of the dead to the living is not the only issue. Jo narrates in graphic detail how the corpse of Hawdon was abused: "They put him wery nigh the top. They was obliged to stamp upon it to git it in. I could unkiver it for you, with my broom, if the gate was open" (243). Regardless of where the burial takes place, stomping on a corpse would be as legible as sacrilegious and disrespectful to Victorian readers as it is today.

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[145] See Fielding and Brice for Dickens' memory of the London graveyard and an early account of his public health advocacy (125-129).

That Lady Dedlock does not actually care about the public health implications is borne out by her fixation on burial rites:

> "Is this place of abomination, consecrated ground?"
>
> "I don't know nothink of consequential ground," says Jo, still staring.
>
> "Is it blessed?"
>
> "WHICH?" says Jo, in the last degree amazed.
>
> "Is it blessed?"
>
> "I'm blest if I know," says Jo, staring more than ever; "but I shouldn't think it warn't. Blest?" repeats Jo, something troubled in his mind. "It an't done it much good if it is. Blest? I should think it was t'othered myself." (243)

Instead of asking, for example, how the place is maintained, Lady Dedlock's immediate response and her questioning has nothing to do with the living. Her attempts to get Jo to verify consecration point to her concern being chiefly for Hawdon's soul. Granted, in such a reading, Lady Dedlock comes across as characteristically short-sighted and oblivious to the conditions of the families living around the graveyard. But I think that for all of the unsanitary conditions behind the graveyard gate, what actually animates Lady Dedlock is fact that Hawdon's corpse has been desecrated and potentially damned or "t'othered" as Jo proposes. She draws attention to a visible failure of consecration despite the "Christian burial" that Hawdon received (165). Although graveyards are consecrated by the church, they're also "consecrated to the memory of" the dead. Here, Dickens' parody of "consecration" should remind that memorials of many forms are experienced as sacred, and to disturb the dead would be to profane the sacred.[146] Stamping on or uncovering a corpse with a broom is a transgression of what Durkheim called "prohibitions of

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[146] On the separation of the dead from the living and the sacredness of corpses, see Durkheim's "The Principal Modes of Ritual Conduct" in *The Elementary Forms of Religious Life*, pp. 306-313.

contact" with the sacred (306). But because "Nemo" was a veteran, Victorian readers might also register the broader cultural failure that the overcrowded cemetery represents: a failure to respect the war dead. As the narrator ruefully remarks of the cemetery, it is "a shameful testimony to future ages, how civilisation and barbarism walked this beautiful island together" (165). Put another way, the cemetery is heritage, a representative sample of the past conveyed to posterity. As the representative of that older generation, Lady Dedlock's expectation that England honors her veterans indefinitely is subverted to a great extent by the "shameful testimony" being prepared for the future.

Jo's role in this scene is to thoroughly debunk the coherence of victory culture. Throughout their exchange, Jo's body language, his stares and troubled demeanor bespeak confusion that could be read several ways. On one hand, his oft-observed lack of religion explains his pause; he does not understand the concept of consecration. But the humor of the scene also dramatizes a familiar Whiggish skepticism. He can't understand what all the fuss is about: who or what is it that differentiates sites and defines "consequential ground?" Jo's know-nothingness makes sense viewed across the generational divide because he lacks the context. To recognize that the land might be contested, he would have to be older or have been instructed in a way of seeing the past with reverence. From Jo's vantage point, the graveyard is "inconsequential," just a piece of "ground" devoid of historical significance. After attempting to understand the implications of the place being "blessed," Jo essentially gives up and points to the material reality of death in front of them: "It an't done it much good if it is." The dead are still dead. He's hesitant to go any further towards applying the labels offered by Lady Dedlock, and in so doing, Jo leaves the meaning of the place ambiguous. Instead of adding a tombstone or

erecting a monument, Dickens' novel acknowledges the futility of consecration. The unmarked graveyard is already a site of forgetting.

The Next War: Mary Seacole Goes to the Crimea

In the decades dividing the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars from the Crimean War, the late wars live on chiefly in the memories of its veterans. To the extent that the public continued to remember like Lady Dedlock, they could never overcome their relation to war as an unknowable past. The cultural mythology surrounding naval remembrance persisted despite changes in memorial tourism. Unlike Waterloo, which could be visited on a European holiday, Aboukir Bay, Cape St. Vincent, and Trafalgar remained mostly isolated from advocacy around inclusivity and access to memorials. As a result, it is unsurprising that naval culture would perpetuate the hero-worship characteristic of the early stages of victory culture. I'll return briefly to the case of the naval battlefield in order to show that the practice of "remembering" open water persisted but remained a source of confusion. Although the rhetoric around open spaces was largely successful in the late Victorian period, there was not a corresponding "open oceans" movement. Maritime heritage sites, underwater archaeology, and marine conservation are all contemporary concepts that don't really explain the practice of visiting the sea.

Over a half-century after the British navy's victory at the Battle of Cape St. Vincent, a multi-generational force of veterans and new soldiers set sail for Constantinople and the Crimea. Among their number were civilians, including the celebrated Jamaican "doctress," Mary Seacole. She would become a household name among the troops for her maternal care and the comforts wafting from the kitchen of her "British Hotel." After the war, Seacole published her autobiographical travelogue, *Wonderful Adventures of Mrs. Seacole in Many Lands* (1857), in which she chronicles her travels abroad in service of the army. Despite its many self-deprecating

ellipses, Seacole's autobiography is a tapestry of moments that employ humor for calculated rhetorical effect. Thus, what on surface appears comedic can mask her keen eye for British cultural idiosyncrasies.

One of these scenes takes place aboard the *Hollande*r in late-January of 1855. In the middle of the night, passengers are roused from their beds and summoned to regard the open ocean as the ship passes Cape St. Vincent. Off the coast of Portugal and presumably fumbling in darkness, Seacole underscores the strangeness of the request: "On the way, of course, I was called up from my berth at an unreasonable hour to gaze upon the Cape St. Vincent, and expected to feel duly impressed when the long bay where Trafalgar's fight was won came into view, with its white convent walls on the cliffs bathed in the early sunlight" (76). In the darkness, it is entirely unclear what Seacole is supposed to be "gazing upon." The incongruity of the request is reinforced by her irritation at the "unreasonableness" of the hour. Seacole's gaze sounds wry and ironic when one attends to the particulars of time that cut against the ritual. Over fifty years on, Cape St. Vincent is barely worth getting out of bed over. Hours later, Seacole anticipates a second call for Trafalgar. Although she may not make the seditious point outright, her humor encourages readers to pity the souls who travel toward Gibraltar on an English ship. They can expect a restless night of ritualized staring at water. "Of course," as Seacole observes, these absurdities are to be overlooked and internalized as part of the performative gaze.

That Seacole expects to be "duly impressed" would be easier to read as sincere if there was any indication that Cape St. Vincent evidenced its past through the darkness. Even by daylight, Seacole can't find anything of the past to note in view of "the long bay where Trafalgar's fight was won." Instead, her eyesight shifts from the water to the glare of the white walls atop the cliffs. Because Seacole emphasizes the sunlight and the early hour, the scene reads

more like the reaction of someone squinting to avoid strong sunlight. Rather than pondering a battle that happened in the year in which she was born, Seacole appears more properly to be looking for the source of the uncomfortable brightness. From the scene as described, there is little evidence that the naval battlefield serves any particular pedagogical function. For those who would go on to read Seacole's autobiography, Trafalgar and Cape St. Vincent, two of the navy's signature victories, scarcely sound worth visiting. Whatever collective memory the crew of the *Hollander* aimed to stir fails to transmit down the generations. If anything, future generations like Dickens' Jo and Mary Seacole are apt to be annoyed by the insistence that they see that which they cannot know.

Mary Seacole's reaction does not even mention the sainted names of Jervis and Nelson. At best, Seacole transforms Trafalgar back into a picturesque coastline. As a site of memory, Cape St. Vincent inspires bleary-eyed comedy rather than nostalgia. Even if one ignores the racial and colonial undertones of summoning a Jamaican woman to "remember" British naval power, it's hard to deny that a woman of color subverts the ritual of naval remembrance at multiple levels. Her confusion shows that heritage consciousness is by no means monolithic or legible to all British subjects as their common inheritance. Even in places where the messaging resists change, the experience of visiting the past varies. Perhaps those distinctions are easier to see through the eyes of women like Hemans or Seacole or with generational difference. But those voices of dissent never really disappeared.

Our Common Land

Through the generations beyond 1815, the earlier radical ideas about an inheritable past drifted from individual heroes and their monuments. In the opening pages of *St. Mark's Rest* (1877), a serialized Venetian guidebook, John Ruskin singles out two granite pillars at St.

Mark's Basilica and explains their importance through a critique of Nelson's Column (now completed): "I said they were set there in memory of things,—not the man who did the things. They are to Venice, in fact, what the Nelson Column would be to London, if, instead of a statue of Nelson and a coil of rope, on the top of it, we had put one of the four Evangelists, and a saint, for the praise of the Gospel and of Holiness:—trusting the memory of Nelson to our own souls" (2). With hindsight, Ruskin dismisses one of London's most prominent monuments as a missed opportunity. Rather than being a boon to the collective memory of London, as the columns "are to Venice," the potential of Nelson's Column is arrested by its design from what "would be." The failures of the monument are compound. Ruskin observes its encouragement of the secular in the statue's lack of recognizable "praise of the Gospel and of Holiness." There is also a failure to embody "things" or past deeds implied in the contrast of the Venetian columns, which emphasize deeds over "the man who did." In a roundabout way, Ruskin is drawing an international contrast in material heritage. What is characteristically wrong with London's monumentality in Ruskin's view is its heroic, individualizing character. For if the memory of a hero is more properly entrusted "to the soul" than to statuary, it need not be built or entrusted "to the eye." In a sense, the way to appease Ruskin is a negative action—don't do that. As has been the case throughout this chapter, things that don't happen (a lack of resistance) matter. What might otherwise seem like inaction actually contributes to the conditions under which "heritage" could become a coherent public interest.

The loose and counterfactual threads that I have been tracing build to a moment where Ruskin and like-minded reformers have, by the 1870s, internalized a sense that "heritage" is no longer about development and building but about preserving what is held common for the future. It is in the character of a Victorian social reformer, born in 1838 during the collapse of an

Owenite community, that many of these threads converge. Her grandfather, Dr. Thomas Southwood Smith, worked with Charles Dickens as an advocate for urban sanitary reform and became the model for the benevolent doctor, Allen Woodcourt of *Bleak House*.[147] Although Octavia Hill is known today as one of the founders of the National Trust, some of her earliest work was as the copyist and property manager for John Ruskin (Darley 89). Hill was raised in close contact with many of the progressive thinkers in Victorian London and supported by a family culture of cooperative labor. Thus, when early groups like the Kyrle Society and Commons Preservation Society began organizing something more like a preservation movement, many of their earliest projects tied to housing reforms with a view to securing access to gardens and open spaces for tenants and the poor.

With time, those grass roots efforts expanded from opening community resources to the general preservation of beauty and culture. As a result, Octavia and her sister Miranda (founder of the Kyrle Society) were increasingly able to mobilize an influential network of contacts to their cause, including William Morris (Darley 169). Taken together, their aim became to establish legal protections for natural places and sites of memory as inheritable cultural resources for the good of the people. In fact, the National Trust was established in the 1890s not as a mere repository for stately homes but as a collection of historical and natural places: "The National Trust for Places of Historic Interest and Natural Beauty" (Waterson 16).[148] It was a movement

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[147] For an account of James Mill's failed utopian community see Gillian Darley's biography of Octavia Hill (19-23). Dr. Southworth Smith's work on sanitary reform and his collaboration with Dickens follows in the same (Darley 27-31).

[148] The earliest name for the National Trust signals this identification of open space and sites of memory as a dual inheritance: "National Trust for Historic Sites and Natural Scenery." As Merlin Waterson observes, its stated mission was "to act as a Corporation for the holding of lands of natural beauty and sites and houses of historic interest to be preserved intact for the nation's use and enjoyment" (qtd. in Waterson 15). According to Robin Fedden, the National Trust was conceived with the broad aim of securing property for posterity, "gifts of land and buildings…in the public interest" (3). Therefore, their sense of what we today call "heritage" was broadly defined and promoted diverse efforts reserve property for the future. Open spaces, buildings, historic property were all an interest, and that diversity reflects the range of organizations that constituted its milieu. Unfortunately, many of the

that synthesized a range of "heritage" advocacy from the appeals to beauty and craftmanship of Morris, to the art and architectural writings of Ruskin, to societies encouraging the conversion of disused cemeteries into public parks.[149] All of these efforts, though, were made possible through intellectual history that I have been tracing. At the center of the movement towards charities like Historic England, Historic Scotland, and the National Trust was an absence of law. No English law held that cultural property, whether gifted, held in trust, or used by customary right, could be reserved for posterity.[150]

Initially, preservation societies targeted simple concessions like the establishment of parks or access to private gardens for workers and the urban poor. For example, they sought the basic cooperation of churches to allow gardening and grounds beautification projects, which would in turn benefit the public and attract parishioners. Cooperative projects of this kind took place across an extended network of local and regional societies with women doing the labor of securing and improving the land for public use. Societies also lobbied sympathetic MPs and

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earliest records of the National Trust that might shed light on their vision of "historic sites" were destroyed by fire (Fedden xi).

[149] John Gaze provides a concise overview of the influence of Ruskin and the organizational importance of Morris to the anti-restoration campaigns of the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings (31-32). See also Swenson pp. 78-95 for an account of the Victorian charitable societies that prefigure the pre-National Trust. The Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings (SPAB) resisted the restoration and rebuilding of churches and religious buildings on the grounds that those efforts were destructive of the material legacy of aesthetic history (Gaze 31). Although not directly complementary to the Commons Preservation Society (CPS), both CPS and SPAB were nodes in a web of organizations theorizing the value of preserving property for posterity. As Gaze observes, campaigns like CPS's work to secure Epping Forest "provided an immense advertisement and boost for the open space lobby" popularizing the cause of preservation while also yielding tangible results (27). These efforts were heavily supported through the volunteerism of women who constituted a significant portion of the membership in the Kyrle Society, a philanthropic group that promoted access for the poor to art and open space. For the Hill sisters' work on the conversion of disused cemeteries and the related advocacy of the Kyrle Society see Darley pp. 169-173. As Alexis Easley observes, their conversion of disused graveyards into new forms of heritage "reconceived the national landscape as a memorial to the dead, while at the same time serving as a depersonalized 'common ground' accessible to the general population" (189).

[150] Waterson provides an overview of the legal research conducted by Robert Hunter on behalf of Hill, which resulted in disappointment and the loss of Sayes Court as a potential trust acquisition (25-29). See also Gaze pp. 32-34 and Fedden pp. 3-6.

promoted a change to the Burial Acts, “which would allow the conversion of disused graveyards into small public gardens” (Darley 169). Through their early advocacy, groups like the Kyle Society demonstrated that heritage properties were sustainable thereby paving the way for a legal argument in favor of a body that could own and administer land in the public interest.

In the same year that Ruskin released his critique of Nelson’s Column, Octavia Hill published a collection of her writings in support of public land access entitled, *Our Common Land* (1877). In *Our Common Land*, Hill builds the justification for protecting common land in the vicinity of the towns. With canny reference to the writings of Liberal MP George Shaw Lefevre, an advocate for Commons Preservation, Hill observes that by customary rights, common land afforded for agricultural purposes should also be protected “for the sake of the health and enjoyment of the people” (Hill 11). In other words, the logic that reserved village greens would also secure commons for towns. It this within this existing framework of “custom” that Hill promoted ideas influenced by Ruskin and the cooperative movement. Rather than emphasizing the rights of individuals to private property, Hill speaks of the great many who are otherwise beset by a life of debt and renting in exchange for their labor: “Again, is the privilege of space, and light, and air, and beauty not to be considered for the small shop-keeper, for the hard-working clerk, who will probably never own a square yard of English land, but who cares to take his wife and children into the country for a fortnight in the summer?” (7). That Hill marks space, light, and air as a “privilege” of the few underscores an illogic enshrined in the law. Because light and air cannot be “property” in any legal sense, her argument infers that the private ownership of space runs contrary to nature. Instead of taking that inference to its conclusion, a radical inversion of the whole of property law, Hill proposes a more palatable concession, work with us to save what is already held common for children and for the future. Her argument

matters for its striking understanding that non-landowners have also rights within the lived environment that should be sustainable and healthy. Her argument reinforces an Owenite view of labor's environment as a space for improvement and cooperative ownership but applies that logic broadly to the nation as a whole.

According to Hill, the common land provides a way of understanding all manner of collectives, for it binds the past to the present, vests the public in the land, and generates "common memory":

> But it may be that in our common-land we are meant to learn an even deeper lesson:—something of the value of those possessions in which each of a large community has a distinct share, yet which each enjoys only by virtue of the share the many have in it; in which separate right is subordinated to the good of all; each tiny bit of which would have no value if the surface were divided amongst hundreds that use it, yet which when owned together and stretching away into the loveliest space of heather or forest becomes the common possession of the neighborhood, or even the County and Nation. It will give a sense of a common possession to succeeding generations. It will give a share in his country to be inherited by the poorest citizen. It will be a link between the many and through the ages, binding with holy happy recollections those who together have entered into the joys its beauty gives—men and women of different natures, different histories, and different anticipations—into one solemn joyful fellowship, which neither time nor outward change can destroy—as people are bound together by any common memory, or common cause, or common hope. (205-206)

The arguments that Hill makes in favor of preserving open spaces go far beyond supporting the health and welfare of workers to reconfiguring the land as heritage. Because that "common possession" gets used by the present but passes to "succeeding generations" (the future) through inheritance, Hill is theorizing open space as "heritage" without using the word. Instead of being the private property of a few, the countryside belongs to equally to "each" of the people. Her

insistence on "succeeding generations" mirrors Ruskin's earlier essay, "The Lamp of Memory," which articulates his notion that the earth is "a great entail" (Hill 206, Ruskin 171). For Ruskin and Hill, all is heritage, the collective inheritance of the future. The land and its resources are loaned for a term, to be returned in good condition, and conveyed to the future. Over a century removed from Ruskin and Hill, it may be hard to discern just how radical this proposed shift would be in an age where men still controlled the land and the vote. *Our Common Land* implicitly calls into question traditions of inheritance where access and ownership were denied to women. By asserting the rights of "succeeding generations" in a nonspecific way, Hill would open sites of memory equally and inch the United Kingdom towards legally-protected equality. In one sense, her proposal would have opened the graveyard gate shut before Lady Dedlock. But paradoxically, the preservation movement also failed to preserve its past.

Conclusion: Hunt-Peterloo and the Scrapyard of History

In October 1888, the conservative press in and around Manchester were positively giddy to report on the charitable work of the Manchester Open Spaces Committee and the establishment of a neighborhood playground. The contractor responsible for clearing the site made a modest 1£ profit on the 4£ sale of a pile of old stone debris to the approval of *The Blackburn Standard*. No one made much of a fuss about the disused graveyard until it was too late. As the editors of *The Blackburn Standard* reminded, the pile of rubble had lately been a monument to "Old Harry" Hunt the "ultra-Radical orator of sixty to seventy years ago" ("Editor's Jottings"). Gone too was the work of Feargus O'Connor, "who got hold of so much of the money of the Lancashire Radicals for his wild land scheme, and whose career was closed by his becoming insane."[151] Although the Hunt-Peterloo obelisk was by now less than fifty years

[151] *The Blackburn Standard*'s editors were quick to dismiss the "affectation of regret" assumed by *The Manchester Guardian*. In their 6 Oct 1888 editorial, *The Blackburn Standard* recounts the 1842 dedication with derisive relish.

since, the legacy of Chartism and radical memory in Manchester was being recast as an inducement to madness. For once, open space advocates had hatched a scheme which local Tories could support: disappearing Henry Hunt.

If the original aim of the Hunt-Peterloo obelisk was to perpetuate Hunt's memory and to instruct future generations, the Manchester newspapers testify broadly to the failures of that project. Had the obelisk succeeded, there would been little need to explain who Henry Hunt was, or to summarize Peterloo, or to quote from the dedication. However, some or all of those strategies appear in the local newspapers during October 1888. Not even stone could withstand apathy. Lessons that Thelwall anticipated at the outset of war are not all that distinct from what can be learned by the failures of Hunt-Peterloo. Those on the losing side of history are inherently at a disadvantage, and statuary itself is neither sustainable nor wholly representative as a way of explaining the past.

What then accounts for the comparative persistence of a victory culture? The conservative *Manchester Courier* offered some clues. In their estimation, the Hunt-Peterloo project was myopic and too fixated on construction: "no funds were left for its preservation, nor was anybody left in trust on behalf of the donors, and the work fell to pieces…now that the tumble-down memorial has been removed, a cry has been put up for its restoration. For years it has stood unheeded" ("It is satisfactory"). In short, the radicals should have known that you can't put up a memorial and expect it to take care of itself; any unmaintained structure will degrade eventually. Years before, John Ruskin had urged this very caution in *The Seven Lamps of Architecture*: "Take proper care of your monuments, and you will not need to restore them" (181).[152] The same can be said of memory and of ideology; a foundation alone may not be

[152] If as Manchester newspapers suggest, Thomas Coglan Horsfall was a major force behind the demolition of the monument, the links between Hunt-Peterloo and Ruskin are meaningful. Horsfall corresponded with Ruskin about

enough to sustain the message. Just as funds were not set aside for maintenance, so too were funds omitted that might promote interpretive programming or education. Ideology depends on activating the future, on teaching children ways of remembering, and on the long-term care noted by the *Manchester Courier*, "trust" and "heeding." No resources for Hunt-Peterloo were put towards the future generations who might sustain its counter-narrative. Without instruction and context, children were not apt to learn about "sterling patriotism" from the Hunt-Peterloo obelisk or to know automatically that the protestors from Peterloo were heroes.

That is not to suggest that Manchester's children forgot outright. In fact, one of the loudest voices in favor of restoring the Hunt-Peterloo obelisk claimed to have attended the 1842 ceremony as a child. He learned the radical heritage of Manchester from his family and their collective memories of Peterloo. As J.H. Crosfield explained to the sympathetic *Manchester Times*, the obelisk's destruction felt like a personal affront.[153] Something in the pomp and ceremony of 1842 impressed him with a reflexive respect for Hunt that was reinforced by generational storytelling:

> Family traditions in reference to Peterloo have often fallen upon my ears and stirred my heart. My earliest political recollection is of the great Chartist gathering in 1842…From then till now, passing [the monument] many times every year, I have felt an instinctive impulse to lift my hat in token of respect for a man to whom we owe largely our present liberties. ("The Henry Hunt Monument")

The ritualized hat-tip that Crosfield makes is "instinctive" not because the gesture is natural. Rather, the impulse towards respect stems from how he was taught to remember the past.

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the foundation of an art museum in Manchester, and Ruskin offered an introduction to Horsfall's book, *The Study of Beauty, and Art in Large Towns* (1883) ("Obituary: Mr. T.C. Horsfall").

[153] Upon revisiting the demolished site, Crosfield "[felt] hurt that such an abominable piece of vandalism should have been perpetrated" ("The Henry Hunt Monument").

Crosfield's passionate defense of Hunt and Peterloo is understandable if one recognizes that he's also vindicating a belief in his family. For the memory of Peterloo to become a Crosfield "family tradition," older generations had to tell stories to children. Storytelling not only connects the family unit, it also allows for the diffusion of an individual's memory. Children come to know the past through the eyes of age. With repetition, storytelling can even produce generational consensus—something like historical authority. Of course, story can have elements of truth, but it can be ideological, closely held, and imagined. For the moment in 1842, Hunt-Peterloo mattered to Manchester in ways that might not make sense at a national scale. The obelisk spoke to smaller bonds of family and local community.

Those collective identities remained strong enough that a group attempted to reestablish Hunt's monument in 1888. In response to Crosfield's invitation, an exploratory committee assembled October 17 and "[resolved] that immediate steps be taken to erect another memorial of Henry Hunt and Peterloo" ("The Henry Hunt Memorial"). Once again, the long-term goals of the remembrance devolved into a debate over form. As the *Manchester Times* reported, several projects were considered including restoration, new construction, and a modest scheme forwarded by the very man who advised the obelisk's demolition: "The cost of replacing the Hunt monument, Mr. T. C. Horsfall thought, would be sufficient to provide tablets to the memory of Hunt, DeQuincey, Dalton, Mrs. Gaskell, and others" ("The Henry Hunt Memorial").[154] Under Horsfall's scheme, additional figures from a dissenting, radical tradition would gain recognition, though far less conspicuous. On one hand, Hunt's memory would be

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[154] T.C. Horsfall here is likely the Manchester Justice of the Peace and disciple of John Ruskin, Thomas Coglan Horsfall (1841-1932). The additional figures slated for recognition are Thomas De Quincey, John Dalton, and Elizabeth Gaskell.

diluted, an idea which seemed acceptable enough to the conservative press.[155] On the other, the Horsfall plan proposed a more inclusive sample of memorials more in line with the spirit of the communal vault beneath the original obelisk. From the existing accounts of the meeting of October 17, it is unclear what reception Horsfall's idea received. But his proposal to mount tablets is yet another affirmation of a plan whose branches extend from John Thelwall and William Godwin to the blue plaques of English Heritage. Beyond passing reference to initial funds collected at the meeting, I have found no evidence that Hunt-Peterloo 2.0 ever moved beyond the speculative stage.[156] There is another time and place where the citizens of Manchester might have asserted that monuments were too important to not rebuild. But the Manchester of 1888 was no longer that time or place. To a great extent, generational change and distance from the past explain their decision to not rebuild, thereby producing a site of forgetting.

With the sale of Hunt-Peterloo for scrap, the continuity between Manchester's radical past and present was broken. The process of forgetting was both inadvertent and well-intentioned. One generation of reformers reclaimed a graveyard for a new use. Though still broadly in the cause of the people, the work of the Open Spaces Committee facilitated the erasure of its forebears. When foundations of the obelisk were dismantled and removed, Crosfield discovered Feargus O'Connor's time capsule in a state of total decay: "The foundation stone was discovered today, but the only contents of the cavity were a medal of white metal and a printed book almost in a state of pulp, which I take to be a collection of speeches or a biography of Henry Hunt" ("The Henry Hunt Monument"). Of the contents cited in 1842, no

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[155] The *Manchester Courier* on 19 October 1888 offered tepid approval of Horsfall's inclusive scheme for "memorials not only of Orator HUNT, but of DE QUINCY and Mrs. GASKELL, whose names are held in far deeper reverence and respect" ("It is satisfactory").

[156] See "The Henry Hunt Memorial" in the *Manchester Times* of 20 October 1888 for references to prospective donors and real contributions collected by Crosfield.

trace remained of the likeness or the written account of the Peterloo. Apart from a medal from the Manchester Political Union inscribed "Universal Suffrage, Vote by Ballot, Annual Parliaments," the time capsule retained no legible connection to Chartism or to Hunt. As scraps of pulp dropped from Crosfield's hand they returned to the earth. With little ceremony, Henry Hunt's fragmented words launched the graveyard's new beginning as a playground for the unconscious inheritors of his legacy.

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