

THE UNIVERSITY OF HULL

The Brontës and the Military

being a Thesis submitted for the Degree of
Doctor of Philosophy in the University of Hull

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BA (Hons), MA (Dist)

February, 2017

The Brontës and the Military

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Abbreviations

EEW (I, II, III): Edition of the Early Writings of Charlotte Brontë. Edited by Christine Alexander

WPB (I, II, III): The Works of Patrick Branwell Brontë. Edited by Victor Neufeldt

CBP: The Poems of Charlotte Brontë. Edited by Victor Neufeldt

Tales (2006): Tales of Angria. Edited by Heather Glen

Tales (2010): Tales of Glass Town, Angria, and Gondal. Edited by Christine Alexander

Blackwood's: Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine

EW: The Early Writings of Charlotte Brontë. By Christine Alexander

OCB: Oxford Companion to the Brontës. Edited by Margaret Smith and Christine Alexander

The Child Writer: The Child Writer from Austen to Woolf. Edited by Christine Alexander and Juliet McMaster

Life: The Life of Charlotte Brontë. By Elizabeth Gaskell

JE: Jane Eyre. By Charlotte Brontë. Edited by Smith, Margaret and Sally Shuttleworth. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

P: The Professor. By Charlotte Brontë. Edited by Smith, Margaret and Herbert Rosengarten. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

V: Villette. By Charlotte Brontë. Edited by Smith, Margaret. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Images

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Acknowledgements

This was a challenging research project and thanks are owed to numerous colleagues and friends who supported me in my endeavours. First and foremost, thanks are extended to the Arts and Humanities Research Council and the University of Hull who both believed in and supported my thesis.

Gratitude is given to the Brontë Parsonage Museum team and Brontë Society, who have been generous in their time and opportunities. A special thanks to Ann Dinsdale and Sarah Laycock, who have both helped me in my archival research and extended invaluable opportunities to communicate my research to the public. Thanks also to Juliet Barker for her help and guidance. A warm thank you is also given to a number of Brontë Society members: Patsy Stoneman, who has been a friend and mentor in my endeavours. Sarah Fermi, whose warm welcome into the world of Brontë Studies will not be forgotten, Steve Wood, whose research into soldiers living in Haworth helped shaped my research, and finally, to Bob Duckett, who generously shared his research with me into the Ponden Hall Catalogue before publication.

Thanks to The National Army Museum (Alastair Massie) and York Army Museum (Kate Compton), who awarded me numerous opportunities during the Waterloo bicentenary. Thanks also to the societies and institutions that have provided me with support and teaching along the way: thanks to the executive committee of BAVS, and the board members of the Juvenilia Press. Thanks to Tony Yablon, who donated his invaluable collection of Brontë books and ephemera to Chawton House Library. Thanks also to the staff at Chawton House Library, especially Gillian Dow and Darren Bevin, who awarded me the Tony Yablon Visiting Fellowship to work with this material and supported me in my research.

A huge thanks to Jessica Cox, Elizabeth Evenden, James Knowles, Maddie Wood and Nadine Muller. Each has been a fantastic mentor and friend throughout every step of my academic studies. Special thanks also to Tim Blythe and his family for their unwavering support. Thanks to my fellow Hull PhD students for their endless encouragement, and my friends and collaborators from other PhD departments who have helped co-write and co-organise multi-institutional events. Finally, thanks to my close friends and family for their belief in me; you know who you are.

Thanks are owed in plenty to my supervisors. Thanks to Peter Wilson for his encouragement and support. A special thanks to my principal supervisor Valerie Sanders: her trust in my abilities and dedication as a mentor has been unprecedented. Thanks to my examiners, Christine Alexander and Catherine Wynne, for a lively and enjoyable viva. The last round of thanks are owed to my partner, James Rogers, who has been exceptional in his support, care, and willingness to listen to me discuss my ideas late into the night: again, thank you.

Abstract

This thesis examines the presence of war and the military in Charlotte and Branwell Brontë's juvenilia. Their collaborative fantasy saga of Glass Town and Angria, written between 1829–1839, offers an insight into how the siblings understood and reimagined both Napoleonic and colonial warfare whilst growing up in early nineteenth-century Britain. Their writings shed new light on how canonical literature and the contemporary media had the potential to influence the public imagination. The saga is an exceptional case study of how young people interpreted war and militarism in a period little discussed by social and military historians. In short: this thesis argues that both Charlotte and Branwell are social war commentators and historians in the post-Napoleonic period. To begin, the thesis considers a number of canonical war writers who influenced the Brontë siblings before providing a detailed analysis of their engagement with and reworking of contemporary publications relating to the Napoleonic Wars, post-Napoleonic Britain and the First Anglo-Ashanti War. To conclude, the thesis discusses the legacy of the siblings' engagement with war in their later literature. Overall, this study offers an alternative youthful history of the post-Napoleonic social landscape that we can use to understand the everyday impact of war and conflict upon a nation.

Introduction

Part I: An Introduction to the Brontë Juvenilia

Introductory Statement:

This thesis examines the presence and significance of war and the military in Charlotte and Branwell Brontë's collaborative juvenilia (1829–1839). The thesis's main argument proposes that the siblings were playful, yet important and useful social commentators and historians of war in post-Napoleonic Britain. The following chapters demonstrate that both Charlotte and Branwell read widely and had a strong knowledge of formal and opinion-based war histories gained from canonical texts, biographies, newspapers and periodicals in the adult world. Using real-life sources, the siblings successfully absorbed wartime facts and feeling into their youthful writings, creating a fantastical alternative history of war that is playful, but also provides insight into the contemporary post-war feelings and opinions that were generated by the media of their day. As the study progresses, it will become clear that both siblings were well versed in multiple dimensions of war and conflict, ranging from the classical period to the post-Napoleonic moment. Although the structure of this thesis will be justified and elaborated upon, the main wars and conflicts it considers are the Napoleonic Wars (1803–15), the post-Napoleonic civil unrest in Britain, and the First Anglo–Ashanti War (1823–31). Together the siblings' military writings offer one socio-historical reading of war's impact on the social and artistic climate of Britain in the post-Waterloo years.

The siblings' juvenilia take the form of a collaborative fantasy world, first titled Glass Town (1829–34) and then evolving into Angria (1834–39). Over the course of approximately ten years, Charlotte, aged 13–23, and Branwell, aged 12–22, constructed

an elaborate encyclopedia of characters, places, and events, which are a complex conflation of real-life influence and imaginative play.¹ It is important to note that this was a private world, unintended for public consumption. Many manuscripts are written in miniature hand, skilfully crafted with quill and ink; some early Glass Town tales even take the form of miniature books, with the intention to be read by toy soldiers.² It is through this world, which acted as an outlet throughout the siblings' creative development, that formal histories could be imitated and reworked, and that feelings surrounding war could be explored to the furthest point of their imagination. War tests the limits of human character and forces a range of experiences and sensations, drawing out intense individual responses that are passed into social consciousness: the trauma documented in soldiers' memoirs enabled the Brontë family to vicariously experience suffering; descriptions of brutal warfare in colonised countries generated hate-filled militant rhetoric from the siblings, which was unleashed to full potential within their writings. The various strains and stresses that war places on the emotional self motivated Charlotte and Branwell's sustained interest and inspired them to imagine and grapple with images that push the boundaries of imaginative play, conjuring all manner of shocking imagery ranging from decapitated, steaming bodies, to dysfunctional, violent states of mentality.³ This thesis showcases a socio-historical commentary on war that is uninhibited and provides a vast spectrum of responses.

There are a number of terms that are used throughout the thesis that should be clarified. My argument suggests that, through their juvenilia, Charlotte and Branwell act as important social historians and commentators on war. Although, due to the fantastical

¹ Although it is beyond the scope of this study to compile a comprehensive guide to events, places and characters in Charlotte and Branwell's kingdom, Christine Alexander's detailed work on the juvenilia acts as a handy companion to the content discussed within this thesis. See Alexander and Margaret Smith's *Oxford Companion to the Brontës* (2012), the bibliography in Alexander's *Tales of Glass Town, Angria and Gondal* (2010), and Alexander's *The Early Writings of Charlotte Brontë* (1983).

² See page 17 of this thesis for the origins of the siblings' toy soldiers.

³ See 'Chapter Three: The Napoleonic Wars' for a detailed discussion of war trauma, and 'Chapter Four: Colonial Warfare' for extended analysis of how the siblings pushed the boundaries of imaginative play.

and creative elements of their writings, this thesis cannot claim that their interpretation of war represents a wider public response, their version of history is based on a vast range of source material: their version of history does contain important insight into how biographies, canonical texts, and the periodical press were representing war, and how this had the potential to influence public opinion. The choice to claim the siblings both as social historians and commentators reflects their importance as interpreters of the society around them: they provide a version of history that is sourced in social commentary. The *OED* defines a historian as ‘An expert in or student of history, especially that of a particular period, geographical region, or social phenomenon’. The *OED* defines a commentator as ‘A person who comments on events or on a text’.⁴ Building from these definitions, this thesis regards the Brontë siblings as ‘social historians’ and ‘social commentators’: they absorb the facts and feelings of the past and current social climate in Britain and rework these historical and contemporary attitudes and sentiments into their writings. These writings, in turn, offer an alternative history through which to read and understand the post-Napoleonic moment. Charlotte and Branwell’s acknowledgment and reworking of history, alongside their commentary on popular post-war publications of the present day provides an interesting, varied response to war in the late-Georgian period. The siblings interpreted written histories of warfare and reimagined them in a context of play that is both youthful, yet sophisticated. Therefore, although they did not witness war first-hand, their fantasy world acts as a template where fact and feeling combine to provide a refreshing socio-historical source through which scholars can understand the multidimensional attitudes to war that embedded themselves in the literature of the period.

Charlotte and Branwell’s multifaceted war writings are useful to scholars

⁴ The *OED* definition of historian is Available Online: <https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/historian>. In addition, the *OED* definition of commentator is Available Online: <https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/commentator>

working in a variety of disciplines. In literary studies, the siblings' choice of classic reading material gives scholars insight into what canonical literature – past and present - impacted popular discussions of and reflections on war. Equally the siblings' engagement with contemporary biographies and periodicals sheds light on how mass-produced literature of the post-war moment was consumed by the public and how this material had the potential to influence new histories and emotional responses to the military. The focus of this study is also useful to historians working on social, emotional, children's and cultural history, and the history of war. Although this Introduction's methodology section elaborates on the type of history represented by the siblings' writings, their authoritative knowledge of war, combined with their creativity, allows for an alternative history of post-Napoleonic Britain to be built that celebrates the marginalised voice of the child writer, and acts as a revelatory, lively version of historical events. This study offers a fluid mosaic of thoughts and opinions on war that dominated the early nineteenth-century peacetime, ranging from Tory feature writers to soldiers' memoirs. As well as acting as a scrapbook of present-day opinions regarding the Napoleonic and First Anglo-Ashanti wars, through the siblings' own interpretation of sources the emotion of post-war Britain is brought to the fore: relationships, battles and the social landscape of their fantasy world are based on fact, yet elaborated upon with an extortionate amount of poetic licence. It is through this extension of feeling that scholars can observe what aspects of post-war sentiment the public potentially absorbed after being courted by the media. The Brontës' role as social commentators and historians of war, therefore, is a useful contribution to numerous disciplines and paves the way for future interdisciplinary research focusing on early nineteenth-century post-war Britain.

The History of Charlotte and Branwell's Juvenilia and its Revival in Recent Scholarship:

Despite increasing critical interest in the Brontë juvenilia throughout the twentieth century, it is only in recent years that they have been given significant scholarly attention. Much is owed to Christine Alexander, who has dedicated a large portion of her scholarly career to gathering, transcribing and critically editing Charlotte Brontë's early writings. Her *An Edition of the Early Writings of Charlotte Brontë Volume I* (1987), *Volume II (Parts I and II)* (1991), and soon to be *Volume III*, have opened up avenues of research in Brontë Studies that were previously impenetrable. Others have also added their own critical voices to the publication of Charlotte Brontë's juvenilia. Notably, Winifred Gérin's *Five Novelettes* (1971) and Heather Glen's *Tales from Angria* (2006) are other landmark scholarly editions, and Frances Beer and Juliet Barker have likewise produced their own select volumes.⁵ For Charlotte's youthful poetry, Victor Neufeldt's *The Poems of Charlotte Brontë* (1985) has been indispensable to this study; his edition publishes standalone poems not featured within Charlotte's tales. Neufeldt has also transcribed Branwell's writings, opting for a diplomatic transcription rather than an edited text. His *The Works of Patrick Branwell Brontë Volumes I, II and III* (1997–99) and *The Poems of Patrick Branwell Brontë* (1990) act as strong but challenging introductions to Branwell's writings. Although more work needs to be undertaken to make these writings easily accessible, they are annotated with critical material and act as an honest representation of Branwell's hand. In addition, the transcriptions accurately convey Branwell's writing patterns and stream-of-consciousness prose, which works particularly well for his epic battle scenes. The reader should be aware that, although it is customary to provide the symbol [sic] in front

⁵ See Frances Beer's *The Juvenilia of Jane Austen and Charlotte Brontë* (1986) and Juliet Barker's *Juvenilia 1829–1835* (1997). Note that full publication details for materials mentioned in footnotes can be found in the bibliography of this thesis.

of words that have been reproduced exactly as transcribed in the source text, it is not convenient for the mass reproduction of Branwell's quotations within this study. Therefore, a disclaimer is put in place that Branwell's work must be read as true to its origins: the transcriptions of his writings have been thoroughly checked with both Neufeldt's and Branwell's original manuscripts. A few of Branwell's tales and poems have been critically edited by Alexander, appearing in her edited edition, *Tales from Glass Town, Angria and Gondal* (2010), which also contains some of Charlotte's substantial novellas and poems by Emily and Anne. Finally, Alexander's and Juliet McMaster's publishing house, The Juvenilia Press, has offered the opportunity for scholars across the globe to publish select critical editions of Branwell's early stories, which have been useful to this study.⁶ Primarily, however, it is by combining both Alexander's and Neufeldt's extensive scholarships that this thesis could fluidly cross-reference authors and provide detailed analysis.

The juvenilia of the Brontës have been a source of fascination for readers and scholars across the past century. Regularly, however, they have not received much scholarly attention and have, on numerous occasions, been misread and misunderstood. Lucasta Miller's *The Brontë Myth* (2001) accurately traces misrepresentations of the Brontë family through numerous posthumous biographies. In a bid to come to terms with the idea of multiple female geniuses, critics and biographers frequently present their lives as problematic. Miller calls for readers and scholars to 'turn the tables and put the writings first' (Miller 2001: 255), noting that the 'process of transfiguration [of their art] would often be ignored in favour of a gossipy desire to know and possess the background truth' (255). Although Miller is primarily referring to the myths

⁶ The Juvenilia Press offers the opportunity for collaborative editing and teaching between established scholars and students. The aim of the press is to draw attention to early titles written by famous writers before they released their seminal works. The stories offer glimpses of each writer's creative development. Alexander has collaborated on a number of Brontë juvenilia titles, including *Branwell's Blackwood's Magazine* (2006) and four volumes of *Tales of the Islanders* (2001–2004). In addition, Juliet McMaster and others have collaborated on an edited volume of Charlotte's *Albion and Marina* (1999) and *My Angria and the Angrians* (2015). Finally, William Baker and others have edited Branwell's *The History of the Young Men* (2010).

surrounding the identity, personalities and talent of the adult Brontë sisters, it can easily be applied to the study of the juvenilia and their childhood more generally.⁷

The Brontës' childhood has been mythologised and misexplained since Elizabeth Gaskell released her definitive *The Life of Charlotte Brontë* in 1857. As well as describing the children as 'delicate and sickly' (*Life* 2009: 60), she often presents them as living a lonely, unfulfilled life without paternal affection: 'they took their meals alone; sat reading or whispering low, in the 'children's study,' or wandered out on the hill-side, hand in hand' (43). This mellowed, pensive representation of their childhood continued into the late-nineteenth century. Running parallel with Gaskell's commentary, knowledge of their intellectual freedom and early collective genius turned sympathetic reactions to confusion and, in some cases, disgust. Gaskell herself wrote to Charlotte's publisher, George Smith, of the juvenilia's wildness and incoherence; how they contained 'creative power carried to the verge of insanity' (Alexander 2010: xiii). The following opinion, anonymously contributed to Boston's *The Ladies' Repository* in 1881 shows that the siblings' unusual childhood was a global source of interest:

A diseased activity of the brain was manifested in these preternaturally-developed children [...] there was no tampering with their intellect that was left to develop as it might, under nature's influences. Feeble health made them precocious; each child was a phenomenon. They had no notion of play; they never made a noise; their amusements were intellectual speculation; their interests those of the great outer world, wars and politics, warriors and statesmen. It was an education, so to call it, fatal to that just balance of powers which constitutes happiness, and dangerous to principle; but considering their peculiar organization, fostering the intellect. Nourishing food, tender maternal watchfulness, the attentions and cares of the nursery, plenty of playthings, and the little lessons set as a task each day, would have made happier and better women; they could afterward have taken their place in life without shyness or reserve; and the brother might have grown into a man, not sunk, after a boyhood of extraordinary promise, into a brute (Anon 1881: 66).

⁷ Although the juvenilia are mentioned on page 4 of Miller's critical study, it is not the focus of her text.

Opinions such as these, if softened somewhat over the following decades, built firm foundations for the juvenilia's dismissal. Fannie Ratchford's pioneering works on the Brontë juvenilia – *Legends of Angria* (1933) and *The Brontës' Web of Childhood* (1941) – were, for many years, the definitive studies of the siblings' early writings. Many of the manuscripts, however, were yet to be found, properly catalogued, or fully critiqued. Although Ratchford awards the juvenilia merit and worth, her description of the writings as a 'druglike Brontë dream' (Ratchford 1941: 5), alongside her limited analysis and unsystematic attempt to piece together a story devised partially from speculation, evidences that there was still a long way to go in decoding the juvenilia.⁸ As far forward as 1973, the juvenilia still mystified and baffled critics. Many scholars were still unwilling to engage with its content, dismissing its standalone value and presenting it as a formative apprenticeship for the Brontës' later writing genius. In *The Brontës: The Formative Years* (1973), Winifred Gérin ruled, 'none of the early Brontë literature is worth publishing for its merits and it is readable only to those who are keenly interested in the authors' characters and development' (Gérin 1973: 92). It was only in 1983 that Christine Alexander's definitive guide to Charlotte Brontë's juvenilia, *The Early Writings of Charlotte Brontë*, was published, after Alexander herself had recovered many missing juvenilia manuscripts. It is hereon that scholars and enthusiasts had an accessible introduction around which to build further research. Moreover, for the first time, the collaborative decade-long relationship between Charlotte and Branwell was awarded critical attention. Alexander acknowledges, 'Charlotte's writing was particularly influenced by his ideas and stories: brother and sister were partners' (Alexander 1983: 6). It is further argued, however, that he had a negative, oppressive impact on their saga as a whole.

⁸ Ratchford also made a similar attempt to piece together the mystery of Emily and Anne's Gondal by constructing prose around their surviving poetry. This, again, is problematic but demonstrates an early recognition of the importance of the juvenilia. See Fannie Ratchford's *Gondal's Queen* (1955).

It is only in recent years that research has begun to stress the importance of Charlotte and Branwell's collaborative relationship, giving them equal merit. As well as Alexander's and Neufeldt's critical editions complementing one another by acknowledging the siblings' joint narrative framework, there is more to be said about recent scholarship on the juvenilia. In addition to just released and upcoming editions – Alexander is yet to publish her last instalment of *An Edition of the Early Writings of Charlotte Brontë Volume III* (forthcoming, 2018) and more manuscripts are still being found –⁹ recent criticism is being voiced in journal articles, edited collections and companions.¹⁰ Those of exceptional usefulness and acclaim have been Christine Alexander and Margaret Smith's *The Oxford Companion to the Brontës* (2006), which acts as a comprehensive A–Z dictionary of the Brontës' lives and writings, and Christine Alexander and Juliet McMaster's *The Child Writer from Austen to Woolf* (2005), which sees Alexander and Neufeldt's tireless work on the juvenilia united for the first time alongside essays considering other famous authors' childhood writings.

In recent years, criticism has specifically focussed on the role of masculinity within the Brontës' early writings. Christine Alexander has published on 'Charlotte Brontë, Autobiography, and the Image of the Hero' in *Brontë Studies* (2011), and Judith Pike has written on masculine identity and race in *Victorian Literature and Culture* (2013), while Sara Lodge opens Phillip Mallett's edited collection, *The Victorian Novel and Masculinity* (2015), with an essay on masculinity, power and play within the juvenilia. I have published an article on Charlotte and Branwell's masculine figureheads and war in *Victorian Periodicals Review* (2015), and Erin Nyborg has just completed the first full-length study of representations of masculinity from the Brontë juvenilia to

⁹ For example, another youthful story and poem written by Charlotte was found in November 2015 and reported in *The Guardian* (Flood 2015).

¹⁰ Although it is not this study's intention to provide a complete list of publications on the juvenilia, those that have been of particular interest to this study include: *The Art of the Brontës* (1995) edited by Alexander and Jane Sellars, *The Cambridge Companion to the Brontës* (2002) edited by Heather Glen, *A Brontë Encyclopedia* (2007) edited by Robert and Louise Barnard, and *A Companion to the Brontës* (2016) edited by Diane Hoeveler and Deborah Morse.

the later works for her PhD thesis at the University of Oxford (2016). In early 2017, the first edited collection solely dedicated to the Brontë juvenilia was published, titled *Charlotte Brontë from the Beginnings*. In this collection, masculinity remains a focal point with myself, Valerie Sanders, Deborah Morse and Erin Nyborg choosing it as a theme. The conflation of war and masculinity in this thesis is, therefore, truly of the Brontë scholarly moment. Bearing these publications in mind, alongside the numerous other recent contributions listed within the footnotes and bibliography of this thesis, it is clear that the juvenilia is entering into a celebratory period, being used for new avenues of discussion whilst being enjoyed for its own merit. Despite this, as the next section addresses, there is more to be done.

The Brontë Juvenilia: A Call for Different Perceptions and Directions:

Thus far, most publications on the Brontë juvenilia offer detailed and multi-layered introductions to this dense body of work. Those essays and articles that dig deeper rarely have a chance to scratch the surface of critical analysis after offering a prolonged introduction. This thesis, on the Brontë juvenilia and war, will be the first full-length study of the juvenilia alongside a prominent theme embedded within the early writings. There are still large gaps in scholarship that need to be addressed, such as politics, the role of women, nature, genre – especially the rise of the silver fork novel – magic and the supernatural, and numerous relationships, both functional and dysfunctional. Although a number of these themes have been touched upon in smaller articles and in public talks,¹¹ scholarship must now take the next step: the baseline has been extensively and carefully formed, now dedicated scholars must build from it, rather than

¹¹ Over the bicentenary year of Charlotte Brontë's birth, there have been talks that have alluded to the juvenilia's broader significance. At the bicentenary conference for Charlotte Brontë, hosted at Chawton House Library in May 2016, Judith Pike focused on Charlotte's 'The Secret' (1833) and its relationship to the silver fork novel. In addition, Juliet Barker's keynote address talked of the juvenilia in relation to contemporary politics.

repeat and rework content. Moreover, in the first concluding section of this thesis, I give examples of how war and conflict in the juvenilia filter into the Brontës' later works. By acknowledging that the juvenilia are instrumental in shaping the sisters' later works, scholars have the opportunity to explore new lines of enquiry and expand the remit of the field.

In the previous section, I advocated the same standardisation of Branwell's complete writings that Charlotte has received in recent years. It is also imperative that Charlotte and Branwell's collaborative relationship must be brought to the fore. As will be explained in this Introduction, much of the siblings' writings were built on reaction and response: the jigsaw pieces of the saga are not complete unless both sets of writings sit side-by-side, allowing fluid interaction. This thesis attempts to rectify this imbalance, treating both writers with equal weight and merit in their engagement with and reanimation of war. Crucially, before this equal weight can be applied, Branwell must be acknowledged as a talented author in his own right. With the bicentenary of his birth occurring in 2017, more scholarship must focus on his artistic output, rather than his life. Biographies of Branwell, such as Daphne du Maurier's *The Infernal World of Branwell Brontë* (1960),¹² contribute to his legacy as a scandalous failure of the family and disregard his influential role within the creative Brontë unit.¹³ Although, unlike his sisters, he did not achieve widespread success as a writer, Branwell's early writings contain the same imaginative flair as demonstrated by his siblings, as this study will repeatedly demonstrate.

In Branwell's bicentenary year (2017), there is likely to be a resurgence in

¹² Other titles include Alice Law's *Patrick Branwell Brontë* (1923) and Winifred Gérin's *Branwell Brontë* (1961). There have also been a number of novels that have been influenced by and have, in turn, influenced the Branwell myth, such as Robert Edric's *Sanctuary* (2014).

¹³ It is, of course, true that Branwell suffered from addiction, had numerous problems with employment and relationships, and inflicted his behaviour on his family, which is often referred to in surviving correspondence. Letters between Branwell and Joseph Bentley Leyland, a sculptor and aspiring poet, are particularly interesting. Dated between 1842 and 1848 their correspondence tracks Branwell's difficult final years; his final letters focus on his deteriorating physical and mental health. The complete letters are found within the Brotherton Library at the University of Leeds.

scholarship surrounding his writings. Thus far, there have been a handful of essays dedicated to Branwell's extensive writing career. Victor Neufeldt's essay on his juvenilia is a useful introduction to his and Charlotte's collaborative play, emphasising his varied skills at imitating and emulating all manners of literature, ranging from poetry to political commentary.¹⁴ Furthermore, Joetta Harty has published on piracy in Branwell's juvenilia in *Pirates and Mutineers of the Nineteenth Century* (2011). Her essay refers to when his pseudonym, Rogue, turns to a temporary career in pirating whilst grieving for the loss of his second wife, Maria Henrietta Wharton. Harty argues that in this brief spate of writings, Branwell successfully opens up a 'space for interrogating free trade economics, the political institution of the monarchy and, through them, cultural imperialism' (Harty 2011: 58). This, in itself, marks only a brief period where Branwell's creativity – alongside his sisters' – can be used to analyse and critique nineteenth-century society. Finally, other attention given to Branwell resides in Companions. As well as *OCB* and *The Brontë Encyclopedia* (2007) offering useful introductions to Branwell's stories and characters, Julie Donovan's recent chapter on 'The Poetry and Verse Drama of Branwell Brontë' in Hoeveler and Morse's *A Companion to the Brontës* (2016) celebrates his work and addresses head-on the problems in dubious biographical readings:

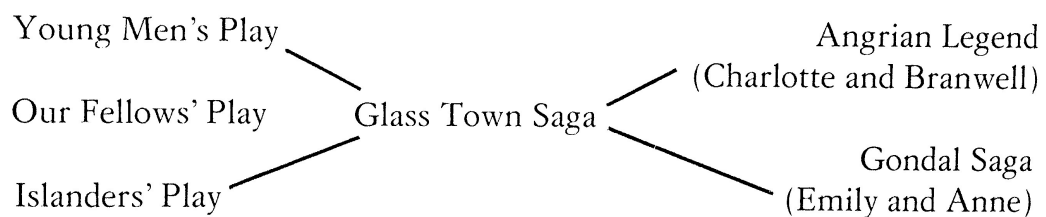
The task [of writing about his work] is not made easier by narratives of Branwell's life portraying him as an indulged, feckless character – a failed artist who succumbed to alcohol and opium and tormented his family while orchestrating his own pathetic downfall [...] (Donovan 2016: 213).

Donovan goes on to say that her work 'seeks to avoid engulfing Branwell in the story of his sisters and his own personal tragedy' (213). This thesis follows this line of thought,

¹⁴ See Neufeldt's 'The child is parent to the author: Branwell Brontë' in *The Child Writer* (2005), pp. 173–187.

but attempts equality rather than separation. Although it is challenging and problematic to read famous authors' lives into the literature they produce, Branwell's relationship with Charlotte was integral to influencing events that happen within the juvenilia. Emotions stirred between brother and sister, whether it is rivalry, play, sadness or anger, kept propelling the juvenilia through their various emotional and evolutionary stages. In the current scholarly moment, Branwell is still on the fringes of recognition and research: this thesis promotes Branwell's importance in the collaborative family unit, arguing for literary equality alongside his sisters. From this extended study, it is my hope that others will continue to promote this same idea.

Authorship: Emily and Anne:



Evolutionary Chart of the Brontë Juvenilia. Reproduced (EW 1983: 2).

The Brontës' early writings remain a complex and uncertain area of scholarship. The majority of manuscripts were written skilfully and deliberately in miniature hand, almost illegible to the naked eye.¹⁵ Therefore, as well as having the freedom to discuss explicit, problematic content in an uncensored literary space, a majority of the writing's evolution is organic and not signposted as there was no intention to invite in a third-party reader. As reproduced above, Christine Alexander's chart demonstrates the evolutionary strands of the juvenilia and goes some way to explain why confusion

¹⁵ For more information on the Brontës' 'tiny books' from a cultural materialist perspective, see the first chapter of Deborah Lutz's *The Brontë Cabinet: Three Lives in Nine Objects* (2015).

exists between who wrote what and when parts were written. It is still unknown how many undiscovered fragments of juvenilia exist and how much content has been destroyed, either by the Brontës themselves or posthumously. For Glass Town and Angria, the focal worlds of this study, a Glass Town manuscript, written by Charlotte, featuring embezzling and flogging, has been recently discovered.¹⁶ Although it is likely that the saga is fairly complete, the extensive nature of the Brontë universe leaves extra stories and layers of detail open to discovery and interpretation.

As the chart demonstrates, Emily and Anne were involved in the Plays and Glass Town writings (1829-32). The early Brontë sibling unit – Charlotte, Branwell, Emily and Anne – acted as a form of collaborative, playful ‘think tank’. It is well known that the Reverend Patrick Brontë gave Branwell a set of toy soldiers in 1826, and each of the four siblings picked one, named him, and used him for their creative collaborative stories. Emily and Anne’s soldiers – Parry and Ross – make appearances in the early stories but have less involvement as the saga goes on.¹⁷ Despite Emily and Anne’s evident presence within these early stories, no manuscript is written in their hand. Emily and Anne’s verbal, marginal role in the Glass Town saga is potentially why, in 1832, the two younger siblings made a decisive move away from Glass Town and formed their own kingdom, Gondal.¹⁸

The existence of Gondal is more complicated. Unlike Angria, no prose survives of Emily and Anne’s divergent universe.¹⁹ All that remains are fragments of poetry

¹⁶ See footnote 5.

¹⁷ See, for example, the initial stories of the Twelves, *Two Romantic Tales* (1829) and *A History of the Young Men* (1829) by Charlotte and Branwell respectively, and Charlotte’s *A Day at Parry’s Palace* (1830). Equally, in the early tales, all four siblings take on a godlike role as Genii. From 1831, however the Genii are removed from the forefront of the saga and only referred to in relation to Glass Town’s history.

¹⁸ As stated by Winifred Gérin, despite sharing the same name as a city in the Rajkot district of the Indian state of Gujarat there are no direct links between this real-life city and Emily and Anne’s imaginary world (Gérin 1973: 32).

¹⁹ Numerous scholars have speculated that Charlotte may have destroyed the Gondal legacy. As Miller notes, ‘it seems likely that she would have done this in the autumn of 1850 when she was sorting through her sisters’ papers. In the brief memoir Charlotte wrote as a preface to those of Emily’s previously unpublished poems which she included in the 1850 volume, she remarked that: ‘It would not have been difficult to compile a volume out of the papers left by my sisters, had I, making the selection, dismissed from my consideration the scruples and the wishes of those whose written thoughts these papers held. But this was impossible: an influence, stronger than could be exercised by any

written by the sisters. From what survives it is clear that Gondal, like Glass Town and Angria, was a fully formed saga. Set in a wild Yorkshire landscape, the poetry that survives contains imagery of rival families, civil conflict, grand palaces, dark dungeons, and strong female protagonists.

Although attempts have been made to piece together their kingdom, much of its context and narrative is open to interpretation and speculation. This is the very reason why Gondal is not analysed within this thesis. This is not to diminish its significance in the wider picture of the juvenilia, but its remaining material did not allow for the same detailed contextual analysis as Glass Town and Angria offered.²⁰ Focusing exclusively on Charlotte and Branwell's war writings allowed the thesis to remain focussed without superficial, thin analysis of the Gondal saga. Importantly, it also allowed the study to critically engage with previously overlooked material, bringing Branwell's writings to the fore alongside Charlotte's. In the field of Brontë Studies it would, however, be beneficial for scholars to investigate the full extent of how contemporary warfare influenced Emily and Anne's militant and mutinous verse, and how this impacted on their later published works.²¹ Growing up under the same roof, it is clear that the younger siblings were exposed to the same canonical and periodical-based military material as Charlotte and Branwell. It is also clear that civil war retained a powerful hold on Emily's imagination: her last poem written before her death, 'why ask to know the date - the clime?' (1847) is a Gondal civil war poem. It is my hope that this thesis'

motive of expediency, necessarily regulated the selection. I have, then, culled from the mass only a little poem here and there.' Although the 'mass' of material she mentions might refer exclusively to poetry – Charlotte printed only seventeen of Emily's poems in 1850 – the 'papers' to which she refers could also have included other manuscripts, now lost or destroyed, including the Gondal prose' (Miller 2002: 183).

²⁰ Despite its absence from primary discussions within this thesis, fleeting references to Gondal will be made where appropriate or to add further context.

²¹ John Bowen, amongst others, has argued that the Gondal poems fed into Emily's *Wuthering Heights* (1847) as both are 'drawn to emotional extremity and passion, to scenes of loss and oblivion, and to the affirmation of desire in the face of death' (Bowen 2014). In regard to Anne, Enid Duthie has argued that *The Tenant of Wildfell Hall*'s (1848) 'unenthusiastic treatment of the moorland setting' is understandable when placed within the wider context of Gondal (Duthie 1986: 105). In her thesis on 'The Brontës and Masculinity', Erin Nyborg has also provided a detailed discussion of how Emily and Anne discuss masculine tensions through the vehicle of war poetry (Nyborg 2016: 89). Finally, Edward Chitham links Emily and Anne's preoccupation with civil war to Ireland's civil unrest (Chitham 2016: 413).

critical analysis of Charlotte and Branwell's war writings will help inspire future research on the possible links between Emily and Anne's construction of military histories in the Gondal saga. Emily and Anne's writings, however, will not be further explored hereon.

Navigating Charlotte and Branwell's Juvenilia:

The Brontë juvenilia are notoriously difficult to navigate. Repeatedly, Charlotte and Branwell erratically change everything from characters' names to plot directions with little or no signposting. This section recognises the problems, yet offers ways in which this thesis has navigated these elements of the siblings' writings and moulded its analysis to celebrate and consolidate the erratic nature of youthful writing.

Christine Alexander and Juliet McMaster's seminal text *The Child Writer* offers detailed explanation as to the patterns and practices of the child writer during the long nineteenth century.²² Imitation is a major factor that scholars researching children's discourse often note. Christine Alexander quotes Robert Browning:

He saw imitation as vital to the development of genius: 'Genius almost invariably begins to develop itself by imitation. It has, in the short-sightedness of infancy, faith in the world: and its object is to compete with, or prove superior to, the world's already-recognised idols, at their own performances and by their own methods' (Alexander 2005: 78).

Although this quotation opens up various avenues of discussion, it primarily captures the fast-paced methods of the child writer, whose writings boast an air of authority, yet are unstable in their structures, content, and allegiances. Charlotte and Branwell's

²² Sally Shuttleworth's *The Mind of the Child* (2013) has also been of use to this study, although much of its analysis begins from 1840 onward.

juvenilia fleetingly touch upon different events, opinions and histories: in short, what captures the siblings' immediate attention and imagination. Much of the juvenilia discards information that was a focal point only a story ago, or changes the narrative to construct an alternative chain of events, even completely changing the identity of a character. This, which Browning terms, 'short-sightedness,' exudes negative connotations as to the unreliability of the child narrator, yet, Browning's comments on the 'development of genius' celebrate the skill of the child in recognising and rewriting the adult world around them. Regarding the Brontës' use of play specifically, Alexander notes: 'They experimented with a range of genres and styles, developed a sense of audience, played with a rich variety of characters, and experienced the power that editors and authors exercise over their literary creations' (Alexander 2005: 37). The Brontës' experimentation with the literary adult world both sees the expression of contemporary viewpoints through imitation, and new opinions and possibilities being formed: they choose what they imitate at appropriate moments, play with literary styles and adapt them to their poetry and prose, and deconstruct popular opinions and rework content to suit their own saga. It is through this play and adaptation of the adult world that the child writer refreshingly highlights and interrogates contemporary adult opinion. Although war is an 'adult' topic, both in a physical and narrative sense, this thesis demonstrates that through play and creative rewritings Charlotte and Branwell provide an important socio-historical commentary on the post-war adult world. Their writings act as one case study that explores the eclectic mix of opinions circulating in post-Napoleonic British society, and offers one reading of a post-war society that was coming to terms with its new peacetime status.

Although this thesis has made an attempt to remain true to the playful and erratic nature of the juvenilia in regard to events, names of main military characters have been standardised in some parts in order to avoid unnecessary confusion. For example, the

two main protagonists of the saga are known under numerous guises. Zamorna, the Royalist son of the fictitious Duke of Wellington, is also named Arthur Wellesley and the Marquis of Douro. Zamorna's friend and Republican rival, Alexander Percy, is also named Rogue and Northangerland. Although their appropriate names are alluded to at crucial points, for ease and consistency, this study repeatedly names them Zamorna and Alexander Percy.

The wars I have chosen to focus on in this study remain the most consistent areas of military interest in the Brontë juvenilia. Each is used as a building block for the complex dynamics of the saga. Although there are other fleeting wars mentioned within the text – for example, the Second Anglo-Maratha War (1803-05) and the English Civil War (1642-51) – these are not sustained enough for the level of detailed analysis as opposed to the wars selected. Equally, and significantly, this thesis focuses on the siblings' interest in and reimaginings of the army. As will become clear throughout the analysis, the siblings' military ideal lay within the figure of the soldier. Although the siblings evidently had an interest in the navy – for example, the original stories of the Twelves are nautical tales of colonisation, Alexander Percy becomes a pirate, and the Marquis of Ardrah is the captain of the Verdopolitan naval fleet –²³ the main characters primarily engage in boots-on-the-ground combat. Although the content of each juvenilia text is extensive and, at points, muddled – as is natural for writings that also served as physical play – to include and discuss all relevant military material is beyond the scope of this study.

Throughout, I have included any other additional – but not altogether necessary – material in footnotes and have strictly limited the scope of this study to allow for

²³ There are a number of links between the Brontë family and the navy that should be acknowledged. It is believed that the Revd Patrick Brontë changed his name from 'Bruntly' to 'Brontë' in honour of Horatio Nelson, who was bestowed the title of Duke of Bronte by the Kings of Naples in 1799. This name would appear to elevate his social status and position him closer to military elites. His son, Branwell, also took up this interest in Nelson. Victor Neufeldt notes that Branwell read Robert Southey's *Life of Nelson* (1830) before composing a biographical poem titled 'Lord Nelson' between 1841–42 (*WPB III* 1999: 354). Charlotte also read Southey's biography, recommending it to Ellen Nussey in a letter dated 4 July 1834. See Juliet Barker's (ed.) *The Brontës: A Life in Letters* (1997), p. 29.

detailed analysis. My focus on consistent areas of the siblings' military interests, alongside an awareness of the literary climate they immersed themselves in, lends an authoritative grounding to this study. The Brontës' openness to exploring and expressing different opinions of the period allows for a mosaic of perspectives regarding war to come through and creates a multi-layered, sophisticated case study of the period. As well as giving a general overview of contemporary public opinions that were in vogue – exhibited through various modes of literature, especially the periodical press – the study primarily captures the Brontës' own authorial voice based on their own subjective understandings, adaptations and reworkings of notable events, characters and themes. Bearing in mind this section's disclaimers and justifications, the second part of this introductory section focuses more specifically on the themes of war and militarism in the juvenilia.

Part II: An Introduction to the Brontës and War:

Charge on the enemy
 Victory leads
 Capture their battery
 Footmen or Cavalr'y
 He shall be conqueror
 Fastest who speeds

Think not of danger now
 Enter the breach
 Dream not of cannon-ball
 Mount by the shattered wall
 Soon shall their banner-staff
 Bend to your reach

War is an ecstasy
 Risk is wild
 What though their battlements
 Stand like a rock

(PCB 1985: 119)

Charlotte's poem, 'Charge on the Enemy', written when she was twenty-one years old, is not situated within her other Angrian writings, acting as a standalone example of her interest in war. Throughout, the verse's exhilarating, progressive form captures the essence of war, demonstrating multidimensional knowledge of warfare ranging from battlefield terminology to feelings of near death experience. This example acts as an introduction to the type of war literature produced by the siblings that resurfaces throughout this thesis. Although atypical in form compared to the usual embellished poetry of the Brontës, themes of heroism and patriotism are acknowledged alongside the darker elements of war: 'risk is wild'. The visually euphoric language emphasises a sense of play, stressing the addictive, sensational impact of war upon the siblings' collective creative imagination.

The Brontës are new additions to a legacy of young people writing war. Authors

such as Anne Frank, whose diaries provide one of the most important insights into the lives and deaths of Jewish people during the Second World War,²⁴ demonstrate that children and teenagers act as important social agents in war: their voices are vital mouthpieces in constructing an alternative history. In recent news, children's voices in war have been heard through social media outlets. Throughout the Syrian conflicts in 2016, the voice of Bana Alabed, a seven-year-old girl living in Aleppo, became a cyber Twitter voice that represented the masses trapped in a war zone.²⁵ There is, however, still much research to be done in regard to children writing war in the nineteenth century; this study hopes to inspire this line of research. Although this thesis focuses on the Brontës alone so as not to detract from the thesis argument, a number of nineteenth-century canonical writers wrote about war when they were children. Samuel Coleridge's son, Hartley Coleridge, reworked the Napoleonic Wars into his imaginary war-gaming kingdom Ejuxria. His map, drawn between 1804 and 1810, is the only surviving material of this kingdom from his hand, yet surviving family correspondence confirms the kingdom's content. His brother Derwent, writing of the kingdom after Hartley's death, stated that after declaring that he had letters from Ejuxria he would launch into his kingdom's news, which regularly revolved around wars fought between sovereign powers.²⁶

Hartley Coleridge is just one example. Other notable authors such as George Eliot, Robert Louis Stevenson and Iris Vaughan wrote war narratives as children.²⁷ The Juvenilia Press has published numerous volumes of child authors, highlighting the sophisticated, interesting, and playful forgotten content of important writers. The war

²⁴ See Anne Frank's *The Diary of a Young Girl* (2009).

²⁵ Bana Alabed's Twitter feed is available online: <https://twitter.com/alabedbana>.

²⁶ See Molly Lefebure's *Private Lives of the Ancient Mariner: Coleridge and his Children* (2013), p. 246.

²⁷ The Juvenilia Press has published scholarly editions of these works. George Eliot's short story *Edward Neville* (1995), edited by Juliet McMaster and others, is set in the time of the English Civil War. Robert Louis Stevenson's *First Writings* (2013) edited by Christine Alexander and Elise McPherson, were concerned with biblical tales and nautical adventures. *The Diary of Iris Vaughan* (2004), edited by Peter Alexander and Peter Midgley is a first-hand account of seven-year-old Iris's experiences of colonial Africa during the Second Boer War (1899-1902).

stories and accompanying drawings written by these young prodigies tend to rework and play past military periods; their tales usually revive or reimagine historical wars. Although these writings do not demonstrate the same sophisticated level of sustained content as the Brontë juvenilia, or perhaps Hartley Coleridge, they do, however, highlight the importance of war in the creative development of canonical authors, demonstrating early understandings of conflict, death, heroism and military masculinity.

Before the following section highlights the main objectives and research questions of this thesis, it is important briefly to discuss how this thesis tackles the definitions and challenges of the ‘child writer’. In *The Child Writer* Alexander and McMaster argue, ‘What *are* juvenilia? There is no firm answer, since youth and age are necessarily relative concepts’ (Alexander, McMaster 2005: 2). Both continue to note that their collection considers works of authors up until around the age of twenty. Recent studies in sociology also approach age as a fluid category. In *Children, Childhood and Youth in the British World* (2015), Simon Sleight and Shirleene Robinson acknowledge throughout that the process of growing up is variable and not in line with restrictive age categories (Sleight and Robinson 2015: 7). This thesis adopts this idea, referring to the entirety of Charlotte and Branwell’s content as juvenilia, and the two siblings as youthful. Although both siblings were writing the saga well into their twenties, their kingdom still entertains the same childhood concepts from its creation such as imaginative play and imitation: it remains an important example of ‘children writing war’.

Research Questions and Originality:

Well, I went to my station on the Hill and stood looking at the Gusty skies
 Images treasured up from childhood when beneath the portraits of Great
 Commanders I had seen the cannon balls and standards piled and at times in the
 Background a Gun rolling its smoke over the dying with a flag topping the cloud

of Battle sublime enlargements of a long lost little print where a heap of Dead lay underneath just such a gusty sky-still father back scene of the Battle of Issus or Arbela colored to suite the taste of a six year old – twenty such Images filled my thoughts and did the bright blowing watchfires and the Armed men about me tend to deaden these thoughts divine – never an inch I thought and thought till I began to see with wonderful clearness All Africa now as it were boiling with strife and my own native Land the scene of civil and foreign war. (*WPB II* 1999: 463)

In Branwell's quotation, from *Angria and the Angrias II(a)* (1836), the past and present merge into a vivid canvas of war. Branwell not only alludes to the cyclical legacy of war, but touches upon the themes that this study highlights and explores: masculinity, heroism, trauma, violence, the maturation of the child war correspondent, and the different civil and foreign topographies of war. As this quotation suggests, with contrasting images of Great Commanders and 'a heap of dead', the Brontë juvenilia are a landscape of lurid opposites: it exists as a place of romance and grandeur, but also as a place of brutality and violence.

Throughout the juvenilia, war and militarism are constant and complex themes.²⁸ Branwell's tireless war epics have often been labelled oppressive and immature, with Charlotte expressing little interest in war and focusing more on domestic matters. This thesis seeks to challenge these preconceptions, repositioning both Brontë siblings as important social historians and commentators on war. Although 'the Brontës' as a unit are typically seen as three sisters whose writings are social products of the mid-nineteenth century, this thesis offers new dynamics of this writing set, offering a collaborative brother-sister writing partnership, in a pre-Victorian era,

²⁸ Although there are numerous examples of foreign and civil wars within the juvenilia, there are also examples of rebellions, revolts, and lesser forms of violent conflict. Therefore, although most of this study concerns itself with war, the final chapter, titled 'Civil War and Conflict', broadens the focus of this study to include not only uprisings and revolts, but also examples of post-war unrest. In the *OED*, war is defined as 'a state of armed conflict between different countries or different groups within a country'. Available online: <https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/war>. Conflict, on the other hand, is described as 'a prolonged armed struggle'. Available online: <https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/conflict>. It could then be concluded that this study focuses on examples of organised, politically motivated violence within the saga.

writing in and about the post-Napoleonic military climate.

With this in mind, this thesis not only calls for this reconsideration, it also argues that Charlotte and Branwell's writings offer a broader insight into the impact of war on early nineteenth-century British culture: they bring together a full range of literary war dialogue; a collage of war voices that are processed and reimagined. As the methodology section of this introduction goes on to explain, the alternative historical lens of this study allows the reader to posit the juvenilia amidst contemporary public feelings and understandings of war, offering a case study that reacts to the late-Georgian everyday perceptions of war that were expressed in canonical literature and the contemporary media.

This study is original for a number of reasons. As this introduction clarifies, extended investigatory research into the Brontë juvenilia is rare. In addition, the subjects of this study, Charlotte and Branwell Brontë, are atypical of the sibling dynamics most often explored in Brontë studies, and the time period of this study - the 1820s and 30s - pulls the focus back from established Victorian Brontë territory. From a historical perspective, the contextual period of this study is exciting and underresearched: little research exists on British societal reactions to war in the early nineteenth century, in regard to both the post-Napoleonic climate and contemporary colonial wars.²⁹ The added originality of this study is that it uses the Brontë siblings' partnership as a mouthpiece to explore other voices and opinions that responded to the post-war climate. The baseline of this thesis focuses on historical sources – mostly from media material such as the periodical press – then channels these sources through Charlotte and Branwell's reading and reimaginings of this output, which then opens up broader commentary of the period. Despite the military focus of this study, the analysis

²⁹ The most information about these two period resides in N. Gash's article 'After Waterloo: British Society and the Legacy of the Napoleonic Wars (1978) and Alan Lloyd's *The Drums of Kumasi: The Story of the Ashanti Wars* (1965).

is not alienated from past strands of Brontë research. War, in a literal sense, is an unusual major topic to pair with Brontë studies;³⁰ however, war in a metaphorical sense has dominated the history of Brontë literary analysis. Whether it be inner psychological battles or violent men, war within one's self, one's family, and one's society is a fundamental topic within Brontë narratives, lending the distinctive authorial voices of Brontë novels a strength that has stood the test of time. For the first time, this study ensures that war is filtered through metaphor and personal struggle and is firmly centred and explored in a historical, literal context, giving a new baseline for future studies to work from.

Growing up in the Shadow of War:

The Brontës' parents, Maria and Patrick Brontë, lived through the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars. Maria, born in 1783 in Penzance to a merchant father, saw first-hand the impact the Napoleonic Wars had on Britain, which disrupted trade and fishing and brought great hardship to the commercial trade centre in Cornwall and beyond.³¹ Likewise, Patrick lived through the hardship and threat generated by the wars. Whilst studying for a curacy at the University of Cambridge, he joined the volunteer corps, which had 154 members by February 1804. Patrick joined in the wake of fresh fears of French invasion, as Napoleon's Grand Army was ready to march across the English Channel. As well as participating in a drill once a day and parading, Patrick was taught how to handle and use arms. At the end of his degree, and preliminary curacy appointments in Essex and Shropshire, he was stationed in Yorkshire, where he would remain as a parish curate for the rest of his life. His first position was in Dewsbury where, as David Harrison remarks, 'He visited distant cottages, held services in

³⁰ Apart from perhaps Charlotte's *Shirley* (1849), which is set during the Napoleonic Wars.

³¹ See Paul Lightfoot's *Exploring South East Cornwall* (2012), p. 68.

working-class areas, and showed sincerity and compassion for their [the working class] plight during the hard times of the cloth industry during the disruptions caused to trade by the Napoleonic Wars' (Harrison 2002: 5).³² Later, whilst stationed in Hartford – his fourth appointment – Patrick also witnessed the attack on Rawfolds Mill by the Luddites, the impact of which remained with him for many years.³³ This study dedicates an entire chapter to the post-Napoleonic civil unrest in Britain. What these examples aim to show is that the Brontës' parents lived in the shadow of war, experiencing the nationwide impact of overseas conflict in their local communities. Henceforth, when they married in 1812, they united a sense of understanding of how war could damage and shape the fabric of society.

The Brontë children were born into this climate: a nation affected and scarred by war. The eldest surviving child, Charlotte, was born in 1816, a year after the decisive battle of Waterloo. This meant that, unlike their parents, the children did not carry any immediate memories of large-scale war.³⁴ Instead, the siblings were faced with growing up in a post-war climate. Although there were some positive changes to the British financial sector in the immediate post-Waterloo years,³⁵ a majority of the population faced economic hardship and an unstable social climate. As the last chapter in this thesis stresses, although the war was over the civil, often violent, conflict in Britain raged on. The Brontë children saw the problematic effects generated by the introduction of the Corn Laws in 1815, which, as Paul Poplawski summarises, provoked a reactionary campaign that 'was well orchestrated by middle and working class radicals, utilising petitions, pamphlets and meetings' (Poplawski 2008: 325). Henry Weisser goes further

³² Harrison also notes that he 'secured the acquittal of a wrongfully accused private in the army charged with desertion, a hanging offence' (Harrison 2002: 5).

³³ See Dudley Green's *Patrick Brontë: Father of Genius* (2008), p. 60.

³⁴ Whilst coverage of the Napoleonic Wars continued to sweep the nation as the siblings were growing up, other wars occurring at the same time did not receive popular coverage and therefore did not make such a powerful impression on the national imagination. These include the First Anglo-Burmese War (1824–26), Baptist War (1831–32) and The 6th Xhosa War (1834–36).

³⁵ See Robert Mitchell's conclusion in *Sympathy and the State in the Romantic Era* (2007).

to say that the rise of philosophic radicals in the 1820s – headed by Jeremy Bentham and James Mill – even created an age of accepted radicalism, which saw a number of reforms pushed through Parliament.³⁶

As well as experiencing an economic, political and social climate in flux, the Brontë children were born into an age where the literary trade flourished. As Karen Fang notes, ‘in the post–Waterloo years [...] the rapid expansion of the periodical press offered opportunities for self-promotion tantamount to empire itself’ (Fang 2010: 187). Although, as discussed in Chapter Five, ‘Civil War and Conflict’, the popularity and wide distribution of periodicals meant that the siblings received regular updates of the radical post-war changes that blighted their local and national landscape, it also meant that the previous wars could be memorialised and relived through conversational articles, opinion pieces and storytelling. Neil Ramsey’s *The Military Memoir in Romantic and Literary Culture* (2011), a foundational text in this study’s Chapter Three: ‘Napoleonic Wars’, explains how the periodical press gave a voice to numerous soldier authors, a number of whom commemorated their experiences of the wars throughout the 1820s and 30s. Additionally, as this study’s Chapter Two: ‘Wellington and Napoleon’ demonstrates, the Brontës’ favourite periodicals, such as *Blackwood’s*, continued to discuss and theorise the strength and relationship of these two sensational figureheads in an era that saw the birth of celebrity culture.

The expansion of the periodical press also allowed the children to understand the wider impact of war on a global level. It is important to note that the contemporary media reported on a number of wars beside the recent Napoleonic Wars, such as the American War of 1812 and the First Anglo-Ashanti War, which saw the indigenous

³⁶ These reforms included Catholic Emancipation (1829) and the abolition of British slavery (1833). See Henry Weisser’s contribution to Gerald Newman and Leslie Ellen Brown’s (eds.) *Britain in the Hanoverian Age, 1714–1837: An Encyclopedia* (1997), p. 586.

Ashantee people rebel against Britain's attempts to abolish slavery.³⁷ In short, not only did the Brontë children grow up in a nation that was still discussing the past and present consequences of Britain's involvement in recent overseas conflicts, they also were exposed to multiple foreign and sensationalised narratives of war, which the periodical press inflated and perpetuated.

Soldiers in Haworth:

Here lies a true soldier who all must applaud
Much hardship he suffered at home and abroad
But the hardest engagement he ever was in
Was the Battle of Self and the Conquest of Sin.³⁸



Stoodley Pike seen from a distance. Photograph used courtesy of Richard Clegg.

A constant reminder of the Napoleonic Wars dominated the skyline of Haworth. The summit of Stoodley Pike housed a monument, erected in 1815, to commemorate the dead of Waterloo. Although housing in our present day has interrupted the view from Haworth and other

villages in the valley, it was a visible and poignant part of the landscape as the Brontë children were growing up: a constant reminder of the consequences of conflict and a symbol that the previous wars were very much alive in local memory.

³⁷ The first Anglo-Ashanti War would lead to over a century of instability and multiple wars between the British and Ashanti Empires. Despite thirty years of peace ensuing at the end of the first war, when the Pra River was accepted as the border between both fronts, a second war would erupt in 1863 lasting for a year. A third war would occur between 1873-74 and a fourth between 1895-96. A final war, known as 'War of the Golden Stool' broke out in 1900. This ended with the Ashanti maintaining its *de facto* independence. Later, in 1957, Ashanti would be subsumed into Ghana. There is yet to be an updated historical account of the wars. For further reference, however, see Alan Lloyd's *The Drums of Kumasi: The Story of the Ashanti Wars* (1964).

³⁸ This epitaph is inscribed on the grave of William Foster, who died on 23 February 1807 aged 78. He is buried in the graveyard of St Michael and All Angels' Church, Haworth. This was transcribed directly from his gravestone.

There is no evidence that the Brontë siblings interacted with soldiers whilst growing up in Haworth. In fact, the family did not have any direct ties with the military with the exception of William, the Revd. Brontë's brother, who took arms in the 1798 rebellion in Ballynahinch, Ireland. Nevertheless, it is highly likely that the Brontës would have known of Haworth's military connections as their father, as curate, would have been familiar with the parish and its people.³⁹ Despite the siblings growing up in an era before the national census listed individuals and their occupations – rather than household – there are clues as to the military residents of Haworth. There is no information that is relevant in the 1841 census, however, in 1851 the Chelsea Pensioners, Joseph Fletcher, aged 79, and John Farrar, aged 62, are living in and listed as being born in Haworth. Interestingly, the census also reveals an army pensioner John Crabtree, aged 75, living as a lodger in Haworth.⁴⁰ The Revd. Patrick Brontë's letters state that this pensioner and Patrick had disagreements about money.⁴¹ Although these records are clearly past the period of focus for this thesis and there can be no evidence that these ex-military men were living in Haworth whilst the siblings were growing up, the entries demonstrate that returning soldiers made Haworth their home after Napoleonic Wars and that the landscape of Haworth still carried the legacy of war.

Other sources of information give clues as to Haworth's military residents. In the parish's baptismal registers in 1813 and 1816 respectively, a William Firth is listed as a 'Militia Man' and John Appleyard as a 'Militia Sergeant' under 'father's occupation'.⁴² Similarly, the headstones in Haworth churchyard reveal their graves' military occupants. Although most are not applicable to the timeframe of this study, like

³⁹ At an early date in this study, an email exchange with Stephen Wood, a local historian, shared a rumour that the local Bentley Allotment on Oxenhope Moor was intended for cultivation by returned Napoleonic Soldiers. Although it was divided into ditches and the allotment was mentioned in the 1771 Oxenhope Enclosure Act, there is no further evidence to support this claim.

⁴⁰ The census information of the Crabtree family is available online: https://www.myheritage.com/names/haworth_crabtree.

⁴¹ In October 1843, Patrick wrote a letter to an unidentified correspondent asking 'Dear Sir, When you see John Crabtree, you will oblige me by desiring Him to pay the debt which he owes.' See Dudley Green's (ed.) *The Letters of Reverend Patrick Brontë* (2005), p. 152.

⁴² This information was taken directly from Haworth's 1813 and 1816 St Michael and All Angels Baptism Records.

the epitaph that opens this section, one reads:

IN Memory of John Bland late Sergeant in the 1st Dragoon Guards. Served in
the Army 30 Years. He died Octr 3rd 1821 Aged 68 Years.

ALSO Sarah his Wife. She died July 12th 1847, Aged 96 Years.

ALSO Michael Bland late in the 1st Dragoon Guards Served 20 Years. He died
Novr 16th 1811. Aged 53 Years.

Farewell vain World thou shop of toil and pain With our Redeemer now we
hope to reign.

Welcome sweet death thou entrance into bliss A place of rest O what a change is
this

ALSO of JOHN CLAYTON, late of Bradford, grandson of the above named
JOHN BLAND, who died July 4th 1886 in the 86th Year of his Age.⁴³

Although John Bland died before the Brontë siblings were little more than babies, his family remained long-standing residents of Haworth. Again, although it is unclear whether the Brontë family engaged with them on a personal level, with John's 30 years service, there could well have been stories shared verbally through the pulpit or in everyday conversation.

Lastly, the Diary of John Kitson, a working-class labourer, provides an unusual source of information in regard to the soldier residents of Haworth. Although the timeframe, again, falls outside the structure of this thesis, the opening lines reveal a poignant connection between Kitson and the military: 'I John Kitson was born September 1781 at Bell hile [*sic*] a little below Haworth of poor parents in yorshire [*sic*] and my father went to be a soldier when I was but a child so as I could not tell on him going but he left my mother with three lads' (Kitson 1843). Kitson continues this remarkable diary until his death, where he talks of his inability to work or eat due to poor health. Although the diary does not go into further detail about his father, it

⁴³ This epitaph was transcribed directly from the gravestone.

provides emotive imagery of war disrupting the local landscape as soldiers leave their homes and families behind. In the post-war climate, with many surviving soldiers returning to their families with war-induced physical and mental injuries, the Brontë children would likely have seen these same heads of family, but altered, return to their local landscape, or perhaps seen bereaved families in times of hardship. Although these local sources do not provide much substance, what they bring to the context of this study is evidence that soldiers were part of Haworth's social fabric in the post-Waterloo era, and their presence and legacy may have provided mood music for siblings' imaginative understandings of war and military masculinity.

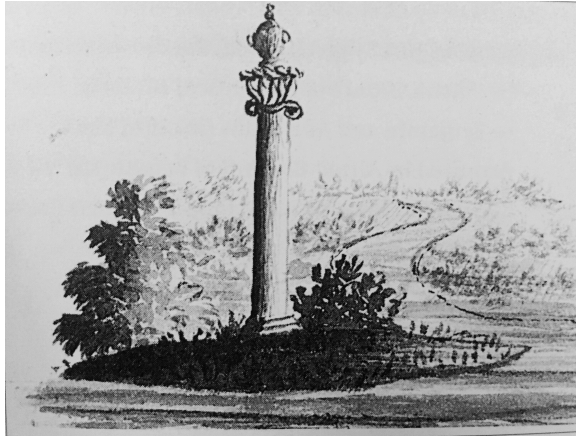
War: Familial and Literary Influences/Influencers:

'O, Papa, I like a great many people! But soldiers most of all. I do adore soldiers! I like Lord Arundel, Papa, & Lord Castlereagh & General Thornton, & General Henri Fernando di Enara & I like all gallant rebels. I like the Angrians because they rebelled in a way against the Verdopolitans. Mr Warner is an insurgent & so I like him. As to Lord Arundel, he's the finest man that can be. I saw a picture of him once on horseback – he was reining in his charger & turning round with his hand stretched out – speaking to his regiment – as he did before he charged at Leyden – he was so handsome.'⁴⁴ (*Tales* 2010: 257).

The Revd. Patrick Brontë's hero worship of the Duke of Wellington has been a focal point of numerous scholarly studies. Many speculate that had Patrick not followed the profession of the church, he would have joined the military. A staunch Tory and lifelong supporter of Wellington, Patrick's appetite for the military spectacle was a defining part of his character. The Brontë family owned various commemorative goods that celebrated Wellington's military career including portraits, biographies, busts and a medallion case that states that he was the 'most noble and exalted hero in the annals of

⁴⁴ These words, spoken by Caroline Vernon in the tale *Caroline Vernon* (1839), demonstrate a fanatically militant conversation between father and daughter. In the juvenilia, Caroline is the young, illegitimate daughter of Alexander Percy and his mistress, Louisa Vernon.

history.’ Patrick subscribed to the *United Service Journal* and borrowed others, such as the Brontë family’s favourite periodical, *Blackwood’s*, which promoted Wellington’s military achievements and perpetuated the rhetoric of heroism, despite his waning popularity as a politician in the years following Waterloo.



Brontë, Charlotte (1831). *Wellington Monument*. Image used courtesy of the Brontë Parsonage Museum.

Patrick’s infatuation with Wellington was passed on to his children, especially Charlotte. She also remained a loyal supporter of Wellington throughout her life. As this study’s chapter on Wellington and Napoleon reveals, Wellington’s formative influence on Charlotte’s literary

imagination was essential in her construction of military masculinity: her Byronic, militant characters are, in part, all born from the Duke’s authoritative bearing and military prowess.

Patrick and Charlotte’s hero worship of Wellington is just one example of how the media was central in shaping the opinions and imaginations of the occupants of the parsonage. It is the opinion pieces, reviews and biographies published through the periodical press that take centre stage in this thesis. Although newspapers such as *The Leeds Intelligencer*, *Leeds Mercury* and *John Bull* are important, especially in regard to the unstable post-war climate in and around Haworth discussed in the final chapter, high Tory periodicals such as *Blackwood’s* – which also carried extracts of other notable magazines that engaged with masculinity and violence, such as *Boxiana* – along with the *New British Novelist* and *The United Service Journal*, demonstrate the sheer extent of war material the siblings were exposed to. Here, features, biographical accounts – the

military memoir—⁴⁵ and a relentless discussion of war and wartime figureheads provided a mosaic of ideas from which the siblings could build their fantasy saga. As this thesis progresses, it will become clear that the siblings took note of a multitude of wartime and post-war voices, absorbing and reworking information ranging from craniology reports of notable military figures to first-hand experiences of British redcoats.

The literature review for the remainder of this section remains brief and tailored to war literature. There are numerous publications that discuss where the Brontë family acquired their reading material, and how it shaped their general writing apprenticeships. For example *OCB* and *The Brontës in Context* (2012) provide two comprehensive introductions, and Lucasta Miller's chapter on 'The Brontës and the Periodicals of the 1820s and 30s' in *A Companion to the Brontës* (2016) is also useful. Specifically, Elizabeth Jack's Appendix VII, 'Indexes of Quotations and Literary Allusions in the Novels of Charlotte Brontë', from the Clarendon edition of Charlotte's *The Professor* (1987) provides an excellent source for understanding how literature shaped Charlotte's creative imagination. Each bibliographical feature, however, reveals the different and diverse types of war literature the siblings read.

The parsonage held a variety of books that would have been available to the Brontë children from a young age. These include numerous titles of interest to this study such as *The Works of Virgil* (1824) – with an annotated copy of the *Aeneid*, Milton's *Paradise Lost* (1797), The Bible,⁴⁶ annuals such as *Friendship's Offering*

⁴⁵ For the importance of these military memoirs, see Chapter Three: 'Napoleonic Wars' within this thesis.

⁴⁶ Marianne Thormählen's *The Brontës and Religion* (1999) demonstrates the role the Bible played in shaping the lives and works of the family. As well as the Bible's use as a religious teaching tool, as enacted by their father the Revd. Patrick Brontë on a daily basis, it is also filled with dramatic stories that aroused the siblings' imagination. Charlotte's *devoirs* composed in Brussels contain multiple references to the Old Testament and war.⁴⁶ Her teacher, M. Heger, went as far as to state 'Elle était nourrie de la Bible [she was brought up on the bible]', as noted by Gaskell in her biography of Charlotte (*Life* 2009: 184). Branwell also drew on the Old Testament occasionally for inspiration. In *Angria and the Angrians I(a)* a soldier reads the Old Testament for inspiration of battles against past 'savages' (*WPB I* 1997: 293). Judging by their familiarity and enthusiasm for the characters and events of the Old Testament, it is clear that both siblings would have grown up envisioning the battle epics within this religious source. For example, they would have been familiar with the battles between the Canaanites and the Perizzites, the Gileadites and the Ephraimites, and the Philistines and the Israelites. Equally, the God in the Old Testament, Jehovah, is a much more violent and vengeful God as opposed to the Christian God in the New Testament. Although the first section,

(1829), Byron's *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage* (1827), and Scott's poetry and prose, such as *Lay of the Last Minstrel* (1805). Beyond the parsonage, the family managed to acquire and read many other classics. As this thesis demonstrates, the siblings were familiar with a broad spectrum of poetry, drama and verse available to the reading public. This included the Romantic poets, the plays of Shakespeare and Jonson – a number of which contained military characters – *Arabian Nights* (1706), James Ridley's *Tales of the Genii* (1764) and the full nine-volume set of Scott's *Life of Napoleon* (1827). Therefore, it is unsurprising that the parsonage produced such learned children who were able to grapple with difficult, adult themes from an early age.

Speculation as to where the Brontës accessed their reading material is still contested. Evidence of their extensive reading is evident throughout the collected siblings' juvenilia and later works; however, it is difficult to track down their reading or borrowing base. Bob Duckett has conducted the most extensive research as to where the Brontës borrowed their books. First, it is likely that they visited and read books at Ponden Hall.⁴⁷ Duckett has recorded details of the Ponden Hall Catalogue of Books, auctioned in Keighley in 1899, which goes some way to uncovering what books the Brontë family were exposed to.⁴⁸ This collection includes biographies of eminent men, such as Sarratt's *Life of Buonaparte* (1804), historical military memoirs that are of interest yet unrelated to memoirs discussed in this study – such as William Thomson and Robert Beatson's *Military Memoirs Relating to Campaigns, Battles and Stratagems of War Ancient and Modern* (1803) and *Naval and Military Memoirs of Great Britain, from 1727 to 1783* (1804) – national magazines, such as copies of *The Oxford Review*

'Classicism', of 'Chapter One: The Brontës' Military Reading' suggests that the violent Gods of Ancient Greece and Rome are the main source of the Brontë juvenilia's main Gods, the Genii, it is worth considering that the young siblings grew up immersed in this violent, divine rhetoric. Overall, despite religion's dominant role within their lives, the Bible is not a main military source for Charlotte and Branwell. Instead, the siblings draw from a number of texts ranging from classical to Romantic times. These texts are discussed in 'Chapter One: The Brontës' Military Reading'.

⁴⁷ In *OCB*, Alexander and Smith note that Ponden 'was often a stopping place for the Brontës on their walks [...] The families were on good terms and it is likely that the Brontës occasionally borrowed books from the substantial library' (*OCB* 2006: 385).

⁴⁸ See Duckett's 'The Library at Ponden Hall', *Brontë Studies*, 40.2 (2015), pp. 104–149.

(1807) – and various books relating to geography, grammar, and songs and hymns.

Aside from this private collection, the siblings' father joined Keighley Mechanics' Institute in 1833, giving him access to their well-stocked library. This does not, however, account for the siblings' early reading as their father's membership coincided with the existence of an already fully formed saga. In fact, during the Brontës' younger years, Haworth had no library.⁴⁹ There were numerous circulating libraries around the Yorkshire area; however, Charlotte attests that she did not have access to one. Nevertheless, by studying the subscription and circulating library lists, such as Misses M & S Laycock's in Sheffield and Widdops' Circulating Library in Manchester, it is clear what kind of materials the reading public had access to, which include numerous traditional titles and themed content found within this study.⁵⁰ As Duckett attests, Haworth, despite its primitive stereotype, was a cultural centre: 'the Brontës lived among educated and creative people many of whom may have loaned books and discussed literature [...] Joseph Hardacre [...] John Nicolson, 'the Airedale poet', Abraham Wildman, John Milligan, Isaac Constantine, John Jowett, J. Oldridge, John Kitson, James Mitchell and the ubiquitous Revd. Theodore Drury' (Duckett 2007: 204). This is in addition to the Revd. Jonas Driver who lent *Blackwood's* and *John Bull* to the family until his death in 1831 (OCB 2006: 47, 201). Despite the Brontës' limited access to resources, the type of reading conducted by Haworth's creative types would have contributed to the general literate atmosphere of the community, which the siblings may have contributed to or been inspired by.

This thesis directly draws from the literary landscape that the Brontës inhabited, either through direct reading or by analysing and making educated parallels between imitation and the local cultural topography. Jane Austen is, however, a notable absence

⁴⁹ See Alexander and Smith's OCB, p. 56.

⁵⁰ For example, Laycock's and Widdop's contained a substantial collection of Scott's works and Widdop's contained histories of Waterloo and the Peterloo Massacre.

from the authorial canon. Apart from perhaps Tolstoy's characters in *War and Peace* (1869), Austen's fictitious soldiers define stereotypical representations of the sexualised military man during the Napoleonic period. Charlotte, however, only admits to reading Austen's work at a later age, removing the potential for direct influence. Where appropriate, however, this study does allude to authors and titles that the Brontës probably did not read in order to muse more broadly on where the Brontës should be positioned with other contemporary representations of war and militarism. This dual analysis of the siblings' personal reading and interpretations, alongside their contribution to early nineteenth-century feelings and reactions to the various components of war, offers readers a full, culturally significant study. It is through analysing the siblings in the context of influences and influencers that this thesis achieves its value as both an author-centred and socio-historical contribution to scholarship.

The Major Wars and Conflicts in Glass Town and Angria:

This section provides an introduction to the wars and conflicts that consistently rage through the Glass Town and Angrian saga. The following summaries of the violent wars and conflicts are primarily constructed from Branwell's writings, which concern themselves with the linear chronology of Glass Town and Angria's history. Whereas Branwell constructed the foundations, Charlotte, as a war writer, responded to the atmosphere of war and conflict, and used it to expand on elements of a character's personality or identity. Charlotte does, however, play a major role in highlighting the societal impact of war, becoming the lead commentator during the Angrian post-civil war years (1837-38). This section, therefore, demonstrates her authority as a war writer at this point. In order not to disrupt the narrative, the different wars and conflicts are

featured in bold. These include:

The Twelves War (1829-30)
Rogue's Insurrection of Glass Town (1830-32)
The War of Encroachment and Aggression (1834)
The Angrian and Glass Town Civil Wars (1834-37)
Post-War Angria (1837-39)

The Glass Town and Angrian saga was born out of war gaming. The manuscript *History of the Rebellion in my Fellows* (1828) showcases the logistical talents of a twelve and thirteen-year old, imagining and reenacting a large-scale battle with their toy soldiers, headed by Wellington and Napoleon respectively.⁵¹ This type of militarised play laid the foundations for the first series of wars, written in the following year (1829) that brought Glass Town and its history to life. The saga begins with **the Twelves War**,⁵² with the Twelves (or Young Men) sailing to and colonising the West Coast of Africa. The Twelves consist of notable military names, such as the Duke of York and the Duke of Wellington, who acts as the chief of this adventurous band. After sailing from England to the African coast, they engage in a battle against the Dutch on Ascension Island, before sailing to the coast and successfully establishing a colony. After a short period of peace, war erupts between the colonisers and the Ashantees. The war culminates with the Battle of Rosendale Hill, which is often elevated to the status of myth in future Glass Town narratives. The battle results in the death of the king of the Twelves, the Duke of York, which then leads to Wellington's subsequent coronation.⁵³ Before he takes his crown, however, Wellington travels back to Europe to fight in the Napoleonic Wars, refusing to take up this position until he has vanquished Napoleon. He succeeds, returning to Africa as both hero and sovereign.

⁵¹ See this Chapter Two: 'Wellington and Napoleon' within this thesis.

⁵² For an alternative history of The Twelves Wars, see Charlotte's *Two Romantic Tales* (1829) and Branwell's *The History of the Young Men* (1829).

⁵³ With both Charlotte and Branwell writing separate yet similar histories based on the same events, there are inevitably inconsistencies in their narratives. In Charlotte's version of events, the Duke of York does not die but rather returns to England.

Although military characters and discussions remain integral to the fabric of the Glass Town Federation, which incorporates the provinces and capital city, Verdopolis, large-scale conflict next arises in **Rogue's Insurrection of Glass Town**. By this point, the two main protagonists of the Glass Town and Angrian saga, the Royalist son of Wellington, Zamorna, known in these early tales as the Marquis of Douro, and his Republican friend and rival, Alexander Percy, then known as Rogue, emerge as Charlotte and Branwell's chosen alter egos. Percy, Glass Town's leader of Republicanism, terrorises Verdopolis by staging an insurrection based on the French Revolutionary model. This is described in detail throughout Branwell's series *Letters from an Englishman* (1830-32) in which the historian, John Flower, documents his imprisonment and impending execution after being charged for lending the government money. The Twelve's forces, however, manage to recapture the city and save the prisoners. Flower's narrative picks up again with him witnessing Rogue's attempts to rally his supporters, which results in another battle in which, at one point, Rogue mercilessly executes prisoners of war. Finally, the narrative concludes with Rogue's defeat by the forces of Wellington and his subsequent execution.⁵⁴

After a year of relative peace, the Glass Town Federation faces its largest conflict yet. **The War of Encroachment and Aggression** rages through the Glass Town saga between 1833-34. Branwell, narrating again as John Flower, documents this.⁵⁵ The series of conflicts begins with Talleyrand – the fictitious statesman of Frenchysland based on the real-life French diplomat – travelling to Glass Town with news that Napoleon, the leader of The Glass Town Federation's neighbour state, Frenchysland, has been overthrown and demands that the Federation accept their new republic. In the meantime, Napoleon takes back power and demands that Sneakiesland,

⁵⁴ As is usual for the Glass Town and Angrian juvenilia, however, Rogue is resurrected as a character in Branwell's following tale, *The Pirate* (1833).

⁵⁵ See Branwell's two tales of the same name: *An Historical Narrative of the War of Encroachment* (1833-34) and *An Historical Narrative of the War of Aggression* (1834)

a province of the Glass Town Federation, should be given to him or the Federation will face war. The Federation rejects this request and war ensues. In addition, other enemy groups, such as the Arabs and Ashantees, join allegiances with the French, which generates widespread hostility and racially aggravated tensions. War begins in a ceremonious manner, Branwell listing regiments and describing a lavish military spectacle. Following this, the war takes a dark turn. The Federation faces a series of difficult and damaging battles including Little Warner, the Battle of Angria, the Bridge of Guadima and the Battle of Veleno. Finally, in the opening pages of *An Historical Narrative of the War of Aggression*, the Duke of Wellington, now a retired member of state, steps in to save the day. After meeting with the other Twelves, who wish not to invest further in the war, Wellington separates himself and sets about funding further supplies as head of the army. In short, it is now the government versus the army. After securing a defeat against the French the army storm the government building and force the representatives to sign the Duke of Wellington's agreement, which sets out an economic and military course of action. After their previous defeat, the French rally, but are finally defeated by the Federation, thanks to Wellington's injection of energy and funds.

After the Glass Town Federation's victory, the hero of the war, the Duke of Wellington's son, now known as Zamorna, is gifted his own kingdom of Angria. Alongside his band of noble followers, Zamorna chooses Alexander Percy – formally Rogue during the insurrection, now known as Northangerland – to be his new nation's prime minister. Whilst the spirit of coronation is still sweeping the nation, especially in the new Angrian capital, Adrianopolis, tensions between the two leading men quickly escalate resulting in violent parliamentary proclamations and Alexander Percy's suspicious absences. Nevertheless, attention from this is diverted by a conflict between Angria and the Ashantees.

Henry Hastings, Branwell's pseudonymous soldier poet,⁵⁶ who fought in the previous wars, takes over the narration and becomes one of the most central and important characters in the fantasy saga. He begins by narrating the violent, reactionary war between the Angrian army and Ashantees, the latter of which have recently slaughtered all the citizens of Dongola. In a racially aggravated retaliation, Zamorna orders his men to commit genocide, sending his troops into battle. Hastings recounts this ferocious war in detail. In the juvenilia's typical divergent fashion, however, the narrative perspective takes a turn as Zamorna loses a by-election in Adrianopolis. Distracted by this defeat, Zamorna ends the first civil conflict in Angria and Hastings is sent to report on the political turmoil in the capital instead.

The narrative is propelled forward with the victory of the Reform Party in the Verdopolitan general elections. The new party wishes for Angria to be expelled from the Verdopolitan union, causing Zamorna and Alexander Percy to temporarily unite and brace the country for **The Glass Town and Angrian Civil Wars**.⁵⁷ Civil war against the Reform Party ensues, headed by the Verdopolitan naval captain, the Marquis of Ardrah. Hastings, once again, dominates the war narrative, documenting life on the front line as well as noting the internal wars that rage between Zamorna and Alexander Percy. Percy begins to return to his past revolutionary 'Rogue' self, such as that seen during the 1830-2 insurrection years, rousing his supporters to take advantage of Angria's vulnerability and enter into the confusion for the Republican cause. Percy's vigilante group storm a meeting of the Verdopolitan cabinet, overthrow the government and declare one great Republic of Africa. The group continues to march on Zamorna's army, defeating the Royalist group at the Battle of Edwardston. Zamorna is saved by Percy from being sentenced to death, and is instead banished to Ascension Isle. In the

⁵⁶ See Chapter Three: 'The Napoleonic Wars' within this thesis for further information on Henry Hastings.

⁵⁷ These civil wars are documented throughout Branwell's *Angria and the Angrians* stories, ranging from I(a) to V(d), as divided by Victor Neufeldt in volumes two and three of *The Works of Patrick Branwell Brontë* (1999).

meantime, Angria suffers: horrific murders and tortures are carried out on civilians who oppose the regime, including Zamorna's son, while Zamorna's queen, Mary Percy, wastes away whilst grieving the absence of her husband.

Under the regime's surface, however, rumblings of support for Zamorna continue. With the news that the exiled king is likely to return, the Republican regime starts to crack, causing mass panic and frustrated resignation from the inner party. Zamorna returns from banishment and joins Fiden's army to march on Verdopolis,⁵⁸ seizing power over the old capital. The narrative once again focuses on Hastings, who confesses to shooting his superior Royalist officer, defecting from the Royalists and joining the Republicans. The Republicans' imminent defeat has plunged him into a state of self-deprecation and he has turned to alcohol to curb his suffering. He emotively describes the retreating army of Republicans, who have suffered heavy casualties in the fight for Verdopolis. The Royalists retake both the capital and Angria, whilst Alexander Percy disappears into the abyss. The civil war ends.

From hereon, between 1837-39, the siblings' tales focus on the problem of **Post-War Angria**.⁵⁹ Alexander Percy and Zamorna reconcile, much to the distrust and displeasure of the Angrian citizens. Brawls in taverns proliferate along with allusions to the nation's unstable economy, including bankruptcies, debts and stagnant trade. Moreover, the degeneration of Hastings becomes a primary focus; his compulsive drinking and violent activities – such as an attack on a farm – embody the anger and frustration of readjusting to everyday life in a war-shattered nation. As Branwell's writings evolve into a series of misdirected ramblings, Charlotte takes the lead on writing post-war Angria. Her novellas provide neat conclusions to the siblings' decade-long saga. As the final section of Chapter Three: 'The Napoleonic Wars' details, trauma

⁵⁸ Prince John Augustus Sneaky Fiden is the eldest son and heir of Sneakiesland. He is Zamorna's most respected and trusted friend.

⁵⁹ See Charlotte's final Angrian novellas in Glen's *Tales from Angria* (2006) and Branwell's final *Angria and the Angrian* tales ranging from V(b) to V(d).

and alcoholism define this era of Angrian history. With tales dedicated to Zamorna and Alexander Percy's war-weary relationship to Hastings's final stand and capture, these contributions provide an (anti)climactic finale to a nation whose landscape and inhabitants have consistently been defined and shaped by war. Whereas Branwell provides no definitive conclusion to his writings, Charlotte's *Farewell to Angria* (1839), bids goodbye to 'full-plumed heads' and the full-faced paintings that habit 'the strength of manhood & the furrow of thoughtful decline' (*Tales* 2010: 314). In the fallout of war, Angria is abandoned by its writers. The siblings leave their landscape and characters scarred, changed and beaten:

'But we must change, for the eye is tired of the picture so oft recurring & now so familiar'.

(*Tales* 2010: 314)

Methodology and Chapter Summaries:

This study concerns itself with the military material Charlotte and Branwell were reading during the 1820s and 30s and how this informed and shaped their opinions and writings on war. Using this material, they constructed their own platform through which they could imitate, deconstruct, and reform military events in history, both distant and recent, and their own present. Christine Alexander has written extensively on the method of the child writer in *The Child Writer*. Summarized, Alexander notes how nineteenth-century juvenilia demonstrate 'the young authors' appropriation of the adult world and the assumption of a power they would not otherwise have' (Alexander 2005: 11), and that 'pretence or make-believe extended into a private world that they elaborated, systematized, and documented far removed from adult eyes' (15). This

notion of power and play is celebrated throughout this thesis. Charlotte and Branwell's war writings are treated as reflective, often exaggerated, snapshots of history and contemporary society; the siblings occupy godlike, omniscient positions that mirror, challenge and play with the socio-historical material they read. In fact, Sara Lodge in her essay 'Masculinity, Power and Play in the Work of the Brontës' suggests that the Brontë juvenilia go further with play, mimicking 'the rhetorical play of contemporary magazine culture: it is an arena of repartee, slang, drunkenness, political one-upmanship, challenge and reply that fully enjoys the freedoms accorded to men in the outside world' (Lodge 2012: 2). In fact, this thesis suggests that, at points, the siblings' immersion in the magazine culture around them allowed them to pause and reflect on the more sinister aspects of war. For example, in the final section of 'Chapter Three: The Napoleonic Wars', cultural theories of trauma are applied in order to illustrate the siblings' engagement with this then abstract concept. The juvenilia, then, are a meta space of play and reflection in which fact and fiction are fused together to form a responsive alternative history through which we can interpret some of the attitudes and feelings generated within the post-Napoleonic moment.

This thesis treats Charlotte and Branwell's juvenilia as a form of alternative history. Their writings are a version of history, penned from vicarious, marginalised social commentators, who are both citizens and youths. The siblings' military writings do not present a formal history of war, nor do they claim to be. They are, however, influenced by formal histories of war along with other informal commentary, such as memoirs and periodical features. The juvenilia, then, are not useful in a traditional 'facts and figures' sense, but are instead useful for understanding the vibrant social and cultural fabric of the early nineteenth century, where the impact and landscape of war were analysed and called into question.

In a broad sense, the siblings' juvenilia could be viewed through the lens of

‘sociological criticism’. Michael Rossi defines this approach as looking ‘at how a literary work, as a product of a society, has been shaped by these forces [accepted attitudes and values] and how it, in turn, supports them.’ (Rossi 1997: 57) There is a problem with this, however, in the sense that the Brontë juvenilia deliberately evade this mainstream rhetoric of social response by existing as a separate, private space of experimentation. It is one-sided: their juvenilia are founded on societal attitudes yet they overtly contribute nothing back to society itself. Instead, rather than confine this complex mode of reading the juvenilia to one broad critical framework, this study has also been influenced by the work of Laurie Langbauer whose book *The Juvenile Tradition* (2016) addresses reading social history through juvenilia. Although Langbauer mainly relates her argument to the Romantics’ youthful writings, she argues that prolepsis enabled child writers to imagine rhetorical events as if they had already happened. This, in itself, gives rise to an alternative, creative way of imagining the past, and the potentials of that past. As Langbauer states: ‘Recovering juvenility matters, first of all, because it recasts history’ (Langbauer 2016: 4). Langbauer goes on to say that this act of prefiguring and reworking produced ‘incisive meta-critical reflections: their supposed prematurity required that they actively engage with questions of identity and meaning-making and ruthlessly interrogate preconceptions of causality and development’ (6). In summation, it is the status of the writer as a youth that allows for an alternative critical model of history to arise; where history runs parallel with the development and growth of the self, and is reconfigured as both imitation and creative play. In the case of Charlotte and Branwell, the foundations of their saga are built on real-life war and conflict, yet, as this thesis demonstrates, it is their reinvention of reality through both imitation and interrogation of others’ opinions that formulates an alternative method of reading the past. Their fantasy world exists as a dimension in which history and fantasy collide. It is this multidimensional perspective that makes the siblings important historical and social

commentators on war.

The structure of this thesis is tailored to reflect the full extent of Charlotte and Branwell's historical and contemporary warfare. Each of the five chapters remains in the region of 9–15,000 words, with the first contextual chapter divided into 3–4000 word subchapters. Within these chapters, subheadings are used to signpost the direction of the chapter and the thesis as a whole.⁶⁰ The study is limited to the collaborative relationship between Charlotte and Branwell Brontë, writing about war during a specific time period. The project is also divided by both content and geographical locations, allowing for a smooth transition through chapters. Although the archival and canonical material used in this study's analysis is extensive, its focus lies in the specificity of what both siblings read, and the reworkings and imitation of sources that have made the most impact.

The first chapter of the thesis, Chapter One: 'The Brontës' Military Reading', provides a literature review of Charlotte and Branwell's readings and reimaginings of historical, canonical war literature ranging from Virgil to Walter Scott. The first three sections of the chapter are divided by time period – classical, late Renaissance to early Restoration, Romantic – with a fourth individual section awarded to Scott. Although Scott could be considered to be a Romantic author,⁶¹ his military impact on the Brontës' saga through poetry and prose is substantial and in need of greater analysis: this ranges from Scott's revival and the Brontës' engagement with Scotland's warrior past, to Branwell's adoption of Scott's militarised writing style. These sections do not intend to exhaustively list and offer comment on all literature that influenced the Brontës' perceptions of war, but instead highlight and explore a selection of the primary war writings they engaged with outside of the media. The sections aim to contextualise the

⁶⁰ The first concluding section of this thesis is 4300 words and the Conclusion is 1700. Overall, the total word count of this thesis is in the region of 80,000.

⁶¹ See Fiona Robertson's chapter 'Romancing and Romanticism' in *The Edinburgh Companion to Sir Walter Scott* (2012), pp. 93–105 and Ian Duncan's *Scott's Shadow: The Novel in Romantic Edinburgh* (2007).

canonical literary climate the siblings were exposed to, and seek to demonstrate what generated the family's interest in the history of war. A number of the texts presented in this chapter cover numerous military themes discussed throughout the thesis, therefore this preliminary section avoids repetition whilst providing firm foundations to build the remainder of this study's analysis.

The first subchapter, 'Classicism', explores Charlotte and Branwell's Roman and Greek influences, such as Homer and Virgil. After first identifying key classical texts and wars that captured the siblings' imagination, the chapter moves on to discuss how classical models of violence – both sporting and on the battlefield – influence present day archetypes of military masculinity. The following subchapter, 'Late Renaissance to Early Restoration', builds on canonical representations of military masculinity through the Brontës' reading of comedic and villainous soldier figures in works by playwrights such as Shakespeare and Jonson. The section ends with an evaluation of Milton's influence on the siblings' representation of Napoleon within their saga. The next subchapter, 'Romanticism', focuses on where the Brontës position themselves within the pro and anti-war Romantic discourse of writers such as Byron, Wordsworth and Southey, in regard to the Napoleonic Wars. This subchapter considers how Charlotte and Branwell grappled with these understandings through their own representations and evaluations of war, linking these creative tensions to their own conflicted writings within their saga, which change between the celebration and demonisation of war. The final contextual subchapter, 'Walter Scott', offers a separate analysis of Scott's influence on the siblings' understandings of war. Setting aside Scott's biography of Napoleon, which is revisited in this study's Chapter Two: 'Wellington and Napoleon', the section explores Scott's poems and novels. The section analyses how Scott's representations of the powerful warrior in a historical and fantastical context influenced the siblings' understandings of romance and chivalry.

Lastly, and arguably most importantly, Scott's narrative techniques are paralleled with Branwell's. They offer new insight into how the 'fog of war' narrative engrained itself as a modern technique within war writing.

With these contextual subchapters having offered a broad yet comprehensive introduction to the Brontës' canonical reading, the thesis moves on to the main discussion points of the thesis. The next chapter, Chapter Two: 'Wellington and Napoleon', conflates both fact and fiction by introducing the main characters of the juvenilia through the siblings' transmogrification of Wellington and Napoleon, which, in turn, provides a new socio-historical model through which to read Charlotte and Branwell's reactions and reimaginings of masculinity. This transitions from the representations of both military icons in a contemporary cultural context – especially biographies and the post-war media – to the siblings' literal adoption of their names and characteristics within their early fantasy saga. Finally, the chapter explores how the siblings reworked the rivalry between and personalities of these influential names into their main protagonists: Zamorna and Alexander Percy. The chapter builds on the contextual sections' conclusions about their changing and diverse understandings of war and military masculinity generated by the wide-ranging literature the siblings read and combines this with a socio-historicist reading of how Wellington and Napoleon's rivalry influenced the Glass Town and Angrian writings.

The following three chapters move away from a focus on figureheads and specific examples of masculinity and analyse how the siblings' playful reanimation of war within their saga directly correlates to their engagement with the contemporary media. Chapter Three: 'The Napoleonic Wars', is divided into three sections: the rise of the military memoir, patriotism and the military spectacle, and trauma and alcoholism. Having previously discussed Wellington and Napoleon in a specific context, this chapter strips back the layer of celebrity, and considers the siblings' voices alongside

the everyday soldier.⁶² First, the chapter evidences that the siblings engaged with and mimicked the rise of the military memoir, many of which were published in periodicals post-Waterloo. The chapter moves on to demonstrate the siblings' conflicting views on war, focusing first on their celebratory writings, then those that grapple with the darker elements of war. The final section evidences how the siblings were aware of war trauma in an age where it was not present in contemporary medical terminology. Their patriotic and traumatic understandings convey how the role of the media – especially the periodical press – was instrumental in influencing the Brontë siblings' fluctuating views on war. More broadly, it also evidences the range of personal war commentary the British public was exposed to: reading audiences were caught in a confusing and contrasting double bind of post-war celebration and emotion.

The next chapter, Chapter Four: 'Colonial Warfare', continues this discussion of overseas warfare yet in a different context. Between 1823-1831, the First Anglo-Ashanti war broke out. This racially aggravated war, fuelled by the British colonial quest was a formative military influence as the Brontë siblings were growing up. Despite being a relatively low-key war compared to the Napoleonic Wars, the exotic location and method of warfare tapped into the British public's and, more specifically, the siblings' imaginations. This chapter's main focus is on violence and how this racially aggravated conflict generated violent rhetoric in the media, which would, in turn, feed into the siblings' warlike representations of race within their saga, both in relation to military masculinity specifically and the conduct of war more generally. Within their racial descriptions, Charlotte and Branwell fully engage with the sensations and horror of battle, demonstrating their problematic relationship with war and their broader interest in the dynamics of non-white warfare within their contemporary period. Moreover, this

⁶² This study uses the term 'everyday soldier' as juxtaposed with the writings of high-ranking military elites, such as the Duke of Wellington. It must be noted that the authors of these memoirs were primarily from the middle classes, due to their ability to read and write, and were directed at a similar audience. There are, however, examples of working class and upper class memoirs. For more information see Ramsey's *The Military Memoir and Romantic Literary Culture*.

section allows for the discussion of wider themes such as Christianity and fatherhood, which are associated with racial interactions.

The final chapter of this thesis, Chapter Five: 'Civil War and Conflict', emphasises that the siblings were not just interested in historic, Napoleonic and colonial warfare, but the broader consequences of war on society. As well as analysing their preliminary understanding of civil war through the American War of 1812, this chapter also explores their fascination with the French Revolution and their endeavour to process the civil unrest and strife afflicting their own country. The final part of this chapter offers a preface to contemporary scholarship surrounding Charlotte's *Shirley*, analysing how the siblings' early writings revised and rewrote the revolts that were enveloping their local landscape and beyond. By finishing this thesis within the Brontës' local post-Napoleonic environment, the thesis demonstrates the siblings' interest in and engagement with lesser degrees of conflict: the saga is not just constructed from the global sensation of war, but the minor theatre of war around them.

Following the core chapters of this thesis, the study closes with a two-part conclusion: 'After Angria' and 'Conclusion'. 'After Angria' uses this study's findings and historicist methodology to trace the legacy of war and the military in the juvenilia in Branwell and Charlotte's later works after their writing partnership had ended. The Afterword not only consolidates how this thesis contributes to the Brontës' legacy as published writers but also offers insight into how future scholarship can utilise this study's analysis. Finally, the second part of this conclusion provides a chapter-by-chapter breakdown of the study and offers final thoughts about how each chapter contributes to this study's overarching argument: that Charlotte and Branwell Brontë should be considered as social commentators and historians of war. Their knowledge of war, which ranges from the classical period to their current economic, political and social climate, makes their juvenilia an important alternative historical source for

understanding the range of opinion on war that were nurtured and generated in early nineteenth-century Britain.

Chapter One: The Brontës' Military Reading and Influences:

The first chapter of this thesis provides a necessary literature review of Charlotte and Branwell's canonical military reading. Both siblings were well read from an early age and had access to seminal works of war literature ranging from Homer's *Iliad*, to Walter Scott's *Ivanhoe*. Through four individual sections, this thesis chapter traces Charlotte and Branwell's main war-based literary sources from the classical period, through to the contemporary moment. Each section is titled accordingly: Classicism, Late Renaissance to Early Restoration, Romanticism, and Walter Scott. The additional section on Scott is a necessary contribution to the foundations of this study. The vast array of Scott's work introduced the siblings to multiple ways war and militarism can be imagined, be it through chivalrous knights to the everyday soldier embroiled within the 'fog' of battle.

These sections do not claim to provide a complete breakdown of the Brontës' military reading, but instead intend to demonstrate that the family were well versed in the formal and creative history of war. It is through these brief sections that the main themes within this study, which build a picture of Charlotte and Branwell as engaged and invested readers and re-writers of military material, are introduced and explored: 'Classicism' explores classical models of violence and military masculinity, 'Late Renaissance to Early Restoration' traces the siblings' representations of comedic and demonic soldierhood to popular playwrights of the age, 'Romanticism' discusses the verse that led to Charlotte and Branwell's fluctuating pro and anti-war sentiments, and 'Walter Scott' explores potential sources for the siblings' models of fantastical, historical warriors, and their engagement with new military writing techniques. Although these are all themes that are explored and expanded as this thesis continues to

take shape, these sections form an important baseline, offering structural foundations that demonstrate the siblings' interest in and knowledge of the military, which, in turn, consolidate the argument of this thesis: that Charlotte and Branwell are important social historians and commentators on war.

1:1: Classicism

Idyllic visions of masculinity dominate classical literature. The Brontës' exposure to and, in Branwell's case, training in ancient texts and translations by their Cambridge-educated father, facilitated their knowledge and understandings of ancient warfare whilst encouraging them to engage and interact with godlike models of muscular, warrior men. This contextual section investigates one of the most important bygone periods in the Brontës' childhood reading, ancient Greece and Rome. By assessing the siblings' engagement with classical warfare, then moving on to how battlefield violence and physicality are transposed on to sporting events and masculine models – focusing primarily on Homer's *Iliad* (710–60 BC) and Virgil's *Aeneid* (19 BC) – it will become clear how the fabric of the siblings' saga is inextricably bound with classical ideals and customs.

It is important to note that the whole foundation of Charlotte and Branwell's early writings derives from Grecian, mythological models. The Brontës' own fictitious supernatural selves, 'the chief Genii', live in the Jibbel Kumri, or Mountains of the Moon, a strong allusion to the Greek gods' residence, Mount Olympus. Juliet Barker has recognised the pervasive nature of classical references in Branwell's juvenilia, noting that his early writings contain characters such as Epaminondas and Cicero Stephenson, based on the Theban general and Roman orator. Barker notes that all learned, aristocratic characters in the saga are classicists (Barker 1994: 867): The Republican revolutionary, H. M. M. Montmorency, has a library dedicated to ancient history, and Elrington Hall, home of Alexander Percy and Zenobia Elrington, contains numerous ancient volumes: Zenobia even reads Seneca's letters 'in her leisure hours' (867). The list goes on: Barker recognises that, throughout their childhood and adult works, the Brontës' prose is peppered with Scipio Africanus, Socrates, Ovid, Virgil and

Herodotus (166). Despite Charlotte and Branwell's overt investment in their current media climate, which is explored in the primary chapters of this study, the ancient world underpins the entire juvenilia.

As the scholar of the household, it was Branwell who was particularly interested in classical warfare. Throughout his writing life, he remained interested in the ancient world; his most notable Roman and Greek-inspired writings are the dramatic verses 'Caractacus' (1830) and 'The Pass of Thermopylae' (1835) as well as a translation of Horace's *Odes* (1840).¹ In the former two, whereas 'Caractacus' documents the British king who armed his country against the invading Romans, 'The Pass of Thermopylae' recounts a battle between the Persians and the Greeks in a narrow coastal pass. For 'Caractacus', Victor Neufeldt has already traced Branwell's main source of information to William Mavor's *Universal History [Volume 6]* (1804), discounting the idea that Branwell used the usual classical source of Tacitus' *Annals* (14–68 AD). Branwell would have most likely read about the latter in book seven of Herodotus' *Histories* (440 BC): both Barker and Christine Alexander observe Charlotte's fleeting references to the Greek historian through her learned gothic, blue-stockings heroine Zenobia Elrington (*EEW I* 1987: 23–4) (Barker 1994: 166), and, from Branwell's classical education, it is likely that he was even more familiar with his writings. The interconnecting text between 'Caractacus' and 'The Pass of Thermopylae', however, is Edward Gibbon's *The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* (1776). Both Charlotte and Branwell were likely to have read Gibbon's epic, or would certainly have been familiar with it. In his *Angria and the Angrians (1a)* (1834) Branwell foresees that his chronology of Angria's empire will become 'the Decline and Fall of Africa' (*WPB I* 1997: 221). Similarly, in her footnotes to Charlotte's *Leaf from an Unopened Volume* (1834), Alexander argues

¹ Branwell's personal challenge to copy out Horace's militant odes in 1840 only serves to prove that his interest in classical warfare did not diminish. His translations cover the themes present in this section – sports, war and idealised masculinity – but appear too late for us to know for certain that they had a strong bearing on the siblings' juvenilia a decade or so previously. I will treat them solely as further supportive evidence that the siblings were exposed to a very particular image of strong, masculine classical culture, one that captivated them well into adulthood.

that Zamorna's increasing likeness to the Roman Emperor, Augustus – one of many eminent divine men he is compared to – is indicative of Charlotte's reading of Gibbon (*EEW II* 1991: 325). Additionally, in Charlotte's *The Scrap Book*: 'Address to the Angrians' (1834), not only does she boast knowledge of Alexander the Great, but also alludes to 'Goths in myriads' (*EEW II* 1991: 26), referring to the barbarian invasions that contributed to Rome's collapse detailed by Gibbon in his work. Both 'Caractacus' and 'The Pass of Thermopylae' are mentioned in Gibbon's chronicle. Gibbon talks of Britain's invasion in the first century of the Christian Æra. He commends the 'various tribes of Britain' who 'took up arms with savage fierceness' (Gibbon 1998: 4), one of them being Caractacus. Moreover, Gibbon reflects on the battle between the Persians and the Greeks when theorising how the Romans may have defeated the Goths at Thermopylae:

In this narrow pass of Thermopylae, where Leonidas and the three hundred Spartans had gloriously devoted their lives, the Goths might have been stopped, or destroyed, by a skilful general; and perhaps the view of that sacred spot might have kindled some sparks of military ardour in the breasts of the degenerate Greeks (Gibbon 1998: 583).²

Branwell adopts this idealised idea of glory, mimicking Gibbon's celebratory remarks with his: 'Arise ye Spartan heroes rise [...] | Never did Trumpets loudest voice | Rouse the fierce soldier to rejoice | As now will yon ensanguined pass | And that one word Leonidas!' (*WPB I* 1997: 7). It is from the siblings' widespread reading about ancient Greece and Rome, both from the works of ancient and modern historians, that Branwell and Charlotte's enriched history of warfare truly becomes noticeable. Their engagement with primary and secondary material that documents and celebrates both classical models of warfare and masculinity adds an extra layer to their knowledge of different

² It is of contextual importance to note that the Greeks were Romanised by this point.

cultures, doctrines and historical genres, building an alternative history of which they are social commentators and historians.

As Stephen Miller notes, in classical Greece it was essential for men's physical and mental wellbeing to excel in athletics (Miller 2006: 1). In Roman culture, the physical body was equally as important. Sports such as boxing, swimming and armed combat contributed to the projected image of Rome as a strong, athletic dynasty.³ Although these doctrines are discussed by a majority of classical writers, including Pindar, this chapter focuses on Homer's *The Iliad* and Virgil's *The Aeneid*: both are texts that the Brontë siblings read, and both contain striking imagery of sporting events.⁴ Each narrative enforces the necessity of heightened masculinity in times of war, yet also provided vivid accounts of exercise and physical games in track and stadium environments. Prefiguring the Olympic games, Homer and Virgil's writings provide detailed descriptions of funeral games: these games were similar in format to our present day understanding of the Olympics, but were held in honour of a recently deceased hero. Branwell's 'Ode on the Celebration of the African Games' (1832) pays homage to these early death-inspired competitions. Although his poem does not concern death specifically, Branwell aligns melancholic language with the idea of death as a catalyst for celebration. In the Olympian hall the reader is urged to 'Haste upon this day of gladness | Drive away the voice of sadness | And of grim Despair' (*Tales* 2010: 327). In Virgil's *Aeneid*, Aeneas commemorates the first anniversary of his father's death by offering tributes to the gods and hosting games. Although the event is something that he 'shall always find bitter' (Virgil 2003: 92), his tone changes, and his positive thoughts arise: 'Once more I greet you, my divine father. I come to greet your sacred ashes' (Virgil 2003: 93). With his father's presence felt, the games begin. In Homer's *Iliad*,

³ See Matthew Dillon and Lynda Garland's *Ancient Rome: From the Early republic to the Assassination of Julius Caesar* (2005).

⁴ The Revd. Patrick Brontë was awarded his own copy of Homer's *Iliad* for keeping in the 'first class' at Cambridge University. The family also owned a copy of Dryden's translated version of Virgil's *Aeneid*.

Achilles offers a similar tribute consisting of games and prizes in honour of his beloved comrade, Patroclus. After the congregation buries the dead in collective mourning, Achilles makes them sit whilst he brings out the prizes for the funeral games: ‘Agamemnon and you other Greek men-at-arms, these are the prizes that await the charioteers in this contest’ (Homer 2003: 403). In ancient culture, it is clear that death and grief are expressed and processed through physical activity and muscular demonstrations of manliness. The games, in turn, combat the weakness associated with death, triggering the need to display primal, masculine instincts for survival. Alexander notes that, at this point, Branwell was suffering his own loss, his sisters belittling the tyranny of the Genii – the Greek-inspired gods – within the Glass Town saga. Branwell plays with this Greek assertion of manliness in the face of death, asserting his own masculine position as brother as he experiences a death-like moment through his decline of imaginative control in the face of his sisters: ‘These are the powers that rule our land | Nor can we hope their fetters to release’ (*Tales* 2010: 326).

In classical literature, it is difficult to distinguish the language of the arena from that of battle, affirming the close union between sport and war. In Virgil’s *Aeneid*, the narrator describes how ‘they [the contestants] charged and turned and charged again, winding in circles now in one direction now in the other, fighting out in full armour the very image of battle’ (Virgil 2003: 106), emphasising the warlike atmosphere in the arena. In Homer’s *Iliad*, Achilles describes how the games’ contenders and the military are one and the same: ‘Achilles then gave order for his war-loving Myrmidons to put on their bronze armour and every charioteer to yoke his horses [...] The charioteers led off and after them came a cloud of infantry one could not count’ (Homer 2003: 403). In ‘Celebration’, Branwell immediately fixates on this connection, revealing the bloodthirsty natures of the Genii: ‘Round their huge jaws the red foam churning | Their souls for blood and battle burning [...] still again impatient to begin’ (*Tales* 2010: 326).

This terrifying roar of the Genii is accompanied by anthems of war: the ‘trumpets loud and shrill’ (*Tales* 2010: 327) mimic the patriotic, warlike anthem of Branwell’s later poem ‘Sound the Loud Trumpet’ (1834), written under his pseudonym, Henry Hastings. As ancient warfare is purposefully and intimately bound with visions of masculine power and pugnacious dominance, so is Branwell’s vision of Glass Town, its celebrations and physicality revolving around the glorification of war.

One of the most popular physical sports in classical culture was boxing, which also happens to be the most fashionable masculine activity for all masculine classes in Charlotte and Branwell’s decade-long saga; characters ranging from aristocrats to criminals partake. This is unsurprising, given the nineteenth-century cross-class obsession with pugilism.⁵ Alexander and Margaret Smith note that the Brontës’ heroes, Lord Byron and John Wilson, the latter a writer for *Blackwood’s*, practised the sport, and that Branwell became a member of the local Haworth boxing club (Barker 1994: 414). Moreover, Branwell kept up to date with the latest pugilist news and features: discussions about boxing regularly featured in late-Georgian periodicals and publications. Extracts from Pierce Egan’s ongoing series *Boxiana; or Sketches of Ancient and Modern Pugilism*, pervaded the pages of the siblings’ *Blackwood’s* between 1819–22. Maintaining links with its classical origins, another article titled ‘Boxing Match at Wimbledon’, written in Greek and Latin, appeared in *Blackwood’s* in March 1818. It is clear that these contemporary analyses of fighting skills influenced Charlotte and Branwell’s characterisation. One notable champion mentioned in the *Boxiana* series, Pratt, is reimagined as ‘Pratee’, or Maurice Flannagan, in Charlotte and Branwell’s writing. In Charlotte’s ‘Corner Dishes’ (1834), he is given the position of private secretary to Zamorna, so that they can box at any time. Another Glass Town

⁵ In *Boxing and Society: An International Analysis* (1996), John Sugden remarks that ‘Pugilism was an especially attractive target for bourgeois reformers because it brought together both of their class enemies: a decadent and dying aristocracy and an ill-disciplined, pre-industrial labour force’ (Sugden 1996: 21).

boxer, Molyneux, who is patron of the ring, is similarly named after a *Boxiana* character, Tom 'The Moor' Molineaux, a famous black boxer celebrated by Egan for his warlike form and courageous spirit.⁶ In his last, unfinished novel, *And the Weary are at Rest* (1845), Branwell demonstrates his continued interest in pugilism. His protagonist, Alexander Percy, alludes to the popular sporting chronicle *Bell's Life in London*, published between 1822 and 1886: 'I can be as sharp a shot and as stalwart a walk as any one but when I am out o' the vein I will not brag of performances worthy of being registered in any column of Bells Life in London' (*WPB III* 1999: 429), verifying that Branwell continued to hold the sport in high esteem until the end of his life.

Although it is clear that, contextually, the art of boxing played a major role in nineteenth-century masculine and sporting discourse, the late-Georgian reader is often reminded that the origins and values of this activity are much indebted to ancient society. In Egan's *Boxiana* he notes:

It was sanctioned by those distinguished nations [Rome and Greece], in their public sports, and in the education of youth, to manifest its utility in strengthening the body, dissipating all fear, and infusing a manly courage into the system [...] the manly art of Boxing has infused that true heroic courage, blended with humanity, into the hearts of Britons, which have made them so renowned, terrific, and triumphant, in all parts of the world (Egan 1823: 3).

Both Branwell and Charlotte, like the ancient Greeks, make boxing an obligatory profession for their protagonists, Alexander Percy and Zamorna. In *Life of Alexander Percy* (1834), a biography of Percy's youth, Percy's education in pugilism – among other sports – is named as being directly responsible for his 'masculine strength':

⁶ See Kevin Smith's *Black Genesis: The History of the Black Prizefighter 1760–1870* (2003), p. 29.

[mornings were] generally spent at the professors of boxing fencing and such athletic exercises in whose rooms he learnt all the art of Defence acquired ideal skill and strength and repaired or warded off the inroads which the life he led was making on his naturally strong and springy constitution (*WPB II* 1999: 125).

Like Percy, Zamorna is also passionate about the sport. Inspired by bawdy pugilist names circulating in the period such as Jem Belcher, Tom Tring and Ikey Pig, Charlotte brands her prizewinning fighter with a number of pugilist nicknames: Young Wildblood, the Swashing Swell, Handsome Spanker and the Fancy (*EEW II* 1991: 104–5).⁷ Branwell encouraged his sister's interaction with the sport, celebrating their mutual interest in his tale, *Real Life in Verdopolis* (1834). Although there are a number of the siblings' writings – *Letters from an Englishman Vol II* (1831), *Something about Arthur* (1833), *The Green Dwarf* (1833) to name a few– that deal with an outbreak of fisticuffs, this particular story keenly demonstrates their protagonists' pugilist upbringing. After Zamorna brings in governmental troops to quell a prison riot started by Percy, Percy arrives at an aristocratic gentleman's club, Elysium, and goads his rival into participating in a boxing match. Branwell's lust for violence and bloodthirsty battles manifests here: 'a toucher on Rougues smeller which brought out a beautiful stream of claret [...] soon their eyes became black as the Midnight their lips red as coral' (*WPB I* 1997: 294). This descriptive passage is, furthermore, interspersed with warlike language: 'first blood was cried', 'the battle displayed perfect sience' (294). Although similar language is used in *Boxiana* – in one instance Egan explains boxing's 'most hurtful blows': 'the blood often runs from his ears, mouth and nose' (Egan 1819: 442) – some of the most bloodthirsty descriptions of physical combat would have come from Branwell's classical reading. For example, in Homer's *Iliad*, a gory match occurs

⁷ Leading into the Victorian period, bawdy pugilist names continued to populate literature. This caricatured image especially appealed to Dickens' imagination, naming his fictitious boxer 'the Game Chicken' in *Dombey and Son* (1848).

between the champion boxer, Epeius, and the godlike Euryalus:

When the two men had kitted themselves out, they stepped into the middle of the gathering, put up their massive fists and fell on each other. Heavy blows were exchanged; cheek-bones cracked fearfully; and the sweat began to pour off them. Then, as Euryalus was looking for an opening, godlike Epeius, leaping in, caught him on the cheek. Euryalus remained upright no longer, and his whole body sagged (Homer 2003: 414).

Moreover, in the fifth book of Virgil's *Aeneid*, an equally gory fight is recounted between Trojan Dares and Entellus. It is so violent that the match has to be called off when it culminates with Entellus beating a bull's brains out (Virgil 2003: 103). The gruesome language used in these classical texts is a clear source for the contemporary appeal in sensationalising violence, be it in the periodical press, or in the Brontës' imaginations: it facilitated a connection between past and present understandings of unrestrained, red-blooded forms of masculinity, forms that the Brontës admired and adopted.

A less violent, but equally competitive activity that was popular in ancient Greece and Rome was archery, a sport associated with the oracular god Apollo in Greek and Roman religion and mythology. Within Charlotte and Branwell's juvenilia, Charlotte's protagonist is repeatedly likened to Apollo in both physical appearance and character. Despite maturing in his identity – evolving from the Marquis of Douro to the Duke of Zamorna – and changing in his manner and physical appearance, he is consistently compared to the classical god throughout the saga. In Charlotte's early tale, *Albion and Marina* (1830), the Marquis of Douro [Zamorna] is described as follows: 'His stature was lofty; his form equal in magnificence of its proportion[s] to that of Apollo' (*Tales* 2010: 56). It is also demonstrated, however, through Charlotte's drawings and early writings that her hero was feminine in his appearance. This is

something that Zamorna is often teased about in Charlotte's later juvenilia: in *The Spell* (1834), the narrator remarks how 'the Duke of Zamorna was once like a girl!' (*Tales* 2010: 125). Although his original, physically effeminate self may appear to contradict doctrines of bodily power, especially god-like physicality, the Marquis of Douro's soft features further justify his likeness to Apollo: Apollo is repeatedly described as the ideal figure of the *kouros*, an athletic youth that was inextricably bound with classical visions of homoeroticism and physical perfection. Literally translated as 'young man', this celebrated, archetypal model of manliness was mainly represented in sculpture, the *kouros*, as described by Ian Jenkins and Victoria Turner, possessing 'developed biceps, and pectoral muscles; wasp waist; flat stomach; a clear division of torso and pelvis; powerful buttocks and thighs' (Jenkins, Turner 2009: 11). It is not surprising that this erotic vision of manliness captured the imagination of the young Charlotte Brontë, the erotic and physical ideals available to her making a deep impression on her maturing, sexually active imagination.

In her 1833 tale, *Something About Arthur*, Charlotte's idealised vision of masculinity becomes blurred and slightly confused. After Mina Laury, the Marquis of Douro's admirer, nurses Douro back to health in the mountains following a local conflict, the narrative describes how he had:

reached that lofty heroic stature and free, bold chivalric bearing which he now possesses. His features also assumed a richer and sunnier tone of colouring in exchange for the delicate, transparent complexion which had before given him a very effeminate appearance (*EEW II* 1991: 39).

From hereon Charlotte's new 'purely physical' model of ideal masculinity is complete,

sculpted militant muscle essential for her ideal soldier rather than youthful athleticism. Her artwork of 1833-34 confirms that this was not an easy transition, however, the tension between brawny Byronism and youthful beauty is clearly evident. Although her hero is shown broad chested and in full regimentals, he still retains his soft features, showing Charlotte's difficulty in breaking from classical ideals.



Figure (1): Brontë, Charlotte (1833-34). *Military Man*. Figure (2): Brontë, Branwell (1835). *Zamorna*. Images used courtesy of the Brontë Parsonage Museum.

Charlotte's inability to separate the Marquis of Douro's masculine identity from Apollo's made an impression on Branwell. In his *Angria and the Angrians I(a)* (1834), despite his transformation from feminine beauty to Byronic hero, Zamorna, now King of Angria, is introduced as possessing 'an Appollo like form which his close white dress so noble set off. added a countenance whose rich curls marble forehead and an eye.

which spurned creation'. (*WPB I* 1997: 219) Regardless of his changing physical appearance, as demonstrated through Branwell's sketch of Zamorna in 1835, his association with Apollo had become an integral part of Zamorna's (self)representation. Although Branwell's harsh sketch – described by Alexander and Jane Sellars as 'forcefully' and 'heavily' drawn (Alexander, Sellars 1995: 321) – visually departs from classical masculine imagery, it is clear that the association cannot be undone. This associative legacy is emphasised through the siblings' literature. Zamorna's new Angrian kingdom becomes an extension of himself. An image of the sun – another divine attribute associated with Apollo, the sun god – becomes a nationwide emblem of the Angrian dynasty and Zamorna's leadership.⁸ In her *Peep Into a Picturebook* (1834) Charlotte celebrates Zamorna's new extension of his classical identity; the narrator remarks on a portrait of the new King: 'Fire and light! What have we here, Zamorna's self, blazing in the frontispiece like the sun on his own standard!' (*EEW II* 1991: 93) As this quotation suggests, the image of the sun also becomes imperative for warmongering propaganda. Branwell's *Angria and the Angrians I(a)* proves that Angria is, if nothing else, a militant land that uses classical ideals of strength and power to rally its people:

“your Sky shall never be clouded your Land shall never be invaded your sun shall never set and your reign shall never end will be and shall be the determination and care of your King Arthur Wellesley [Zamorna] [...] and by this I will abide so help me God'. The Earl of Northangerland [Alexander Percy] stepped darkly forward and stretching forth his hands he cried in the loudest and most warlike voice, God save the King” (*WPB II* 1999: 203)

With the figure of Apollo bound first to Zamorna's personal then national identity, it is clear that classical imagery is initially important in the siblings' construction of

⁸ From their detailed knowledge of France's history, which is explored throughout this thesis, it is also possible that the Brontës were additionally alluding to Louis XIV (1638–1715), France's ruler and also known as the 'sun king'. Although no direct relationship is made between Zamorna and Louis, this speculative connection continues to promote the Brontës' multi-layered understanding of and engagement with history.

masculine form and selfhood, then becomes an integral part of the saga's core values and their kingdom's performativity.

In Charlotte and Branwell's juvenilia, the siblings' interest in ancient sporting and wartime culture adds an important foundation to a host of references and allusions made to historical battles and past models of masculinity. As well as engaging with other historical and present models of war – which will be explored in the following chapters – it is important to note that a multi-faceted backdrop supports their narratives, which are crowded with military history stretching back for approximately one thousand years. By uncovering and exploring these origins, readers can understand the historical foundations upon which the Brontë juvenilia are built and recognise that their complex, multidimensional understandings of military men and landscapes – both in youth and adulthood – are informed by a multitude of voices, relaying past civilised models.

1:2: Late Renaissance to Early Restoration:

Whereas the previous contextual section negotiated the role of classicism in regard to Charlotte and Branwell's military readings and reimaginings, this contextual subchapter propels these influences into the seventeenth century. Writers from the late Renaissance to early Restoration period – such as William Shakespeare, Ben Jonson and John Milton – shaped the Brontës' understanding of different versions of soldierhood and influenced their juvenile characters' personalities and relationships. Although the siblings' engagement with certain writers – such as Jonson – did not last, the knowledge they gained from early sources continued to resonate throughout their juvenilia, moulding their apprenticeships as war writers.¹ For example, this section argues that the siblings used Renaissance models to tackle and exaggerate the characteristics of their most problematic military characters. On the other hand, the endurance of the Restoration writer Milton, who inspired depictions of Napoleon in the Romantic period, continued to resonate with the siblings. In this section, I have chosen to consider Milton within this Romantic context. It is through this multi-layered analysis that it becomes clear that Charlotte and Branwell used a conflation of numerous, and historic, representations of wartime manliness, allowing their juvenilia to serve a multi-dimensional purpose and give a well-balanced and sagacious overview of past military models. Using canonical representations of the late Renaissance and Restoration soldier, Charlotte and Branwell were able to envisage past and present connections between the military and masculinity, and comedy and evil, incorporating these broad and significant elements into their imaginary worlds.

Thus far, Brontë scholarship has frequently compared Shakespeare's 'Moorish' soldier Othello to Charlotte and Branwell's fictitious Ashanti warrior, Quashia

¹ Similarly, despite displaying knowledge of the English Civil War (1642–1651) in their juvenilia through passing comments, there is no lasting impact of it in their characterisation and events.

Quamina. A notorious villain, Quamina follows a similar narrative to Othello; Christine Alexander notes that he ‘takes on all the European clichés [...] and degenerates into a drunken murderer’ (Alexander 2005: 165). Alexander also recognises the similarity between Othello and Iago, and Quamina and Alexander Percy’s relationship. Both are nurtured in a homosocial military environment, yet, despite their allegiance to the same cause, Iago and Percy choose to betray their black comrades, provoking them to unleash their inner ‘savage’. Referring to Alexander Percy’s false promise to grant permission for Quamina to marry his daughter, Mary Percy, Alexander is reminded of Iago’s duping of Othello regarding his wife, Desdemona’s, infidelity; both black soldiers are described as reacting violently and pursuing their feminine, white objects of desire (*Tales* 2010: 566).²

Although race – with a military subtext – has been discussed numerous times in relation to the Brontë juvenilia’s adoption of Shakespearean themes, little attention has been extended to other late Renaissance military models the Brontës recognised and adapted in their early literature. A prime example of this is the Elizabethan literary and theatrical portrayal of the comic soldier, a common component of the Elizabethan stage. Amongst other intentions, Jorgenson emphasises that the common soldier provided a ‘comic substratum’ for serious plays and added an extra layer of box-office appeal (Jorgenson 1973: 82). Shakespeare is known for his humorous military characters, with their witticisms, scheming plots and alcoholic tendencies; Falstaff, Pistol and Nym feature in *Henry V* (1600), *The Merry Wives of Windsor* (1602) and the former two also make an appearance in Shakespeare’s two-part *Henry IV* (1600). In *Othello* (1604), Iago interacts with this stereotype, Branwell particularly taken with a drinking scene in which Iago, according to Buckner Trawick, ‘plays to the common stereotype of the ‘bluff, honest, fun-loving soldier. Calling for wine he sings a rollicking drinking song’

² For a more in-depth discussion of Quamina, see Chapter Four: ‘Colonial Warfare’.

(Trawick 1978: 20). Branwell transcribes this song in his *Letters from an Englishman Vol II* (1831), this strong image of frivolity and drunkenness influencing Branwell's early conceptions of soldierly buffoonery and comradeship. Drunken imagery, however, also paved the way for Branwell's characters' – especially Henry Hastings' – more sinister faults, Branwell's later juvenilia exploring the continuous, and dangerous presence of military alcoholism within Angria's military.³

For both Charlotte and Branwell, the most pervasive image of the soldier buffoon derives from Ben Jonson's *Every Man in His Humour* (1598); Jonson captured the siblings' imagination with his satirical representation of the boasting, cowardly soldier Captain Bobadil. A popular character in nineteenth-century literary circles, Bobadil was equally celebrated by Charlotte and Branwell within their juvenilia. Their interest in the flawed military figure prefigured other prominent literary figures' fascination with him. Although notable Victorian writers such as Robert Browning, Alfred Tennyson and Edward Bulwer-Lytton wrote of their fondness for Jonson's character, it was Charles Dickens who fervently adopted the role, playing Bobadil numerous times alongside his company of literary amateurs during the 1840s. An audience member at an 1847 benefit event exclaimed: 'Dickens was glorious. He literally floated in braggadocio. His air of supreme conceit and frothy pomp in the earlier scenes came out with prodigious force in contrast with the subsequent humiliation which I never saw so thoroughly expressed before' (Amerongen 1926: 20). As well as acting the part, Dickens also had portraits painted as Bobadil and signed his letters with the soldier's name. The character of the comic soldier had a powerful hold upon his and his contemporaries' literary imaginations.

A decade earlier, Bobadil had a similar effect on the childhood imaginations of

³ See the section on alcoholism in Chapter Three: 'The Napoleonic Wars' for a detailed discussion of Henry Hastings' addiction.

the Brontë siblings. Although not integral to the Glass Town plot, Bobadill [*sic*] appears in Charlotte's early bawdy tales amongst body snatchers and rare lads.⁴ Besides briefly appearing in her *An Interesting Passage in the Lives of Some Eminent Men of the Present Time* (1830) as a 'tall, ugly man' who interacts with the Duke of Wellington (*EEW I* 1987: 176), he also makes a cameo appearance in Charlotte's *The Poetaster* (1830). In this tale, he is served justice from the whip of Hume Badey, the Glass Town physician – and real-life physician to the Duke of Wellington – who at this point is no more than a dissector of stolen bodies.

General Bobadill: May it please you, my lord, Sir Alexander Hume Badey has with the most consummate insolence horse-whipped me while in the discharge of my duty.

Duke of Wellington: Well, it certainly does please me, Bobadill

(*EEW I* 1987: 185).

The passage's interaction between justice and humiliation is taken from Jonson's original play. In Act IV sc. V, Bobadil is defeated in a duel after continuously boasting about his military prowess under the facade of gentlemanly chivalry: 'I could have slain them all, but I delight not in murder' (Jonson 2008: 203). When Justice Clement is called in the final scene to expose and rectify the characters' flaws and deceits, Bobadil's 'humour' is revealed in his lament over his attack. Clement responds: 'O, God's precious! Is this the soldier? Lie there, my sword, 'twill make him swoon, I fear' (Jonson 2008: 217). By adopting Bobadil's bawdiness and failure as a soldier, Charlotte shows her early understanding of how soldierhood can be problematic. Along with Branwell, who, in his *The Liar Detected* (1830), lists Bobadil amongst fifteen others charged with criminal offences – Bobadil's crime is having 'an ugly count[e]nance'

⁴ Rare lads are Charlotte and Branwell's collective name for the lower-class criminal underbelly of Glass Town society.

(*WPB I* 1997: 95) – Charlotte’s formative impressions of military masculinity are fluid; her comprehension of soldierly character not just limited to her idealisation of war-like figures such as the Duke of Wellington. Her own and Branwell’s presentation of him as ‘ugly’, both physically and morally, paved the way for more sinister representations of mobilised men.

Charlotte and Branwell’s use of Bobadil is limited to these three tales, their interest in comic military figures diminishing as their writing matured; his presence is more an insight into their important early influences than a recurring central personality. Traces of his characteristics, however, can be seen in Branwell’s flawed protagonist, Alexander Percy. Both a gentleman and a soldier, Percy often boasts of his devotion to Angria, writing heartfelt commentaries about his position as a speaker for the people. This is, however, often coupled with cowardice. In 1834, he retires to Stumpsland whilst Angria is on the cusp of civil war, orchestrated by Percy himself. In *Angria and the Angrians I(b)* (1834) he writes from a safe zone: ‘I am here now suffering in exile in Stumpz land that you may awaken to your welfare I regard my self as <indeed> a temporary Martyr to your cause but how my Countrymen do you regard me’ (*WPB II* 1999: 249). Again, in *Angria and the Angrians II (b)* (1836), when Angria looks to be losing in a civil war against Adrah’s Reform Party, Percy abandons his army and goes into hiding with his mistress, Louise Vernon. Like Charlotte and Branwell’s early readings of Bobadil and other flawed soldiers, Percy becomes the epitome of the flawed soldier, not necessarily like the comic figure of Bobadil, but still exhibiting the same characteristics that contribute to a more dysfunctional image of military masculinity. If anything, Charlotte and Branwell appear to adapt the superficial comic elements of Bobadil’s character and layer it with more sinister undertones: Percy has a darker, more threatening countenance, reminiscent of Shakespeare’s Iago. Percy’s mixture of manly, militaristic boastfulness alongside his characteristics of cowardice and deceit

demonstrate the complex levels of analysis the siblings conducted through reading late Renaissance literature. Their construction of Percy's unusual, multidimensional personality is, in part, formed from these early, dysfunctional military models.

There is, however, another layer to Percy's personality: his similarity to Romantic representations of Napoleon, carried through from Restoration literature. Although a detailed discussion of Napoleon's representation in the post-war media is carried out in Chapter Two: 'Wellington and Napoleon', his, and therefore Percy's, associations with power and evil adhered to Restoration-Romantic models that were firmly embedded in early nineteenth-century culture. To clarify, Branwell's fictitious Napoleon (Boney) – who morphs into Percy – is primarily constructed in the Emperor's image, which was, in turn, largely shaped by Romantic revivals of Milton.⁵ During the mid-seventeenth-century Milton's work was part of a post-civil war Republican discourse. In turn, Napoleon advocated Republicanism, even publishing a pro-Republican pamphlet entitled *Le souper de Beaucaire* in 1793. The siblings recognised and adopted Republicanism's pervasive tone, feeding this representation into Percy: he is a combined reincarnation of Napoleon and the Miltonic Lucifer. As Nigel Smith notes, 'The first readers of *Paradise Lost* knew well that here was a Republican [...] speaking. The poem was read as an extensive critique of the ceremony and spectacle that greeted the return of the monarchy' (Smith 2001: 253). Like Satan and his fallen angels who, as Smith argues, vocalise their lost Republican liberty (254), the Brontës' Percy leads a troubled existence, his Republican utopia brought to ruins, much like Cromwell's and Napoleon's. Branwell attempts to rationalise the origins of this Miltonic, Republican image by imagining his protagonist's back-story through the lens of another writer who explored the nature of evil and power, Shakespeare. Branwell's *Life of Alexander Percy*

⁵ The evolution of Alexander Percy's character is complex. He originated from the toy soldiers the Revd. Patrick Brontë brought back for his children in around 1826; Branwell called his Boney, after Napoleon Bonaparte. Boney morphed into Rogue in around 1829–30, Percy's criminal 'working' name, commonly associated with his time as a young Republican and a pirate. Eventually, he married Zenobia Elrington in 1833 adopting the more stable names of Alexander Percy/Lord Elrington and the Duke of Northangerland.

Volume II (1835) ultimately follows a similar narrative to *Macbeth* (1611), Percy's first love, Augusta di Segovia [Lady Macbeth], scheming with Percy to kill his father, Edward Percy [Duncan], in order to obtain his wealth and assets: in one instance Montmorency, Percy's associate, refers to the couple as Lord and Lady Macbeth (*WPB II* 1999: 15). By affiliating his protagonist with Macbeth, the valiant soldier turned

power-hungry murderer, Branwell conceptualises Percy as a dangerous military figure who is mentally unstable and morally corrupt.

As well as developing Percy's character within a Shakespearean discourse, Branwell – and Charlotte – frequently envisage him as the fallen angel Lucifer from Milton's *Paradise Lost*. In the *Macbeth*-inspired narrative of Percy's youth, Percy recalls the second book of Milton's epic, where Hell is connected with

Earth and spirits 'pass to and fro | To



Cruikshank, George (1815). *Boney's Meditations on the Island of St Helena – or – The Devil Addressing the Sun*. Image used courtesy of the British Museum.

tempt or punish mortals' (Milton 2008: 60): 'The Devil tempted me day and night, and – Now! – I have arrived on landing full into the midst of a vast conclave of Demons' (*WPB II* 1999: 16). The Brontës' comparisons between military figureheads and the Devil mimic contemporary Romantic trends that directly place Napoleon amidst satanic imagery. George Cruikshank's satirical engraving *Boney's Meditations on the Island of St Helena – or – The Devil Addressing the Sun* (1815) epitomises the Miltonic association between France's leader and Hell. The exiled Napoleon is transformed into

the Devil and addresses the sun: ‘I hate thy beams, that bring to my remembrance from what state I fell’ (Milton 2008: 85). In a broader cultural sense, Simon Bainbridge notes that Romantic radical thinkers, such as William Hazlitt and ‘the conservative Lake poets, saw the Napoleonic contest in Europe as a re-enactment of the Miltonic epic struggle’ (Bainbridge 1995: 183). Bainbridge goes to lengths to list a number of wide-scale media representations of Napoleon dressed as Satan, emphasising that this analogy ‘was by this time well established in newspapers, pamphlets, poetry and caricatures’ (Bainbridge 1995: 185). As well as widespread print mediums – such as *The Times* – frequently drawing comparisons between the two, poets the Brontës read and admired regularly used Milton’s Satan to illustrate the threat, genius and Byronism of France’s Emperor (Bainbridge 1995: 235). Wordsworth adopted Milton’s style, form and tone in a number of poetical works. Published alongside ‘View from the Top of Black Comb’ (1813), which Branwell imitated in 1840 (OCB 2006: 551), Wordsworth’s ‘Look now on that Adventurer’ (1813) directly comments on Napoleon’s ambition, the military leader surveying his kingdom from a sublime height: ‘And so hath gained at length a prosperous height, | Round which the elements of worldly might | Beneath his haughty feet, like cloud, are laid’ (Wordsworth, Bainbridge 1995: 117). Brook Thomas notes this parallel, observing that both Milton and Wordsworth describe Lucifer as ‘the great adventurer’ (Thomas 1998: 84). Cohering to this Restoration–Romantic tradition Coleridge frequently referred to a Miltonic Napoleon in his pre-Waterloo essays published in *The Morning Post* and the *Courier* (Bainbridge 2005: 125–133) and Robert Southey’s ‘The Poet’s Pilgrimage to Waterloo’ (1816) graphically describes Napoleon ‘Like Satan rising from the sulphurous flood, | His impious legions to the battle plain’ (Southey 2012: 252). From this exposure to Romantic representations of Napoleon, and its pervasive image in early nineteenth-century popular culture, it is unsurprising that the young Brontës formulated Alexander Percy from its ashes.

The Miltonic Percy often troubled Charlotte and Branwell, with his demonic physicality and presence. Although there are a number of narrative moments that linger upon his destructive, repellent character, the most detailed description lies in Charlotte's *Corner Dishes – A Peep Into a Picturebook* (1834):

The [Percy's] expression in this picture is somewhat pensive, composed, free from sarcasm except the fixed sneer of the lip and strange deadly glitter of the eye, whose glance – a mixture of the keenest scorn and deepest thought – curdles the spectator's blood to ice. In my opinion this head embodies the most vivid ideas we can conceive of Lucifer, the rebellious Archangel: there is such a total absence of human feeling and sympathy; such a cold frozen pride; such fathomless power of intellect; such passionless yet perfect beauty – not breathing and burning and full of lightning blood and fiery thought and feeling like that of some others whom our reader will recollect [Zamorna] (*EEW II*, I 1991: 87).

Referring to Percy and her own Byronic protagonist, Zamorna, Charlotte effortlessly conjures imagery of the same Miltonic Napoleon featured in Romantic literature and popular culture. Despite Percy's character specifically evolving from Napoleon, Charlotte was also attracted to the dark elements of the Republican rebel. Her teenage writings, therefore, transformed the feminine image of her childhood protagonist, the Marquis of Douro, son of the Duke of Wellington, into the Devil-like Zamorna, rival only to Percy.⁶ In addition to Charlotte's mutated description above, Branwell's *Angria and the Angrians III(d)* (1836) responded to Charlotte's reinvention: recounting an instance when Percy and Zamorna swapped identities. After admitting defeat in the Angrian civil wars of 1836, Zamorna is captured and banished to Ascension Isle by Percy, much as Napoleon was exiled on St Helena following Wellington's victory at Waterloo.

⁶ See the section 'Classicism' within the first chapter of this thesis for Charlotte and Branwell's illustrations of Zamorna's evolutionary image.

In Charlotte's *Four Years Ago* (1837), which now only exists in transcript format, Zamorna's devilish qualities are explored to their full potential when he studies himself in the mirror:

My little partner said, 'what a lovely night it was.' 'Yes,' said I, abstractedly, for my eyes were fixed on the mirror. It reflected [...] myself leaning against one side of the porch, and the devil, the exact shadow of myself, against the other [...] The devil began to talk to Honor and tell her she was a very pretty girl, a wild, gentle, being, fit to be born and reared in the woods of the West. He told her she was his country-woman, and she coloured and flashed a look of enthusiasm upward, so as to meet fully the glance of his royal highness [...] "Oh my lord, all who are born in my country love it, but there is no country ruled by you which I should not adore," the devil looked satisfied, grim evil shade! How he winked and nodded at me, who stood so quietly, gentlemen, so innocently listening to the great deceiver making love, very much scandalized at him, but not thinking it right to interfere [...] 'Your Grace is the devil,' concluded Castlereagh. 'I am' was the solemn answer, accompanied by a sigh so contrite, so humble (Brontë, Hatfield: 91).

Although much of Charlotte's conceptualisation of the Devil here is informed by James Hogg's exploration of split-personalities in *The Memoirs and Confessions of a Justified Sinner* (1824),⁷ it also recalls an instance in *Paradise Lost* where the Devil creates a passageway to Earth to tempt mortals into sin (Milton 2008: 60). In Charlotte's case, her passageway is substituted for a mirror. Moreover, just as Milton's epic revives the tale of Eve and the Devil, the latter posing as a serpent to illustrate sin and temptation, Zamorna's charm and persistence with a vulnerable woman named 'Honor' assumes similarities to Eve's fall from grace.

The image of the serpent is most pervasive when Zamorna and Alexander Percy are at war with one another. It is common in the juvenilia for their military-based brotherhood to break down; Charlotte and Branwell's later Angrian tales recount the

⁷ Robert, the protagonist of Hogg's novel, is tormented by an enigmatic stranger named Gil-Martin, who manipulates him to do his bidding. It is suggested that Gil-Martin is the Devil, yet Robert also proposes that this figure could be an extension of his imagination.

climactic civil war that matures from their politically charged rivalry. In a series of speeches, written consecutively in a collaborative effort by the two siblings, Charlotte [Zamorna] refers to Percy as a serpent.⁸ In *Adress [sic] to the Angrians By his Grace The Duke of Zamorna* (1835) she states: ‘Still the toad personified by his delegates lies crouched at the ear of Eve’, a close transcription from Milton’s *Paradise Lost*: ‘Him there they found | Squat like a toad, close at the ear of Eve, | Assaying by his devilish art to reach | The organs of her fancy’ (*EEW II, I* 1991: 297). She similarly brands him as a serpent in her *From the Verdopolitan Intelligencer* (1835): ‘it was the infliction of my venomous fang, the utterance of my own threatening hiss’ (*EEW II, I* 1991: 371). This is reminiscent of Book X of *Paradise Lost*, when God finds that Eve has eaten from the Tree of Knowledge, and now, with the release of Sin and Death on Earth, there sounds ‘a dismal universal hiss’ followed by God turning all the devils in Hell into snakes who hiss ‘through the hall, thick swarming now’ (Milton 2008: 255). By introducing Miltonic serpent imagery within their warmongering language, Charlotte and Branwell conceptualise a threatening display of militarism, much as the Romantics conveyed the threat of France’s Napoleon. By using graphic representations of evil and sin generated in the Restoration period, Charlotte and Branwell were able to convey a fascinating yet problematic image of power and military masculinity, one that treads a fine line between seductive, Byronic appeal and satantic, power-driven ominousness.

Charlotte and Branwell’s early obsession with satanic military models, shared through an indistinct portrayal of their protagonists, Percy and Zamorna, is significant when considering the development of the Brontës’ early fixation with heroic role models. This dual analysis will be applied again in ‘Chapter Two: Wellington and

⁸ Charlotte also makes general references to Milton, mentioning the fallen angels Belial and Mammon who feature in *Paradise Lost*.

Napoleon'.⁹ What Charlotte and Branwell's – and Romantic society's – reading of late Renaissance and early Restoration literature has shown is that both siblings did not engage with a one-dimensional model of militarism, but a wealth of literature that presented the soldier as comic, dysfunctional and even demonic. Their evaluation and adoption of Shakespeare, Jonson and Milton helped shape their multidimensional understandings of the soldier. Zamorna and Alexander Percy embody military qualities of the Early Modern period and personify the darker, problematic models of wartime masculinity.

⁹ The rival figureheads captured the imaginations of the Brontë children forming the character framework of their two rival protagonists. It is likely that other military rivals may have had some bearing, but there is little evidence in the text to suggest that any other duo had such an impact. For example, in late Renaissance literature, Shakespeare's *Henry IV Part I* presents the rivalrous relationship between Henry Percy and Prince Hal. The siblings also demonstrate their knowledge of the English Civil War. In Charlotte's *The Scrap Book: 'Well, Etty'* (1835), she likens Richard Naughty, villain and supporter of Rogue's Republican Party, to Oliver Cromwell, Jack Cade and Wat Tyler, his expression reminding her of 'civil war' (*EEW II*, 1991: 311). Alexander's footnote further associates Cromwell's Republican rebellion with Rogue's 'peasant rebellion on Verdopolis in 1831' (*EEW II*, 1991: 310). This association conjures imagery of Charles I and Cromwell's Royalist and Republican tension, which is, in turn, much like Zamorna and Alexander Percy's political rivalry. Although this thesis can speculate that Cromwell, Charles I, Henry Percy and Prince Hal all served as wider influences in a historical pattern of political and military opponents, the juvenilia overlooks their immediate influence, like so many other periods.

1:3: Romanticism:

The Napoleonic Wars spanned the Romantic era, generating a torrent of political and military verse that exemplified wartime feeling and opinion. By the post-war period, the first and second wave Romantic poets were equally critiqued and celebrated nationwide. A majority of Charlotte and Branwell's verse – fraught with pro- and anti-war tensions – adopted the changing views of their favourite Romantic poets. Although it is likely that the siblings were exposed to a considerable amount of verse imitating the canonical Romantic style, their inspiration derives mainly from William Wordsworth, Samuel Taylor Coleridge, Robert Southey and, most prominently, Lord Byron.¹ This subchapter explores how these canonical poets' conflicting stance on war is embodied within Charlotte and Branwell's juvenilia, the first half considering their negative viewpoints and the latter half, positive. Although the first-wave Romantic pattern regarding British militarism – initially pro- and then moving to an anti-war position – is not repeated in the siblings' early writings, there is evidence that Charlotte and Branwell's narratives reflected the same fears as their Romantic influences. Issues such as morality and the recognition of individual suffering haunt their saga much like the first and second-wave Romantics' writings. Moreover, like Wordsworth, Coleridge and Southey, Charlotte and Branwell's opinions of war are fluid, and nowhere near consistent. Regarding Byron, the siblings' favourite poet, his negative views on Napoleonic combat resonate in Charlotte and Branwell's poetic creativity and characterisation. Unlike his Romantic predecessors, Byron was a consistently harsh critic of the Napoleonic Wars, although he did not promote anti-militarism altogether, later joining the Greek War of Independence (1821-32). It is, however, his post-Waterloo laments in *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage*

¹ Other contemporary Romantic figures such as John Keats and William Blake would not have been known, or barely known to the siblings. Both poets were neglected for a quarter of a century after their deaths in 1821 and 1827 respectively. Percy Bysshe Shelley was a familiar name in the Brontë household, influencing Emily's poetry and later works. Although Charlotte often adopts Shelley's references to the sublimity of nature and classicism, his treatment of war does not appear to have impacted her juvenilia.

(1812–18) and *Don Juan* (1819) that dwell on the conscience of the siblings in their later battles: their more mature ideas on death and suffering come to the fore as their saga suffers the brunt of Branwell's relentless conflicts.

Neil Ramsey's research has observed that, despite the colossal impact of the Napoleonic Wars on Britain, little scholarly attention has been given to Romanticism and warfare. He argues that many 'critics of Romanticism viewed the period's major authors as having evaded contemporary politics following their disillusionment with the progress of the French Revolution' (Ramsey 2006: 117). Critics such as Betty Bennett, Simon Bainbridge, Gillian Russell, Philip Shaw, J. R. Watson and Jeffrey N. Cox, however, have all attested to the impact of war on the Romantic writers' imaginations and poetry.² By the late 1820s, when the Brontës were beginning to write, they would have been familiar with the political allegiances of their celebrated poetic heroes. Wordsworth, Coleridge and Southey had all rejected their anti-war sentiments and developed into patriotic, pro-military conservatives. Byron remained a spokesman for the dead, poetically treating the war as a terrible tragedy. Throughout their adolescence, it is likely that the Brontë children were exposed to most of the poets' public works.³ Through characters such as Henry Hastings, the 'national poet and song writer of Angria', Charlotte and Branwell experimented with the Romantics' different opinions on war: sometimes they glorified it through patriotic verse, other times they used verse as a means to reflect. The siblings, detaching themselves from their previous patriotism,

² Bennett's *British Poetry in the Age of Romanticism* (1976) was one of the first academic collections to address the relationship between Romanticism, war and poetry. Since then, Bainbridge, Favret, Shaw and Cox have expanded on these themes: Bainbridge with *Napoleon and English Romanticism* (1995) and *British Poetry and the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars* (2003), Russell with *The Theatres of War* (1995), Shaw with *Romantic Wars* (2000) and Jeffrey Cox with *Romanticism in the Shadow of War* (2014) to name a few.

³ Christine Alexander and Margaret Smith have compiled a comprehensive record of the influence of these poets on the Brontës' lives *OCB* (2006). Although there is no definitive list of all the particular poems the Brontë children engaged with it is likely that, from their detailed knowledge of Romantic poetry, they read widely, accumulating an extensive knowledge of Romantic concepts and doctrines. Alexander and Smith note that by 1831 Charlotte would have read Wordsworth's early, anti-war poetry, and the poet's natural descriptions had hereon inspired a lifetime of writing and artwork by Charlotte and Branwell (*OCB* 2006: 551). Similarly, Alexander and Smith assert that Coleridge was 'much admired by the young Brontës who embraced his exaltation of spontaneous, untutored imagination' (125). They also note that Branwell held esteem for Coleridge's *Kubla Khan* (1797), and that his writing influenced the Brontës' poetry and later works (125). Finally, both Alexander and Smith observe how the young Brontës echo Southey in their juvenilia; Charlotte recommends 'the greater part of his poetry' and his *Life of Nelson* to Ellen Nussey in 1834 (478).

occasionally realise the more negative or poignant aspects of battle, using poetry as a distinct moment of awareness. Unlike the Romantic poets, however, Charlotte and Branwell offer a collage of viewpoints that fail to reach a definitive opinion. Whereas Wordsworth, Coleridge and Southey followed a linear trajectory of opposition then support for the war, Charlotte and Branwell continued to grapple with both views. War is superficially presented as exciting, yet – in an epiphanic fashion – philosophically positioned against trauma and death, a subject that the adolescent siblings were continuously grappling with both fictitiously and biographically.

Although their opinions were by no means steadfast, Charlotte and Branwell, as they matured, gradually become more aware of the negative aspects of war. Through their Romantic readings, they are likely to have read numerous protest poems about war that Wordsworth, Coleridge, Southey and Byron had composed, the former three in their radical years. Charlotte's later poems 'Deep the Cirhala flows', in *Stancliffe's Hotel* (1838), and 'She was alone that evening' (1837) retain the ecstatic language of war, yet are permeated with a distinct moment of realisation regarding the unnatural death that conflict inevitably brings. The former talks of 'Trump and triumphant drum | The conflict won', yet equally lingers on the dead 'Beneath a foreign sod, | Beside an alien wave' (*Tales* 2006: 106). The latter sees Zamorna's wife, Mary Percy, lamenting over the separation from her husband; the setting is the closing hours of a summer's day on the eve of battle. Despite the romantic backdrop, the poem ends with an omniscient premonition: 'The last ray tinged with blood — so wild it shone | So strange the semblance gory, burning given | To pool & stream & sea by that red heaven' (PCB 1985: 247). Philip Shaw's edited collection *Romantic Wars* (2000), constructs an argument that the majority of Romantic verse engaged with war by disengaging from individual soldier suffering. This is, however, not accurate for all Romantic poetry, or, indeed, accurate for the poetry within Charlotte and Branwell's juvenilia. In her essay

‘Coming Home’ (1994), Mary Favrett goes further to propose that suffering is addressed by the Romantics through the figure of the war widow (Favrett 1994: 545). Paula Guimarãs alludes to the Brontës’ use of war widows and female abandonment in her essays on feminine memory, travel and imagination. Guimarãs, however, does not link suffering and widowhood to a Romantic tradition.⁴ Mary’s lament, ‘She was alone’, characterises the Romantic displacement of soldiers’ suffering on to widows. Charlotte emphasises Mary’s violent grief and bodily torment: ‘She scarce had seen a face, or heard a tone [...] Wearied with reading books, weary with weeping | Heart-sick of Life’ (PCB 1985: 144). Wordsworth’s early poem ‘Salisbury Plain’ (1793) generates this same image of protest through the imagery of widowhood, accentuating the suffering that war brings:

But human sufferings and that tale of woe
Had dimmed the traveller's eye with Pity's tear,
And in the youthful mourner's doom severe
He half forgot the terrors of the night,
Striving with counsel sweet her soul to cheer,
Her soul for ever widowed of delight.
He too had withered young in sorrow's deadly blight

(Wordsworth 2008: 25).⁵

It is through this image of distressed femininity that Romantic poetry secured a sentimental means of criticising war. Joining this rhetoric, Southey also emphasises the suffering of those left behind in his ‘The Soldier’s Funeral’ (1799): ‘Her tears of bitterness are shed: when first | He had put on the livery of blood, | She wept him dead

⁴ See Paula Guimarãs’s ‘Remembrance and Forgetfulness’: Feminine Memory as Identity and Death in the Poetry written by the Brontës’ (2004) and ‘Sunny Climes Beyond the Sea’: Travel and Imagination in Charlotte Brontë’s Juvenile Poetry’ (2007).

⁵ Wordsworth’s agonising lament regarding the impact of war on the domestic sphere is repeated in his 1798 poem ‘The Discharged Soldier’, published posthumously in *The Prelude* (1850). This moving and deeply troubled account of a returning Napoleonic veteran will be discussed alongside post-war hardship and civil unrest in Chapter Five: ‘Civil War and Conflict’.

to her' (Southey 2004: 332). Like Southey and Wordsworth, Charlotte's choice of melodramatic, feminine rhetoric joins a legacy of women's violent protest poetry; she emulates and adopts an early anti-war Romantic stance, exhibiting a feminine awareness of war's mortality.

Male characters in the juvenilia, such as Henry Hastings and Alexander Percy, also respond in a traumatic, poetic way to war and death. Instead of engaging with women's experiences of war, Branwell grapples with first-hand, masculine perspectives of injury and death. In Branwell's 'Misery Part II' (1836), Alexander Percy is shown reflecting his – and by proxy Angria's – recent defeat at the hands of Ardrah and his Reform Party. Percy connects with collective soldierly suffering, expressing a vivid image of post-battle trauma through the rhetoric of death:

The Battle is done, with the setting sun;
The struggle is lost, and the victory won [...]
And they who survive in their agony
Now stiff and spent and speechless lie,
Their dim eyes wander towards the sky
Yet seek, and see, no comfort there;
For here, upon this stormy Heath,
The laboured faintness of the breath,
The chill approach of Iron Death

(*WPB II* 1999: 510).

Through the language of mortality, Percy lingers in the hazy, traumatic moments between life and death. Loss of mobility and speech coupled with 'dim eyes' that see no comfort in heaven generate distressing imagery of battle's impact. Despite a literal death of the body, Branwell also suggests, through the reminiscences of Percy, a

paralysis or death of the mind; that first-hand combat is both bodily and mentally traumatic.

Henry Hastings also suffers mental anguish in the face of war. Although he is usually known in the saga for his patriotic anthems, an unsettling poem in Branwell's *Angria and the Angrians I(d)* (1834), written during Hastings' service in the 1834 Verdopolitan wars against France, reveals his raw confession of fear and suffering:

But that worn wretch who tosses night away
And counts each moment to returning day
Whose only hope is dull and dreamless sleep
Whose only choice to wake and watch and weep
Whose present pains for body or of mind
Shut out all glimpse of happiness behind

(*WPB II* 1999: 287).

Hastings suggests that this poem was intended as another war anthem – 'it [the poem] is quite different from what when I began I meant it to be' (*WPB II* 1999: 288) – but instead it forms a new path. Concious moments such as these in Branwell's battle narratives lend the saga a sense of poignancy; patriotism is permeated by philosophic moments of awareness about war's hardship and mortality.

This thesis considers the siblings' engagement with war trauma in Chapter Three: 'Napoleonic Wars'. The poetic samples listed above, however, also demonstrate Branwell's poetic engagement with Romantic war poetry. As has been made clear, not all Romantic poetry was evasive of war. As Adrian Caesar observes, 'in order to create, in order to authenticate the [Romantic] 'self' one has to suffer' (Caesar 1993: 226). This is true of Coleridge's and Southey's early poetry, which engaged with death and warfare in a first-hand fashion. In Coleridge's 'Fire, Famine, Slaughter: A War

Eclogue' (1798), Slaughter boasts 'I have drunk the blood since then | Of thrice three hundred thousand men' and 'I stood in a swampy field of battle; | With bones and skulls I made a rattle' (Coleridge 2008: 47). This disturbing vision of death is also present in Southey's 'To Horror' (1797) where he calls on 'horror' to transport him to scenes of death and suffering; Simon Bainbridge notes in *British Poetry and the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars* (2003), 'the battlefield is crucial to this imaginative tour' (Bainbridge 2003: 23). Southey laments: 'let me trace their way, | And hear at times the deep heart-grown | Of some poor sufferer left to die alone, His sore wounds smarting with the winds of night' (Southey 2004: 103). Like Branwell's engagement with death and suffering on the battlefield, Coleridge and Southey's early protest poetry would have offered early inspiration for this troubled blurring between poetic imagery and harsh reality.

In *Angria and the Angrians II(g)* (1836), a particularly poignant moment of awareness is communicated by Branwell, who adapts two stanzas from Byron's *Don Juan* to reflect on the sublimity of battle and death after Angria's climactic civil war in 1836:

Here pause we for the present as even then
That awful pause dividing life from death [...]
The march the Charge the shouts of either faith
'Reform' or 'Angria' and one moment more
The death cry drowning in the battles roar

(*WPB II* 1999: 559).

Using Byron as a mouthpiece, Branwell momentarily contemplates war's horrors, imitating Byron's intentions in *Don Juan* to make the British consider and critique the recent Battle of Waterloo (1815). Shaw notes, 'Byron still felt sufficiently outraged by

Waterloo to address the Duke of Wellington directly and ask: ‘And I shall be delighted to learn who, | Save you and yours, have gained by Waterloo?’ (Shaw, 2014). Similarly, Bainbridge in *British Poetry* notes:

In his dedication to Wellington at the start of Canto IX of *Don Juan*, Byron describes war as a ‘brain–spattering, windpipe–slitting art, | Unless her cause by Right be sanctified’ (IX. 4) and throughout the poem he insists upon the factual nature of his ‘true Muse’ and ‘true portrait of one battlefield’ (VIII, 1, 12), emphasizing the shocking physicality and gory nature of martial combat when describing Juan and Johnson ‘trampling’ over ‘dead bodies’ and ‘wallow [ing] in the bloody mire | Of dead and dying thousands’ (VIII. 19–20) (Bainbridge 2003: 193).

Branwell attempts to convey a similar point of emphasis by including Byron’s words in his own narrative. By interrupting the relentless, violent shock resonating throughout Angria, Branwell’s reproduction of Byron offers himself and the reader a moment’s pause to reflect on the horrors of war.

Charlotte also gave thought to Byron’s laments of war in her final Angrian tales. By 1838-39, her kingdom had been ravaged by a series of civil wars, betrayals and deaths. Her last novella, *Caroline Vernon* (1839), is particularly preoccupied with the subject of moving on in a landscape and community traumatised by war. In one section, she recalls Byron’s *Childe Harold’s Pilgrimage*.⁶ In a letter from Quashia Quamina, the head of the native Ashantee tribe, Charlotte aligns his sobriety with a passage from the battlefield: ‘Sober I am, and sober I have been, and by the bleached bones of my fathers, sober I mean to be to the end of the chapter’ (*Tales* 2010: 227). Not only does this sentence associate alcoholism with the aftermath of war,⁷ it also subtly conjures a lurid description of death generated in *Childe Harold*: ‘Let their bleached bones, and blood’s

⁶ The siblings not only used the poem as inspiration for their writing, but also for their artwork. See Christine Alexander’s *The Art of the Brontës* (1995), pp. 18–20, and *OCB* (2006), p. 114.

⁷ This concept of a ‘landscape of alcoholism’ complements this study’s discussion of alcoholism in Chapter Three: ‘The Napoleonic Wars’.

unbleaching stain, | Long mark the battle-field with hideous awe: | Thus only may our sons conceive the scenes we saw!’ (Byron 2008: 51) This transcription, like Branwell’s use of *Don Juan*, provides a latent yet significant moment of awareness in Charlotte’s narrative. The savagery of war and effect of Europe’s recent Napoleonic past appears to have an increasing effect on the siblings the more they choose to fictitiously relive death and destruction.

By the time the Brontës were born, Wordsworth, Coleridge and Southey were staunch conservatives, anti-revolutionaries, and pro-nationalists. Many critics believe their sudden adoption of opposing beliefs stemmed from a fear of French invasion. P. M. S. Dawson writes that, on top of changing attitudes to British mob violence and French tyrants such as ‘Robespierre’, ‘the imminent prospect of French invasion in the early 1800s completed their transformation into English Patriots’ (Dawson 1993: 53). Throughout their saga, Charlotte and Branwell generate patriotic language through stirring songs and poetic laments. The former will be discussed alongside contemporary cultural representations of war anthems in Chapter Three: ‘The Napoleonic Wars’, but it is first important to recognise the impact that the Romantics’ alternative nationalistic stance had on the Brontës’ formative years. Wordsworth’s Poems in *Two Volumes* (1807), Coleridge’s ‘France: An Ode’ (1798) and ‘Fears in Solitude’ (1798), and Southey’s poetry and prose such as ‘The Poet’s Pilgrimage to Waterloo’ (1816) and *History of the Peninsular War* (1823–32) – the latter Branwell transcribed –⁸ furnished the Brontë siblings with the *other* side of Romanticism. This side was less radical, more patriotic, and more in line with the conservative values that were held at the Brontë parsonage.

Wordsworth’s poems in *Two Volumes* such as ‘Rob Roy’s Grave’ (1807) and ‘Glen-Almain, or the Narrow Glen’ (1807) recall eminent wartime figures and

⁸ See *WPB III*, p. 509.

reanimate romantic, militaristic morale. Celebratory poems such as ‘To the Men of Kent, Prove your Hardiment’ and ‘Ode to Duty’ prefigure the siblings’ stirring patriotic – and fantastical – poetry of their colonial Verdopolitan Empire such as ‘Welcome Heroes to the War’, ‘Merry England, Land of Glory’ and ‘The Glass Town’, which describes the Genii army as ‘glorious and mighty’ (PCB 1985: 67).⁹ Additionally, Wordsworth’s poetry draws parallels with the nostalgic warrior verse of Scott, which is discussed in the following section. Verse such as ‘And, far and near, through vale and hill, | Are faces that attest the same; | And kindle, like a fire new stirr’d, | At sound of ROB ROY’s name’ (Wordsworth 2008: 318) provides stirring visions of patriotism; his poetic voice here is intended to resonate with the masses. By using history as a platform Wordsworth could successfully ignite sentiment from the British people who wanted to mobilise. As Richard Cronin notes in his essay ‘Wordsworth’s Poems of 1807 and the War Against Napoleon’ (1997):

Poems, 1807, is written to a people who have learned once again to experience the ‘ancestral feeling’ that united them with the past of their nation, and, in consequence, with the nation’s literary heritage. They have become once more a nation ‘who speak the tongue | That Shakespeare spake’ (Cronin 1997: 38).

Charlotte and Branwell capture Wordsworth’s method of reviving ancestral nostalgia in times of war. Charlotte’s early poetry regularly conjures visions of knights, castles and battles. In her ‘On Seeing an Ancient Dirk in the Armoury’ she laments on inspecting a dagger: ‘Hast thou the glorious blood of the martyrs spilt | Or torn the mighty warrior’s lofty chest’ (PCB 1985: 56).¹⁰ Charlotte’s nationalistic language is intensified through Branwell’s war songs. For example, in his battle anthem in *Angria and the Angrians*

⁹ The Genii are the four magical protectors of the siblings’ colonised land, based on the Brontës themselves.

¹⁰ In this poem, the presence of a dagger draws parallels with Shakespeare’s *Macbeth*.

(*Ia*) (1834), Branwell deliberately evokes ‘the language of the people’: ‘Sound the Loud Trumpet oer land and oer sea | Join tongues hearts and voices rejoicing to sing | Afric arising hath sworn to be free | Glory to Angria and GOD SAVE OUR KING’ (*WPB II* 1999: 204). By imitating this Romantic, patriotic technique, both siblings evoke imagery of nostalgic models and language to impose nationalistic values on their imaginary world.

Another pro-war Romantic attitude the Brontë siblings adopted was Coleridge’s and Southey’s opinions of France, once heralded by them as a place of revolutionary liberalism, and now denounced in their wartime and post-war writings. Coleridge’s ‘Fears in Solitude’, which muses on the threat of invasion implores:

Stand forth! be men! repel an impious foe
 Impious and false, a light yet cruel race,
 Who laugh away all virtue, mingling mirth
 With deeds of murder; and still promising
 Freedom, themselves too sensual to be free,
 Poison life's amities, and cheat the heart

(Coleridge 2008: 96).

Moreover, in his post-Waterloo poem, ‘The Poet’s Pilgrimage to Waterloo: Part the First’ Southey writes: ‘Remorseless France had long oppressed the land, | And for her frantic projects drained its blood’ (Southey 2012: 310). It is this opinion of Napoleonic France that provoked Southey to justify his changed militaristic beliefs in his *History of the Peninsular War* (1823): ‘it was as direct a contest between the principles of good and evil as the elder Persians, or the Manicheans, imaged in their fables: it was for the life or death of national independence’ (Southey 1823: 1–2). These alarming representations of France as bloodthirsty, false and evil helped construct Charlotte and

Branwell's fictitious enemy kingdom, 'Frenchysland', as a critical caricature.¹¹ Throughout the saga, the country is shown to conspire with foes such as Alexander Percy, the native Ashantee tribes and the Arabs at all given opportunities. Its connections are dubious and licentious: Pigtail, a menacing tavern owner, sells and tortures children,¹² Montmorency, a Verdopolitan nobleman and French émigré, possesses the qualities of a sinister gothic villain (*OCB* 2006: 326) and, sweepingly, Charlotte stereotypes the Frenchwoman as a 'callous and hackneyed and well-skilled flirt' (*Tales* 2010: 274). As this study demonstrates in Chapter Five: 'Civil War and Conflict', despite the Napoleonic threat of French invasion having passed, the trauma of the French Revolution amidst the post-war rumblings of unrest around Europe still made France an anxious topic of conversation. Although the article 'French Poets of the Present Day', published in the May 1832 edition of *Blackwood's*, suggested 'France was humiliated but still respected' (Anon 1823: 510), the Romantics' verse contributed to the siblings' general unease surrounding the country and its occupants, which they were able to adopt and manipulate through childish humour.

To conclude, this section has established the influence the Romantic poets held over the adolescent imaginations of Charlotte and Branwell. The poets' commentaries on war, amidst their philosophical perceptions on conflict and death, had a profound impact on the siblings as their kingdom and characters become more embroiled in war. This study returns to Byron in Chapter Two: Wellington and Napoleon, exploring his problematic relationship with Napoleon, yet what this section has shown is how bound the siblings' perceptions of war were within the canonical poetic environment to which they were exposed. The ever-changing perceptions of the Romantics allowed the siblings to evaluate war from an objective platform, encouraging them to explore and develop their pro- and anti-war sentiments.

¹¹ See Chapter Two: 'Wellington and Napoleon' for a detailed discussion of the siblings' fictitious France.

¹² See Charlotte's *The Infant* (1829) and Branwell's *Letter from an Englishman Volume II* (1831).

1:4: Walter Scott:

‘For fiction – read Scott alone; all novels after his are worthless’ (Brontë, Barker 1997: 29). Charlotte’s bold statement, written to her friend Ellen Nussey in 1834, exemplifies Walter Scott’s influence on the Brontës in their formative years. In the parsonage, Scott was a household name, the whole Brontë family avid readers of his wide-ranging publications. Yet, the Brontë family was not alone in their hero worship of Scott; his novels, verse, plays and other diverse mediums of writing were celebrated across Britain. His works, now criticised by present day society for their density, were once heralded for their creativity and cultural impact.¹ On his death in 1832, *The Times*’ obituary declared that he was ‘the greatest genius and most popular writer of his nation’ (Anon 1832: 2). Scott’s influence on Emily Brontë’s writings has been analysed by Ian Jack, Sara Lodge and Yukairi Oda;² each notes the similarities between *Wuthering Heights* (1847) and Scott’s *Waverley* (1814). There is, however, a much wider scope for academic critique, especially in regard to the literature of Charlotte and Branwell. Thus far, there are no discussions of Scott’s impact on Branwell’s works and the only lengthy studies of Charlotte’s relationship with Scott come from Christine Alexander and Carol Bock, of whom the latter, as Christine Alexander and Margaret Smith note, argues that Scott’s ‘character of masquerade’ helped develop her characterisation skills (OCB 2006: 446).³ This section bridges a small section of this scholarly void by addressing Charlotte, Branwell and Walter Scott within the framework of war, occasionally

¹ See Fiona Robertson’s introduction in *The Edinburgh Companion to Walter Scott* (2012), pp. 1–9.

² See Joyce Carol Oates’ introduction in the Oxford edition of *Wuthering Heights* (1998), Sara Lodge’s ‘Literary Influences on the Brontës’ in *The Brontës in Context* (2012) (ed.) Marianne Thormählen, and Yukairi Oda’s article ‘*Wuthering Heights* and the *Waverley* Novels’ (2007).

³ Christine Alexander mentions Charlotte Brontë’s youthful engagement with Walter Scott in her essay ‘“For Fiction – Read Scott Alone”: The Legacy of Sir Walter Scott on Youthful Artists and Writers’. Within, Alexander discusses how *The Green Dwarf* ‘is an historical romance of the Scottish highlands transported to the Brontës’ imaginary African kingdom (Alexander 2012: 115). Alexander goes further to discuss Charlotte’s use of imitation and her adoption of the unreliable narrator. For Emily and Anne’s engagement with Scott, see Carol Bock’s *Charlotte Brontë and the Storyteller’s Audience* (1992), pp. 17–19.

extending analysis to Scott's contemporaries and imitators. The section begins by analysing the influence of Scott's displacement of present conflict in favour of Scottish folklore and the fantastical warrior, considering how his portrayal of legends and the supernatural shaped Charlotte and Branwell's own creativity. This will then lead into a discussion of Scott's revival of chivalry and military romance before, finally, finishing with Branwell's adoption of Scott's literary technique, 'fog of war'.

Whereas this study later explores Scott's engagement with the Napoleonic Wars through his nine-volume biography of Napoleon Bonaparte,⁴ the majority of his fiction, including poetry, tried to capture contemporary wartime feeling through past romantic parameters. Throughout the Napoleonic Wars, leading into the aftermath of European civil violence, Scott revives Scottish 'fantastical' folklore and stereotypes of chivalric knighthood in an attempt to reassociate romance with war and heroism. Scott's literature has much to do with Charlotte and Branwell's mythological exaggeration of Scottish war history. Alexander notes in her introduction to *Tales of Glass Town, Angria, and Gondal* that the siblings were mesmerised by James Hogg's tales of folklore in *Blackwood's* (*Tales* 2010: xxxiv), yet, there is also an undeniable connection between Scott's blend of war and mythology. The back-story of Branwell's protagonist, Alexander Percy, remains grounded in Scottish legend, his family name of Percy associated with Alnwick, a town in Northumberland on the periphery of Scotland.⁵ For many years, its castle was the principal seat of the powerful Percy family, a name familiar to the Brontës through Shakespeare and Scott's works.⁶ Scott's *Tales of a Grandfather* (1828) establishes their name alongside a Scottish war legend:

There is a silly story told of Malcolm [III of Scotland] being killed by one of the garrison of Alnwick, who, pretending to surrender the keys of the castle on the point of a spear, thrust the lance-point into the eye of the King of Scotland, and

⁴ See Chapter Two: 'Wellington and Napoleon'.

⁵ Alexander has noted this in several publications, including *OCB*, p. 346.

⁶ For Shakespeare, see *Henry IV Part I* (2009).

so killed him. They pretend that this soldier took the name of Pierce-eye, and that the great family of the Percies of Northumberland were descended from him (Scott 1828: 58).

Although he admits that this is a fable, Scott's placement of the Percy name alongside warfare and mythology had an important impact on the imaginations of the young Charlotte and Branwell. It is this conflation of war and folklore that influenced Branwell to conceptualise soldiers having both historical and aristocratic legacies, providing two classes of military men in Glass Town and Angria. Although Charlotte and Branwell do engage with foot soldiers, such as Henry Hastings, they primarily show interest in military masculinity descended from nobility. Their characters' wealthy lifestyles become the focus of Charlotte and Branwell's more domestic scenes. Percy's ancestry is of special appeal to both siblings, some of their most unsettling and atmospheric scenes occur in his 'gothic' country estate.

Scott's most explicit blend of war and the fantastical can be found within his *A Legend of Montrose* (1819). In it, he intimately describes the 'Children of the Mist', the popular name for the warmongering clan, Gregor of the Trossachs, who feature in both of these juvenile narratives. The historical clan was known for their incessant roaming of the Scottish landscape, free from any domestic constraints and following the commands of the famous outlaw Rob Roy MacGregor:

'The clan [...] was a small sept of banditti, called, from their houseless state, and their incessantly wandering among the mountains and glens, the Children of the Mist. They are a fierce and hardy people, with all the irritability, and wild and vengeful passions, proper to men who have never known the restraint of civilised society. A party of them lay in wait for the unfortunate Warden of the Forest, surprised him while hunting alone and unattended, and slew him with every circumstance of inventive cruelty. They cut off his head, and resolved, in a bravado, to exhibit it at the castle of his brother-in-law' (Scott 1996: 39).

These vagabonds – who have a ghost-like quality due to their evasive nature – are adopted by Charlotte and Branwell and used within Branwell's *Letters from an Englishman Vol V* (1832) and Charlotte's *The Green Dwarf* (1833). Both siblings linger over this band of ferocious men, endowing them with a supernatural quality. In *The Green Dwarf*, Charlotte presents the leader, Ape of the Hills, as a god-like immortal mixed with the physical qualities of her heroic ideal. She describes him as a 'gigantic warrior, whose snow-white hair and beard proclaimed advanced age, while from his erect bearing, herculean frame, and sinewy limbs, it was easy to perceive that he retained unimpaired all the vigorous powers of youth' (*EEW II* 1991: 182). Branwell reiterates this physical description of the 'Ape' in his *Letters from an Englishman Vol V* (1832). He, however, goes further in gifting the clan explicit mythical qualities:

They came trooping up file after file dark Gigantic, Savage, Beings more like Genii than men. I saw not one of them much lower than 7 feet. several reached the enormous height of 8 or 9 feet!! They were magnified and exaggerated resemblances of the most northern Highlanders of the 17th century. like them their rough long ragged and matted Hair hung over their shoulders and visages mixing with as rough and ragged a Beard But not so as to conceal a pair of huge dark glaring eyes. which wandered about from every objet. with an expression of ferocious delight and wonder natural to all savages (*WPB I* 1997: 219).

Branwell and Charlotte's descriptions epitomise their successful mimicry of Scott's historicism and fantasy. Rather than altogether treating history as fact, the siblings were able to understand the multidimensional nature of history that is both reality and mythology. Although the very core of their understanding derives from actuality, their imitation of Scott's writing also allows the exaggerated truths to be manipulated and reinvented in their imaginary worlds, which are both a conflation of pure history and

folklore, and a regurgitation of bygone fiction already based around an indistinct synthesis of both historical truth and myth.

Aside from his manipulation of the fantasy, a major part in Scott's displacement of war resides in his deliberate revival of both the chivalric warrior and romanticised landscapes of war. Critics such as Simon Bainbridge and Neil Ramsey have discussed Scott's blend of war and nostalgia. Bainbridge analyses Scott's intentions at length, arguing how his popularity during the Napoleonic Wars stemmed from his ability to displace time and militaristic subject matter: 'at a time when war had become modern, it could be experienced imaginatively through the more appealing forms of Scott's romances' (Bainbridge 2003: 17). Additionally, Neil Ramsey observes how Scott's aesthetics 'enabled his writing to reflect war's violence yet distance his reader from the effects of horror, detailing glory rather than misery' (Ramsey 2010: 17). *Marmion* (1808) and *Lay of the Last Minstrel* (1805) are just two poetic examples of Scott's literary achievement of the military 'picturesque'. In the former, Scott writes of a man: 'So faithful in love, and so dauntless in war, | There never was a knight like the young Lochinvar' (Scott 2009: 126). This is complemented with Scott's more masculine poems, the latter imagining: 'Nine-and-twenty yeomen tall | Waited, duteous, on them all: | They were all knights of mettle true, | Kinsmen to the bold Buccleuch' (Scott 1972: 52). From these examples, it is clear that Scott reimagines the soldier as a sentimentalised, warrior figure, reestablishing past heroic ideals of courtly love and military brotherhood.

The older siblings' juvenile poetry draws from Scott's historical displacement of war, Charlotte through her engagement with knightly romance, and Branwell through battlefield heroics. Whereas Scott formulated a soldierly ideal to boost public spirit, Charlotte's verse is purely self-driven, her imitation and adoption of the romantic warrior model a means of satisfying her own girlhood fantasies. Poems such as 'On

Seeing an Ancient Dirk in the Armory’⁷ (1830) and ‘The Red Cross Knight’ (1833) are written under the pseudonym of the Marquis of Douro, the young, impressionable soldier-son of the Duke of Wellington, and reflect on knightliness and its inherent values. In the former, Douro reminisces about Scotland’s Jacobite rebellions (1688–1746), an era frequently reimagined by Scott and Robert Burns, another early influence on the Brontë children. In Scott’s case, novels such as *Waverley* transported the reader to Scotland’s riotous highlands, whilst Robert Burns’ poetic ballads such as ‘Ye Jacobites by Name’ (1791) and ‘The Battle of Sherramuir’ (1790) combined contemporary wartime feeling with Jacobitical romance. Aspiring poets in the Brontës’ favourite periodical, *Blackwood’s*, mimicked both Scott and Burns. For example, ‘Verses’ (1817) and a review of ‘Poems by a Heavy Dragoon’ (1819) hark back to olden times, replacing the realities of war with nostalgia. The former laments: ‘Auld Scotland! – land o’ hearts the wale! | Hard thou hast fought, and bravely won: | Lang may thy lions paw the gale, | And turn their dewlaps to the sun!’ (H. 1817: 70). Charlotte’s ‘Seeing an Ancient Dirk’ emits comparable wistfulness: ‘Ages on Ages long have passed away | Since thou wast ruthless in the battle plain, | Since chieftains clad in polished war array | Have with thee triumphed o’er the blood slain’ (*EEW I* 1987: 260). This elegiac tone is repeated in much of Charlotte’s verse.⁸ Her fixation on Scotland’s past and landscape not only allows her to revive medieval codes of honour but to reassert soldierly doctrines of chivalry and nobility through the Marquis of Douro [Zamorna], her juvenile version of idealised masculinity.

Charlotte’s ‘The Red Cross Knight’ is tightly bound with Scott’s literary interest in the Crusades (1095–1291), a series of military campaigns sanctioned by the Catholic Church during the middle ages. Although the historical grounding of the poem resides

⁷ A dirk is an early modern dagger used by the Japanese and the Scots. It was a common weapon in the Jacobite rebellions (1688–1746).

⁸ See Charlotte’s poems: ‘Written on the Summit of a High Mountain the North of England’ (1830), ‘He is gone and all grandeur has fled from the mountain’ (1832) and ‘Death of Darius Codomanus’ (1834) (*PCB* 1985: 25, 97, 137).

in Scott's literature – Richard I 'Cœur de Lion' is mentioned in *Ivanhoe* (1820), *The Betrothed* (1825) and *The Talisman* (1825) – Scott and, in turn, Charlotte, take their imagined figure of the Crusader from Spenser's *The Fairie Queene* (1590). Spenser's hero is the epitome of knight errantry, defending the image of God and gallantly saving damsels in distress: 'So forward on his way (with God to friend) | He passed forth, and new adventure sought' (Spenser 1987: 48). This description is similar to Scott's model of knightliness in *The Talisman*: 'A Christian soldier, a devoted lover, could fear nothing, think of nothing, but his duty to Heaven and his devoir to his lady' (Scott 2013: 50). Emulating this, Charlotte's Byronic knight, Zamorna, is equally chaperoned by God: 'Through blood, through fire, through carnage, wade. | Led by that high and heavenly gem, | The living star of Bethlehem' (*EEW II* 1991: 234). Despite Charlotte's general image of the Crusader originating from Spenser, she was drawn to Scott's historical employment of the Crusades within his poetry. Unlike Spenser's knight, who not only lives in the chivalric realm but the mythological, the Marquis of Douro's hero is a real military leader, much like Richard I whom Scott idolised. Scott repeatedly glorifies Richard I's involvement in the Crusades in his novels and verse. For example, 'The Crusader's Return' in *Ivanhoe* states, 'High deeds achieved of knightly fame, | From Palestine the champion came; | The cross upon his shoulders borne, | Battle and blast had dimm'd and torn' (Scott 2008: 191).⁹ Like Scott, Charlotte lingers upon Richard I's historical significance, grounding herself in military historicism in amongst her fantastical visions.

Although Branwell's historical poetry typically reflects his classical training,¹⁰ his 'The Fate of Regina' (1832) reanimates the image of the warrior,¹¹ using chivalric

⁹ Other contemporary verse also imitated Scott's use of the Red Cross Knight. See 'Passage Through the Desert' (1817) and 'The Soldier in Egypt' (1818) both published in *Blackwood's*.

¹⁰ See Branwell's poems: 'Caractacus' (1830), 'O Mars who shakest thy fiery hair' (1831), 'And is this Greece is this the Land I Sing' (1834), and 'The Pass of Thermopylae' (1835) (*WPB I* 1997: 92, 175, 3, 6), and his translations of Horace's odes (1840), some of which have militaristic content (*WPB III* 1999: 299–334). Some of these poems are discussed in the section, 'Classicism' within the first chapter of this thesis.

¹¹ This poem is based on Rogue's 1831 insurrection of Glass Town.

discourse to transform his rebels into gallant knights: ‘O Connor down the Mountains brow | Pours his feirce warriors on the plain below’ (*WPB I* 1997: 203). Whereas Charlotte’s verse attempts to satisfy a girlish ideal, Branwell instead attempts to emulate Scott and his contemporaries’ combination of battlefield heroics amidst an atmospheric landscape. Although, as Victor Neufeldt notes, Branwell’s form in this poem is influenced by *The Iliad* (750 BC) and *Paradise Lost* (1667),¹² his reference to battlements and gates ‘towering high above the stormy rain’ (*WPB I* 1997: 203) suggests similarities with Scott’s *Marmion*, in which, depicting the Battle of Flodden Field (1513),¹³ the ‘bastion, tower, and vantage-coign; | Above the booming ocean leant | The far-projecting battlement’ (Scott 2009: 154). It is from these linguistic parallels that the reader can understand the contemporary popular practice of restructuring wartime experience. Branwell succeeds in grounding his own fictitious battles within a past context. Much as Napoleonic writers attempted consciously to distract the public from war’s horrors by displacing time and location within their literature, Branwell succeeds in establishing his imaginary insurrection within a historical and literary canon, glorifying his brutish lust for war by tempering violence with picturesque imagery and epic language.

Moreover, Scott’s description of combat in *Marmion* showcases a pioneering literary technique that Samuel Baker titles ‘fog of war’.¹⁴ The technique was used to emphasise the chaotic nature of war by plunging the reader into the centre of battle. In this same *Marmion* passage, Scott writes: ‘They close in clouds of smoke and dust [...] O life and death were in the shout, | Revoil and rally, charge and rout [...] And plumed crests of chieftains brave, | Floating like foam upon the wave’ (Scott 2009: 172). Baker notes, from its introduction into the literary world, ‘fog of war’ has been repeatedly

¹² Both texts are discussed in the sections ‘Classicism’ and ‘Late Renaissance to Early Restoration’ in the first chapter of this thesis.

¹³ Fought between England and Scotland after James IV sought to honour Scotland’s Auld Alliance with France. It was a decisive English victory.

¹⁴ See Samuel Baker’s ‘Scott’s Worlds of War’ in *The Edinburgh Companion to Walter Scott*, pp. 70–82.

imitated. This is certainly true for the military memoirs of the period. George Gleig's *The Subaltern* (1826) and Lieutenant Spencer Moggridge's 'Letters from the Peninsula' (1827–8) intimately describe the grisly nature of combat.¹⁵ Whereas memoirs used the technique to vividly relate the immediate experience of war to a disinvolved audience, Scott used it within a historic context. This passage from his *Tale of Old Mortality* (1816) demonstrates Scott's use of the technique whilst describing a Jacobite rebellion:

The front ranks hardly attempted one ill-directed and disorderly fire, and their rear were broken and flying in confusion ere the charge had been completed; and in less than five minutes the horsemen were mixed with them, cutting and hewing without mercy [...] the whole field presented one general scene of confused slaughter, flight and pursuit (Scott 2009: 338).

Whilst reading this passage, the reader experiences the confusion of battle: the rhetoric of blindness that is conjured by Scott causes the reader to feel as if they are in a metaphorical fog.

Scott's evocation of discord and chaos is emulated within Branwell's descriptions of combat. As early as 1830, Branwell appears to recognise the personal horrors of battle. His detailed drawing of a Roman battle scene titled *Terror* (1830) depicts 'crazed' soldiers in the midst of conflict. Moreover, in his poetry, Branwell turns to 'fog of war' to emphasise disorder, panic and the enveloping nature of battle. In 'The Fate of Regina', Branwell uses the technique to describe the military's rebellion against a fictitious model of the French Revolution:

¹⁵ Chapter Three: 'The Napoleonic Wars' revisits these memoirs in detail.

Thick wreaths of smoke blot out the rising sun [...] At every gate the storm increasing roars, While per the rout Mars wrapt in terror soars [...] On bursts he [Zamorna] then his white plume waving far | Now seen now hidden as mid clouds a star (*WPB I* 1987: 204).



Brontë, Branwell (1830). *Terror*.
Image used courtesy of the Brontë
Parsonage Museum.

As in Scott's verse, imagery of blindness pervades this short extract with references to smoke and clouds. Loss of sight is also repeatedly replicated in Branwell's battle prose. The tale *Letters from an Englishman Vol VI* (1832), portrays Branwell's narrator, Flower, intimately relating the details of combat between the Verdopolitan army against revolutionaries headed by Branwell's other pseudonym, Alexander Percy, then known as Rogue.

In the midst of the confusion and carnage, Flower recounts, 'the crush and hurry around us was terrible

lances and bayonets were constantly darting round us in multitudes [...]. a mist came across my sight and I fell' (*WPB I* 1997: 237). In his later manuscript *An Historical Narrative of the War of Encroachment* (1834), which sees the Glass Town Federation band together in pursuit of war against the French, Arabs and Ashantees, Branwell also presents a battle scene of discordant horror. Flower notes that the army was in 'a huge heap of confusion rolled on by instinct, bewildered and. struck as if by lightning I saw Douro and Elrington in rain amid the tumult and darkness endeavouring to restore some slight appearance of order' (*WPB I* 1997: 391). Finally, in Branwell's late tale, *Angria and Angrians I(d)*, the protagonist, Henry Hastings, recounts a 'trivial' war fought between the Angrian army and the Ashantees, a conflict that foreshadows the following year's catastrophic campaigns between the Angrian army, Ardrah and his Reform

Ministry. In one instance, Hastings remarks that darkness ‘seemed to come over my sight and my ears allmost lost the power of distinguishing sound we drew back and then [...] in fighting we trampled remorselessly upon freind an[d] enemy’ (*WPB II* 1999: 340). In another excerpt, Branwell embodies Scott’s method of implementing conflict-driven horror. Hastings asserts how he:

<shot> up for my eyes seemed scared by a terrific flash of lightnin it was broadly and resistlessly bright I glared into the Night wildly and in <dreamy> agony of apprehension Listen what a roar. Hideously broken and rattling and Deep and trembling [...] I closed my eyes fast in horror [...] the strange impression was on me that I was alone and a hundred of miles from any one but I was so confused between sleep and cold and horror [...] all was like a nightmare (*WPB II* 1999: 321).

From these examples, it becomes clear that Branwell, like other writers of the period, adopted Scott’s ‘fog of war’ style, reconstructing chaotic and dramatic scenes of war within his own battle narratives. Branwell’s descriptions of conflict in his and Charlotte’s *Glass Town* and *Angria* are significant in demonstrating the changing nature of mass warfare, conveying a more personal approach in which readers are encouraged to respond with empathy to soldiers’ experiences of war. The novel idea that the reader could be immersed within the thick of battle paved the way for new reactions and responses to war: no longer were the horrors of war a completely alien concept.

It is evident that Scott’s historical fiction and literary style inspired Charlotte and Branwell, a majority of their juvenilia imitating and adapting his poetry and prose. Not only did the siblings utilise his models of war – ranging from warrior folklore to chivalric knighthood – they imitated and adopted his modern techniques of writing war. The final section of this subchapter, which discussed ‘fog of war’, provides a firm foundation for this study’s discussion of the military memoir in Chapter Three: ‘The

Napoleonic Wars', which elaborates on how this new way of representing war allowed a nation to experience and come to terms with the effects of the Napoleonic Wars. Overall, Scott's writings provide the final contextual layer necessary for this thesis to enter a deeper textual analysis of both Charlotte and Branwell's juvenilia and the post-war print culture that influenced it.

Overall, the four sections within this chapter have built a convincing picture of Charlotte and Branwell Brontë as social historians and commentators on war. It is clear that the reading material they were introduced to at an early age was instrumental in shaping their understanding of war, but also their multidimensional representations of soldiers, ranging from the fantastical, muscular warrior, to the demonic, cowardly villain. Equipped with this mosaic of images, opinions and histories, the siblings were able to observe, process and rework this array of material into their own play and fantasy works. The remaining chapters move away from the canon and into the terrain of contemporary biography and the periodical press, continuing to build the storyboard from which the siblings worked. The following chapter builds upon themes of military masculinity and soldierly identity discussed in this chapter, and focuses on the formation of the siblings' dominant protagonists of the saga, Zamorna and Alexander Percy. Specifically the chapter traces the construction of this relationship through real-life representations of Wellington and Napoleon, the two celebrity military titans of the age who were sensationalised through biographies and the periodical press. It will become clear that, as well as their historical, canonical reading, the siblings responded to a vast array of voices that were products of the post-Napoleonic moment. It is through this wide spectrum of knowledge that the siblings were able to construct a playful yet source-based saga that interrogated the post-war world in which they lived.

Chapter Two: Wellington and Napoleon

Whereas the previous contextual sections laid the essential groundwork for this study, this chapter explores the borderlands that consolidated Charlotte and Branwell's relationship with militarism, fiction and reality before more fully exploring the juvenilia in the final three chapters. The chapter provides a socio-historical reading of how Charlotte and Branwell reimagined and transmogrified Wellington and Napoleon's relationship within their juvenilia. This alternative method of cross-examining the juvenilia provides a complementary response to readings of Zamorna and Alexander Percy in a purely Byronic context.¹⁶ This contribution to scholarship on the Brontës and masculinity further demonstrates how the Brontës conflated contemporary models of masculinity and offers a new source-base strand to Charlotte and Branwell's complex reading culture.

Much of this section's foundations have already been laid by Christine Alexander in her 'Charlotte Brontë, Autobiography, and the Image of the Hero' (2011): the article stresses the importance of Wellington as a military and political hero throughout Charlotte's life, providing a highly useful, condensed introduction to her obsessive appropriation of him, both in fantasy and real life. Alexander also correctly asserts that Wellington was part of Charlotte's 'autobiographical impulse' (Alexander 2011: 7), his various mutations within her works reflecting a process of 'complex self-fashioning' (7). This chapter will build on Charlotte's 'personal narrative', developing

¹⁶ This chapter does incorporate Byron within the discussion, yet the focus is grounded within the Brontës' military reading culture. Numerous critics have traced the Byronic hero through Charlotte and Branwell's works and artwork: see Alexander and Sellars' *The Art of the Brontës* (1995), p. 18 and Alexander and Smith's *OCD* (2012), p. 114. Most recently, see Erin Nyborg's essay 'From Angria to Thornfield: Charlotte Brontë's cross-period development of the Byronic Hero' in Pike and Morrison (eds) *Charlotte Brontë from the Beginnings* (2016). Nyborg traces the development of the Byronic hero within Charlotte's juvenilia and into her later works. In her section on the juvenilia, Nyborg briefly associates Alexander Percy with a Byronic Bonaparte (145), yet argues that Byronism becomes a less heroic model of masculinity in the juvenilia leading into the 1830s, which saw, coincidentally, the rise of silver-fork novel culture (147).

issues that are open for expansion in the field of Brontë studies: the psychological development of a ‘coming of age’ author, the juvenilia as a moment of masculine reappropriation, and the reintroduction of Branwell Brontë as a pivotal factor in this amalgam of worship, evaluation and reconstruction. Vitally, the chapter will also incorporate Napoleon into the equation, emphasising his equal importance with Wellington by positing him as an anti-Wellington: this conjured from the Brontës a different form of hero-worship. Furthermore, whereas Alexander briefly touches on the wider contextual trend of hero-worship in the Romantic-early-Victorian period using a medley of canonical names, this chapter will focus on the implications of – specifically military – heroism in the post-war popular imagination. Finally, this will be complicated by laying foundations that demonstrate how the authoritative, dangerous military man emerged as a Brontë ideal.

The first of three sections will assess the reception of Wellington and Napoleon in the media and biographical material Charlotte and Branwell read, exploring what Wellington and Napoleon meant to the Brontë family. Why was their *idée fixe* a product of a national, compulsive ‘moment’ that revelled in rivalry and masculine power? The two successive sections then explore the siblings’ transmogrification of Wellington and Napoleon into their juvenilia: first through their *literal* reconstruction of them as fictitious rulers of the Glass Town Federation and Frenchysland respectively, then as their sexualised second-selves, Zamorna and Alexander Percy. By regressing further and further into the Brontës’ collaborative, creative (sub)conscious, new light will be shed on how, narrowly, powerful military men were essential to their controversial masculine ideologies and, more broadly, how Charlotte and Branwell’s model represents a larger cultural and historical movement that sought to process, evaluate and come to terms with the recent wars by displacing heightened emotional responses onto emerging celebrity culture. Finally, incorporating these ideas, this chapter will build on

this study's overarching argument: that Charlotte and Branwell were important social historians of and commentators on war.

Post-War Constructions of Wellington and Napoleon's Rivalry:

With the cultural residue of Waterloo buzzing in the post-war popular consciousness, the legacy of its two celebrated adversaries equally circulated amidst the hum of contemporary war-based publications and media discussions. Although the Duke of Wellington and Napoleon Bonaparte never physically met during the battle, or corresponded with one another, the post-war fascination centered upon these military heroes was stimulated by their mutual opinions and evaluations of one another. Andrew Roberts' *Napoleon and Wellington* (2010) exposes an intense and somewhat complex relationship between these war-born heroes despite their mythical status in one another's lives:

Napoleon and Wellington regarded each other's military ability highly by the time they met at Waterloo. Thereafter both changed their minds and slowly began to damn each other's martial prowess to the point where – in part through a series of misunderstandings – Napoleon came to loathe Wellington, and rant about his ineptitude. Meanwhile, while maintaining a public stance of great respect for his opponent, Wellington came privately to despise Napoleon both as a general and as a man (Roberts 2010: xxxvii).

The Brontë siblings would have been acutely aware of Napoleon's opinions of Wellington. Their favourite biographical text housed in the parsonage, Walter Scott's *Life of Napoleon* (1827), addresses the violent alteration in his respect for the Duke following his defeat at Waterloo. The biography reveals that, before the conflict, Napoleon spoke highly of Wellington, yet, after his subsequent defeat, had become

renowned for slandering his victor. Although the following excerpt captures a moment of praise from Napoleon in regard to Wellington, it divulges the irregularity of such a statement:

‘The Duke of Wellington, in the management of an army, is fully equal to myself, with the advantage of possessing more prudence’. This we conceive to be the genuine unbiassed opinion of one great soldier concerning another. It is a pity that Napoleon could on other occasions express himself in a strain of depreciation, which could only lower him who used it, towards a rival in the art of war (Scott 1827: 73).

Scott’s biography also alerts readers to Napoleon’s will: the contents disclose the extent of Napoleon’s bitterness directed towards Wellington and his intent to avenge his nemesis:

He bequeathed, in like manner, a legacy to a villain who had attempted the assassination of the Duke of Wellington; the assassin, according to his strange argument, having as good a right to kill his rival and victor, as the English had to detain him prisoner at St Helena (Scott 1827: 331).

It is from this explicitly physical, violent act that the Brontë family could have comprehended the alarming degree of Napoleon’s tortured psychology and all-consuming fixation: the resentment of Waterloo was for Napoleon, according to Scott, entirely encapsulated in one person.

In contrast, Wellington’s true opinions of Napoleon were not revealed until after his death. His posthumous memoranda, published in George Gleig’s *Life of Arthur, 1st Duke of Wellington I* (1862) and the third volume of the compilation *Despatches*,

Correspondence and Memoranda (1867–1880), relished the opportunity to fault Napoleon’s military conduct, methods and techniques. For example, Gleig’s biography reveals that Wellington thought Napoleon to be a ‘great actor’ (Gleig 1862: 579). Additionally, Wellington’s thoroughly researched memorandum of Napoleon’s disastrous 1812 Russian campaign appeared as appendices in both publications. Despite documenting his honest opinions privately, Wellington built a public façade of respect for his historic opponent. As Roberts suggests, he ‘had no intention of publishing and being damned’, choosing to maintain a dignified, honourable higher ground surrounding his military professionalism in the midst of his political unpopularity’ (Roberts 2010: 291). Scott’s biography emphasises this, painting the Duke in a heroic light:

The Duke of Wellington has, upon all occasions, been willing to render the military character of Napoleon that justice which a generous mind is scrupulously accurate in dispensing to an adversary, and has readily admitted that the conduct of Buonaparte and his army on this memorable occasion was fully adequate to the support of their high reputation (Scott 1827: 500).

Expanding outwards from Scott’s biography, the periodical press also helped promulgate this seemingly one-sided rivalry, reinforcing the myth of Wellington and Napoleon as an inseparable, highly charged dynamic duo both in the Brontë home and beyond. Their names, spoken in unison, became commonplace in the Brontë family’s favourite periodical, *Blackwood’s*: an article titled ‘The Military Sketchbook’ dramatised them both as ‘ultimate adversaries who struggled like two giants for ascendancy’ (Anon 1827: 840). The compulsion of the periodical press to sensationalise and obsessively scrutinise these masculine icons is encapsulated in all contemporary popular periodicals the Brontës read or subscribed to. *John Bull*, the high Tory newspaper, and *Blackwood’s* follow a pattern of manipulated representation. Both periodicals present Wellington as a form of demigod by sensationalising his

characteristics and repeatedly championing him as an upstanding, moral saviour. A *John Bull* contributor emphasised the stable, safe elements of his character, boasting that he remained ‘unmoved and unchanged’ (Anon 1830: 60). In *Blackwood’s*, Wellington’s name was bathed in glory. Lieutenant Spencer Moggridge exclaimed that his distinction and fame ‘would support a column as high and as proud as that of any warrior of modern times, whose names had been irradiated by the admiration of past ages, and will be by that of those yet unborn’ (Moggridge 1828: 190). Wellington’s celebrity military status in British popular culture was cemented with gushing hyperbole.

Napoleon’s representation is more complex. Whereas, with a few exceptions,¹⁷ a majority of the media blindly promoted Wellington, the British media was fascinated by Napoleon and his militaristic motivations. *Blackwood’s* often presented him as a troubled, evil mastermind: an anonymous contributor to ‘American Writers No. II’ lamented that he was a ‘character neither party [British or French] ever understood’ (Anon 1824: 422). These are similar to the terms adopted by Charlotte in her later work, *Jane Eyre* (1847), where her tyrannical, antihero protagonist, Edward Rochester, despite being clever and well travelled, is simultaneously peculiar to a point that nobody could ‘thoroughly understand him’ (*JE*, 2008: 99).¹⁸ Unlike Wellington, who was a steadfast Tory figure in a ruptured, post-war nation, Napoleon was a frightening enigma and a source of torment and confusion for the British public.

During and after the Napoleonic Wars, Napoleon was repeatedly likened to the Devil. The subchapter on late Renaissance to Restoration war literature within this thesis emphasises how, in contemporary Romantic poetry and the Brontë juvenilia, France’s Emperor is likened to a Miltonic Lucifer. This devilish portrayal, however,

¹⁷ Morgan Odoherty, a *Blackwood’s* contributor, wrote a scathing article attacking the Duke’s military skills titled ‘On the Military Errors of the Duke of Wellington’ (1819).

¹⁸ See the first concluding section of this thesis for a discussion of the juvenilia’s military legacy in *Jane Eyre* and Charlotte’s other published novels.

spread through the contemporary media. The British public voiced a collective anxiety that struggled to come to terms with the idea that an evil force existed in the form of a soldier and statesman who threatened the liberty of Britain and, more widely, Europe. As observed by David Snowden, the pugilist periodical *Boxiana* invented scenes where military leaders fought head-to-head in the boxing ring, offering comfort to the British public by imagining Napoleon's defeat at the hands of its favourite boxers (Snowdon 2013: 120). An 'Admired Chaunt' distributed by *Boxiana* in 1823 and reprinted by Snowden, suggests clear-cut antipathy:

Now fill your glasses to the *brim*
 And honour well my toast, sirs,
 "May we be found in *fighting trim*,
 "When *Boney* treads our coast, sirs,
 The gallant *Barclay* shall lead on,
 The *fancy lads* adore him
And Devil or Napoleon
 Leave us alone to *floor him*

(Snowdon 2013: 149).

Even after Napoleon's death, the fear of invasion from abroad still permeated cultural references, conjuring within the young, impressionable Brontës the same, if superficial, feelings that had infected the nation only a few decades previously. Just as *Boxiana* constructs Napoleon as a fearsome devil, *Blackwood's* brought his humanity into question. In an article on 'Russia', a contributor writes that 'Napoleon was an *Evil*, and human nature may well rejoice at the extinction of its disturber' (Anon 1826: 456). As this statement makes clear, to the public, Napoleon was much more than mortal; he was the personification of hell.

In the British media and beyond Wellington and Napoleon were presented as complete opposites, representing two versions of war: one that was wholesome and

patriotic, and the other that was unjustified and tyrannical. The two words that unify them in the Brontës' life and the wider public sphere, however, are 'masculine power'. Whereas Wellington became a symbolic manifestation of 'good masculine power', Napoleon became synonymous with 'bad masculine power'. These binaries were erected by the British press and remained instrumental in the Brontës' engagement with concepts of masculinity and leadership. Although it has been important to incorporate this brief, separate introduction to Wellington and Napoleon into this chapter, it is now vital to continue the discussion of their rivalry entwined with Charlotte and Branwell's juvenilia, particularly emphasising how the Brontës used contemporary attitudes as a form of ready-made storyboard that fostered the excitement and dynamic characterisation needed to inspire their early tales. It is through the periodical presses' overdramatised, amplified accounts that the young Charlotte and Branwell were initially inspired to recreate their own versions of Wellington and Napoleon in their 1829-1834 narratives. Then, with the creation of their new kingdom Angria in 1834, they were influenced to form the intense, all-consuming relationship between Zamorna and Alexander Percy, their two homosocial protagonists. By reimagining and remodeling Wellington and Napoleon into increasingly melodramatic, sensational mutations of themselves, the siblings were able to reconstruct one of the most important associations in military history, inventing their own past and correspondence between two people who were ever present in each other's lives without actually knowing one another.

Wellington Reimagined:

Charlotte and Branwell's early Glass Town writings were founded on the Wellington and Napoleon myth. When each sibling named their respective toy soldiers Wellington and Boney in 1826, they were both immediately tapping into an already established public mythology that would, in turn, become the foundation for their fantastical world. In her first Glass Town story, *A History of the Young Men* (1829), Charlotte introduces her fictitious Wellington as one of twelve eminent men (the Twelves) that sail to and colonise the West Coast of Africa. Throughout the juvenilia, she constructs him as an ideal military model of masculinity drawn from the Georgian press. In early Glass Town, he takes centre stage as, literally, a king among men. Charlotte constructs his legendary and hierarchical status in *Two Romantic Tales* (1829) based on his successes in the Napoleonic Wars, specifically Waterloo: 'The conqueror [of Napoleon] shall gain eternal honour and glory [...] Though in his lifetime fools will envy him, he shall overcome. At his death renown shall cover him, and his name shall be everlasting!' (*EEW I* 1987: 13) It is, however, Branwell who recounts the post-Waterloo fanaticism with Wellington more thoroughly and 'matter-of-factly' in his *History of the Young Men* (1830). In his tale, the Napoleonic Wars are incorporated into Glass Town's fictitious history, Wellington temporarily departing from his African settlement to become the champion of Europe:

with the title of General Sir Arthur Wellesley, and dispatched with an army of 20000 British soldiers to Spain and Portugal which the French were then desolating. I need not say how gloriously he fought and beat them how he confounded Bonapartes best Generals and in the end [after] 4 years hard fighting changed the seat of war into the heart of France (*WPB I* 1997: 166).

Following Napoleon's defeat at Waterloo, Wellington returns to Africa. On his arrival,

as Charlotte explains, his general, Beresford, relates to twenty thousand men:

Europe has been set free from the iron chain of a despot, and how the mighty victory had been achieved with which all the civilised world had rung; of all the splendid triumphs that had taken place on that glorious occasion; and how all the high sovereigns of Europe had honoured England (*EEW I* 1987: 14).

Then, as Branwell concludes, the current King, Frederick Duke of York, dethrones himself with the exclamation: ‘I am not worthy to rule this man he is your King!’ (*WPB I* 1997: 169). Hereon, Wellington remains the sovereign ruler throughout the decade-long saga.

The spectacle of Wellington’s ascension to the throne is a scene directly taken from the contemporary print media. In Charlotte’s *Two Romantic Tales*, she describes how, during the coronation, the assembly had gathered with ‘intense anxiety’, which soon erupted into ‘thundering sounds of enthusiastic joy’ (*Tales* 2010: 15). In a similar fashion, a melodramatic *Blackwood’s* article about the Siege of Cádiz (1810–12) uses similar sensational language to describe Wellington’s arrival in the Cortes:

His arrival in the antechamber of the Cortes having been announced, a thrilling sense of anxiety seemed to pervade the whole assembly. Every eye was directed towards the grand entrance. At length the curtains were drawn, and the Hero approached the table [...] A buzz of admiration ran through the house, in which the panting auditors joined, even with the fear of instant expulsion before them; the whole assembly spontaneously rose at once, to receive their Liberator – their OWN Hero (Anon 1829: 248).

This extract is comparable with Charlotte’s imagined scene, demonstrating the powerful, pervasive aftershocks generated by Waterloo in the periodical press. The

Wellington myth solidified to such an extent that, a decade after Waterloo, Wellington the soldier (not the statesman) is remembered and reproduced as a transcendent icon. In a post-Napoleonic society, these second-hand media recollections are formulated into third-hand reimaginings. Both Charlotte and Branwell's hysteria surrounding their imagined, ceremonial event was thus part of a general movement that prefigured the advent of celebrity culture, generated by a persuasive print culture.

Wellington continued to populate Charlotte and Branwell's early stories, equipped with the characteristics imprinted on him by the Georgian press. In an issue of the *United Service Journal*, from which Charlotte was known to have transcribed excerpts, an anonymous officer recounts in his 'Sketch of the Battle of Salamanca' (1829), 'This was the first time I had seen that extraordinary man, who has since proved himself the greatest commander of the age, and justly earned the title of the Invincible Wellington' (Anon 1829: 96). Additionally, *Blackwood's* contributors established him as a warrior of legend, affirming his 'unalterable confidence in his own powers' (Odoherly 1819: 291) and how he had conquered Napoleon 'by simple manly heroism' (Anon 1826: 133). The juvenilia often sees Wellington intervening in riotous or unjust situations, executing his powers of authority in an effort to restore peace. In her early separate Islander narrative, *The Second Volume of Tales of the Islanders* (1829), Charlotte introduces Wellington as head of a school. In one instance he utilises his authoritative powers when his pupils rebel against school life, forming separate battle divisions and encamping on wild parts of the island:

He immediately went out, without speaking a word, and we followed him. He proceeded up to the place where they were encamped and called out in a loud tone of voice that if they did not surrender they were all dead men, as he had brought several thousand bloodhounds with him, who would tear them to pieces in a moment. This they dreaded more than anything and therefore agreed to surrender, which they did immediately (*EEW I* 1987: 104).

The Duke continued to hold a respected, resolute supportive role in the siblings' saga, acting as a constant presence of nobility and command to his family and state. Later, when Charlotte's focus gradually drifted on to Wellington's Byronic son, Zamorna, Wellington remained a respected father-like figure to his nation. For instance, in the Angrian wars of 1834, it is Wellington who dissociates himself from the Twelves when they refuse further financial and military aid in fighting the French. Despite the opposition to his bulletproof battle plans from the Federation, Wellington single-handedly pushes through his proposal by 'choosing his opportunity and forcibly representing the Frightful urgency of the case' (*WPB I* 1997: 408). Without forgetting his initial promise to defend his nation, Wellington succeeds in guiding Glass Town to a successful victory against the French.

Napoleon Reimagined:

Across the sea from Wellington's Glass Town Federation, the siblings' fictitious version of a degenerate France, Frenchysland, is ruled by Napoleon. Charlotte and Branwell's representations of Frenchysland's Emperor are complex. Branwell's early writings are pervaded by a sense of ambivalence about Napoleon, reflecting conflicting and troubling viewpoints widely circulated by contemporary commentators on the recent wars, such as Lord Byron. His 1829 poems 'High Minded Frenchman Love Not the Ghost' and 'Ode to Napoleon' portray a psychologically brilliant yet destructive Byronic hero whose desire to wage war is driven by power and fury. Influenced by Byron's 1814 poem, 'Ode to Napoleon',¹⁹ Branwell constructs a theatrical, heroic

¹⁹ Despite Alexander and Smith's observation that "the Brontës entered the [literary] market in the early 1830s' (*OCB* 2006: 113), they would have been made familiar with the name of Byron through *Blackwood's*, a vindication and eulogy of the recently deceased poet appearing in February 1825's edition. Additionally, Byron's ode was evident in circulating libraries in the late 1820s.

dialogue that voices his confusion about the French leader as a literary muse. Napoleon plagued Byron philosophically, as Simon Bainbridge summarises:

His ongoing struggle to grasp and formulate Napoleon's political and imaginative meaning played an important part in his own continuous process of self-assessment and self-representation. Napoleon dominated Byron's imagination like no other contemporary political figure, both satisfying and frustrating his characteristic craving for the heroic, famously expressed in the opening of *Don Juan* – 'I want a hero' (1,1) (Bainbridge 1995: 135).

Like Byron, Branwell struggled to map his character psychologically. Byron's lament of 'Ill-minded man! why scourge thy kind | Who bowed so low the knee? By gazing on thyself grown blind, Thou taught'st the rest to see' (Byron 2008: 253) is mimicked in Branwell's 'High Minded Frenchman': 'For the time in his powerful mind he sees | when like a slave before him led | the kingdom of France shall bow at his knees & glorify him as its head' (*WPB I* 1997: 33). Additionally, this ending also lends itself to popular biographies of Napoleon: Scott's *Life of Napoleon* concludes: 'He had destroyed every vestige of liberty in France [...] and [he had] comprehended the slavery of France, and aimed at the subjection of the world' (Scott 1827: 335, 337) and Lieutenant Sarratt titled his biography *Life of Buonaparte in which the Atrocious Deeds He Has Perpetrated in order to Attain His Elevated Station are Faithfully Recorded* (1803). In Branwell and Byron's odes, both conclude with a decline into delusion, their heroic ideal disappearing in the aftermath of his crushing defeat. Byron writes 'Thou Thimour! in his captive's cage | [...] Life will not long confine | That spirit poured so widely forth – | So long obeyed – so little worth!' (Byron 2008: 257). Branwell similarly lingers on his downfall: 'I have finished | and have diminishd | Thy most splendid height and grate glory' (*WPB I* 1997: 60). At twelve years old, the young Branwell was still forming his own opinions, and his blatant plagiarism of Byron's convictions

provides a convincing example of how important rhetoric was in informing and manipulating his views on Napoleon.

Branwell's imitation of Byron's poetry corresponds to the mixed critique of Napoleon in popular publications. As the first section of this chapter demonstrates, his brilliance was generally acknowledged yet his sinister motives were condemned. For example, Scott's *Life of Napoleon* offers a typical opinion of Napoleon concluding, 'The consequences of the unjustifiable aggressions of the French Emperor were an unlimited extent of slaughter, fire and human misery, all arising from the ambition of one man' (Scott 1827: 328). Although contributors found it difficult not to marvel at his achievements, readers were often dissuaded to consider his genius as anything but unnatural and aggressive.

Despite the extensive bad press directed toward Napoleon, on rare occasions some articles made an attempt to reconsider Napoleon's bad character. Some even went as far to present him as a paternal figure. Published in *Blackwood's*, an anonymous poem titled 'Napoleon's Address to the Statue of his Son' (1822) constructs Napoleon to be a sensitive family man; it is a brief, poignant anomaly when compared to other contemporary, suspicious articles concerning France's Emperor: Adieu! Adieu ! beloved boy! | My latest care and only joy | [...] distance cannot dissipate [...] | Nor quench the love, so warm and wild, | With which a father views his child' (Anon 1822: 760). Possibly inspired by this poem, Charlotte fleetingly toyed with the idea of Napoleon as a 'good' character by reworking the sibling's fictitious Boney as a restorer of domestic sanctity; helping others to build a lasting father and son relationship that he was mostly denied. In her early tale, *The Infant* (1829), the 'Emperor' reunites a father with his son. When soothing a dispute between a child and Pigtail, Frenchysland's notorious child abuser and killer, the Emperor proposes to a man named 'Hanghimself' that the abused child in question may be his son. After ascertaining that this is so, the

Emperor ‘gave them 200,000 livres, with which Hanghimself purchased a beautiful estate [...] where he now lives with his Enfant, two of the happiest and most contented people in all France’ (*EEW I* 1987: 36).

As well as these brief glimpses of paternal sympathy evoked by the British periodical press and, by proxy, Charlotte, the French specifically tried to rewrite Napoleon’s notoriety. *Blackwood’s* response to Las Cases’ *Mémorial de Sainte Hélène* (1823) is particularly stirring. The reviewers conclude: ‘We are Tories, but we have feelings. The Quarterly [another popular periodical of the day] is ever unjust when the name of Napoleon is mentioned, and sure this war of hate may cease when all political ends have been accomplished’ (Anon 1823: 169). Reviews of French war journals were also published in *Blackwood’s*, one contributor noting in a review of *Memoirs of General Count Rapp* (1823) that the narrator ‘represents Napoleon as mild, tender, and scarcely ever inexorable in matters of life and death’ (Anon 1823: 39). This revision of Napoleon’s character paints a completely different picture from pro-Wellington, high Tory contributors.

It is likely that this outpouring of sympathetic French narrative influenced Branwell, contributing to his fluctuating opinions of Napoleon. On a positive note, his first pseudonym was coined after Napoleon’s popular general, Marshal Jean-de-Dieu Soult. Nevertheless, despite this, Branwell’s ‘Ode to Napoleon’, written by ‘Young Soult the Rhymer’, rebels against sympathetic French character profiles of Napoleon: the fictitious Wellington describes it in an aside as ‘hatred under the mask of freindship & if this fellow — writes any more such he shall be guillotined’ (*WPB I* 1997: 59). After Soult concludes with Napoleon’s downfall Branwell writes a disclaimer that ‘Young Soult wrote it while drunk and under the influence of passion for the Empreur had decided against him in some cause or other’ (*WPB I* 1997: 60). Although distinctly juvenile in his address, Branwell may have built Soult’s fictitious betrayal upon the

Blackwood's review of *Las Cases' Journal*, which exposed damning comments made by Soult against his Emperor: 'Even of his own generals, those who had acquired fame as tacticians, he never would allow their merit [...] Soult he said, would make merely a good *ordonnateur*, a proper minster at war' (Anon 1823: 170). Napoleon, even though 'esteemed' by the reviewer, is further brought down in estimations by the 'spite, ignorance, and absurdity, as come from his pen, or even as slipping from him in intemperate moments' (Anon 1823: 171). Thus, despite a generally sympathetic response to Napoleon, his revealed disposition towards others alongside Byron's disappointment at his unfulfilling heroism may have been accountable for Branwell's poetic backlash, his poetry and narratives imagining a parallel kingdom of self-absorbed history and response.

Charlotte's fictitious construction of Napoleon complements Branwell's writings. Her tale *Journal of a Frenchman* (1830) carries important reflections on Napoleon's character. The narrator, Sergeant Tree, Glass Town's novelist, bookseller and publisher, talks of his admiration of Napoleon, in spite of his father's teachings, 'he strove constantly to instil a love for the Capets into my mind [...] but secretly in my heart was captivated by Napoleon's glory' (*EEW I* 1987: 222). Further on in the tale, a mature narrator is seen walking through Paris in an effort to join the French army. He sees a group of soldiers ahead of him:

While I was gazing at them in delight, they suddenly fell back in regular ranks and presented arms to a person that then passed through them, whose appearance perfectly charmed me. He was middle-sized [*sic*], attired in regimentals and possessed the noblest countenance that the sun ever looked upon. In short, he was the personification of my idea of Bonaparte. In a transport, I threw myself at his feet and begged to be allowed to serve him. Smiling, he ordered me to rise and asked my name. I told him and said, "Are you not Napoleon?" (*EEW I* 1987: 223).

In a twist, the regimental figure is actually Wellington, who chooses to save his life after Blucher beats him repeatedly for his question. Having recently taken control of the city, Wellington's justification for his mercy rests on the fact that the French are now 'harmless'.

Like Branwell and Byron in her crushing disillusionment that Napoleon was not a heroic ideal, Charlotte presents an invented figure that also undergoes this process. The seemingly magnificent conqueror is transmogrified into Charlotte's archetypal vision of Wellington, shattering the misconception of Napoleon's importance and majesty. Like Branwell, who reimagines and rewrites historical events, Charlotte reflects on a myriad of contemporary opinion that seemed simultaneously captivated and horrified by France's enigmatic Emperor. Reacting to these criticisms, Charlotte goes some way to imagine Napoleon as a idyllic figure but retreats into her British safehouse, conforming to popular opinion that could not consider Wellington and Napoleon under the same banner of heroism.

Mutating the Wellington and Napoleon Myth Further: Zamorna and Alexander Percy:

Charlotte and Branwell's early Glass Town manifestations of Wellington and Napoleon are indicative of a wider cultural movement that relished the rise of military celebrity. The post-war frenzy of analysis – whether celebratory or critical – provided by both the press and biography directed towards these two adversaries is displaced and re-represented in the Brontës' early literature. By reading these imaginative, unassuming narratives it becomes clear that the impact of post-war commentary embedded itself into the fabric of public consciousness. Charlotte and Branwell, as two sample citizens in a war-affected nation, used the information at hand to form their own opinions. Freely, they both relished the successes of Wellington, applied his military power to fantasy landscapes and promoted him to sovereignty. For Napoleon, they contributed to his Byronic legacy, yet simultaneously used the medium of make-believe and play to understand his character, knock him from his pedestal, and, for Charlotte, offer him the promise of reconciliation (both in the private and public mind). Importantly, however, it is only as their fantasy saga progressed that they created a narrative that allowed these rivals to interact and move forward together. Whereas Wellington and Napoleon – with the exception of their (non)encounter at Waterloo – act as separate entities in the early Glass Town tales, the siblings' further displacement of them on to their invented characters, Zamorna and Alexander Percy, allows for their military antagonism to evolve into a highly sensational, personal battle. Through post-war fan fiction, Charlotte and Branwell retreat further into their imaginations to provide a powerful interaction between two men that moves above and beyond what the published press could ever achieve: a contest between two great men that transcends military competition and explores undiscovered territories of masculine friendship and homosocial tensions.

Around 1834, Charlotte and Branwell tired of their literal transmogrifications of Wellington and Napoleon. Instead they focussed on developing two of their own characters, each still embodying the characteristics imprinted on Wellington and Napoleon by contemporary literature: Zamorna, the Duke of Wellington's son, and Alexander Percy, known throughout the later works as Northangerland. As Drew Lamonica asserts, 'Wellington and Napoleon, the two greatest political and military rivals of then-recent history, are succeeded by the two greatest political and military rivals of the siblings' literary imaginations, Zamorna and Northangerland' (Lamonica 2003: 42). Although both were regular characters in Charlotte and Branwell's early Glass Town writings, it is not until 1834 with the formation of the siblings' new kingdom, Angria, and Zamorna's subsequent marriage to Alexander Percy's daughter, Mary, that the duo's incredible dynamic is fully unleashed. After the wars of Encroachment and Aggression, documented by Branwell throughout 1834, it is Percy who convinces the Verdopolitan parliament to appoint Zamorna as king of Angria. In the first of Branwell's prose written after his war narratives, titled *The Wool is Rising* (1834) Percy is shown lamenting to parliament: 'Why when I saw him in the darkest hour of battle [...] call back hope to the despairing and plant Life over death [...] I knew that I saw a son of Wellington a man destined to be a KING' (*WPB II* 1999: 32). After his coronation, reported in Branwell's *Angria and the Angrians I(a)* (1834), Branwell appoints Alexander Percy as prime minster, making them both the highest ranking officials in the land.

Zamorna's appointment as King of Angria conjures images of his father's – Wellington's – appointment as king of the Glass Town Federation some five years earlier. The saga reminds us that both characters are first and foremost the fathers of their own retrospective nations;²⁰ Wellington, of Wellingtonsland and King of the Glass

²⁰ Military fatherhood is discussed again in relation to race in Chapter Four: 'Colonial Warfare'.

Town Federation, and Zamorna, King of Angria. When crowned ‘King of the Twelves’ in Charlotte and Branwell’s first Glass Town adventure, *Two Romantic Tales* (1829), Wellington promises: ‘Soldiers, I will defend what you have committed to my care’ (*Tales* 2010: 15). In reality, it is clear that Wellington also thought primarily of his nation, pushing his domestic duties out of the limelight in favour of his military career. In a short biography titled ‘The Duke of Wellington’ (1827), published in *Blackwood’s*, the author writes:

Perhaps there are not many individuals who, with a slender patrimony, and the prospect of a family to provide for, would not have virtually quitted the military profession altogether [...] Sir Arthur Wellesley, however, entertained very different views of things. In his eyes, a life of inaction was a life of misery [...] Above all, his heart and affections lay in the glorious profession which he had chosen; and he embraced the very first opportunity which offered of returning to the discharge of its duties (Z. 1827: 227).

Written some years before this, however, George Elliot’s preface to his biography of Wellington depicts a less neglectful family figure. Despite not presenting a first-hand account of family care, Elliot argues that Wellington’s political livelihood helped advance his family’s position and therefore, by proxy, made him an iconic domestic figure who prioritised his family’s welfare:

Your own great abilities as a Statesman, gave you a station in political life, which opened to your view the dignities and honors [*sic*], as well as the toils and anxieties of power; but power came recommended to your feelings by stronger hopes than the mere gratifications of personal vanity and ambition. It placed within your reach the means of advancing the prosperity of your family, and you availed yourself of those means with a purity of purpose, which will continue to reflect honor upon your name as long as domestic virtues and the ties of blood shall be respected among men (Elliot 1816: iv).

Regardless of motive, both passages generate an image of Wellington as a publicly admired figure, firmly committed to his country. Charlotte acknowledges this, replicating this intense, kingdom-driven outlook through Zamorna. Despite showing a fondness for his children,²¹ in *My Angria and the Angrians* (1834) Zamorna delivers a disturbing speech after the birth of his twin sons:

‘They are yours as well as mine. I dedicate them from their birth. Being born for Angria’s good, they must live for her glory, and die if need be for her existence. I rejoice in their creation for your sakes. I love them as much for their connection with the land whose sun is now shining on them, as I do for the blood that runs in their veins and the flesh which covers their bones, though that blood and flesh be my own or dearer than my own [...] I will place them in the arms of your acknowledged representative, and in his person all Angrians shall salute her princes’ (*EEW II*, I 1991: 292).

In this one quotation, Zamorna embodies the inseparable bond between fatherhood and the army promoted by Wellington: the militaristic language embodies the tension between being father of a nation, and father of one’s family. Like Wellington, whose main ‘son’ was Britain itself, Zamorna confesses that empire, power and nation are more important than the sentimental emotions of one’s life. Indeed, Charlotte appears to recognise that, in a military founded kingdom, the very essence of militaristic masculinity is embedded intrinsically within her protagonists to a point where, if need be, domestic livelihood will be sacrificed.

After the Angrian coronation, Charlotte and Branwell play on Zamorna and Alexander Percy’s conflicted feelings for one another. In 1835, a new political party

²¹ A critical analysis of Zamorna’s role as a father in the juvenilia can be found in mine and Valerie Sanders’ chapter: “Mortal hostility”: Masculinity and fatherly conflict in the Glass Town and Angrian sagas’ in *Charlotte Brontë From the Beginnings* (2017). See also Chapter Four: ‘Colonial Warfare’ within this thesis.

emerges, the Reform Party, whose leader, the villainous Ardrah, expels Angria from the Verdopolitan Union in an attempt to dismantle the newly formed nation. Percy briefly redeems himself, uniting with Zamorna's forces in defence of their nation. In 1836, however, the Angrian army is overpowered, the capital falls, and both protagonists flee their occupied city. Whilst Zamorna continues to fight throughout the year, suffering his final defeat at the battle of Edwardston on 28 July, Percy abandons his friend and rouses the city to rebel against Ardrah's party. His forces win, and thereafter his Republican army takes over the country. Meanwhile, in punishment for his father-in-law's betrayal, Zamorna reluctantly abandons his wife, Percy's beloved daughter, causing her to waste away in the mournful ruins of her country estate.²²

Betrayal and revenge are paramount in the Angrian saga. After Zamorna's defeat at the battle of Edwardston, Alexander Percy spares him from death – much as Wellington did with Napoleon – yet as Branwell's *Angria and the Angrians III (d)* (1836) explains, he 'banish[ed] him 2000 miles off on the rocks of the Ascension Isle' (*WPB II* 1999: 602). Here Branwell deliberately draws from Napoleon's real-life banishment off St. Helena, his exile a life-long punishment inflicted and administered by Britain after the battle of Waterloo. Interestingly, however, it is Charlotte's Byronic model of Wellington that is banished, not the wicked incarnation of Napoleon;²³ once again, each hero's characteristics are moulded through poetic licence. The deeply moving, intensely homosocial poetic lament *And, When you Left Me* or *Zamorna's Lament* (1836), written during his sea-bound journey into exile, reflects back on better times, and mourns for the friendship that had once been.

²² For a discussion on the juvenilia and war widows, see the section, 'Romanticism' in the first chapter of this thesis.

²³ See the section 'Late Renaissance to Early Restoration' in the first chapter of this thesis for a detailed discussion of this role reversal.

You are a fiend; I've told you that before;
 I've told it half in earnest, half in jest;
 I've sworn it when the furnace-roar
 Of Hell was rising fiercely in my breast;
 And calmly I confirm the oath once more,
 Adding however, as becomes me best,
 That I'm no better, and we two united
 Each other's happiness have fiend-like blighted [...]
 Let us consider, let us just look back
 And trace the pleasant path we've trod together

(Brontë 1986: 248).

Zamorna's exile, however, rather than securing his downfall, paves the way for his heroic return a year later when once again he rallies his troops, overpowers his enemies, and restores himself as the rightful king of Angria.²⁴ By 1838, Alexander Percy has once again returned to his country seat and to Zamorna's favours, much to the outrage of the Angrian citizens. Despite the repeated uprisings and betrayals he experienced at the hands of his father-in-law, the last post-war Angrian tales show Zamorna risking his life to defend his arch-rival. In Charlotte's *Stancliffe's Hotel* (1838), Zamorna publicly defends his loyalty to Percy, mercilessly quelling a mob with military force as a violent response to their fierce protest (*Tales* 2006: 115). Similarly, in one of his last writings, *Angria and the Angrians V (d)* (1839), Branwell recalls that 'there were thousands in the square and that they threatned to break the palace windows' in order to stone Percy. In the final passage, the two rivals are seen 'calmly walking down the steps,' Zamorna exclaiming, 'God damn them! [...] Take my arm Percy and let them touch us who dare!' (*WPB II* 1999: 270).

Although this imagined relationship is highly dramatised, Charlotte's description of Zamorna and Alexander Percy as 'two great drivers' in *High Life in*

²⁴ This is comparable to Napoleon's banishment to the Isle of Elba in April 1814, sanctioned by the Treaty of Fontainebleau. He escaped in February 1815 and triumphantly returned to Paris in March, resuming his role as Emperor.

Verdopolis (1834) epitomises Wellington and Napoleon's relationship in the post-war periodical press (*EEW II, I* 1991: 302). While Zamorna and Percy drive one another in an imaginary chronicle of retaliation and betrayal, Wellington and Napoleon's real-life battlefield and post-Waterloo rivalry continued to drive their representation in the print-media. Whereas the first section of this chapter introduced this rivalry as a stand-alone narrative, it is important to now resume this discussion as the chapter concludes within the recesses of the Brontës' creative consciousness. What is clear is that Zamorna and Percy's complex narratives parallel Wellington and Napoleon's relationship in print: both public and private narratives seek to demonstrate a rivalry of military equivalence yet contrasting virtues.

As the first section of this chapter highlighted, Wellington and Napoleon's rivalry was sensationalised through inflammatory commentary in the years following the Battle of Waterloo and extending posthumously. Whereas Napoleon conveyed his obsessive tendencies through literature, as Andrew Roberts exposes, Wellington secretly attempted to physically obtain Napoleon's possessions: 'Napoleon's busts, statuettes, flags, books, portraits, his sword, his watch, his cook, his sister's house, his statue, [and] two of his mistresses, amongst other objects' (Roberts 2010: 251). Although the Brontës would have been oblivious to Wellington's trophy hunting, their decision to make Zamorna and Alexander Percy mutually obsessed was coincidentally accurate. It is unknown whether the Brontë children expanded their reading of Napoleon's afterlife through other memoirs distributed in circulating libraries, but it is likely that they were broadly able to understand Napoleon's obsessive character from reviews in *Blackwood's*. The review of *Rapp's Memoirs* (1823), for example, reveals that Napoleon fixated on the battle of Waterloo, repeatedly running through every minute detail, studying Wellington's arrangement of his forces and arguing that the battle was not in the interests of the British nation: it argues that Napoleon could not

come to terms with his unmanned, conquered state (Anon 1823: 40). In a *Blackwood's* review of another St. Helena memoir, *La Campagne de 1815* (1818), written by Napoleon's loyal *maréchal de camp*, Gaspard Gourgaud, Napoleon exclaims of Wellington, '*Great* let me call him—for he conquered *me*' (Anon 1818: 222). Although much of the true nature of Wellington and Napoleon's obsession was revealed long after the Brontës completed their juvenilia, even after their deaths, it is clear that they picked up and expanded upon the tensions radiating from the periodicals they read. As with this chapter's discussion of Napoleon as the Devil, *Boxiana* again acts as metaphorical exposition to illustrate contemporary attitudes: this time it succeeds in highlighting the tensions between the two 'equal adversaries' and transforms their military and media rivalry into a primal punch-up. An extract published in an 1819 edition uses pugilist language to allude to their military prowess:

While, in spite of the battle of Waterloo, the milling qualities of Bonaparte and Wellington are thought to be so equally balanced, that in the event of another trial it would, among the cognoscenti, be only guineas to pounds, or the Irishman for choice (Anon 1819: 664).

Like Charlotte and Branwell, the media found it easy to imagine a physical meeting of the two, facilitating the public's sensationalist desire to repeat their mortal combat. In a similar hyper-masculine vein, Zamorna and Percy are equally introduced as physical as well as political rivals.²⁵ Each demonstrates muscular, military skill yet represents opposing ideologies. Although physicality is a significant contributor to Charlotte and Branwell's shared idea of heroism, displaying the correct 'patriotic' character is also vital. Charlotte and Branwell evidently agreed on this character model, Charlotte's protagonist Zamorna allowed to exercise this trait, whilst Branwell's Percy constructed

²⁵ See the section 'Classicism' within the first chapter of this thesis for further discussions of pugilism and Zamorna and Percy's physical development.

to consistently act as his foil, demonstrating his overall ‘bad’ character against Zamorna’s ‘good’. Despite Percy’s being both handsome and militant, it is his demonic, unpatriotic personality that disqualifies him from idealised models of manhood. Whereas Zamorna has the ‘goodness’ of the Duke of Wellington within his blood, Percy is purely Napoleon-like in his disposition, showing potential for greatness but always resorting to cowardice and cruelty.

An 1852 article in *Bell’s Life in London* corroborates the lasting legacy of Wellington and Napoleon as worthy adversaries with fundamentally different principles:

Napoleon and Wellington were not merely individual characters: they were types of the powers which they respectively headed in the contest [...] but it was in the prevailing moral principles by which they were regulated that the distinctive character of the minds was most striking and important. Singleness of heart was the characteristic of the British hero – a sense of duty his ruling principle. Ambition pervaded the French conqueror; a thirst for glory was his invariable incentive (Anon 1852: 8).

This passage might well have been discussing the opposing instincts of Zamorna and Alexander Percy, Zamorna championing duty and Percy overthrowing duty for glory. Napoleon’s moral corruption that ‘desolated [Europe] for 15 years’ correlates to Percy’s constant impulse to provoke civil war (Anon 1852: 8): his character is a fictitious model that allows Charlotte and Branwell to unleash evil to its full, uncensored potential. The siblings evidently used Percy as a model to further interrogate, dissect, and explore Napoleon’s troubled psychology, a task that occupied them since the very beginning of their early writing career. In *Postscript Addressed to the Earl of Northangerland* [sic] (1835) Zamorna exclaims that he has always viewed Percy:

as a deadly dangerous man whose gigantic genius, if united with virtue might have made him the benefactor of his kind, but which, being unhappily associated with fiend-like vice, transformed him into a scourge so deadly, that had Sodom or Gomorrah owned such an inhabitant they would have needed no fire from heaven to punish their iniquity (*EEW II, I* 1991: 302).

Despite this passage's heightened melodrama, its inquisitional tone is comparable to *Blackwood's* evaluations of Napoleon. Contributors even went so far as to analyse Napoleon's physical features, with the science of craniology used as a means of understanding and justifying psychological and physical differences. In 'The Craniologist's Review,' published in *Blackwood's* in 1818, phrenologist Ulrick Sternstare attempts to rationalise Napoleon's character through a physical examination. Like Percy, who lacks virtue, Napoleon's forehead suggests that he 'never had the graciousness nor urbane good-nature', and, like Percy's 'fiend-like genius', Napoleon's organs have ferocity, but 'his nervous system is of the best quality, and his sensations, volitions and intellectual movements, all of them intense' (Sternstare 1818: 146). Percy resembles Napoleon in his embodiment of intense light and dark characteristics. In *High Life in Verdopolis*, Zamorna expresses his complex and violent feelings for his father-in-law, describing him as:

that great, vile, splendid, hateful, fiendish, angelic, black, bright, abominable, blessed scoundrel, that Northangerland [Alexander Percy], that illustriously infamous relative of mine, whom I abhor and yet admire, detest and yet love, that bundle of contradictions and yet that horribly consistent whole. (*EEW II, I* 1991: 33)

Percy's Napoleon-like character traits remove all possibility of being branded conventionally heroic. Repeatedly described as villainous, old, tired and ill, Percy merely displays a surface level of chivalry whilst instead plotting full-scale revolution

with the assistance of Glass Town and Angria's underworld. In contrast Branwell in *The Wool is Rising*, describes Zamorna's character as the complete opposite of his alter ego:

[Zamorna has] A splendid exterior of appearance. and. kingly loftiness of character and. mind formed on the model. of a conqueror. a life of brilliant performances. have. all crowned the fate. of. the man destined as Africas cherished and darling hero (*WPB II* 1999: 23).

Zamorna's regal character is compared to Percy's in Charlotte's *The Foundling* (1833).

Although Zamorna is complimentary about him, stating that he is handsome, Marian, Zamorna's current wife, has different views:

'He is not so [handsome] in mine, though,' replied she. 'His very look frightened me so far from my propriety that I could not muster sufficient sense to frame [an] answer to his question.' 'Why you carping critic, what particular feature in his face do you find fault with?' 'His eyes, I think, though I can't say with exactness, where all are so ugly [...] They are totally unlike yours, not so large, not so bright, not so smiling, therefore I hate them' (*EEW II* 1991: 82).

Additionally, in her *Characters of Celebrated Men* (1829), Charlotte touches upon Percy's heroic facade, revealing his attempts to imitate the persona of the Duke of Wellington, a trait that Zamorna naturally embodies. Percy instead fails to achieve this, purely down to his unhinged, wicked mind:

His manner is rather polished and gentlemanly, but his mind is deceitful, bloody and cruel. His walk (in which he much prides himself) is stately and soldier-like, and he fancies that it greatly resembles the Duke of Wellington (*EEW I* 1987: 128).

These juxtapositions of character truly separate Zamorna and Percy. It is from the

greatness of his ‘Wellington-like’ mind that Zamorna is able to achieve the optimum model of soldierly heroism, despite his minor defects; able to radiate an essence of warmth and patriotism that securely establishes his kingly position. It is interesting, however, to consider that Percy [Napoleon], despite his innate flaws, wishes to be like Wellington: although this may be an attempt by Charlotte to frustrate her brother by impressing her ideals on to his character, it is a uniting feature that strengthens a homosocial potentiality between the two rivals. This hope, however, appears too unrealistic. Unlike Zamorna, Percy’s morality is unbalanced,²⁶ the ideal of soldierly manliness literally gone rogue. Unable to match Zamorna’s military ideal, Percy is offered no source of redemption. Branwell’s character, although allowed sustained moments of success, is never permitted to triumph, Zamorna’s sun-like rays reestablishing the ‘Wellington’ soldierly archetype as triumphant.

Although convoluted and fictional, Charlotte and Branwell’s depiction of their juvenile heroes – first Wellington and Napoleon and then Zamorna and Alexander Percy – provides insight into contemporary reaction to Wellington and Napoleon’s eminent personalities. Responding to post-Waterloo popular commentary, the siblings acknowledged, interpreted, and incorporated the personality traits and military antagonisms of the two illustrious titans whilst imagining a powerful, binding relationship based on that antagonism, where admiration for another’s military prowess, mental brilliance, and lust for power secured an eternal bond of mutual respect and hero worship. Although Charlotte and Branwell’s creativity and indulgence in fantasy were extraordinary for young people of their time, their juvenilia give present-day readers an insight into post-war, sensational representations of the rivalry between Wellington and Napoleon. The unpublished narratives of these siblings growing up in a post-war age

²⁶ This is made explicit in Branwell’s *Life of Alexander Percy* (1834), which documents Percy’s disturbing Bildungsroman. As well as suffering an intensely traumatic childhood he plots with his first wife, Augusta de Segovia, to kill his own father.

provide a small example of the impact the beginnings of celebrity culture had on contemporary society, when late Georgian society was still caught up in the excitement and scandal of Waterloo well over a decade after Napoleon was defeated. This chapter has shown that Charlotte and Branwell's writings were inextricably bound up in post-war conversation; the siblings took on a role as social commentators and reworked their understandings into an alternative history. The various subsections of this chapter have penetrated through a number of layers of Wellington and Napoleon's representations – public perceptions, literal reconstructions, fictional reinventions – leaving this chapter firmly within the complex world of Brontë juvenilia. The next chapter expands this study's reading of juvenilia, yet broadens its scope to incorporate the Napoleonic Wars as a whole. Moving away from myth and celebrity culture, what follows consolidates the argument that the siblings were important social historians and commentators on war in the post-Napoleonic moment. As well as positioning themselves as key players in the hysteria surrounding the birth of military celebrity culture, Charlotte and Branwell's understandings of all aspects of war – events, terminology, trauma – convincingly consolidate their writings as one useful source for understanding the social and cultural impact of war on early nineteenth-century Britain.

Chapter Three: The Napoleonic Wars:

This chapter explores the broader impact of the Napoleonic Wars on Charlotte and Branwell's Glass Town and Angrian saga. Whereas the previous chapter discussed the role of military hero-worship – especially in relation to Wellington and Napoleon – as a primary influence of Charlotte and Branwell's military kingdoms, this chapter moves on to explore the siblings' immersion in the everyday narratives circulating in post-war Britain. Previously, I have discussed the siblings' utilisation and mimicry of canonical literature, periodical commentaries and biographies of canonical and celebrity wartime figures. This chapter will go deeper, focusing on another layer of Charlotte and Branwell's interest in war: the siblings' vicarious participation in the rise of the military memoir, and, in the case of the section's focus on patriotism, the revival of Napoleonic ballads and oral culture that complemented this rise. It is through their engagement with raw, revelatory life writing, written by the 'everyday' soldier, that Charlotte and Branwell were able to grasp the day-to-day life of a soldier, and understand and replicate the more personal experiences of life in the army, be that positive and negative. This chapter consists of three sections. The first introduces Charlotte and Branwell's engagement with these memoirs; the second demonstrates their use of memoirs and oral ballads to foster military spectacle and patriotism in their saga; and third – and arguably most revelatory – shows how they use soldiers' biographies to gain a sophisticated, highly intuitive understanding of war trauma and alcoholism. It is through these multifaceted understandings and uses of military life writing that readers can comprehend how invested the Brontë siblings were using real sources in their play. In turn, their use of historical and contemporary sources justify this study's assertion, that Charlotte and Branwell were important social historians of and commentators on war.

The Rise of the Military Memoir:

In the years following the Napoleonic Wars, a war-orientated literary movement began to surface within British culture. More and more, soldiers were publishing their experiences of war and releasing them either as standalone books, or through features in the periodical press. The nation was hooked, reading tales of militarism and adventure. This movement inspired the Brontë siblings to participate, their juvenilia imitating and adopting this phenomenon. Whereas the previous chapter highlighted the influence of the periodical press in the Brontës' recognition and reinvention of military celebrity culture, the media also facilitated their interest in and engagement with the 'everyday' soldier: their juvenilia are an extension of these memoirs, reimagining soldiers' states of being in a fantastical, exotic saga, yet still vicariously responding and contributing to a poignant moment in history.

On a superficial level, military features published in the periodical press served to reignite the spirit of war as various commentators reflected on an exciting bygone era. Surprisingly, Britain's reaction to the end of the Napoleonic Wars was relatively mournful: many saw the recent conflicts as a stimulating period that brought life and sensationalism to the nation. In 1827, a contributor to *Blackwood's* declared, 'the golden days of the army are gone; the sword rusts in its scabbard and literature and half pay are now the order of the day' (Anon 1827: 838). With melancholia in the air, the soldier author sought to cash in on this monotony, providing a literary service to a nation that needed their appetites whetted.

The mass publication and widespread distribution of war biographies meant that the late-Georgian British public was able to vicariously experience the landscape of war

from the safety of the home.²⁷ Neil Ramsey provides a definitive account of this war literature ‘boom’ in his *The Military Memoir and Romantic Literature and Culture* (2011):

A considerable body of soldiers’ writing emerged during the 1820s and ‘30s [...] Reviewers increasingly remarked, typically with some surprise, that they were witnessing an outpouring of personal accounts of the Napoleonic Wars [...] The military author assumed a prominent position in British literature, with the soldier’s personal narrative, his ‘military memoir’, forming a recognisable and commercially successful genre (Ramsey 2011: 51).

Ramsey continues to propose that these accounts established a sense of ‘knowing’ in the nationwide experience of war. The Napoleonic memoir proved that the common man could teach a disengaged nation to understand and sympathise with the duty of an everyday soldier.²⁸

Thus far, scholars have overlooked the connection of this literary body with the work of the Brontës; however, it will become clear throughout this chapter that Charlotte and Branwell were part of this literary military movement: their contemporary reading of memoirs allowed them not only to connect with the nation’s recent military history but also provided the necessary contextual background to build their imaginary kingdom. In essence, these biographical texts were fundamental to the geography and characterisation of Glass Town and Angria. Through this influx of life writing Charlotte and Branwell were able to transmogrify their reality of the Napoleonic Wars into fantasy literature. Military memoirs acted as a springboard through which the siblings could connect with highly humanised accounts of wartime topography and, with them,

²⁷ See Richard Cronin’s ‘Magazines and Romantic Modernity’ in Simon Hull’s *The British Periodical Text, 1797–1835: A Collection of Essays* (2008) and Andrew King and John Plunkett’s introduction to *Popular Print Media* (2004).

²⁸ There were instances of other military memoirs published before this boom. They did not, however, achieve the same popularity as those relating to the Napoleonic Wars. Ponden Hall housed a number of these early examples, including, William Thomson’s *Military Memoirs Relating to Campaigns, Battles and Stratagems of War Ancient and Modern* (1803) and and Robert Beatson’s *Naval and Military Memoirs of Great Britain, from 1727 to 1783* (1804).

forge a world that addressed the darker – even mundane – elements of war, beyond the superficial glamour and macho-militarism seen in previous chapters.

Christine Alexander's discovery of missing pages to Charlotte's early manuscript 'Anecdotes of the Duke of Wellington' (1829) gives an important insight into the specific military memoirs the Brontë family read, and, more generally, the types of memoir that impacted her consciousness and fed into her writing. From her range of reading it is clear that the young Charlotte had a thriving interest in soldiers, wartime psychology and the impact of war upon a nation. Each fragment is discussed in Alexander's article of the same title (2010), but mainly in regard to her hero worship of Wellington: Charlotte's first and second anecdotes build on the assertions put forward in the previous chapter, demonstrating that the young Brontë scoured through biographies, periodicals and other media to further understand Wellington's character.²⁹ This chapter, however, directs focus away from Wellington and emphasises the scope of her military reading beyond hero worship.

Although clearly seeking particular facts about the Duke, Charlotte's 'Anecdotes' also provides evidence of a young woman engaging with military memoirs.³⁰ Extract II is directly transcribed from John Malcolm's biography, *Malcolm's Tales of Field: With Sketches of Life at Home* (1829):

²⁹ Her first anecdote is a conflation of smaller snippets of information published in an assortment of written documents. Biographies such as Francis L. Clarke and William Dunlap's *The Life of the Most Noble Marquis and Earl of Wellington* (1814) and George Elliot's *The Life of the Most Noble Arthur Duke of Wellington* (1816) report the Duke awakening every morning at four. In Charlotte's anecdote she writes five, yet, as Alexander notes, her facts in this first paragraph are contorted, emphasising that Charlotte was most likely working from memory. The paragraph also mentions his reposing on a 'celebrated small camp bedstead which formed his couch during the whole of his Peninsular Campaigns'. This bedstead is mentioned in a Volume IX of *The Mirror of Literature, Amusement and Instruction* (Jacorus 1827: 398), a publication that the Brontës are thought to have read. Similarly, Anecdotes V and VII show Charlotte's all-round knowledge of her hero, documenting her hunt through London papers to find trivial pieces of information about him. In anecdote V she remarks that her idol had 'a rather negligent method of carrying his sword' (Brontë, Alexander 2010: 212) and in VII she details a skirmish between the Duke and angry protestors, the 'common Londoners' stoning him as he walked through St James' Park (Brontë, Alexander 2010: 213).

³⁰ In *Military Memoirs and Romantic Literary Culture 1780–1835* Neil Ramsey notes that a large portion of nationwide readers interested in military memoirs were women. In a military memoir published in *Blackwood's* titled 'Letters from the Peninsula – The Battle of Barosa', the author directly addresses the gruesome tastes held by his aunt: 'You are distinguished, I know, my dear aunt, by [...] an innocent, but inherent combativeness and appetite for the details of slaughter [...] Your Bohea never tastes so delightfully as when seasoned by an account of a battle – the bloodier the better' (Anon 1827: 695).

no one who has once seen, can ever forget that [face] of the Duke of Wellington. It is, moreover, but little changed and yet wears the same still smile and calm dignity which never for a moment forsook it, even in the mortal struggle and earthquake shock of battle (Malcolm 2007: 89) (Brontë, Alexander 2010: 211).

Other anecdotes are recollected from memory. Extract III recalls a dinner party scene, with Wellington as the life and soul of the party: ‘his sparkling wit & playful humour were making the hours dance pleasantly along’ (Brontë, Alexander 2010: 211). As Alexander notes, Charlotte’s imagined scene is similar to an account given by Major Stothert in July’s edition of the 1829 *United Service Journal*, which the Brontë family owned. As quoted in ‘The Editor’s Portfolio’, Stothert exclaims that Wellington joined a large dinner party ‘with his accustomed vivacity, in the conversation of his guests’ (B. 1829: 110). The *United Service Journal*, a completely military-based magazine that included war memoirs such as ‘Battle of Salamanca’, seen in this July issue, and ‘Advance from Salamanca’ included in part II of the same issue, would have been a useful source of military reading for the siblings. Finally, excluding a paragraph transcribed from Walter Scott’s *Life of Napoleon* (1827),³¹ Extract VI is a close transcription from an anonymous military memoir published in *The New British Novelist; Comprising Works of the most Popular and Fashionable Writers of the Present Day Vol. XXII* (1830). It details a doctor’s engagements at home and out in the Peninsular, including vivid descriptions of battle: ‘the hottest of the battle raged around him the belching cannons roared almost incessantly’ (Brontë, Alexander 2010: 213). This memoir joins an eclectic range of Charlotte’s military reading, creating a substantial portfolio of military sources that she could draw from and rework. This

³¹ The extract quotes Scott, stating, ‘The character of the Duke of Wellington is one of the most wonderful that ever any man had’ (Brontë, Alexander 2010: 211).

evidence is integral to supporting the argument within this thesis: that the juvenilia were shaped within a historical framework of war, written by youthful war writers.

Although there is no such manuscript to support Branwell's interest in reading military memoirs, it can be deduced from his writings that he actively engaged with the genre and shared Charlotte's enthusiasm for the 'red-coated author'. Instead, he demonstrates his knowledge of the genre through his choice of narrator. Throughout Angria's ferocious war-torn years (especially 1831–37), Branwell introduces ordinary soldier figures that record their experiences of war through biography: this technique attests to Branwell's direct mimicry of narration styles from contemporary military memoirs. In Branwell's early *Letters from an Englishman* (1832), J. Bellingham – a Glass Town banker thrust into the midst of battle – describes Alexander Percy's insurrection of Glass Town throughout the years 1830–32. Spanning the years 1833–34, the War of Encroachment and Aggression sees Branwell's pseudonym, the historian John Flower, describe his experiences of battle as a military leader. Similarly, in the Angrian conflicts of 1836–37, Branwell's later pseudonym, the Angrian poet Henry Hastings, provides a dramatic and violent account of the battles fought between the Angrian nation and the enemies bonded together by Verdopolis' brutal Reform Party. Through his narratives starting from *Angria and the Angrians I(d)* (1834) and ending with *Angria and the Angrians III(a)* (1836) Branwell provides a heroic, poetic, yet nightmarish vision of the 'real' soldier, reanimated from the mouths of everyday military men that directly spoke to the Brontës' imaginations through the pages of the numerous periodicals they read throughout their adolescent years. The siblings, together, acted as social historians and commentators of a nation trying to process war, inventing new, fictional military voices that would regurgitate, reprocess and reinvent the post-war feelings of the present age.

Reading and Reimagining Military Memoirs:

Within the first chapter of this thesis, the section ‘Walter Scott’ highlights the importance of Scott’s literary technique ‘fog of war’ in relation to Branwell’s battle writings and briefly alluded to its presence in contemporary military memoirs.³² Whilst maintaining that Scott’s literature was the main literary source behind Branwell’s technique, it is now crucial to highlight that Branwell’s memoir-style ‘fog of war’ narratives were part of a national movement. Whereas Scott pioneered this device in a canonical context, the late-Georgian explosion of military biography meant that soldiers turned to writing ‘in the moment’ in a cathartic bid to relive the experiences of combat and relate it to the British public. A number of the military memoirs that were available to the Brontës contained convincing, highly emotive scenes of battle. In *The Subaltern*, serialised in *Blackwood’s* throughout 1825, George Gleig recounts the Siege of St Sebastian (1813), conjuring confused ‘fog of war’ imagery in the thick of battle:

Shouts and groans were now mingled with the roar of cannons and the rattle of musketry [...] A shell from one of our mortars had exploded [...] sweeping the storming part into eternity [...] It was a spectacle as appalling and grand as the imagination can conceive the sight of that explosion. The noise was more awful than any which I have ever heard before or since; whilst a bright flash, instantly succeeded by a smoke so dense, as to obscure all vision, produced an effect upon those who witnessed it, such as no powers of language are adequate to describe (Gleig 1825: 294).

In keeping with the chaotic descriptions of ‘fog of war’, Gleig’s final statement highlights the need to conjure intense, sensational imagery to demonstrate the horrors of a situation where words ultimately fail. Similar language is used in Spencer Moggridge’s ‘Letters from the Peninsula No.1 ‘The Battle of Barosa’ (1827), published in *Blackwood’s*. At a climactic point in the battle, Moggridge describes a confused

³² See the section ‘Walter Scott’ within the first chapter of this thesis for a detailed discussion of ‘fog of war’.

assault upon the enemy:

There was little order in our proceedings; by the difficulties and inequalities of the ground, the battalion had become clubbed; and when we crowned the hill, and opened fire on our antagonists, we found ourselves certainly not in the same place we formerly occupied in the line. The firing was continued for a minute or two, and then we charged with the bayonet; while advancing with this view, I remember stumbling over the stump of a tree, and immediately afterwards I felt myself to be wounded (Moggridge 1827: 702).

Like Gleig, Moggridge seeks to convey the true experience of war through, rather than poetic verse, a collation of bewildered statements. From these brief examples, it is clear that ‘fog of war’ was not only a product of the canon, but also a staple technique of wartime biography. It is therefore unsurprising that the impressionable young Branwell adopted this style, repeatedly reconstructing and applying these dramatic portrayals of war onto his own imaginary battles. Branwell’s descriptions of conflict in his and Charlotte’s saga are crucial for understanding the changing nature of mass warfare, emulating a new, more personal response to military mentality and encouraging an empathetic response to soldierly combat.

Letters from an Englishman Volume VI (1832) is an explicit example of how Branwell imitates the language of ‘fog of war’; the narratives mimic the phrasing of the two extracts above. At the end of the tale, Alexander Percy is sentenced to death by firing squad. As the gunshot is fired, Branwell’s pseudonym narrator, J. Bellingham, describes a similar ‘bright flash’ experienced by Gleig in *The Subaltern*: ‘My head grew dizzy. The soldiers fired. I saw a bright flash and loud crash. He fell dead’ (WPB I 1997: 238). Furthermore, like Moggridge’s clumsy account of charging, stumbling and wounding in his memoir, Bellingham describes how earlier, in the fictitious Siege of Marchtown, ‘showers of balls whizzed constantly through the air a spent bullet struck me and I fell amid the feet of a crowd. A torrent of people rushed over me and I fainted’

(*WPB I* 1997: 236). To add further credence to these ‘fog of war’ parallels, Branwell pointedly explains his switch in narrative style at the tale’s climactic finale, directly addressing his use of the literary technique: ‘Here my historic relation of this rebellion terminates hereafter I can only relate a narrative of things in which I was immediatly concerned. To go on’ (*WPB I* 1997: 236). In other words, Branwell justifies that his war writing must remain ‘in the moment’, evoking feelings of immediacy rather than reflection.

‘Fog of war’ is also used in *A Historical Narrative of the War of Encroachment* (1834). In one particular section, detailing the disastrous retreat of the Federation against the French, Branwell writes in one quick, energetic paragraph how there was ‘the wildest and inextricable confusion’, ‘a tremendous tempest of rain and wind’, ‘a huge heap of confusion’ and ‘tumult and darkness’ (*WPB I* 1997: 390–1). These compact examples of ‘fog of war’ terminology are indicative of Branwell’s wider adoption of this literary technique. He consistently emulates the language of military life writing over the course of his Glass Town and Angrian tales until it becomes second nature. The endurance of this writing style is indicative of its consistent popularity throughout the late-Georgian period; the military memoir was a continuously popular genre throughout the 1820s and 30s.

In contrast, Charlotte uses military memoirs differently from her brother. Rather than applying this literary technique to descriptions of the battlefield, Charlotte reimagines and transposes these intimate, interior monologues onto a domestic setting: she successfully and harmoniously brings warfare into the home. In her separate Islander series, Charlotte introduces the reader to domestic military life. *Tales of the Islanders Vol. III* (1830) depicts the siblings’ imaginary visit to a ‘baking day’ at Horse Guards. Within the Palladian building in Whitehall they reach a scene where ‘2 or 3 hundred soldiers were standing busily employed in the manufacture of coarse loaves

and cakes' (*EEW I* 1987: 149) and, further on, they find 'the public apartment of the officers [...] A billiard table stood in the middle about which a number [of] uniform officers sat playing or talking' (*EEW I* 1987: 150). The soldiers are, ultimately, both masculine yet domestic. Charlotte's conflation of militarism and domesticity is propelled to new heights in her later tale 'The Post Office' in *Arthuriana or Odds & Ends* (1833).³³ The tale is set completely within a domestic setting, transposing the battlefield from its typical outdoors location into the home. The tale climaxes with Mr Bellingham's party suddenly gatecrashed by 'rare lads' who immediately throw the gathering into debauched chaos.³⁴ Charlotte takes this opportunity to satirise military memoirs. Like Branwell, Charlotte uses 'fog of war' to convey the horror of the boisterous scene. When the rare lads 'rush in', the narrator, Samuel Smith, states, 'At this climax of horror I fainted [...] How long I continued in a state of torpor I know not, but when I recovered my sense it was only to behold a scene of unexampled barbarity' (*EEW II* 1991: 214-15). The scene is one of drunken depravity, with Smith at last crawling from his hiding place at the end of the party. He describes the carnage much like a battle scene; one that strikes vivid parallels to 'fog of war':

Shattered glass and porcelain, spilt wine, crushed and trampled sweetmeats, broken furniture and torn tapestry met the eye on every side. But that which affected me most and struck a cold chill to my heart were the seven corpse-like and breathless bodies which, huddled each in the blanket that had been made the instrument of murdering them, lay strewed around as if on a field of battle (*EEW II* 1991: 215).

In response to this scene Zamorna looks on whilst Smith states: 'My lord [...] they are

³³ Note that 'The Post Office', within *Arthuriana or Odds and Ends*, is set alongside numerous other tales that demonstrate the creative diversity of Charlotte as a youthful writer. This particular collection is subtitled 'Being a Miscellaneous Collection of Pieces In Prose & Verse', containing a varied mix of writings ranging from pastoral pieces, 'Lines written beside a fountain in the grounds of York Villa' to drawing room stories such as 'The Tea Party'.

³⁴ Mr Bellingham is introduced as Branwell's narrator in *Letters from an Englishman I* (1831).

not drunk but slain' (*EEW II* 1991: 215). Zamorna answers: 'Ah, true [...] slain by Bacchus, chicken-headed fools. They've had a battle with the bottle and wine has worsted them. Thou only, Smith, art escaped alone to tell me' (*EEW II* 1991: 215). Although a parody, this sketch allows the reader to recognise Charlotte's intimate knowledge of the language used in military biography and foreshadows the permeation of future wars into the everyday lives of her Angrian characters. Indeed, the military memoirs published in *Blackwood's* were not wholly battlefield orientated. A number included long, vivid descriptions of home, before or after battle. In *The Last Words of Charles Edwards Esq* (1823) the narrator of the same title combines his war tales with reflections on his life as a whole: 'confinement, monotony, coarse society, and personal privation; – the simple fact is worth all the argument' (Edwards: 1823, 397). Moreover, adding to this domestic narrative, 'Letters from the Peninsula No. 3' (1828) describes life at a 'Depot on the Isle of Wight' before soldiers are shipped to the Peninsula. Finally, *Passages in the Life of Francis Flagstaffe, Esq* (1828) opens in a 'well-furnished drawing-room' where numerous guests are discussing youth, education and the rise of the military memoir, inspiring Flagstaffe to write an account of his life (Flagstaffe 1828: 273).

With so many military personnel within the siblings' Glass Town and Angria it is unsurprising that Charlotte creates vivid descriptions of the 'domestic soldier'. Whilst Branwell occupied the action of battle, Charlotte manned the household fort, consolidating the new humanisation of the soldier in the late-Georgian public mindset. It is through Branwell's descriptions of vulnerable soldiers in battle and Charlotte's reintegration of soldierly men into their respective societies that demonstrate the significance of the military memoir in both siblings' creativity. Both Charlotte and Branwell act as testimony to the impact of the rise of military life writing, proving that the genre was successful in reorienting the public mindset to imagine the soldier as a

human being, capable of relating experiences of war (both in regard to the self and the domestic landscape) to a much greater effect than historical descriptions of the army *en masse*. Whereas this section has demonstrated the persistent, indomitable influence of the military memoir throughout the siblings' saga in regard to narrative style, the following two sections will now thematically appraise the use of these memoirs in the siblings' writings.

Mimicking Patriotism and the Military Spectacle:

Smart jaunty personages, attired in military costumes, passed [...] with the dashing step and bearing peculiar to their profession. Now and then a superior-looking cavalry officer galloped by on horseback (*EEW II*, I 1991: 53).



Gillray, James (1793). *Fatigues of the Campaign in Flanders*. Image used courtesy of the British Museum.

The military personnel in Glass Town's capital city, Verdopolis, are highly visible and impressive. As Charlotte's quotation from *Visits in Verropolis* (1830) suggests, the military is, against the backdrop of the metropolis, a glamorous profession. The extract is almost

Jane Austen-esque, similar to Lydia Bennet's description of the 'glories of the [Brighton] camp' in *Pride and Prejudice* (1813), which was 'crowded with the young and the gay, and dazzling in scarlet' (Austen 1996: 224). This sexualisation of soldiers, as Austen scholars such as Catriona Kennedy and Gillian Russell have noted, was not an unusual characteristic of late-Georgian Britain.³⁵ Although Charlotte would not have

³⁵ See Gillian Russell's chapter 'The Army, the Navy and the Napoleonic Wars' in *Blackwell's Companion to Austen* (2009) and Catriona Kennedy's *Narratives of the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars* (2013).

read Austen at this early stage in her writing life, the alluring pull of military masculinity as a source of patriotism was ingrained in the public imagination: as the previous chapter explored, the birth of military celebrity and its sensationalism in the periodical press was one factor that contributed to a conflation of sexualisation and spectacle. Moreover, artwork emphasised the soldier's sexual allure. James Gillray's *Fatigues of the Campaign in Flanders* (1793), which depicts women gazing in infatuated awe at a bawdy soldiers' gathering – exposes the soldier as a symbol of sexual worship. As late as 1839, Charlotte was still using this trope: her novella, *Henry Hastings* (1839) depicts her strong female protagonist, Elizabeth Hastings, the precursor to her later famed Jane Eyre, imagining her soldier brother, Henry, as a sexually active soldier figure:

She realised him in a hundred situations – on the verge of battle, in the long weary march, in the halt by the wild river banks. She seemed to watch him slumber under the desert moon, with large-leaved jungle plants spreading their rank shade above him. Doubtless, she thought, the young Hussar would then dream of some one that he loved; some beautiful face would seem to bend over his pillow such as had charmed him in the saloons of the capital (*Tales* 2006: 289).

Although this is far from an incestuous imagining and more a translation of Charlotte's – and by proxy, the nation's – sexual desires, it is an important indication of the contemporary idealisation of the military body as a romantic fighting body: the average citizen, it appeared, considered soldierhood as a profession of feeling where the spirit of patriotism, mingled with seductiveness, defined the Napoleonic warrior.

As well as engaging with the sexual military body,³⁶ it is clear that the siblings were fixated on the body *en masse* as a broader military spectacle. Although

³⁶ See the section 'Classicism' within the first chapter of this thesis for a detailed discussion of the siblings' changing representations of the masculine, military body.

common soldiers are given voices as pseudonyms, the ‘common’ military archetype is represented as a collective military identity: it is mainly through military display that the full glory of patriotism and military manliness is exercised. Throughout the saga, Charlotte and Branwell repeatedly seize the opportunity to write gushing, highly sensationalised patriotic scenes. From the early Glass Town saga, in which the Genii – representing the four siblings – reign over their colonial army, to the creation of Angria, in which Zamorna is crowned in a lavish ceremony, patriotism is associated with royalty. In 1829, Charlotte exclaims in her *Blackwood’s Young Men’s Magazine*: ‘O may they [the Genii] reign eternally, | In the glory of their might; May their armies be victorious, | While they like stars light’ (*EEW I* 1987: 63). Branwell echoes this patriotic zeal in his ‘Anthem of the Coronation’ (1834), where the Genii’s religious sovereignty has been replaced by what appears to be a more recognisably Christian form of God: ‘But God save our King | Joy to him we sing [...] Swear while thou her sword shall wield | It shall not be overthrown’ (*WPB I* 1997: 206). These poems, among others the siblings composed,³⁷ coincide with the rising significance of Britain’s national anthem, which rose to prominence in the early nineteenth century.³⁸ Imitating the imperialist tones of the well known verse, transcribed in Jeffrey Richards’ *Imperialism and Music* (2001), ‘God save the King, | Send him victorious, happy and glorious’ (Richards 2001: 89) along with the now neglected militaristic verse ‘O Lord our God arise, | Scatter her enemies, | And make them fall’ (91), Charlotte and Branwell write in celebration of the bonds of nation and patriotism at a time when wars were increasingly fought overseas and dissociated from the motherland.³⁹

Charlotte and Branwell’s poetry becomes further intertwined with nationhood through their recognition of contemporary military songs. ‘God Save the King’ is just

³⁷ See Branwell’s ‘The Glass Town’ (1829), ‘Sing for the power of thy foeman hath gone’ (1834), and Charlotte’s ‘Merry England, land of glory’ (1829).

³⁸ See Jeffrey Richards’s *Imperialism and Music: Britain, 1876–1953* (2001).

³⁹ See Chapter Four: ‘Colonial Warfare’ for a discussion of the First Anglo-Ashanti War.

one melodic example that Mark Philps recognises as ‘linked to an unprecedented level of national mobilisation in which music and song played a major role’ (Philps 2006: 173). Philps argues that the Napoleonic Wars prompted highly politicised, poignant and patriotic oral expression that resonated in concert halls, taverns, streets and other public spaces.⁴⁰ Militaristic songs and ballads were common, the recent wars generating melodies that covered topics such as heroism, death and the role of women in wartime: one that Paula Guimarãs argues Charlotte recognised and responded to.⁴¹ Over the course of the juvenilia, both siblings – although mostly Branwell – composed a number of warmongering anthems at appropriate climactic moments. Branwell’s ‘Sound the Loud Trumpet’, ‘Welcome Heroes to the War’ and ‘History stood by her Pillar of Fame’ alongside Charlotte’s ‘Hurrah for the Gemini’, all composed in 1834, are written by Branwell’s pseudonym Henry Hastings, the national soldier poet of Angria.⁴² To highlight his importance within the Angrian regime, Hastings’ ‘An Angrian Battle Song’ (1836) was sung by ‘Our Noble band of Royal Guards’ during the final Angrian wars. Each song is deeply patriotic and powerful in its rhetoric. ‘Hurrah for the Gemini’ attests that though battle’s ‘blasts we may defy, | Still our flag aloft shall fly’ (*WPB III* 1999: 289). Furthermore, stirring phrases such as ‘Rise Man and Monarch and City and Nation’ (*WPB I* 1997: 206) and ‘Shake the shackles from your feet | WELCOME TO THE WAR’ (253) in ‘Sound the Loud Trumpet’ and ‘Welcome Heroes to the War’ respectively, emphasise the carnivalesque display of overt patriotism. Hastings’ channeling of the siblings’ militarism and intense feeling not only furthers the fun of the saga, but also conveys important reflections on contemporary feeling. Julie Donovan’s

⁴⁰ See Mark Philps’s *The British Response to the Threat of Invasion* (2006). Also, although too late to inform this study, Juliet Barker speculates that, in 1841, Branwell saw Franz Liszt’s ‘captivating’ performance of variations of the National Anthem in Halifax (Barker 1994: 368).

⁴¹ See Guimarãs’ article: ‘Displacement in Charlotte and Emily Brontë’s Poetry of Home and Exile Dualities’ (2008). Regarding the recent Napoleonic Wars, her focus on Charlotte’s poems – ‘Miss Hume’s Dream’ (1830), ‘The Wife’s Will’ (1837) and ‘The Wood’ (1845) respectively – touches upon Charlotte’s treatment of widows in her juvenilia. Moreover, her work on home and exile within Charlotte and Emily’s poetry briefly discusses how their war poetry reproduced fears of invasion and revolt in the aftermath of the Napoleonic Wars. See also the section ‘Romanticism’ in the first chapter of this thesis for a brief discussion of war widows in the siblings’ juvenilia.

⁴² For a more detailed description of Hastings, please see this chapter’s sections on war trauma and alcoholism.

essay on Branwell's poetry and prose touches upon the importance of music in Branwell's conceptions of war and patriotism:

The cohesive, emblematic quality of music to establish feelings of nationhood emerges in the exhortations characterizing Branwell's Angria, some of which are accompanied by Angria's Band of Royal Guards [...] [Branwell's poetry] links the polite and popular genres [...] reinforcing the legitimacy of the Angrian state and justifying the wars in which it takes part (Donovan 2016: 217).

Within Angria, song is the most explicit form of nationalism. Both Charlotte and Branwell noted that in order to unify a country, it must be done through the unity of spectacle. Despite living in a post-war period, the siblings were still able to imagine and imitate a wartime spirit within their saga. It was clear that the excitement generated by a Romantic age of war had passed the parameters of peace in 1815 and was continuing to resonate well into the late 20s and 30s.

Interestingly, the majority of post-war musical spirit and spectacle was revived by the publication of poetry and songs in the contemporary media as complementary material to soldiers' biographical reflections: periodicals sought to document and record the oral culture of the recent past, reflecting on the brotherhood that war offered and reviving the sentimentality of wartime feeling through common soldier culture. In regard to the Brontë family, their recognition and lyrical imitation of a cultural consciousness of military patriotism came from these retrospective verses. A number were published in *The United Service Journal* giving the young Brontës early exposure to military music and oral culture: between 1827–30, many traditional and Napoleonic military songs were printed alongside other militant material written by soldiers: 'The British Sailor's Song' (1827), 'Les Dragons' (1827), 'The Regiment first coming into a Country Town' (1828) and 'The Soldier's Camp-Song on the Eve to Battle' (1829) are

just a few examples that appear between 1827-29.⁴³ More specifically, poems such as ‘The Soldier’s Song’ (1827), which laments, ‘Lo! th’adverse Cheiftains take their stand [...] The sons of Mars, in frequent shock | Oppos’d meet hand to hand [...] O Britain! how sublime thy course, | Brilliant in arms and lore’ (Dirom 1827: 438) encompass the themes seen throughout this study: classical influence, Scott-like chivalric warriors, and patriotic warmongering. Moreover, in addition to being contextually fitting with Angria’s recent war against France, the poem ‘Spanish National Song’ (1829) is echoed in the title of Branwell’s poem ‘Sound the Loud Trumpet’: ‘Then sound the loud trumpets, | The standards advance— | Down, down with the tyrant, | And vengeance on France!’ (Anon 1829: 696). Finally, ‘Song of Mina’s Soldiers’ (1830) conjures imagery of Charlotte’s character Mina Laury, Zamorna’s pre-eminent mistress, who takes on the role of safe-houser and entertainer for Angria’s soldiers. In Charlotte’s *Passing Events* (1836), Mina is shown entertaining the military elite, many of whom, such as Warner and later General Thornton, become infatuated with her.⁴⁴ ‘Song of Mina’s Soldiers’, a ditty sung by the troops during the Peninsular Wars, is a likely inspiration for Mina’s soldierly love triangles: ‘We heard thy name, O Mina! [...] Thy name our trumpet, Mina! – The mountain bands are thine’ (Anon 1830: 414). As this list has clarified, the siblings had easy access to lyrical war rhetoric: the similarities in language between the juvenilia and published verse indicate that these contemporary publications had a likely role in the saga’s imitation of contemporary wartime spectacle.

Branwell regularly ties in the oral tradition of militaristic patriotism with parading, a very explicit act of military spectacle. In *A Historical Narrative of the War of Encroachment*, he refers to ‘Military Music swelling and. bursting along the lines Accompanied the compact Regiments as they shoaled away out of the square own the

⁴³ A more detailed discussion of the final song, ‘The Soldier’s Camp-Song on the Eve of Battle’, can be seen in this chapter’s section on alcoholism.

⁴⁴ Warner studies Mina’s beauty in Charlotte’s *Passing Events* (1836): ‘her neck sprung from her exquisite bust’ (Brontë 1971: 43). In *Mina Laury* (1838), the drunken Thornton makes advances on Mina, professing his undying love.

great sweeping street and. out of sight mingling in the crowds and darkness' (*WPB I* 1997: 374). Again in *Angria and the Angrians I(a)* a large military recruitment parade is described: 'All the City of Adrianopolis rose in a wild ferment of excitement and that the spirit which reigned through it was instantaneously dispersed through the whole kingdom' (*WPB II* 1999: 253). The parade consists of soldiers in 'their new scarlet uniforms and gilded bells and the caps with their Sun starred from the swagger of the plumed head' (*WPB II* 1999: 200). This display of nationalism and sun-soaked symbolism overwhelms the narrator:

'instantaneously struck by the blaze the perfect flash of gold and scarlet which met my eye [...] The air was filled with one vast flutter of the Angrian banners huge sheets of silken scarlet flung themselves abroad in the breeze. and blazed out in their rustling fold the broad bright sun rising in burnished. gold I felt <instantly> the effect this show produced on me and I well knew the transient enthusiasm which roused me as I beheld. the wind and the marching unroll to the sight on scarlet after scarlet the one single word 'ARISE' (*WPB II* 1999: 200).⁴⁵

Branwell's breathtaking spectacle was born from the periodical press. Alongside poetry and song the spirit of parading was kept alive by military memoirs. Cohering to late-Georgian public nostalgia, which championed the sensational feeling of war, a *Blackwood's* commentator laments over 'the spirit stirring drum' (Anon 1817: 459), whilst George Gleig's *The Subaltern* (1826) makes reference to numerous parade grounds throughout.⁴⁶ As illustrated by Branwell's showstopper parade, recruitment parades were the most popular and effective form of nationalistic posturing.⁴⁷ Numerous standalone memoirs published during the Brontës' childhood mention these types of parade, such as *Memoirs of A Sergeant late in the Forty-Third Light Infantry*

⁴⁵ Elaborate uniforms were popular during the Napoleonic Wars. Scott Myerly notes the officers' uniforms were 'trimmed with gold or silver button lace' (Myerly 1996: 19).

⁴⁶ There are eleven references to parading in the memoir.

⁴⁷ Another popular time to parade was in the event of a military funeral. Branwell describes a military funeral in his *A Historical Narrative of the War of Aggression*. Hodding Carter writes, 'No doubt the Napoleonic Wars and victories enhanced the appeal of military funerals. By the 1830's [*sic*] frequent notices of funeral parades appeared in the newspapers' (Carter 1968: 227).

Regiment (1835). Although one can only speculate that Charlotte and Branwell would have been familiar with the memoirs due to their pervasive nature in the fabric of British culture, it is likely that they would have been aware of these recruitment methods. The military spectacle was a consistently popular way to recruit impressionable young men.⁴⁸ Catriona Kennedy explains:

Recruiting parties put a great deal of effort into creating military spectacles that would convince young men to enlist. Regimental posters in the style of theatrical playbills were pasted up in towns and villages [...] This would be followed by a lavish and colourful parade of the regiment's finest recruits decked out in their best uniforms and accompanied by the regimental band. Several soldiers' memoirs cite the allure of these martial displays in prompting them to enlist (Kennedy 2013: 38).

Whereas Branwell was attracted to the extravaganza of this superficial, idealised portrayal of army life, Charlotte's writings shatter this military paragon, often acknowledging the attraction of military display yet equally emphasising war's more sinister undertones. In *My Angria and the Angrians* (1834), Charlotte combines violent language with glorified representations of the military spectacle. Focusing on a militaristic country parade, she narrates that the country hall contained 'gilded banners red as blood, so brilliantly vermilion in the lights', yet they were equally 'so gory in the shadows' (*EEW II, I* 1991: 456). Although Charlotte's imagination is evidently exhilarated by the imagery of warlike splendour she also reminds the reader of the horrors that lay dormant and disguised underneath military grandeur. A similar sinister undertone re-emerges in *Passing Events* (1836) where Charlotte conjures an atmospheric image of eerie pre-war calm. In the early dawn of the saga's final wars, Charlotte describes a romantic image of a parade at sunset; yet this is overshadowed by the looming toll of minster bells, which are, in turn, overpowered by the firing of guns:

⁴⁸ See Myerly's chapter 'Recruitment' in *British Military Spectacle* (1996).

Night closed on the holy city of Angria! the ecclesiastical city! now alas the depot of war. Former[ly] that ancient town rested quietly among the moors under the shade of the minster, now it seemed but one great barracks. The evening drum, the twilight bugle, sounded from the band of many a regiment. Soldiers & plumed officers were parading the streets where staid civilians formerly walked, the peal of the minster-bells was drowned [sic] in the deep boom of the sunset gun (Brontë 1971: 60).

Passing Events' poignant scene presents, on the one hand, a united, comforting vision of the army with the evening drum and bugle. Yet, equally, Charlotte's narrative is punctuated within realistic imagery of war; symbolically, the monotonous sound of the guns blocks out the sound of the church. This image of 'the calm before the storm' almost parallels Gleig's description of a parade ground in *The Subaltern*:

At the first blast I sprang from my bed, and, drawing aside the curtain of my window, looked out. The day was just beginning to break; the parade ground, into which I gazed was as yet empty, only two or three figures, those of the trumpeters, who were puffing away with all their might, being discernible upon it; and not a sound could be distinguished except that which their puffing produced. The moon was shining brightly overhead; not a breath of air was astir; in short, it was just half-past three o'clock and the time of the parade was four (Gleig: 1825, 280).

Like Charlotte, Gleig lingers on the pre-war calm the parade symbolised. Although Charlotte's parade is already in full swing, the tone of Gleig's extract evokes the same melancholic foreboding of loss mingled with the beauty of spectacle.

In one instance, Branwell also becomes disenchanted with the collective military ideal. Towards the end of Angria's war with Frenchysland (1834) the military turn vigilante, staging a coup in an attempt to save their nation from the continuous onslaught of the French troops. Whilst overpowering the Verdopolitan government in *A*

Historical Narrative of the War of Aggression (1834), Branwell states that ‘the area was choked with plumes and bayonets’ (*WPB I* 1997: 426). The military parade has become stifling. Branwell ends his observations with: ‘Rumours of the french were thickening and darkening round us. and it was the Army alone this terrible Army which could save us’ (*WPB I* 1997: 434). This brief epiphanic moment shatters the illusion of the mass military ideal. Branwell’s great body of men is depicted as frightening and undisciplined rather than sun-blazed heroes in well-disciplined parading formations.⁴⁹ Branwell’s sudden anxiety directed at the army may have been generated from the more unflattering contemporary commentaries regarding Napoleonic soldierhood that had, in themselves, borne a legacy. As Gavin Daly notes:

Wellington characterized British plunder as the product of a soldiery composed of the ‘scum of the earth’; a phrase that influenced later military historians in portraying British plunder as the work of a ‘criminal’ or ‘semi-criminal’ class within the army (Daly 2013: 14).

Wellington’s stereotype filtered through the national media. A pertinent example lies in an 1807 edition of the *Oxford Review*, which the Brontës’ may have read at Ponden Hall.⁵⁰ At one point, a contributor brands soldiers mean (Anon 1807: 295); another observes how a soldier has ‘peculiar animal qualifications (Anon 1807: 582). With the murmur of primal soldierly criminality within the British cultural fabric, Branwell would most likely have been aware of this lower-class make-up of the British army, possibly using it as inspiration for this unidealised scene. Once again, despite showing moments of promise, the full collective military ideal cannot be achieved. The soldierly mass becomes less glorified the more war is thrust upon them; it is only through

⁴⁹ The idea of the army as a mass threat is carried through into Charlotte’s later literature. See the first concluding section of this thesis.

⁵⁰ See the Introduction of this thesis for a discussion of where the Brontës acquired their reading material.

military display that the army *en masse* can truly be idealised and glorified.

Trauma and Alcoholism:

In contrast to the previous section's focus on Charlotte and Branwell's adoption of patriotic values, this section will explore how the siblings' reading of military memoirs also exposed them to the sinister elements of warfare. As Ramsey emphasises, the military memoir opened up a 'spectator's reaction to the suffering body' (Ramsey 2013: 13).⁵¹ In other words, trauma emerged as a collective, vicarious experience through the medium of story telling: although life writing is not quite the same as fiction, the memoirs promote creativity as a medium for traumatic expression. Despite belonging to a post-war generation with no direct links to the military, the siblings' vicarious response to the memoir's treatment of damaged psychology, and the harmful substance abuse used to curb and relieve war's adverse impact, enlightens present-day readers of the post-Napoleonic suffering that was embedded in social consciousness and considered a national problem. This extended final section explores the ways in which the Brontë siblings became aware of war trauma in a culture where it was not sufficiently recognised, and how they embedded their acute understanding of this phenomenon into their writings.

⁵¹ For more information on the Romantic suffering body see the section 'Romanticism' within the first chapter of this thesis. This section briefly introduces Romantic ideas of suffering to notions of trauma.

Trauma:

He could not sleep!, his temples prest [*sic*]
 To the hard pillow throbbed with pain
 The belt around his noble breast
 His heart's wild pulse could scarce restrain.
 And stretched in feverish unrest
 Awake the Great Commander lay [...]
 The sods of battle [*sic*] round him welter
 In noble blood that morning shed.
 And gorged with prey & now declining
 From all the fire of glory won
 watchful & fierce he lies repining
 O'er what may never be undone

(PCB 1985: 234).⁵²

Charlotte's insightful poem, 'He could not sleep!' (1837), depicts an anxious Zamorna lamenting over the battle of Evesham, the final battle of the Angrian Civil Wars (1834–37). Its rhetoric combines both traumatic knowledge and figurative language to close, what Geoffrey Hartman explains as, 'the disjunction between experiencing (phenomenal or empirical) and understanding' (Hartman 1995: 540); the poem constructs a dialogue of (non)experience to artistically convey knowledge of an experience where literal retellings are not adequate. The traumatic implications of the verse are evident through an initial reading: the uncontrollable, contorted body at war with mundane reality – his belt, a supposed symbolic object of heroism, loops round him in a restrictive circle that intensifies the conflict between objective military performativity and true bodily and spiritual suffering – the sensational language, the confusing nature of recalling the battle 'welter', and the painful poignancy of reflection. The cyclical nature of the poem emphasises Zamorna's disquiet: the rhyming pattern brings tight closure while the content runs on in a form of traumatic enjambment as the

⁵² The battle of Evesham is the last major battle of the 1836–37 wars, reinstating Zamorna as king of Angria.

wounds are reopened anew. Charlotte also uses single words that create a paradoxical tension within themselves. The present participle verb, ‘repining’, indicates a form of physical stillness and contradicts his active, fraught mind, which is, in itself, a form of battlefield. The final line that laments ‘O’er what may never be undone’ consolidates the Freudian nature of traumatic repetition; the need to repeat becomes compulsive and involuntary.

Although Freud’s *Beyond the Pleasure Principle* (1920) is usually considered within the context of the First World War, which aligned twentieth-century understandings of trauma alongside mechanised, modern warfare, a Freudian reading can be convincingly applied to Zamorna’s plight. As Freud recognises the pressure towards death categorically named as the death drive,⁵³ so too does Charlotte’s protagonist, fixating on instances of military violence and finality in the face of mortality. This Freudian reading is strengthened by the frequency of its patterns within the juvenilia. Like his sister Charlotte, Branwell also recognised the same compulsive, cyclical motions through his anti-hero, Alexander Percy. In *The Wool is Rising* (1834), the tale begins with Alexander Percy locking himself away ‘harassed’ by the late war and poetically lamenting his reflection of:

Man dashed on man, in trampled blood [...]
 Where am I. dashed into the hold upon a strangling foe
 All men and smokes and shouts above
 a writhing wretch below

(*WPB II* 1999: 29).

Again, this description depicts a soldier focussing on a moment of mortality as he replays the incident through a similar repetitive psychological framework.

⁵³ See Sigmund Freud, *Beyond the Pleasure Principle* (London: Penguin, 2003).

In the context of the early nineteenth century, the siblings' comprehension of war trauma appears remarkable. In a broad sense, Jill Matus's research on pre-Freudian, emerging understandings of trauma throughout the mid-late nineteenth century emphasises the importance of literature as a tool for understanding how psychological suffering embedded itself in the social fabric of Victorian Britain. Although Matus's research concentrates on a much later period than the focus of this article (1850–86), her assertion that trauma is, in fact, 'dependent less on scientific discoveries than it is on cultural attitudes and ideology' (Matus 2009: 185) complements this study's focus on the vicarious psychological impact of war on the Brontës and, more broadly, the British nation. Moreover, Matus's assertion that 'literary narratives helped to shape and influence the cultural practises and narratives out of which the concept of trauma developed' (12) can also be applied to this earlier period. The importance of literature as a cultural outlet for trauma has been repeatedly applied to history: notably, critics such as E. Ann Kaplan, Ron Eyerman, Christopher Herbert and Jeffrey E. Alexander have considered the role of cultural trauma in reaction to notorious historic movements and moments ranging from slavery to war crime.⁵⁴ As will become clear, the Brontës' comprehension of an unmedicalised condition was indicative of how 'shock' encoded itself artistically into post-Napoleonic culture rather than how it evolved into a scientific taxonomy.

There is a lack of scholarly engagement with the presence of cultural trauma in post-Napoleonic Britain.⁵⁵ As summarised by Roger Luckhurst, it was not until the later nineteenth century when trauma drifted from the 'physical to the mental realm' (Luckhurst 2008: 3). This complements the rationale for Matus's study of mid-late nineteenth-century trauma narratives. Although Matus acknowledges the legacy of

⁵⁴ See E. Ann Kaplan, *Trauma Culture: The Politics of Terror and Loss in Media and Literature* (2005), *Cultural Trauma and Collective Identity*, ed. by Jeffrey C. Alexander, Ron Eyerman, Bernard Giesen (2004), and Christopher Herbert, *War of No Pity: The Indian Mutiny and Victorian Trauma* (2008).

⁵⁵ Cultural trauma means that the nation suffers a shared experience of trauma. This collective trauma is conveyed through the arts of the period.

suffering subjects in the history of literature, her focus on the ‘extensive traffic between literary and psychological discussions’ best suits the emerging published studies in psychology and memory science in the latter half of the century (Matus 2009: 9–10). Alongside the rising awareness of trauma as a psychological condition, Matus uses literature as a primary cultural document in order to posit nineteenth-century ideas of shock and trauma within their contemporary moment, using them as a precursor but not directly leading to the evolution of Freudian psychology. The Brontë siblings’ juvenilia was written in the 1820s and 30s, before any convincing medical engagement with war trauma. As Chris Cantor states, at the beginning of the century the phenomenon was open to ‘a bewildering array of labels and concepts’ (Cantor 2005: 9). Although there is an established legacy of literature that stresses the connection between war and Romantic suffering throughout the late-eighteenth and early nineteenth century,⁵⁶ individual medical trauma and collective cultural trauma are still underresearched and ambiguous avenues of research.

A number of historians and psychologists have traced the etymology of war trauma through medical accounts and memoirs.⁵⁷ It is only recently that there has been a trend in psychological journals to retrace and rediagnose battle disorders. For example, Edgar Jones and Simon Wessely have published their retrospective case studies of nineteenth-century war trauma and chronic fatigue syndrome in the *British Medical Journal* and *Journal of Psychiatry*.⁵⁸ These reevaluations, however, seem alien when situated within the contextual discourse of the period. Laurent Tatu and Julien Bogousslavsky note how several conditions during the Napoleonic Wars were associated with *le vent du boulet*, literally meaning ‘wind of a cannonball’ (Tatu,

⁵⁶ See, for example, Philip Shaw’s *Suffering and Sentiment in Romantic Military Art* (2013) and G. Daly’s *The British Soldier in the Peninsular War* (2013).

⁵⁷ For an interdisciplinary study of trauma and cultural memory, see Nigel Hunt’s *Memory, War and Trauma* (2012). Especially see Hunt’s study of trauma in regard to Homer’s *The Iliad*, and Shakespeare’s *Henry V*, p. 15.

⁵⁸ See Edgar Jones and Simon Wessely’s ‘Case of Chronic Fatigue Syndrome after Crimean War and Indian Mutiny’, *British Medical Journal*, (1999) and Edgar Jones and Simon Wessely’s ‘Psychiatric Battle Casualties: An Intra- and Interwar Comparison’, *The British Journal of Psychiatry* (2001).

Boggousslavsky 2014: 157). Similarly, Philip Shaw's recent work on Robert Hamilton's *The Duties of a Regimental Soldier* (1787) exposes a new line of enquiry into the history of sensibility and emotions. Hamilton's observations of lower-ranking soldiers suffering from 'nostalgia' are, according to Shaw, symptomatic of a desire to be released from all forms of regimentation in late-eighteenth-century society (Shaw 2016). From a purely medical standpoint, Shaw recognises the frequent application of nostalgia – '*nóstos*, meaning 'homecoming', and '*álgos*, meaning 'pain' or 'ache' – as a medical term to diagnose soldiers' mental maladies when their spirits weakened and they became 'gripped by fantasies of return [to the home]' (Shaw 2016).⁵⁹ These abstract concepts of war trauma indicate an absence of formal categorisation within medical terminology, yet an underlying recognition of its effects within medical

spheres.

By proxy, it is likely that the British public would have been aware of the war's detrimental effect on their male population as more soldiers returned to Britain. Charlotte – the eldest surviving Brontë sibling, born in 1816 –



Gillray, James (1793). *John Bull's Progress*. Image used courtesy of the British Museum.

would have grown up in a nation recovering from wide-scale conflict, the Battle of Waterloo ending decades of overseas conflict just one year previously. Moreover, it is

⁵⁹The etymology of the word has been traced by George Rosen in 'Nostalgia: a 'forgotten' psychological disorder', *Psychological Medicine*, 5 (1975), pp. 340–354. Lisa O'Sullivan has emphasised the importance of the condition in regard to medical and political change. By redirecting emotion and emerging ideas on insanity, Idéologue writers could promote an intense form of nationalism. See Lisa O'Sullivan's 'The Time and Place of Nostalgia: Re-situating a French Disease', *Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences* (2012), p. 262. Finally, Jonathan Lamb has drawn a connection between nostalgia and eighteenth-century naval diseases in his research on Scorbatic nostalgia. See Jonathan Lamb's 'Scorbatic nostalgia', *Journal for Maritime Research* (2013), pp. 27–36.

evident that Haworth housed some of the returning veterans, although there is no evidence to suggest that the children ever came into contact with them.⁶⁰ As Simon Bainbridge notes, ‘The returning soldier was a troubling figure, socially, psychologically and politically’ (Bainbridge 2003: 43). Aside from highlighting poetry by writers such as Burns and Wordsworth that sentimentalises the unsettling image, Bainbridge uses James Gillray’s print *John Bull’s Progress* (3 June 1793) as a representative portrayal of the damaged soldier and his disturbing presence in Britain’s post-war landscape: in the final image a redcoat returns to his domestic realm as ‘an emaciated cripple with only one eye and one leg’ (Bainbridge 2003: 43). Although this is a physically traumatic portrait, more reminiscent of the disturbing impact of war on a nation more generally, it is indicative of a wider theme of suffering that permeated the arts of the late-eighteenth and early nineteenth century. As ‘Chapter One: The Brontës’ Military Reading’ shows, leading canonical authors that the Brontës enjoyed, such as Byron and Scott, focussed on war within their literature and touched upon the soldierly suffering and the tragic aftermath of conflict: Byron’s *Childe Harold’s Pilgrimage* (1812) was a direct response to the carnage of Waterloo, and Scott successfully displaced the horrors of contemporary warfare on to the past in his *Waverley Novels*. As Chad May summarises, Scott’s novels present the ‘traumatic repetition of the past [...] as blood that cannot wash away’ (May 2005: 106).⁶¹ Although the Brontës may not have come into contact with any examples of war first-hand, the seeds of suffering had been implanted in popular consciousness, and, as will now be explained, continued to reverberate in the literary currents of the post-war era through the media material the Brontës were reading and emulating.

Both Charlotte and Branwell construct a convincing pathology of trauma in their

⁶⁰ See the Introduction of this thesis for specific details of soldiers who resided in Haworth.

⁶¹ See the sections ‘Romanticism’ and ‘Walter Scott’ in the first chapter of this thesis for detailed discussions regarding both authors.

early writings with a number of their military characters undergoing life-changing psychological alterations as a result of their battlefield experiences.⁶² In Charlotte's *Lily Hart* (1833), the Duke of Fiden's post-battle manner is described as 'cold and distant' (*EEW II* 1991: 36), and in *A Leaf from an Unopened Volume* (1834) Alexander Percy's son, William Percy, explains: 'When the battle was o'er and the victory was won' I have frequently felt much depressed in spirits' (*EEW II, I* 1991: 331). In his *A Historical Narrative of the War of Encroachment*, Branwell's pseudonymous soldier-historian, John Flower, repeatedly comments on the traumatic imprint the current war with the French is having upon the minds of the Verdopolitan soldiers: the troops were 'harassed' and 'exhausted' (*WPB I* 1997: 393, 385). Elaborating further, he narrates that Alexander Percy's 'fatigue combined with Bodily and mental irritation and weakness reduced him to temporary delusion' (*WPB I* 1997: 392). Additionally, Flower himself is shown to undergo mental disturbances in the space separating battles:

between cold and excitement I could not close my eyes to sleep. but lay listning to the dying sounds of encampment and the troops. all. marching to their resting ground [...] a wild and delightful feeling came over me [...] About Midnight when I had almost composed myself to sleep with. rousing and depressing thoughts I heard some one speak. not far off the voice was soft. and solemn. and recited. with repressed feeling the following lines. 'Why does my spirit chilled and drear, In this dark vision linger here' (*WPB I* 1997: 393–4).

Many key words in this section – cold, excitement, wild, depressing – are indicative of Flower's psychological upheaval. Branwell's recognition of 'repressed feeling' and a need for composure is also significant, exposing recognition that Flower's struggles are specifically psychological. Collectively, the quoted passages all engage with explicit rhetoric of mental suffering ranging from depression and irritation, to delusion and exhaustion. Although the concept of war trauma was still abstract, the juvenilia's

⁶² Although not embedded within the Angrian saga, and therefore past the focus of this chapter, Branwell's later poem, *Henry Tunstall* (1842), is discussed in relation to trauma in the first concluding section of this thesis. The poem describes a physically and mentally altered soldier returning to Britain after conducting sixteen years of service in India.

repeated, compulsive discourse of trauma exemplifies the anxious mood of post-Napoleonic Britain. With the social and cultural landscape of Britain conveying the visible effects of war on the male soldiers' psychology, it is understandable the Brontës – and the broader nation – had the potential to understand early conceptions of war trauma whilst lacking first-hand engagement in battle.

Another source for understanding early nineteenth-century conceptions of war trauma lies in the rise of the military memoir. Charlotte and Branwell read and engaged with particularly traumatic memoirs in their early writing lives, such as George Gleig's *The Subaltern* and John Malcolm's *Tales of Field and Flood* (1829), which have been discussed previously in this thesis. Each tale provides graphic descriptions of male suffering and mortal delusions. Conjuring similar imagery to Flower's previous quotation, 'Why does my spirit chilled and drear, In this dark vision linger here' (*WPB I* 1997: 393–94), in *Tales of Field and Flood*, Malcolm laments over his psychological wounds: he can 'find no respite from the pains of memory but in slumbers of the night, when, in the land of shadows and of dreams, they meet with the distant and the dead!' (Malcolm 1829: 160). In an earlier section of the memoir, Malcolm experiences vivid hallucinations in the catacombs of Paris whilst briefly touring the capital after the battle of Waterloo:

a cold perspiration broke over my whole body; I stood fixed to the spot in a trance of horror and despair. A thousand hideous forms of darkness seemed to flit past me, – the skulls with their eyeless sockets, seemed to scowl upon me, – my head became dizzy, – the vaults, with their skeleton pillars spun me in the dance of death, – my brain reeled, and I fell against a crashing pile of mortality, where I swooned away (Malcolm 1829: 50).

Gleig also recounts a similarly horrifying experience in *The Subaltern*. After discovering a watchman in a swoon, the narrator takes him back to a safehouse where

he recounts how he saw a ‘troop of devils dancing beside the water’s edge and a creature in white [...] groaning heavily’ (Gleig 1825: 197). He then swears that a ‘dead man sat up, and stared at him in the face’ (Gleig 1825: 197). This is not the only time Gleig conjures imagery of trauma in his writings. Three years later, his tale *The Brothers* was published in the 1829 edition of the annual *Friendship’s Offering*.⁶³ The story tells the tale of two brothers, Allan and Donald, who go to fight in the Peninsular War. Allan eventually dies in the Siege of St Sebastian, leaving his brother devastated:

Donald Cameron has never been himself from that moment. When first discovered [after the battle] he was in a state of pitiable idiocy; and he has continued ever since a melancholy maniac. Whether he will ever recover his senses, God alone can tell; but I confess that I entertain but slender hopes of any such desirable communication [...] Donald Cameron was soon afterwards sent home as incurable; and the probability is, that he still continues the victim of a calamity, by far the most distressing of all to which frail humanity is liable (Gleig 1829: 58).

Such an explicit traumatic ending to a story is likely to have affected the siblings.⁶⁴ Use of language such as idiocy, melancholy maniac and recognition of incurability provides a convincing portrait of war trauma, adhering to ambiguous understandings of ‘nostalgia’ as associated with both fatality and severe melancholia.⁶⁵ With the nation’s new focus on the individual soldier, it is clear how memoirs such as these contributed to a national, cultural trauma that the siblings responded to. Although the extent of memoirs published after Waterloo is suggestive of a form of cathartic process that soldiers embarked upon to come to terms with the recent wars, the disturbing nature of passages such as these would have served only to heighten the anxiety, sensations and,

⁶³ The Brontë family owned this version and copied images from it to practise their drawing.

⁶⁴ Erin Nyborg has argued in her PhD thesis that this memoir influenced Anne Brontë’s war poem, ‘Z – a’s Dream’, written in 1846. See Erin Nyborg’s *The Brontës and Masculinity* (2016), p. 88.

⁶⁵ See Robert Hemmings’ *Modern Nostalgia* (2008)

in part, understandings, of Britain's reading public. The Brontës, as part of this shared experience, would also have been absorbed into this widespread fixation with soldiers' mentality.

In addition to these biographical recollections further highlighting Charlotte and Branwell's exposure and subsequent reaction to traumatic military literature, the memoirs' conflation of trauma and the supernatural gives further insight into a particular tale of Charlotte's, *The Green Dwarf* (1833). This tale focuses on the great Romantic anti-hero of the contemporary age, Napoleon Bonaparte. Charlotte's tale recounts Napoleon's nightmarish dream of death and repentance, where he is led by his French General, Jean-Charles Pichegru, around the streets of Paris in an effort to mitigate his unjust war ethics.⁶⁶ On their travels, Napoleon is confronted with terrible visions, seeing 'fine female figures' who 'wore on their heads garlands of the most beautiful flowers, but their faces were concealed by ghastly masks representing death's heads' (*EEW II* 1991: 142). Like Malcolm's experiences in the catacombs, this shocking encounter with death imagery causes Napoleon psychological upheaval: he fell 'into a fit of catalepsy, in which he continued for the whole of that night and the greater part of the next day' (*EEW II* 1999: 142). Catalepsy is often described as a nineteenth-century symptom of trauma. Martin Willis recognises its presence in Charlotte Brontë's later work, *Villette* – 'In catalepsy and dead trance I studiously held the quick of my nature' (*V* 2008: 109), – and in George Eliot's *Silas Marner* (1861), where it is representative of alienation and suffering.⁶⁷ In the case of Charlotte's Napoleon, the alarming experience of witnessing the wider repercussions of mass civilian murder dictated by his own hands causes his psychological state to malfunction as he attempts to process his own actions.

⁶⁶ The tale is structured in a similar format to Charles Dickens' *A Christmas Carol* (1843), predating Dickens's story by eleven years.

⁶⁷ See Martin Willis's 'Silas Marner, Catalepsy, and Mid-Victorian Medicine: George Eliot's Ethics of Care' (2015), pp. 326–340.

Although Napoleon's traumatic state is dramatised, and the tale is a highly moralistic, metaphorically encoded work, Charlotte's early prose consolidates the siblings' preoccupation with descriptive – occasionally hyperbolic – literary material that contributed to a cultural trauma. The multitude of soldiers introduced within this section demonstrates that trauma, despite being an underdeveloped line of medical enquiry, was viewed by the siblings as a national problem. The intensity of the post-war moment, prompting an explosion of national anxiety, life writing, and predisposition for sentimentalism, fed into the siblings' psychology and writings. Their Glass Town and Angrian saga encapsulated the contemporary spirit of suffering and prefigured modern, progressive understandings of medicalised, traumatic discourse. The following section remains grounded within an early nineteenth-century contextual framework, building on notions of trauma and suffering as a national problem by focussing on its destructive counteragent, alcohol. It will become clear that, although trauma itself remained an abstract concept in the social and literary imagination, alcoholism was considered a sister-disease to this undisclosed psychological anguish, intoxicants used as a coping mechanism that numbed and comforted. Although trauma, in a modern sense, is difficult to visualise in an early nineteenth-century historical context, the next subdivision of this two-part section will demonstrate how its voice is latently manifested through the pervasive image of the soldierly drunkard, a figure caught between the stereotyped labels of comedic reveller and degenerative traitor.

Alcoholism:

Entwined with their highly developed, intuitive understanding of military trauma was an equal awareness of the coping mechanisms that accompanied it. Embedded in the saga, alcoholism manifests alongside trauma, contributing to the downward trajectory of the

military characters, with a vice-like lure that promised comfort and release. It is unsurprising that the characters in Charlotte and Branwell's kingdom turn to alcohol, the expression of trauma through conversational, emotional means being strictly prohibited. In *A Leaf from an Unopened Volume* (1834), Alexander Wellesley, the elder twin son of Zamorna and Mary Percy, is scorned for potentially harbouring a traumatic response to war:

Once, I remember Ravenswood [...] in the Emperor's presence asked me if my nerves were shocked and my courage shaken by the terrors of war. I scorned to answer him, but the Archduke curled his lip contemptuously, and Stanley smiled like a fiend and Seymor laughed and, by heaven, my father frowned not on them but on me (*EEW II*, I 1991: 331).⁶⁸

In this passage, Charlotte brings to the fore the tensions that resided between contemporary binaries of hero worship and personal experience. Current scholarship has engaged with these tensions, debating the consensus that an ideology of militant masculinity was foundational to an overarching national character. Whereas Linda Colley describes the Napoleonic period as an age of 'heroic endeavour and aggressive maleness' (Colley 2005: 303), Catriona Kennedy contests this, claiming that the image of the 'diminished figure of the war-weary subaltern officer' problematises this generalised statement (Kennedy 2010: 128). These opposing images are further consolidated with the contemporary championing of patriotic, masculine titans such as Wellington – explored in Tom Mole's *Romanticism and Celebrity Culture 1750 – 1850* and 'Chapter Two: Wellington and Napoleon' within this thesis – and the rise of the sentimental military memoir, which confirmed the 'disjunction between the sublime

⁶⁸ Alexander Wellesley, also known as Victor Frederick Percy Wellesley is the heir apparent of Angria and Wellingtonsland. He is the elder twin son of Zamorna and Mary Percy described in the *My Angria and the Angrians* (1834) coronation. It is interesting how this thesis' previous section on trauma demonstrates that Zamorna also struggles with his own emotional responses to battle; yet, he is quick to silence his son.

heroism of military glory and [...] forms of virtuous suffering' (Mole 2009: 13). Indeed, one must look only at the *Blackwood's* military memoirs to see expositional statements of fear and shock, identical to what is being chastised above. In *The Last Words of Charles Edwards Esq* (1823) – which records the autobiography of a sailor before he commits suicide – the narrator remarks:

There are limits to the capacity of human endurance. We are none of us so far from insanity as we believe ourselves. My temper had suffered in the course of these conflicts, a shock from which, I think, it never afterwards recovered (Edwards 1823: 409).

Charlotte, in her wide spectrum of reading material, evidently picked up on the pressures and unstable expectations of militant masculine conduct and national honour. This display of homosocial bravado and paternal disappointment is indicative of a moment of change: there is a collective recognition of trauma, yet an anxiety that a newer attitude of honest humanisation is substituting traditional notions of heroism.

The most prominent character caught between these ideologies is Branwell's alter ego, Henry Hastings. After initially holding the title of 'Angria's National Poet' – writing highly patriotic, Royalist verse seen in the previous section – Hastings joins Zamorna's army in the civil conflict of 1836–37. After Zamorna's subsequent defeat, however, and losing his Royalist ideologies, he deserts for the Republican enemy, kills his superior officer and becomes a gambler and alcoholic. When Zamorna finally returns to power, Hastings has degenerated into a 'penniless and proscribed debauchee' on the run from the law (*WPB III* 1999: 216). He is described in *Angria and the Angrians V(b)* (1838) as 'miserably sick in both body and mind' usually found drinking in a 'sordid inn' whilst revelling in his own shame (*WPB III* 1999: 215). This traumatic image is strikingly different from the Hastings initially introduced in *Angria and the*

Angrians I(d) who was formerly an enthusiastic and determined young soldier and patriotic poet: ‘I was Now a SOLDIER. and I was going to WAR. war had always [given] to me a glorious and mighty feeling’ (*WPB II* 1999: 280).⁶⁹ Despite his promising start, the wars of 1836–37 had reduced him to a severe state of suffering: ‘indeed his shattered nerves were horrified by the fears of soldiers or police [...] he was utterly sick and every limb shook with tremor’ (*WPB III* 1999: 216). In *Angria and the Angrians IV(e)* (1837), his newfound dependence on alcohol to combat war trauma is revealed to its full extent; Hastings is shown to be reliant on intoxicants in the midst of the Battle of Evesham, the last battle of the civil wars:

Brandy in plenty [...] I was so weak and in such a fever that I could hardly sit on my horse so to mend the matter I filled the canteen with liquor and swigged till I forsook the beast for the ground and then vomiting violently I gained relief enough to mount once more beholding my comrades giving way to Intoxication and leaving their ranks to plunder (*WPB III* 1999: 111).

Hastings is not, however, the only soldier that falls into irredeemable intoxication. Percy, Branwell’s protagonist and alter ego, is a conflation of violent instinct, alcoholism and trauma. Percy’s history is described in Branwell’s *The Life of Alexander Percy* (1835), which recounts a series of traumatic events he endured as a child and young adult. Unpopular with his adult associates, he is thought by Lady Caversham to be excited, delirious and cruel, whilst his mother finds him ‘passionate revengeful and headstrong’ (*WPB II* 1999: 107). Throughout the saga, his repeated, almost obsessive need for rebellion, spurred by his love of violence and radical political views, shapes him into a demonic figure who becomes weaker and more unstable through each passing war-torn year of the siblings’ saga. In Branwell’s post-war *Angria and the*

⁶⁹ See this chapter’s earlier discussion of Hastings’ military anthems for further information of his past pro-Royalist life.

Angrians IV(j) (1837), after he loses power for the final time to Zamorna, he recalls how he lay:

day and night for a month after month companionless in the voiceless and burning forests of Stumpsland stupefied by the effects of my own wanton insanity and tormented by the agonys of a breaking constitution (*WPB III* 1999: 165).⁷⁰

Dejection and frustration are characteristic responses from Percy, whose plans of rebellion are frequently thwarted by the hero of the saga, Zamorna. Regularly, his involvement in personal as well as national war is shown to stimulate high levels of trauma. Indeed, in Branwell's *Real Life in Verdopolis* (1833), after losing in a physical fight with Zamorna, he orders himself to a pothouse to 'forget' the day's events, drinking himself into 'a state of bestial intoxication' (*EEW I* 1997: 142). In the same tale, brawling with S'death eventually leads to his leaping 'headlong into a blazing fire' (*EEW I* 1997: 165). Fuelled by alcohol, he terrorises Angria and his closest circle. In Charlotte's *The Foundling* (1833) he even holds his wife at knifepoint:

Rogue [Percy] arrived – He entered the room with a firm step, but Zenobia shuddered to see the savage light of intoxication glancing in his at all times fiery eye — threatens Zenobia 'you shall not die the easy death of having your brains blown out. No! I'll thrust this sharp blade slowly through you, that you may feel and enjoy the torture' (*EEW II* 1991: 87–8).

This brutality and thirst for alcohol-fuelled violence is unleashed through the repeated wars that rage through Angria. Repeatedly changing sides, Percy's mental cycle of

⁷⁰ The island's secluded location and overwhelming population of 'retired' Verdopolitans make it a popular destination for Percy to reflect upon his actions and, more ominously, plot his evil schemes.

instability and self-abuse makes him a highly dangerous and merciless military figure. His physical and mental state exemplifies trauma and its ramifications, his character an embodiment of Glass Town and Angria's sinister vices and repetitive mental upheaval caused by relentless uprising and war.

As the siblings' depictions of Percy and Hastings suggest, the Brontë siblings appeared to recognise that alcoholism was commonplace in the military. Drinking in the army was a symbol of conviviality.⁷¹ This alliance was consolidated in the songs that emerged in the late-Georgian period and were published in the military journals the siblings read. For example, in keeping with this section's previous focus on Napoleonic oral culture – a song, 'The Soldier's Camp-Song on the Eve to Battle', appeared in *The United Service Journal* in 1829. In short, soldiers' reliance on alcohol was generally seen as a national problem. The poem explicitly highlights how alcohol was an antidote in the face of mortality:

Comrades! take a last farewell,
To-morrow comes the fight,
And ere it end shall toll the knell
Of many a living wight!
Then drain the glass,
Ere pleasure pass –
And then! – strike home for England's right!

(G.O.G 1829: 593).

Scott Myerly notes that 'For most soldiers, alcohol was the only escape; it was customary in many regiments to pay the men once a month, and most would then drink until their money was gone [...] it was the army's greatest discipline problem' (Myerly

⁷¹ Drinking and conviviality is partly explored in the 'Late Renaissance to Early Restoration' section in the first chapter of this thesis, especially in relation to Shakespeare.

1996: 73). Unremittingly, the soldier characters in the Brontë juvenilia are drawn to drink. In *Angria and the Angrians I(d)*, Hastings is shown to smile ‘to see a troop of Bloodhounds who stood by [...] all tossing off their horns of Brandy without a hair’ (*WPB II* 1999: 323). In Charlotte’s later tale, *Henry Hastings* (1839), an anonymous lady in a tavern declares to Charles Townsend that ‘they [Angrian soldiers] do their duty drunk better than most men do sober’ (*Tales* 2006: 204). Alcoholism, although treated humorously in these latter excerpts, is flagged as a customary habit for military personnel. The shocking yet casual and necessary role it plays throughout the saga is indicative of how deeply embedded the problem was in the contemporary Georgian army.

As Myerly suggests, the emergence of the military memoir exposed a more sinister and disturbing justification for alcoholism during the Napoleonic Wars. Although the role of alcohol was multifaceted, many scholars acknowledging that soldiers turned to alcohol to escape the mundane elements of army life,⁷² the traumatic memoirs the Brontës read provide evidence that drinking was used as a coping mechanism for traumatic experience. In *The New British Novelist* (1830), the narrator describes how:

the road smelt most offensively of *gin*, from the staving casks, and the evacuation of their contents. Coupled with the sight of here and there, a corpse (some of them females) which had been trampled to death, the influence was sickening (Anon 1830: 136).⁷³

In another section, detailing a medical station within a farm in *St Jean*, the narrator conflates both the bawdy legacy of drink with the contemporary threat to national masculinity. The memoir remarks how all five hundred patients had managed to

⁷² For example, see Brian Martin’s *Napoleonic Friendship* (2011), p. 156.

⁷³ For Charlotte’s citation, see Charlotte Brontë’s ‘Anecdotes of the Duke of Wellington’, *EEW I* (1987), p. 89.

succumb to intoxication: ‘Five hundred men drunk!! Quite ridiculous [...] besides, it was a *physical* as well as a *moral* impossibility that so many helpless beings [...] should join in one general scheme of disorder and hilarity’ (Anon 1830: 174–5). It is clear from this quotation that alcohol and masculine morality were incompatible; the men were emasculated and instead reduced to ‘helpless beings’. Gleig’s *The Subaltern* also indicates that alcohol is a cause of chaos and impropriety. In one instance, after the fighting has calmed, the troops broke into civilian houses: ‘The houses were every where ransacked [...] wine and spirit cellars were broken open, and the troops, heated already with angry passions, became absolutely mad by intoxication. All order and discipline were abandoned’ (Gleig 1825: 295). Later, the narrator describes how several casks of brandy had to be ‘poured out into the street, as the only means of hindering our men from getting drunk, and saving ourselves from a defeat’ (Gleig 1825: 458). This lack of self-control in military men positions the siblings’ soldiers in the midst of this contemporary social problem. The memoirs generated a confusing image of alcoholism, one that was, on the whole, critiqued and denounced by the narrators – who, significantly, do not take part in the revelry – but were also spoken of in a humorous, bawdy fashion. Its damage to masculinity, physically, professionally and morally is emphasised, yet, it appears to be an essential antidote to trauma, numerous men participating in a shared method of coping that guarantees memory loss and a collective rebellion against disciplined murder. Although the siblings allow their armies to indulge in this bawdiness *en masse*, Hastings, unlike these multitudes of men, becomes the symbolic image of its dangerous undercurrent, his painful deterioration representative of contemporary life writing’s subtle, traumatic connotations.

In line with military memoirs’ depictions of alcohol as a coping strategy, post-war Angria conveys an astonishing insight into post-battle mentality and substance abuse. Two characters are of particular significance, General Hartfield, ex-commander

in Zamorna's army, and Macara, ex-ally of both Ardrah and Alexander Percy. Firstly, Hartfield, after suffering the hardships of war, is dealt another blow when he is rejected and demoted from Zamorna's inner circle for attempting to court Zamorna's mistress, Mina Laury. Whereas once held in high esteem by the Angrian gentry, he is shown in Charlotte's *Mina Laury* (1838) to be a dishonoured alcoholic: 'most people thought the noble General's brains had suffered some slight injury amid the hardships of the late campaign' (*Tales* 2006: 23). Furthermore, he also uses drink to 'drown' the feeling 'about his heart' (*Tales* 2006: 23). In a similar manner, Macara Lofty, once Verdopolitan Chancellor of the Exchequer under Ardrah's brief reign in 1837, is presented as a decadent opium addict in Charlotte's *Stancliffe's Hotel* (1838). It is supposed the substance quickly transforms his emotions from misery to happiness, elevating the seemingly unjustifiable 'gloom' and 'despair' whose 'power I could no longer withstand' (*Tales* 2006: 73). Although the latter does not concern alcohol specifically, these presentations of post-war military men follow the same pattern of using mind-altering drugs to disguise the trauma wrought by the previous war-stricken years. Indeed, this complementary dependence and abuse would be common knowledge to the British public, the state of returning soldiers from the Napoleonic Wars extending the epidemic of alcohol addiction into peacetime. Andrew Uffindell states that 'in order to counter drunkenness, addicted men were to be separated from the others and employed incessantly during the day' (Uffindell 2005: 318–9). It may be possible that the young Brontës were exposed to these returning addicts, their father having initiated the founding of Haworth's temperance society.⁷⁴

Despite the obvious plight of the alcoholic soldier, little sympathy appears to extend to damaged military men both in the saga and in reality. Articles and tales about military punishment used as a warning against alcoholism in the army appeared in

⁷⁴ See Dudley Green, *Patrick Brontë: Father of Genius*, p. 114.

periodicals and memoirs the Brontës read. For example, in 1824, a *Blackwood's* article titled 'Punishments in the Army' (1824) expressed a contributor's view of the various punishments executed by European armies (Anon 1824: 399). Additionally, in *The New British Novelist*, the narrator describes a graphic scene of corporal punishment:

several men had come drunk to duty [...] He stood close to the culprits, refused all solicitations on the part of their captains [...] and seemed as anxious that every lash should be well laid on, as if the whole safety and credit of the British army depended upon it (Anon 1830: 174–5).

Charlotte and Branwell emulated this unsympathetic attitude demonstrated in contemporary accounts and commentaries. Charlotte's early writings, 'Military Conversations' (1829) and *Third Volume – Tales of the Islanders* (1830) demonstrate her early understanding that alcohol abuse was a negative feature of the military and deserved punishment. In 'Military Conversations' The Duke of Wellington orders the drunken Alexander Hume Badey to be taken to the 'triangle', a frame to which a soldier was bound in order to be flogged. Furthermore, although evidently exhilarated by his lust for blood, Branwell carries out a form of alcohol-based punishment in his early tale *Letters from an Englishman V* (1832). A passage depicts the military trial of Alexander Percy's associate, O'Connor, accused of drinking on duty and causing victory to be delayed. Although his sentence is to be sent to the guillotine he refuses: "Wretch! Villain! I will never suffer such a death I will die like a soldier." So saying he snatched a pistol from the table and directing it to his heart fired and fell' (*WPB I* 1997: 217). O'Connor, like so many real-life Napoleonic soldiers, appears in a tragic bind, caught between a requirement to exhibit natural strength and the temptation to use alcoholism as a method of coping.

It is clear that the Brontë siblings understood and related to war trauma and the

harmful coping mechanisms that were used to ease its damaging effects. Their raw, unedited narratives, written nearly a century before war trauma was recognised in present day medical vocabulary, can be used as tools for understanding nineteenth-century responses to the impact of total war upon a nation. Like Britain, the inhabitants of their fictitious kingdoms attempt to cope and rebuild from the devastating effects of conflict. The siblings recognised that alongside persistent Angrian conflict there would be recurring psychological instability, many of their eminent military characters carrying with them profound mental scars through the majority of the saga. Despite their age and surroundings, the siblings were capable of producing recognisable and important portrayals of trauma and alcoholism.

This chapter has further justified this study's assertion that Charlotte and Branwell can be considered as social historians of and commentators on war. The Brontë juvenilia act as one example of just how deeply the rhetoric and feeling of war were embedded in the cultural fabric of Britain. War was still on the tip of the media's tongue, and the siblings were engrossed in and inspired by the excitement of war stories at a time when there was relative peace and uneventfulness. The Brontë siblings' replication of both the patriotic and traumatic elements of the previous war establishes them as important voices in an alternative history of war. Despite their unusual position as exceptional child prodigies, their sensitivity to a wide range of discussions about abstract and underresearched mental maladies of the period give present-day readers an intuitive insight into the kind of material that the British reading public were exposed to, and the potential for that public to understand and respond to the complex and highly traumatic experiences soldiers had been subjected to.

Chapter Four: Colonial Warfare

In 1823, the First Anglo-Ashanti War broke out in the Akan interior of the Gold Coast between the native Ashanti tribes and the British colonisers. Despite this being a relatively low-key war compared to the recent Napoleonic Wars, the exotic location of these conflicts captured the attention of the British public and tapped into contemporary British attitudes towards race. Building upon the siblings' fascination with the documentation of, and response to, transnational warfare, this chapter will demonstrate how Charlotte and Branwell Brontë engaged with this early nineteenth-century fascination with racially aggravated war and chose to adopt the racist discourse of the period: this, in turn, would feed into their violent representations of race in their later works. This analysis aims to strengthen this study's overarching argument that Charlotte and Branwell are social historians of and commentators on war in late-Georgian society. Their engagement with colonial warfare emphasises their interest in war in a generalised sense: they did not just focus on one (primarily white) war, but instead recognised the diversity of wars being fought in their contemporary period and sought to evaluate, understand and replicate different types of battles and soldiers within their early writings.

Much scholarly criticism has been devoted to the Brontës and race. Notably, Heathcliff in Emily Brontë's *Wuthering Heights* and Bertha Mason in Charlotte Brontë's *Jane Eyre* have been the focal point of postcolonial scholarship: throughout the late-twentieth and early twenty-first centuries scholars have read for colour clues in the texts and have applied it to a range of criticism from historicism, to orientalism and feminist theory. This is not to say that the juvenilia have not been acknowledged in this theoretical trajectory. Christine Alexander explores the role of the Brontës' exotic African setting in her chapter in *The Child Writer* (2005), where she states that 'Angria

becomes a place for the libido' (Alexander 2005: 165). Susan Meyer in *Imperialism at Home* (1996) offers a more detailed analysis of the siblings' Ashantee protagonist, Quashia Quamina, noting that their (especially Charlotte's) representation 'reflects her participation in conventional nineteenth-century British conceptions of African inferiority' (Meyer 1996: 46). In short, she achieves this by presenting Quamina as lustful, lascivious and a drunkard. More interestingly, however, is the siblings' engagement with etymology to immediately convey their racism: Quashia, which derives from the epithet 'Quashee', is a nineteenth-century racist slur equivalent to 'nigger'. Aside from these helpful introductions, Meyer also asserts that the 'King of the Blacks', as Charlotte defines him, becomes a symbolic figure for Charlotte's own rage at the hands of society's gendered oppression (Meyer 1996: 46). In short, race becomes a way in which Charlotte comes to terms with her own social rage, a theme that carries through to her later texts, such as *Jane Eyre*.¹

Mary Jean Corbett contributes to this argument of inequality and otherness by summing up the role of blackness in the juvenilia: 'colonized adoptees have little or no access to narrative voice or agency' (Corbett 2011: 95). Prefiguring the later Brontë writings that grapple with problematic marginalised figures, Quamina has been classified as an early outsider, his racial and hypermasculine otherness often compared to Emily's later male protagonist, Heathcliff.² What if, however, this racial analysis extended into a wider backdrop of colonial warfare? If the lens is shifted so that racial discourse can be tied into the siblings' broader interest in warfare, it may become clear

¹ This symbolic use of Quamina is used in Charlotte's *Roe Head Journals* (1836–37), in which she uses oppressive racial imagery to consider her constrained situation as a governess. The use of symbolism as a means to question women's place in society carries through to her later works. For example, in *Jane Eyre*, when Jane is oppressed and 'othered' in the Reed household, she reveals her temperament to be that of a 'rebel slave' (JE 2008: 12). Although the legacy of Charlotte Brontë's attitudes to 'otherness' in her published works is beyond the scope of this thesis, for detailed discussions see Firdous Azim's *The Colonial Rise of the Novel* (1993) and Susan Meyer's *Imperialism at Home* (1996)

² For example, see Sarah Fermi's *Brontë Studies* article 'A Question of Colour' (2015).

how their racial prejudices formed against a wider backdrop of Anglo-African racial conflict, which they sought to understand and reconstruct.

This chapter is divided into four sections. The first two present the historical context that inspired this colonial military strand of the juvenilia. As well as engaging with the exotic, military material the siblings devoured from a young age, these sections prevent scholarly discussion from focussing on purely racial representation (in a broad sense) and seek to contextualise Charlotte and Branwell's attitudes towards race through canonical/media-based accounts of war and the contemporary, conflicting construction of the romantic/violent warrior myth. These two sections also argue that the Brontës were part of a rhetoric of racism; their interest in war is taken to a new extreme that aligns them with a sensational racial-militant moment. Bearing this in mind, the following section builds a necessary discussion of the Brontës' engagement with race and Christianity, addressing their lack of engagement with the nineteenth-century missionary movement alongside their problematic social status as parson's children. Finally, the chapter ends with a redemptive discussion of military fatherhood, tying together ideals of war and masculinity by exploring the role of Wellington and Zamorna as both domestic fathers and public fathers of their nations.³ Through militaristic tensions between white and black, this section's varying perspectives will reaffirm Charlotte and Branwell's interest in war and violent masculinity, but will also add a colonial context to this study: light will be shed on the siblings' struggle to justify the ethics of war and come to terms with its disastrous consequences.

³ This idea of military fatherhood is also discussed in Chapter Two: 'Wellington and Napoleon' within this thesis.

Building the Warrior Savage:

In her introduction to *Tales* (2010), Alexander mentions that the siblings' African prejudices originated from a conflation of fiction, geographical books and periodicals (*Tales* 2010: xvii). Their broad representations of exoticism derived from a childhood love of *Arabian Nights* (1706) and James Ridley's *Tales of the Genii* (1764), which would have introduced the young siblings to tropical locations in faraway places that were riddled with the myths, romances and stereotypes imprinted upon the Orient. Additionally, it is also likely that they would have read non-Asiatic tales, such as Daniel Defoe's popular adventure novel, *Robinson Crusoe* (1719),⁴ which was saturated with contemporary nineteenth-century prejudices: Defoe's narrative is permeated by racial intolerance and bigotry, a colonial discourse that is mimicked in the Brontës' juvenile descriptions.

The siblings' representation of Africa is constantly in flux. It is well acknowledged that their early romantic descriptions of the African landscape owe much to *Nights*. Charlotte and Branwell's early poetry contains Orientalist imagery: in his poem 'The Glass Town' (1829), Branwell writes that the 'crimson light | above the horizon glows | tinting all nature with the bright | gay colours of the rose | and over all the eastern sky | the robe of twilight gray | is heaving up the heavens nigh' (*WPB I* 1997: 67). Like *Nights*, however, tension between beauty and danger is evident throughout the siblings' early juvenilia. War between good and evil shatters illusions of the landscape's beauty and exposes the true evil of the Orient: this image of evil comes in the form of the desert. The Brontës would likely have read of the enchantress who transformed 'a populous and flourishing city' into a desert in *Nights*'s 'The Story of the

⁴ Charlotte had certainly read *Robinson Crusoe* by the time she was in Brussels in 1843. She writes in a letter to her sister Emily: 'I get on here from day to day in a Robinson-Crusoe-like sort of way' (*Life* 2009: 201). Additionally, Victor Neufeldt notes that the title of Branwell's poem, 'Juan Fernandez' (1846), is influenced by the island that hosted the famous resident 'Alexander Selkirk' on whom, in turn, Crusoe was based (*WPB III* 1999: 517). Winifred Gérin certainly thought that the Brontë children had read the text, claiming, amongst others, that *Robinson Crusoe* was a book that was 'so early acquired' (Gérin 1961: 7).

Three Calendars' (Anon 2008: 357). In 'The Story of the Young King of the Black Isles', an old man asks a traveller: 'what brought you to this desert place [...] to see these beautiful trees one would imagine it was inhabited, but it is a dangerous place to stop long in' (Anon 2008: 55). These stories mark the desert as a place where evil dwells. It is unsurprising, then, that the Brontës designated the Ashantees' settlement as one of danger and destruction. Whereas Charlotte describes the Ashantee dwellings in *Two Romantic Tales* (1829) as a 'wild, barren land, the evil desert' (*EEW I* 1987: 7), Branwell writes in 'Ode on the Celebration of the Great African Games' how the beauty of summer is projected on 'the desert drear and grim' where 'famine and war foretell and mortal misery | All these the blighters of the varied year | All these and more than these before my eyes appear | Yes more far more a horrid train' (*WPB I* 1997: 222). Thus, before the siblings even considered their present day influences, a link between oriental topography and evil in the form of 'otherness' had already been engrained into their imaginations from an early age.

Contextually, tales in *Nights* were a vital source that taught Charlotte and Branwell how to blend war with the fantastical. As Robert Irwin writes, 'Centuries and wars were confounded in tales which tended to stray into fairyland and their topographical edges' (Irwin 2005: 88). War became incorporated into *Nights* through the ages (most notably in the later Egyptian revisions). For example, 'The Tale of Omar bin al-Nu'uman' and 'History of Gharib and his brother Ajib' are derived from independent epics circulated in the medieval Arab world that were, in turn based on a conflation of the Arab-Byzantine Wars and the twelfth-to-thirteenth-century jihad against the Crusaders.⁵ It is clear then how an ancient legacy of war, orientalism and the fantastical entered Haworth parsonage and acted as a canonical template upon which the Brontë siblings could build. Like these exotic tales that drew from the colonial warscape

⁵ See Robert Irwin, *Arabian Nights: A Companion* (2005), p. 90.

around them, the Brontës subsequently drew from the commentary of current affairs, recorded by correspondents from ‘othered’ lands.

Aside from these likely canonical influences, the Brontës’ reading of their local newspapers kept them up-to-date with the ‘skirmishes’ occurring in the Anglo-Ashanti colonial narrative. Alexander and Margaret Smith make it clear that the Brontës read about the British defeat at the hands of the Ashantee tribe in 1824, which was reported in the *Leeds Mercury* and *Intelligencer*.⁶ Snippets of information recurred throughout the 1820s, but waned towards the end of the 20s before peace was temporarily reached in 1831. By then, however, racially aggravated discourse had been firmly engrained in the siblings’ imaginary landscape and characterisation. Although most pieces of information published in the papers were small updates on the conflicts, a number of articles contained emotive bias that may have contributed to the siblings’ perceptions of the tribes. For example, on 16 November 1826, *the Leeds Intelligencer* ran an article that not only alluded to an engagement that involved 25,000 Ashantees, but described the warriors as ‘imposing and determined’ (Anon 1826: 2). Previous articles drew from the contemporary shock that the Ashantees contradicted previous preconceptions of African savagery. On 13 May 1824, a commentator noted that Ashantee was ‘at present the powerful and civilized nation in Africa’ (Anon 1824: 2). Instead of this being a compliment, however, the remainder of the article is filled with prejudice; their leaders are ‘despotic’ and the army had an ‘overbearing spirit which is the characteristic of victorious barbarians’ (2). Bearing in mind these rumblings of resentment, it is clear why the Brontës aligned themselves with the general public’s opinion. Like Chapter Two: ‘Wellington and Napoleon’ within this thesis, which discussed the contemporary respect for, yet dislike of, Napoleon, the same can be said for the population of Ashantee. Although they did, in fact, impress and intrigue the British population with

⁶ See Alexander and Smith’s *OCB*, pp. 23–4.

their civilised structure, their ‘otherness’ and violent temperament made them appear both threatening and detestable.

More than newspapers, however, this study returns again to contemporary memoirs published in periodicals as a key source for the siblings’ engagement with colonisation and warfare. Much like the previous chapter’s discussion of Napoleonic memoirs – which were, in themselves, rich in their illustrative insights regarding overseas military climates – travel memoirs of Africa published in periodicals such as *Blackwood’s* and *Fraser’s Magazine* inspired the young siblings.⁷ Like the military memoir, the colonial memoir allowed the British reading public to visualise foreign terrains yet also distance themselves from menacing and unfamiliar representations of the ‘dark continent’. It is well known that the foundations of their African kingdom can be traced back to a copy of *Blackwood’s*, published in June 1826, which contained an article by James McQueen,⁸ a geographer and manager of a sugar plantation,⁹ and a map of Denham and Clapperton’s explorations of ‘darkest Africa’. What has not previously been discussed, however, are the latter’s military connections. Both Denham and Clapperton had successful military backgrounds. Denham was a Royal Welsh Fusilier and close companion of the Duke of Wellington, and Clapperton was an experienced naval officer who saw much active service during the Napoleonic Wars. In a *Blackwood’s* review titled ‘Geography of Central Africa’ (1826), reviewing their *Narrative of Travels and Discoveries in Northern and Central Africa* (1822–24), the military lexicon of their narrative is unavoidable. Despite being intended to act as a comprehensive geographical study of an underresearched continent, their travelogue is laced with conflict and military conquest. After leaving Clapperton at Kouka, Denham

⁷ Although *Fraser’s Magazine* was too late to be of initial importance to the siblings, ‘Journey to the Zoolu Country’ and ‘Sketches of Savage Life’ both appeared in 1836.

⁸ As Christine Alexander notes, McQueen would also become a character in the Brontës’ *Glass Town*, emphasising his importance in the early Brontë imagination when they first began forming their opinions. See Alexander, *Tales of Glass Town, Angria and Gondal* (2010), p. xvii.

⁹ Gordon Goodwin notes in his *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* entry on M[a]cQueen that, despite writing numerous articles on Africa throughout his lifetime, M[a]cQueen never visited Africa.

writes how he marched southwards with Barch Gana, a ‘negro general’, on a ‘slave-catching’ expedition (Anon 1826: 689). Moreover, when Denham reaches Mora, the capital of Mandara, a description of a mountain range is delightfully interrupted by a local conflict: ‘At this point the combined forces of the Arabs, Bornou, and Mandara, were defeated and driven back’ (Anon 1826: 689).¹⁰ As these examples demonstrate, although the purpose of this text may have been to educate readers about African geography, it is clear that soldierly eyes are devouring the landscape of Africa and their words are delivered in a militant discourse.

It is within these periodicals that the Brontës’ racist attitudes were consolidated. In ‘Geography of Central Africa’ once again the negative topography of the desert is used to accentuate the ‘otherness’ of its inhabitants. The *Blackwood’s* reviewer of Denham and Clapperton’s journals highlights a section that skilfully posits the broad population of indigenous African peoples amongst ‘barrennes and sterility’, branding them ‘miserable, rude, ignorant, barbarous’ (Anon 1826: 687). This is not an uncommon assertion. In another *Blackwood’s* article titled ‘British Settlements in Western Africa’ (1829), a contributor echoes the mixed respect and warlike threat voiced in the local media about Ashantee: ‘it is a powerful and barbarous country’ (M. 1829: 341). Even the annuals that were housed in the parsonage use casual racial stereotyping that allude to the violent potential of the foreign other. In the 1829 edition of *Friendship’s Offering*, which the family owned, Richard Howitt’s poem ‘The Truant’ references the ‘savage beasts, and men as wild, | That herd in foreign lands’ (Howitt 1829: 182). It is clear thus far that the journalism the siblings engaged with was infiltrated with racial slurs and militant dialogue, whilst, in contrast, other publications

¹⁰ Branwell adopts Denham and Clapperton’s accounts of combined enemy forces: regularly, Branwell alludes to the word ‘enemy’ as a form of collective ‘othered’ army. In *Angria and the Angrian II(f)* Branwell notes how the ‘promise of Booty from the desolation of that devoted country brings in [...] the Arabs and Negroes who otherwise care for no one’ (*WPB II* 1999: 529). It is clear here, along with a sense of racial generalising and stereotyping, Branwell is mimicking the rhetoric used in the periodical press.

such as *Nights* offered an idealised exotic mythology and topography. The siblings' were caught in a colonial, rhetorical bind of both attraction and repulsion.

(Re)Building the Ashantee Army:

In the Brontë juvenilia, it is the Ashantees who commit the most shocking and brutal war crimes of all villainous parties. Branwell's *Angria and the Angrians I(b)* (1834) demonstrates the siblings' emulation of contemporary prejudices. Whilst crossing the Calabar, Branwell's pseudonym, Richton, is anxious about straying into 'dangerous ground' as the Ashantees' 'savage and relentless cruelty was well known' (*WPB II* 1999: 250). Unlike the Brontës' reactions to the Napoleonic Wars, the wars between the colonisers and the Ashantees are purely two-dimensional: the wars are without consideration of humanity or feeling. The siblings project contemporary savage imagery onto their fictitious Ashantee tribe by making their war tactics as grotesque as possible. Out of the two siblings, the bulk of colonial war writing was taken up by Branwell, who – as in a Napoleonic context – commits to locating himself on the battlefield to write his epic, detailed saga.

Branwell evidently relished his chance to let the violent elements of his imagination run wild. The Ashantees' brutal methods of warfare are encapsulated in the slaughter of Dongola.¹¹ In *Angria and the Angrians I(d)* (1834), Henry Hastings, Branwell's war poet narrator, describes a scene where the Angrian army arrives and discovers the repulsive aftermath of the massacre:

hung suspended almost over my head a raw and bloody corpse. the skin flaked off. the gore blackened over the carcase and the throat severed with a ghastly

¹¹ Dongola is the capital city of Angrian province for Etrei, the desert frontier between Angria and the Ashantee nation (*OCB* 2006: 169, 182).

gash stretching from ear to ear [...] There Nailed upon close rows of wooden crosses reared up along the side of the fort and houses I beheld more than 200 Dead Bodies of men with the scalps torn from their heads and their mouths skewered up with knives and the dried gore hanging in the black lines from their livid sides In the midst of the area. a heap of several hundred carcasses their heads chopped off and piled at random among them and all burnt and blacked by a fire which had been kindled round them, diffused through the air a dreadfully singed and putrid smell (*WPB II* 1999: 302–3).

This is one of the most explicit descriptions of war's brutality in Branwell's juvenilia. Although the language is hyperbolic, the imagery is powerful and visually stimulating. It is clear that Branwell *felt* war and could tune into the sensations of battle: racism became a powerful expedient by which Branwell could play with the taboo elements of war to the extreme. The climactic ending of the quotation that builds a clear picture of the rancid smell of bodies leaves the reader immersed in these disturbing visuals.

A description of Fort Enara in this same tale equally demonstrates the Ashantee brutalism. When Hastings reaches the fort, he 'beheld 9 Blackened Negroes dangling on gibbets over the parapet a stern spectacle and calculated to strike due terror on the prowlers of the desert. I confess they struck terror into me too' (*WPB II* 1999: 281). Unlike the transmogrification of the Napoleonic Wars, which was much more subtly concerned with the mechanics of 'civilised', Western military strategy and domestic/psychological impact, Branwell's writing here is pure sensation. Although his relentless battle scenes are notably a stream-of-consciousness that explicitly emphasises the violence of battle, Branwell's descriptions of Ashantee warfare are taken to a new level. This emotive, visual imagery of barbaric Ashantee battle tactics was, however, not uncommon in the public consciousness. British citizens would have been familiar with the highly overdramatised accounts of Ashantee warfare that were published in periodicals and standalone journals. In fact, the quoted battle scene above is similar to that described in a *Blackwood's* review of Bowdich's *Mission from Cape Coast to*

Ashantee (1819). Describing the Yam custom, a festival where slaves are sacrificed at the discretion of the chiefs, Bowdich's account explains how 'At one of these inhuman butcheries, the executioners wrangled and struggled [...] the right hand of the victim was lopped off, and the sawing of his head was most cruelly, if not wilfully prolonged' (Bowdich 1819: 306). Similarly, Bowdich's follow-up text, *An Essay on the Superstitions, Customs, and Arts, Common to the Ancient Egyptians, Abyssinians, and Ashantees* (1821), which may have been familiar to the Brontës,¹² declares that it was custom to throw:

a lacerated jaw, a ghastly head or a bloody weapon of the conquered enemy before the king; and in battle, the reeking heads of the slain are hurried into the rear to be pressed by the foot of the reclining general (Bowdich 1821: 29–30).

As this quotation implies, it is perhaps the Ashantees' 'uncivilised' method of warfare that constructs them as the most warmongering and savage of the entire saga's military groups. Cannibalism was seen as an extreme barbaric activity, contemporary writings deeming it the most repulsive of all crimes. Its presence in African warfare rituals was seen as a point of national concern: on 21 May 1823, Parliament described the act as 'perpetrated only by man in the lowest and basest form of the savage state' (Mackintosh 1824: 417). Cannibalism as a means of military strategy invigorated the imaginations of the siblings in their fictitious accounts of savage warfare. Two striking examples appear in Branwell's *The History of the Young Men* (1829) and *Angria and the Angrians I(d)* (1834). In the former, Branwell describes the aftermath of the initial wars after the Twelves land in Ashantee. After the death of Cheeky, Gravey and Cracky, the remainder of the soldiers are reported to have been taken by the natives who 'retired to

¹² Although printed in Paris, it is possible that the Brontës, being familiar with his first publication, were also familiar with his second. Despite being advertised in popular English journals of the period such as *The New Monthly Magazine* and *The Quarterly Journal*, there is no evidence of its being in circulating libraries.

a small distance from the capital and there horrid to relate roasted and made a feast of them' (*WPB I* 1997: 162). Following this, Crashey implores the Genii: 'to root from the earth these infamous monsters who have so horridly slain and feasted on thy favoured warriors [...] who are stretched pale and mangled round these fires' (*WPB I* 1997: 163). Similarly, in *Angria and the Angrians I(d)*, the carnage wrought by the massacre of Dongola is reported by Hastings to contain 'corpses flayed alive the Burnt Bodies and half eaten flesh and gnawed and scattered bones' (*WPB II* 1999: 304). These repeated references to cannibalism only perpetuated the Ashantees' role in the text as aliens and enemies.

Charlotte, although less graphic in her descriptions of Ashantee warfare, also makes known the Ashantees' repulsive deeds in her later work *Stancliffe's Hotel* (1838). William Percy describes a scene of cannibal butchery: 'A soldier had been missing some days from his regiment stationed at that place. His remains were at length found in a neighbouring jungle, hideously mangled, and displaying all the frightful mutilation of negro slaughter' (*Tales* 2006: 86). It is through these horrifying descriptions that the siblings were able to convey the prejudices displayed in contemporary writings. By vicariously participating in the most inhumane of acts, the siblings were able to justify the repeated Ashantee massacres, attempting to liberate Africa from its primitive danger and restore civilised justice. In addition, Branwell's, and to an extent, Charlotte's interest in and imitation of exaggerated graphic descriptions of mutilation and slaughter allowed them to explore the brutal extremes of militant masculinity and, moreover, the depths of human nature. In restricting the readership merely to themselves, Charlotte and Branwell could disregard any need to write with propriety. Early on, their imaginations and writings were firmly grounded in the sensational language of published war reportage. Their mimicry of racism consolidates their position as recorders of their society's prejudices, creating an alternative history where the

conflation of war and race is pushed to an extreme.¹³

The Brontës' reading of periodicals and fiction contained Ashantee warriors practising cannibalism. In James McQueen's *Blackwood's* article 'Civilisation of Sierra Leone' the natives were said to rip people open 'across the belly, and plunging their hands in, they tore the heart from its skat [*sic*], pouring the blood on the ground' (McQueen 1827: 326). Alongside this, these 'ferocious' Africans were 'but yesterday engaged in eating human flesh' (327). Although this article – and other articles studied – lingered upon these details for sensational impact, most African-based articles the Brontës engaged with casually associate indigenous African people with cannibalism. In 'Geography of Central Africa', the reviewer briefly mentions that the Yem Yem is inhabited by cannibals (Anon 1826: 709), in an 1826 *Blackwood's* article titled 'London', the contributor compares the massacres of Greece to Ashantee cannibalism (Anon 1826: 324), and in the various colonial travel narratives the Brontës may have read, each identifies African natives with cannibalism.¹⁴

Real-life accounts were not, however, the only source that exposed the Brontë siblings to cannibalism. It was also very much present in the legacy of canonical works that initially introduced the siblings to tales of 'otherness'. Daniel Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe* depicts the narrator, Crusoe, as shipwrecked on an unknown island inhabited by cannibals. This popular text repeatedly condemns heathen people throughout the narrative, consistently referring to them as 'savage wretches' and stressing to the reader their ignorance of and inferiority to the Christian faith. In terms of their cannibalism, which is much like Branwell's description in *The History of the Young Men*, Crusoe describes at one point how 'the savage wretches had sat down to their inhuman feastings upon the bodies of their fellow-creatures' (Defoe 1826: 179). Another

¹³ See the methodology section of this thesis's Introduction for a discussion of play and alternative histories.

¹⁴ These include Thomas Bowdich's *An Essay on the Superstitions, Customs, and Arts, Common to the Ancient Egyptians, Abyssinians, and Ashantees* (1821) and Joseph Dupuis's *Journal of a Residence in Ashantee* (1824).

example sees Crusoe observing ‘nine naked savages’ sitting around a fire. After they depart he inspects their camp: ‘This was a dreadful sight to me, I could see the marks of horror which the dismal work they had been about had left behind it, viz. the blood, the bones, and part of the flesh of the bodies, eaten and devoured by those wretches with merriment and sport’ (Defoe 1826: 200). As well as *Robinson Crusoe*, the siblings would have been acutely aware of Sinbad’s voyages in *Nights*. ‘The Fourth Voyage of Sinbad the Sailor’ is centred on a cannibal island where the natives attempt to fatten up Sinbad and his crew with the intention of eating them. After refusing to eat, Sinbad ‘fell into a languishing distemper, which proved my safety; for the blacks, having killed and eat my companions, seeing me to be withered, lean, and sick, deferred my death till another time’ (Anon 1995: 158). After escaping this island, the end of the extract sees him sailing past the ‘Isle of Bells’ whose ‘inhabitants are so barbarous, that they still eat human flesh’ (Anon 1995: 163). It is these highly exaggerated, monstrous accounts of estranged, indigenous tribes that allowed siblings to imagine and incorporate some of the most violent battle imagery in the entire saga. The ferocious warfare of the Ashantees provided the sensational content and racial justification needed to indulge Glass Town and Angria’s stimulating and powerful tales of adventure and combat.

These vivid descriptions of the Ashantees’ sadistic methods of battle spew emotive, violent language that was emulated by the siblings in their writings. The levels of explicitness in these descriptions indicate a different type of reaction to warfare being engrained in the contemporary late-Georgian public consciousness. Whereas the journalism surrounding the Napoleonic Wars displayed a multidimensional level of feeling towards the recent wars, and thus was explored in different ways by the Brontë siblings, the publications the Brontës read concerning the Ashantee wars were already conclusive: the Ashantees were evil and their interior warrior selves, expanding out to their war tactics, were rotten in the extreme. Conflating racism with war – a situation

where the human character emits the most intense levels of human savagery and brutality – would instil an alternative ‘military spectacle’ in the British reading public and left the siblings with one overpowering option: to construct their writings as a private propaganda machine, using racist rhetoric to present the rituals of colonial war as the most extreme form of violence.

This is not to say, however, that Charlotte and Branwell did not find equal delight in the military spectacle of the exotic. Whilst detesting the Ashantees as a tribe, the siblings, especially Charlotte, do not entirely abandon the lure of the exotic in their descriptions of the Ashantee military *en masse*, keeping a collective myth of the Orient alive. Whereas Branwell, as usual, focuses mainly on battlefield combat, Charlotte, at points, chooses to engage with the more romantic, cultural elements of overseas warfare and exoticism: in one instance she provides a brief yet informative account of Ashantee war costume. In *The Green Dwarf* (1833) she vividly illustrates the enemy emerging through the mountains:

About day break they arrived at a wild mountain pass, through which might be seen a vast plain where the allied forces of the Moors, Ashantees, and Abyssinians were all drawn up in battle array. It was a gorgeous but terrific spectacle, as the first sunbeams flashed on that dusky host and lighted up to fiercer radiance their bright weapons and all the barbarous magnificence of gold and gems in which most of the warriors were attired [...] a young horseman sped suddenly to the front of the African array [...] the golden diadem glittering on his forehead had revealed the arch-rebel, Quashie (*EEW II* 1991: 188).

This spectacular image is most likely inspired by a description of an Ashantee war captain in *Bowdich's Mission from Cape Coast Castle to Ashantee*. A reviewer transcribes this section in *Blackwood's*:

The dress of the captain was a warcap, with gilded rams-horns projecting in front, and the side extended by immense plumes of eagle feathers. Their vest was of red cloth, covered with fetishes, or chains in gold and silver, intermixed with small brass bells, the horns and tails of animals, shells, and knives, long leopard tails hung down their backs. They wore loose cotton trowsers [*sic*], with immense boots of dull red leather, and fastened by small chains to their eartouch, or wait-belts. A small quiver of poisoned arrows hung from the right wrist, and they held a long iron chain between their teeth, with a scrap of Moorish writing affixed to the end of it. A small spear was in the left hand, covered with red cloth and silk tassels. Their black countenances heightened the strange effect of this attire, and completed a figure scarcely human (Bowdich 1819: 176).



Bowdich, T. Edward (1819). 'Ashantee captain in his War Drefs [Dress]', in *Mission from Cape Coast Castle to Ashantee, with a statistical account of that kingdom, and geographical notices of other parts of the interior of Africa*.

It is also possible, if the Brontës were able to acquire a copy of Bowdich's text,¹⁵ that they would have seen a coloured plate titled 'Ashantee captain in his War Drefs' (1819) depicting a figure draped in plumes, tassels and bells of various colours.¹⁶

This image of an exotic warrior appealed to Charlotte. Her description is permeated with words that emphasise the gold and grandeur of his dress. Her artistic representations problematise the violent narrative of the Ashantees and demonstrate the continuing lure of the exotic stereotype on the popular imagination. The materialistic

focus of the Ashantee warrior in these extracts – Charlotte's focus on gold and gems and, likewise, *Blackwood's* on cloth and silk – constructs an aesthetic, Caucasian view

¹⁵ This text did appear in circulating libraries of the period, an example being *Catalogue of Andrews' New British and Foreign Circulating Library* (1828).

¹⁶ Ashantee warriors are also recorded to wear a talisman, which, according to Karl-Ferdinand Schädler and Armand Duchâteu: 'protect the one wearing them from gun shots and blind the enemy' (Schädler, Duchâteu 1997: 158). It is uncertain whether the Brontë siblings would have been aware of this, but it poses questions as to whether Quamina's blinding of Zamorna's son, Ernest, was influenced by this.

of the Orient: these narratives build on the mythical legacy constructed by centuries of storytelling filtered from culturally engrained stereotypes. In sum, the siblings are engaging with two separate narratives – the militant fear-mongering racism, and the exotic warrior myth. It appears that, as seen before with the Brontës' engagement with Napoleonic material, the siblings were transfixed by both the paradoxical glamour and violence of war. Unlike their sophisticated response to the Napoleonic Wars, however, they were lured into the stereotypical rhetoric of colonialism – both violent and romantic – that reverberated through their present age.

The Problem with Christianity, Race and War:

It is clear thus far that the Brontës conformed to contemporary British stereotypes that derided the Ashantee natives and – more broadly– the foreign other. It is unsurprising, then, that all wars fought between the natives and colonisers are racially aggravated. The siblings would have been aware of white communities living in Africa, a contributor to *Blackwood's* expressing in 'The British Settlements of Western Africa' (1829): 'As many of your readers, doubtless, are aware, the Ashantees have at various times annoyed our different settlements on the Gold Coast' (M. 1829: 341). Similarly, 'Geography of Central Africa' also reported a case of 'white natives' living in Goobeer who:

were not negroes, but a different race, and fair in their complexion [...] descendants of the COPTS, the ancient inhabitants of Egypt [...] He says also, that they are all 'Free Born;' and, of all his provinces and his subjects, that they, the population of the Goobeer, are the 'most warlike;' which may readily be accounted for from the wars which they have, through so many ages, been compelled to wage in order to maintain their independence (Anon 1826: 701).

Although not considered white in a Western, Caucasian sense, these accounts of white settlers would have imprinted themselves on Charlotte and Branwell's literary imagination. In the latter quotation, although this 'race' is warlike, the contributor's emphasis on their fair complexion and freedom of mobility implants a message that other communities affiliated with British values can thrive in this climate. In addition the Copts' values derive from a Christian tradition: although separated from mainstream Christianity, the ethno-religious group is the largest Christian denomination in North Africa. To the British public, and by proxy the Brontës, this image would have provided a positive reinforcement of the international doctrines of Christianity and equally allowed readers to visualise a white, warlike, free empire that triumphed over the threat of Ashantee rule.

Despite the evident presence of Christianity in Africa and the Brontës' saga, what remains striking about the Brontë juvenilia is the siblings' decision to disregard Christian ideals of compassion and conversion in favour of war. Considering their social position as parson's children, the former narrative would seem a likely underlying theme in the siblings' exploration of the dynamic between the colonisers and colonised. Evidently, in the case of St. John Rivers – Jane's missionary cousin in Charlotte's *Jane Eyre* – missionary figures were not evaded in the Brontës' writings and were seen as powerful figures of respectability within the Brontë verse.¹⁷ Instead, the Brontë juvenilia substitutes conversion for conflict.

The traditional desire to spread the Christian message overseas – and the more specific desire to convert African natives – was overtly present in the publications exposed to the early nineteenth-century public and in the literature the Brontës read.¹⁸ Although traditional Christian roots have been traced back to Africa as early as the

¹⁷ A detailed discussion of St. John Rivers' militarism is offered in the first concluding section of this thesis.

¹⁸ The legacy of Christian conversion would have also been familiar to the siblings through medieval tales of the Crusaders, which were resurrected by Walter Scott. Please see the contextual section 'Walter Scott' in the first chapter of this thesis.

fourth century – and, evidently religious sects such as the Copts were present in Africa – Edmund Abaka notes that it is the sustained missionary activity from the early nineteenth century that led to political and commercial expansion in Africa, and, as a consequence, attitudes towards missionaries softened (Abaka 2010: 277). Epitomising the missionary tradition, Thomas Pringle and Josiah Conder's statement in *Narrative of a Residence in South Africa* (1835) reflects the rise of the nineteenth-century Christian mission in Africa.

The Native Tribes, in short, are ready to throw themselves into our arms. Let us open our arms cordially to embrace them as MEN and as BROTHERS [...] Let us subdue savage Africa by JUSTICE, by KINDNESS, by the talisman of CHRISTIAN TRUTH (Pringle, Conder 1835: 112).

Some two decades previously, in *Blackwood's*, the author of 'Geography of Central Africa' acknowledges that Britain has 'spent millions in our attempts to civilise and to benefit Africa' (Anon 1826: 708). The longevity of Britain's colonial civilising mission implies that, when the Brontës were writing, the religious partnership between the church and the colonies was firmly engrained in the public and media mindset.

Futhermore, it is clear that Christianity exists within the Glass Town and Angrian saga.¹⁹ This thesis's subchapter 'Walter Scott' demonstrates the siblings' interest in and engagement with the Crusades,²⁰ which helped construct an image of the religious militant warrior. Charlotte's poem 'The Red Cross Knight' (1833), penned by her young Zamorna – the Marquis of Douro – is an elaborate nod to the history of the Christian colonial message: 'To the desert sands of Palestine, | To the kingdoms of the East, | For love of the cross and the holy shrine, | For hope of heavenly rest, | In the old

¹⁹ Although the saga begins with the Genii as Gods, which were based on a conflation of *Arabian Nights* and classical Greek mythology, evidence of Christianity seeps through the saga as it progresses. As the Brontës moved into Angrian territory, the Genii were confined to the recesses of the saga's Glass Town youth.

²⁰ See the section on 'Walter Scott' in the first chapter of this thesis.

dark times of faintest light | Aye wandered forth each Red Cross Knight' (*EEW II*, I 1997: 233). Christine Alexander notes how the flamboyant language in this poem acts as a satirical blow to Mr John Gifford, who detests 'modern poetical excesses', yet the choice of theme through which to voice this excess promotes another form of excess: the violent spread of religion: 'The cross [...] Their weapon and their shield; In vain the lance and scymitar' (233). Charlotte's conflatory language of religion and militarism promotes an early message within the saga that divinity does not come without its links to patriotism and war. As the saga evolves into Angria, Charlotte's *My Angria and the Angrians* (1834) further promotes this message with military anthems and rallying war speeches scheduled at the christening of Zamorna's twin sons.²¹ In the concluding prayers, the militant gathering collectively declares: 'We praise Thee O God! We acknowledge Thee to be the Lord, all the Earth doth worshipp Thee' (*EEW II* 1991: 291). In Branwell's *Angria and the Angrians I(a)* (1834), Zamorna, after his coronation as King of Angria states:

'your Sky shall never be clouded your Land shall never be invaded your sun shall never set and your reign shall never end will be and shall be the determination and care of your King Arthur Wellesley [Zamorna] [...] and by this I will abide so help me God'. The Earl of Northangerland [Alexander Percy] stepped darkly forward and stretching forth his hands he cried in the loudest and most warlike voice, God save the King' (*WPB II* 1999: 203).

In *Angria and the Angrians I(d)* (1834), Alexander Percy produces a similar stirring speech urging the people of Angria to go to war: 'Make yourselves the Glory of Creation I merely ask you Now. through your country attend to my bidding &. up and ARISE!' (*WPB II* 1999: 271) This conflation of religion and militarism culminates in the image of the Christian, muscular warrior forcefully spreading his religion through

²¹ For further information in regard to Angria's military anthems, see the section on patriotism in Chapter Three: 'The Napoleonic Wars'.

the godless lands of Africa. Although the term ‘muscular Christianity’ was not technically coined until the mid-Victorian age, the juvenilia’s preempting of masculine, muscular Christian ideals some twenty years earlier foreshadows the importance of this masculine – and future colonial – model throughout the mid-late Victorian period.

Despite the presence of religion in the juvenilia, Charlotte and Branwell choose to use its presence superficially rather than adopt the ideals of Christian conquest.²² Instead, in regard to colonisation, the siblings merely concerned themselves with merciless, mechanised brute force. Their literature even goes so far as to demonstrate a brutal wish to exterminate the Ashantee natives. In Branwell’s *Angria and the Angrians I(d)* (1834), Zamorna vents his desire to conduct a mass execution of the Ashantee people:

‘You must spare nothing Angrians slay them whenever wherever however you can find them slay the men slay the women slay the children give no quarter but exterminate from the earth the whole d—d race of Ashantees’ (*WPB II* 1999: 303).

Some four years later it appears that their attitudes had not changed. Charlotte’s later work, *Stancliffe’s Hotel* (1838), reveals that Angrian soldiers set ‘slot-hounds on negro-tracks’ (*Tales* 2006: 86) and how, after catching two Ashantee murderers, William Percy ‘shot through the head where they stood, and their bodies merged in the filth which afforded them such a suitable sepulchre’ (*Tales* 2006: 86).²³ With the exception of the Duke of Wellington’s adoption of Quamina – which is discussed in the following section – there is no evidence in the entire saga to suggest that any form of Christian kindness or acceptance has been extended to the indigenous peoples. Instead, the Glass

²² This is not the first time that the siblings have chosen not to regard important themes that relate to colonisation within their saga. Although beyond the remit of this study, the siblings also divert attention away from the Ashantees’ engagement with slavery – or slavery as a whole – within the juvenilia. Sarah Fermi addresses this in her *Brontë Studies* article ‘A Question of Colour’ (2015).

²³ William Percy is Alexander Percy’s younger, disowned son.

Town and Angrian inhabitants are programmed to immediately resort to war. In *Angria and the Angrians II(d)* (1836) Branwell lists the enemies of Angria as the French, Ashantees, Quacco Camingo and the Negroes, and the Bedouin Arabs who all ‘hate and detest Africa’ (*WPB II* 1999: 528.) From this statement, it is clear that the word ‘Africa’ has now become the property of the colonisers, the continent now alienated from the native people. It is this apparent hate of the colonisers’ Africa that justifies the indigenous people’s slaughter.

Repeatedly, Charlotte and Branwell attack their fictitious Ashantees verbally and physically using their imaginary ‘white soldiers’. Over the course of the saga their white colonisers are presented as ethereal warriors. In *Stancliffe’s Hotel*, Charlotte notes how her 10th Hussars are ‘all gods as they are, or god-like men’ (*Tales* 2006: 86). In addition, during the Twelves’ first battle when they arrive on the West Coast – documented in Branwell’s *The History of the Young Men* (1829) – the magic-believing indigenous peoples are convinced that the Twelves were Gods and ‘immediatly [*sic*] turned back and fled down the steep to the plain’ (*WPB I* 1997: 155). This notion of ‘godly whiteness’ is also reiterated in Charlotte’s poetry, an example being ‘A National Ode for the Angrians’ (1834):

Lift, Lift the scarlet banner up! Fling all its folds abroad | And let its bloody lustre fall on Afric’s blasted sod [...] We’ll sheath not the avenging sword till earth & sea & skies | Through all God’s mighty Universe shout back ‘Arise! Arise!’ | Till Angria reign’s Lord Paramount wherever human tongue | The slave’s lament, the conqueror’s hymn in woe or bliss hath sung (*PCB* 1985: 151).

The tension between white (as godlike) and black (as sin) reaches a climax on the battlefield in *Angria and the Angrians I(d)*. In the midst of a series of battles, Zamorna and Quamina finally confront each other on the battlefield, each on their ‘chargers

snowy white and raven black' (*WPB II* 1999: 321). In this climactic confrontation they both 'dealt blows. upon blows as fast as lightning' and 'grappled by their necks while their eyes might have scorched with their infernal glowing' (*WPB II* 1999: 321). Their intense and highly brutal combat encapsulates the racial aggression that permeates the siblings' early writings, each 'colour' attempting to violently assert authority. It is, however, 'white' superiority that once again reigns victorious. Whilst, after the battle, Quamina is branded a 'butcher' with 'barbarian cunning' (*WPB II* 1999: 328–9), it is Angria's injured 'noble monarch' who is laid out 'christ-like' 'reclined on cushions' next to a 'bright fire' (*WPB II* 1999: 325).

Repeatedly, imagery of the godlike soldier is used as a racial tool. Through transforming their military characters into saint-like idols, the siblings assert the superiority of white over black, choosing not to promote the 'Christian message', but merely present their 'white conquerors' as murderous opponents under the command of God.²⁴ Despite articles in *Blackwood's*, such as the review of *Bowdich's Mission from Cape Coast to Ashantee*, pleading that, as Christians, society must 'unite our best endeavours to extend the philanthropy and salvation of the gospel to those who live without God, in the world' (Anon 1819: 310), the juvenilia's abandonment of religious conversion is most likely influenced by other *Blackwood's* articles. 'Geography of Central Africa' claimed that the immediate abolition of the slave trade would not rehabilitate 'deep-rooted evils [...] amongst an ignorant and extremely barbarised people' (Anon 1826: 707), and, similarly, James McQueen declared that the colonisers needed to 'teach her [Africa's] savage sons that white men are her superiors' (McQueen

²⁴ Although Charlotte's later novel, *Jane Eyre*, does deal with a missionary theme, this still cannot be separated from war-like, forceful language. The end of the novel, depicting the death of the missionary St John Rivers, is fraught with Christian militarism: 'He may be stern; he may be exacting; he may be ambitious yet; but his is the sternness of the warrior Greathart, who guards his pilgrim convoy from the onslaught of Apollyon' (*JE* 2008: 452). Apollyon, John Bunyan's 'King of Hell', is a key figure in *the Pilgrim's Progress* (1678, 1684). As Alexander and Smith note, despite the name Apollyon being used in 'half jest' in the juvenilia, in Charlotte's mature works the 'King of Hell' is juxtaposed against her religious, masculine protagonists: the muscular divinity of St John can slay this monstrous form, and Paul Emanuel in *Villette* is a foil to Apollyon, his name meaning 'God with us' (*OCB* 2006: 111).

1827: 329). The Brontës most likely adopted these violent and uncompromising opinions of the natives, constructing an imaginary world that fantasised about and encouraged the violent, militaristic destruction of ‘heathens’.

There is no Christian message in the Brontë juvenilia and war is the key to realising this. As the rumblings of the nineteenth-century missionary movement – culminating later in muscular Christianity and imperialism – swept through the nation, Charlotte and Branwell remained faithful to contemporary racist discourse that used militant language to justify acts of racially aggravated warfare. Although the purpose of this section of the thesis is not to question the religious beliefs or practices of the Brontë siblings, it seeks to highlight the integral part war played in their freedom of expression: in colonial warfare’s case, it was more important for the siblings to indulge in their passion for violence than remain faithful to their social background and upbringing. War was, in part, an obsession that tapped into their vivid desires concerning savage masculinity. Whereas their transmogrification of the Napoleonic Wars acted as a process of reflection, understanding and reimagining, their alternative history of colonial warfare became a cathartic outlet where they could, in secret, promote their xenophobic, controversial – although contemporary – outlook.

Colonial Military Fatherhood:

This section moves colonial warfare into the domestic realm by analysing the role of the colonial father in the siblings’ saga.²⁵ Although ideas of fatherhood have been discussed in relation to Wellington and Zamorna as ‘father of their nations’ in this study’s Chapter Two: ‘Wellington and Napoleon’, fatherhood also combines with militarism in a purely ‘westernised’ sense to represent wider themes of colonisation and, within this,

²⁵ An extension of this section may be found in mine and Valerie Sanders’ co-written article in *Charlotte Brontë from the Beginnings* (2017).

interracial sex and sociality. Two characters within the saga represent this conflation of father-son relationships, racism and militarism: Quamina, the Duke of Wellington's adopted Ashantee child, and Finic, the love-child of Zamorna and his 'negro mistress', Sofala.

The most significant characteristic of Quamina, the Ashantee chief, is his position as both a 'barbarian' and a soldier. In Charlotte's *A Leaf from an Unopened Volume* (1834) he is branded with the same rhetoric used in the contemporary periodical press: 'brave, heroic, high-minded, though ferocious and barbarous' (*EEW II* 1991: 326). Although possibly the most flattering description of Quamina in the entire saga, his prerogative as a soldier had been predestined from his birth. Charlotte's *The African Queen's Lament* (1833) explains Quamina's romanticised adoption by the fictitious Wellington when he stumbles upon an exhausted, dying mother singing a battle song to her child:²⁶

Awake my child, lift up thine eyes | And ere our souls are sundered | Swear by
the silences of those skies | Where late the war storm thundered [...] | Tyrants, a
dying woman's moan, | An orphan infant's wailing cry, | Shall rise to the eternal
throne, | Shall send us final victory (*EEW II, I* 1991: 5,6).

This song reiterates that Quamina is a child born of war, violence and bloodshed. From this 'advice', as Wellington deems it, the child is predestined for revenge. Wellington remarks how he must keep 'a vigilant eye to observe his motions; he may give our nation trouble yet' (*EEW II, I* 1991: 3). A possible influence for these verses arises in a poem published in *Blackwood's* titled 'The Negro's Lament for Mungo Park' (1819), which foreshadowed future racial tensions in the run-up to the First Anglo-Ashanti War. Dedicated to Mungo Park, a Scottish explorer who drowned whilst being attacked

²⁶ This event is inspired by the Duke of Wellington's real-life adoption of Salabut Khan, a four-year-old orphan rescued from the Deccan battlefield during the Second Anglo-Maratha War (*EEW II, I*, p. 3).

by natives, the short lament states:

Where the wild Jolibs | Rolls his deep waters, | Sate at their evening toil | Afric's
dark daughters. | Where the thick Mangroves | Broad shadows were flinging, |
Each o'er her lone loom | Bent mournfully singing— | 'Alas! for the white man!
o'er deserts a ranger, | No more shall we welcome the white-bosom'd stranger!
(P. M. J 1819: 196).

Like *The African Queen's Lament*, these verses reiterate the antipathy that existed between the colonisers and the colonised, predetermining the natives' desire for conflict.

Quamina is a typical product of this mythology. Despite Wellington's unconditional display 'of care and tenderness as if he had been that monarch's son instead of his slave' (*EEW I* 1987: 178), as quoted from Charlotte's *The Green Dwarf* (1833), by the time he turned seventeen: 'It now began to appear that notwithstanding the care with which he had been treated by his conquerors, he retained against them, as if by instinct, the most deeply rooted and inveterate hatred' (*EEW I* 1987: 179). Rather than show gratitude to his 'saintly', 'tender' captors, Quamina's anger is not attributed to his 'colonised' slave-like position, but through his pre-programmed desire to rebel.

What becomes clear, however, is that, like previous examples within this chapter, violence prevails over compassion: Wellington abandons his supposed 'paternal tenderness' on the immediate discovery of his adopted son's vendetta, wishing to protect his metaphorical role as 'father of a nation' over the welfare of his child:

When the fact of the rebellion was known [...] Wellington immediately desired that the punishment of the rebels might be left to him, as the young viper who commanded them had been nourished on his own hearth and brought up by him with almost parental tenderness (*EEW I* 1987: 180).

Disregarding his previous paternal laments, Wellington immediately reverts to his role as coloniser and soldier rather than family protector, enthusiastic to ride into battle and personally conduct his own son's punishment or death. As Valerie Sanders' and my co-written essay articulates, Quamina exposes Wellington's 'paternal weakness' and 'limitations as a father' through their colonial kinship (Sanders, Butcher 2017: 63). Essentially, Quamina is a product of colonial warfare, his family homeland slaves to the hegemonic instruction of Glass Town's white invaders.

Bearing this in mind, it may be that the siblings decided to interpret James McQueen's statement that emphasised tensions between colonisers and colonised in a literal, militant sense:

In the name of our country, are the heroes who fought and who bled under Wellington, and who chased Napoleon from the carnage-covered Waterloo, to be herded with and insulted by such stinking savages as these! [...] unless we can command [...] we never can reclaim Africans from their present state of barbarity and ignorance, nor succeed in raising that quarter of the world from its present extremely debased and demoralized [*sic*] state (McQueen 1827: 329).

McQueen's quintessentially 'British' opinion explicitly voices the impossibility of harmony between the oppressed and the oppressors; that taking, metaphorically, a 'child' nation, such as Africa, and nurturing it to obey the colonisers' rule, would ultimately end in intolerance and bloodshed. From this statement we see a merging of wars: Napoleonic and Ashantee. From the previous two chapters in this thesis, it is clear how Wellington became an emblem of Britishness; his soldierly masculinity was an ideal example of the 'correct' military form that the African natives could learn from. In fact, this study can go further to suggest that McQueen expresses how Western warfare – which was sensationalised and celebrated by the British public – was the answer to maintain strength and domination overseas. Inspired by statements such as this, it is

evident how the Brontës adopted military narratives to explore wider colonial issues. In this instance, although the siblings offer white, military paternity as a form of reconciliation, it is soon deconstructed by the stereotypes awarded to the ‘savage’ brain.

Finally, it is Finic who truly deconstructs the impossible paternal relationship between colonier and colonised. Like Quamina, Finic has been discussed in a number of colonial studies. Mary Jean Corbett argues against Firdous Azim’s claim that the dwarf ‘stands as a warning against the sexual transgression of racial boundaries’ (Corbett 2008: 100). Instead, she proposes that Finic’s deformity is not a result ‘of miscegenous intercourse but of the falsity of the ‘treacherous white man’ (Azim Quoted in Corbett: 100). This is supported by Charlotte’s narrative that describes how Finic was not born deformed, but grew deformed at the vengeful request of his dying mother to shame her lover.

Ultimately, both of these suggestions are true: Finic is the contemporary product of biological, racial inequality, a deformed dwarf. He is both the aftermath of interracial copulation and the revenge of the colonised, rejecting his father by waging a – *literal* – physical war as a means of rejection through deformity. This literal physical revenge, however, is little acknowledged, as his appearance demotes him to a slave of his father, who punishes him in an abusive and torturous manner. In *The Spell* (1834), Charlotte writes, ‘He mouthed, gesticulated, & capered furiously. The Duke first laughed, then hit him a sound stunning blow’ (*Tales* 2010: 119). Rather than take pity on his ‘creation’, Zamorna merely mistreats his offspring, refusing his paternal duty out of racial disgust, and instead resorting to his position as a militaristic, violent figure to reassert dominance over his ‘impure’ child. Essentially, like Quamina, Finic represents the contemporary viewpoint that an interracial relationship is unworkable and incompatible biologically, politically and socially: the forced, militant merging of the Glass Town and Ashantee nations is problematic and deformed. Fatherhood, instead of representing

tenderness and care, is mutated into merely a power structure, the doctrines of paternity reinvented into an assertion of dominance. Charlotte, in this instance, portrays Wellington and Zamorna as degenerate ‘militant fathers of colonisation’, unable to relate to their ‘colonised’, and unable to act as literal fathers to their ‘alienated’ offspring. Instead they retreat into the comfort of their nation; an elite, colonial safehouse in which they may truly reign as sovereigns, publicly, and domestically.

Whereas this study’s previous chapters on the Napoleonic Wars have demonstrated that the siblings were interested in Western warfare, ranging from military celebrity to war trauma, this chapter has shown that the siblings also engaged with war as a form of playful, violent expression. Their interest in colonial warfare is sophisticated in their foresight of the Victorian imperial legacy, but it is also much more concerned with imitation rather than independent thought. In this instance, the Brontës used war as a template, which they could use to replicate contemporary racial prejudice and indulge in the xenophobic aspects of their own personalities. It is through their attitudes to race that we can learn of the nation’s explicit, sensational responses to racially aggravated warfare in the early nineteenth century: it is clear that a picture of primal savagery, otherness and primitivism must be built in order to justify forceful colonisation and extreme levels of violence. Society cannot have a nice, civilised Ashantee. Although this is the predominant picture of the Ashantees *en masse*, Charlotte and Branwell do make an attempt to give multidimensional personalities to individual black characters, such as Quamina, and introduce them to the Western world. This attempt, however, is usually futile and reverts to black characters reacting against their colonisers and consolidating their otherness. This chapter demonstrates the siblings’ cruder engagement with war. Their alternative history became a space where they could engage with the extremes of prejudice, imitating the militant, racist rhetoric of the period and further playing with this rhetoric to expose the horrors of racial

warfare in early nineteenth-century society. Their reflection and response build on this thesis's argument that the siblings were both important social historians of and commentators on war, reworking into their own fantasy warzone the material absorbed by the public that was used as a means of justifying Western colonisation.

Chapter Five: Civil War and Conflict:

The final chapter of this study brings the Brontës' interest in warfare back to their immediate local surroundings. Despite the appeal of sensational, large-scale wars fought on a global platform, Charlotte and Branwell repeatedly return to civil rebellion and revolt. Although their interest in conflict cannot be classified as war in a traditional sense – between two nation states – the siblings' engagement with smaller-scale modes of violence adds to this study's argument that both siblings are social historians of and commentators on war. Although born into a time of relative post-war peace, rumblings of depression and discontent were ever present throughout their childhood. The tense divide between the British government and the general public came to the fore during and following the Napoleonic Wars. Charlotte and Branwell's Glass Town and Angria were inspired by a volatile period in British history,¹ echoing the instability of contemporary society whilst equally reflecting upon other historical models of civil unrest, ranging from the American War of 1812 to the French Revolution. Their stories establish that violence within confined parameters evokes powerful emotions of betrayal and revenge; the conflict is no longer against the 'other', but a war against ones own.

The history of civil conflict has been addressed in Chapter One: 'The Brontës' Military Reading': the opening subchapters discuss civil war and conflict in literature ranging from classical to Romantic times. The last section on Walter Scott reflects on Britain's rebellious past, exploring the Brontës' passion for Scott's clan warfare epics, especially in relation to the Jacobite rebellions of the previous century. Moving forward to the recent past, this chapter will discuss two final global civil conflicts that captured

¹ For the purpose of this chapter, it must be clarified that the various Glass Town (Verdopolitan) and Angrian provinces act as a federation of nations. Despite Wellington assuming leadership of the federation as a whole, each nation has a separate king and a character of its own.

the Brontë imagination: the American War of 1812 and the French Revolution, which led into the Napoleonic Wars. These sections will evidence the siblings' widespread interest in the military, laying the groundwork for the salient topic of this chapter: post-Napoleonic British unrest.

It is the primary aim of this chapter to highlight that warfare, to the siblings, came in all shapes and sizes and that all manners of conflict and militarisation helped inspire their multifaceted imaginary kingdom. The previous three chapters have established and explored the foundational structures of the juvenilia: the Napoleonic Wars for the origins of characters, wartime sentimentality, and strategy, and the First Anglo-Ashanti War for location and the siblings' militant, racist attitudes in regard to war, warfare and local uprisings are, however, arguably the most common type of conflict in the juvenilia. Notably, conflicts such as Rogue's insurrection of Glass Town (1830–32) and the Angrian Civil Wars (1834–37) between the Angrian Royalists, Republicans, and Ardrah's Reform Party – acting on behalf of the Verdopolitan Union – play pivotal roles in Branwell's linear chronology. It is therefore fitting that the final chapter be dedicated to the warfare and conflict that recurs most throughout the saga, whilst weaving the contextual material back round to the siblings' local topography. This, in turn, paves the way for the first part of this study's conclusion, which is firmly posited in the Yorkshire countryside and considers legacies of war in a much broader context.

The Initial Influence of the American War of 1812 on the Brontë Juvenilia:



Brontë, Branwell (1827). *Battell Book*. Image used courtesy of the Brontë Parsonage Museum.

Branwell's first ever 'book' was based on the previous century's American War of 1812. Titled 'Battell Book' (1827), the small manuscript contains pencil drawings occasionally accompanied by an odd word or description. The prose opens with 'the Battle of Washington was fought at the the 12 <Sep> between the British and their Allies' (WPB I 1997: 1) and throughout the pages are 'childlike' representations of battle scenes and military landscapes; in one visually powerful page, horses are rearing, cannons are fired and a pile of dead soldiers lie abandoned on the ground. Two years

later, these violent images of battle are revisited in Branwell's prose. Victor Neufeldt notes the similarities between his *History of the Young Men* (1829), the first Glass Town story, and *Campaigns of the British Army at Washington* (1821), a memoir published in *Blackwood's*. Both accounts of the battle treat violence and loss in a disconnected manner; combat is described frankly and *en masse*. Branwell writes of the Twelves' violent battle against the Dutch after they briefly land on Ascension Island en route to the coast of Africa. He describes how 'the land party had entered the town victorious and were burning and massacring all before them' (WPB I 1997: 145). The *Blackwood's* memoir, describes a similar scene. When the British army enter Washington, they set fire to the public buildings and stores: 'Of the Senate-house, the

President's palace, the barracks, the dock-yard &c. nothing could be seen except heaps of smoking ruins' (Anon 1821: 182). Magazines are additionally burnt to the ground, just as in Branwell's tale.² Like Branwell's English who 'prepared for another attempt on the Magazine and each grasping a piece of Blazing Timber they rushed forward' (*WPB I* 1997: 146), the American memoir describes:

The work of destruction had also begun in the city, before they quitted their ground; and the blazing of houses, ships, and stores, the report of exploding magazines, and the crash of falling roofs, informed them as they proceeded, of what was going forward (Anon 1821: 182).

Similarly, Branwell's massacring of inhabitants and 'wretched people' (*WPB I* 1997: 145) mimics the memoir's emotionless account of mass murder: 'the Americans [...] forcing their way into the battery, at length succeeded in recapturing it, with immense slaughter', and, more graphically, 'A dreadful fire was accordingly opened upon them, and they were mowed down by hundreds' (Anon 1821: 182). It is clear from these early historical accounts that Branwell was able to read and replicate war in its most violent form without emotional embellishment from a very early age. Despite his later invention of the sentimental soldier, Henry Hasting,³ Branwell's ability to sensationalise and dramatise intense battle scenes through stream-of-consciousness war epics remains his speciality throughout the majority of the juvenilia.

Although Neufeldt specifically pinpoints this particular *Blackwood's* article as the major influence of Branwell's work, a number of memoirs and articles regarding American warfare were published in the periodical throughout Charlotte and Branwell's childhood years. In September 1828, the periodical published 'The Battle of New Orleans' – fought as part of the War of 1812 between America and the British – which

² Magazines are a store for arms and ammunition.

³ See this study's Chapter Three: 'The Napoleonic Wars', especially the section on war trauma and alcoholism

contained detailed battle plans and diagrams of the conflict. These plans evidently appealed to the young Charlotte and Branwell, their first collaborative project, *History of the Rebellion* (1828), a competitive ‘written’ battle that focused on tactics and strategy. Additionally, American memoirs of feeling relating to the war emerged, such as George Gleig’s *A Subaltern in America* (1833),⁴ presenting themselves in a similar format to the outpourings of post-Napoleonic war writing, which so heavily influenced their juvenilia.⁵ Unlike the content and setting of the Napoleonic memoirs however, the lasting impact of the American War of 1812 and American conflict in general did not remain a primary influence upon their early writings. Although this study’s introduction attempts to ascertain why the siblings were interested in some wars more than others, many European historians have considered the American War of 1812, as Donald Hickey states, ‘a byproduct of the Napoleonic Wars and that, for the British at least, it was just another theater, and a decidedly minor one at that, in a larger more important war against France and her allies’ (Hickey 2015: 272). Perhaps this is the same mentality in which Branwell saw this war? Although it was both an interesting and engaging conflict that was, in the moment, an exciting template for a ten-year-old, its fleeting significance to his writing evidences the strength of the Napoleonic Wars, which sidelined other wars and monopolised the siblings’ attention.

After the siblings’ pre-Glass Town writings, the American conflict retreats into the shadows. Echoes of its appeal, however, can be traced through fleeting moments in their Glass Town and Angrian saga. In his *Life of Warner Howard Warner* (1838), Branwell briefly mentions Warner’s father participating in the American campaigns under the command of General Gage, the Governor of Massachusetts and leader of the British troops at Boston (*WPB III* 1999: 210). For Charlotte, a reference to her juvenile

⁴ As well as a standalone edition being published in America, Gleig’s American memoir was also serialised in *Blackwood’s* in the United Kingdom.

⁵ See this study’s Chapter Three: ‘The Napoleonic Wars’ for a more detailed discussion of military memoirs and their influence on Charlotte and Branwell’s juvenilia.

interest in the American War of 1812 can be found within her final tale, *Caroline Vernon* (1839). The daughter of Alexander Percy's mistress, Caroline declares, 'Lord Byron & Bonaparte & the Duke of Wellington & Lord Edward Fitzgerald [...] the four best men that ever lived' (*Tales* 2010: 256). Alexander and Smith describe the latter as 'an Irish aristocrat and revolutionary who fought in the American Independence [...] and sympathised with doctrines of the French Revolution' (*OCB* 2006: 547). Despite the occasional name-dropping, however, there is no sustained utilisation of American warfare. It appears that, although initially vital for their junior understandings and visualisations of conflict, the American War of 1812 was not a primary source in constructing their juvenilia post-1829. Regardless of its superficial impact, it is nonetheless important to acknowledge that their first conceptualisation of war and the primitive beginnings of Glass Town were heavily grounded in the history of Anglo-American warfare. This manageable conflict introduced them to soon-to-be integral avenues for understanding wars that combined both the logistics of battle and imaginative, vivid memoirs of soldiers' experiences overseas.

Branwell's Reign of Terror:

Although the siblings lost their interest in Anglo-American warfare, one key historic conflict – which did, in turn, degenerate into civil war – continued to fascinate them. The French Revolution (1789–99), including the Reign of Terror (1793–94), imprinted itself onto the minds of the young Brontë siblings and provided a gruesome yet exhilarating template of violent social unrest in recent memory. The conflict was pivotal in influencing the Brontës' formation of government and sovereignty in both Glass Town and Angria. In Glass Town, Branwell's series, *Letters from the Englishman* (1830–32), bases its entire plot on Revolutionary France: Branwell deliberately reimagines events and reconjures the feeling of 'Terror'. Most importantly, Branwell

constructs his chief protagonist on the French Revolutionary model: Alexander Percy is a Republican who is in favour of forming his own dictatorship. Throughout the Glass Town and Angrian saga, Percy frequently revolts against Glass Town and Angrian royalty, indulging in his passion for rioting and revolution. Charlotte acted as a witness to Percy's early revolts in her tales *The Bridal* (1832) and *Lily Hart* (1833).⁶ Meanwhile, Branwell played with and adopted this revolutionary, violent model. His *Letters from an Englishman Vol III–VI* (1831–2) document Percy's insurrection of Glass Town and his attempt to execute its elite. After staging a coup in 'the great Glass Town', Percy successfully establishes his own 'Reign of Terror'. The narrator of this tale, and the Englishman alluded to in the title, is James Bellingham, a rich banker. Branwell deliberately adopts a non-militant pseudonym and promoter of capitalism to emphasise the horror, violence and instability Percy imposes on established, sovereign order. Caught in the unrest, Bellingham describes the ordeal of being led to the guillotine:

I was conducted from the prison to a large open area which was covered with blood and dead carcasses which several persons were engaged in carrying away. This area was crowded with people and at one end of it at a large table which sat Alexander Rogue and several members of the provisional Government before them was placed on a blood-covered scaffold a block and 2 executioners (*WPB I* 1997: 187).

The technical details of this event, depicting a primitive structure of Branwell's Provisional Government, is likely to have come from Walter Scott's *Life of Napoleon* (1827), which contains imagery of traitors 'dragged before the revolutionary tribunal' (Scott 1827: 292). The blood-covered scaffold, however, was a symbolic image that was

⁶ The backdrop of Rogue's first insurrection of Glass Town is prevalent in both tales.

regularly discussed in the periodical press. For example, a graphic description of a scaffold covered in blood appeared in an 1828 *Blackwood's* article titled 'An Execution in Paris'. The narrator describes a beheading: 'I saw his head slip from the body and tumble into a basket ready to receive it, which the blood spouted forth in little cataracts from the severed trunk, and dyed the scaffold with a purple tide' (Pythagoreon 1828: 788). It is clear how an image such as this, which became entangled with the horrifying legacy of the Revolution, would have made an impression on the young Branwell, appealing to his appetite for gore.

Branwell's primary knowledge of France's revolutionary model and methods mainly derived from *Blackwood's* and Scott's *Life of Napoleon*. Throughout 1831 – the same year as Branwell penned *Letters from an Englishman* and a few months before the Brontë family's access to *Blackwood's* ceased – a number of articles ran that focused on the French Revolution: 'On the Late French Revolution/On Parliamentary Reform and the French Revolution', 'On the Military Events of the Late French Revolution' and 'Narrative of an Imprisonment in France During the Reign of Terror'. Collectively, each contains a detailed commentary on the Revolution and its consequences. Many also compared the 'late' French uprising to the previous Parisian 'July Revolution' that had occurred just a year previously in 1830. Despite this saturation of the Revolution in the media, it was, however, Scott's *Life of Napoleon* that provided the siblings with a respected narrative of the Revolution, which was followed by a sizeable account of the Napoleonic Wars. It is through Scott's works that Branwell would have learned the rationale of the Revolution and empathised with Scott's emotive laments:

Death— a grave — are sounds which awaken the strongest terrors in those whom they menace! There was never anywhere, save in France during this melancholy period, so awful a comment on the expression of scripture. 'All that a man hath he will give for his life,' Force, immediate and irresistible force, was the only

logic used by the government – Death was the only appeal from their authority (Scott 1827: 275).

It is likely that Scott's stirring descriptions inspired Branwell's construction of Percy as the epitome of anarchy, terror, force and death. Percy is relentless in his lust for violence. Finally, in Branwell's later work, *Angria and the Angrians III(a)* (1836), Branwell allows Percy the success of revolution, which he did not achieve during his Glass Town revolts. After an initial civil war between Zamorna's royal troops and Ardrah's Reform Party,⁷ Percy breaks from Zamorna and rouses a third party, the 'country men' of Angria, with the call for 'LIBERTY'. After successfully gaining power, he exclaims:

'All Africa is Declared one great REPUBLIC. The Republic of Africa! a PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT till such time As a regular foundation of Laws and civil polity can be laid for the people to erect a Temple of VITALITY! [...] All Titles of every rank and Degree save those military and belonging to Government Offices are to be Abolished [...] The Parliament shall be formed into one Great NATIONAL ASSEMBLY. every member of which shall be Elected by the people [...] Whoever agrees not to these fundamental rules must DIE and his property shall be devoted to the PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT Of this Government I for the present am constituted Head and therefore I BID YOU TO ATTEND TO ME!' (*WPB II* 1999: 576–7).

In this one section, Branwell harnesses Scott's ultimatum: that the Revolution prompted France's people to succumb to immediate force or embrace the release of death. It even goes as far to act as a potted history of the Revolution. Branwell adopts not only the facts, but emphasises the feeling of force exacted by the provisional government. This 1836 government continues until 1837 when Zamorna returns to Angria and reclaims

⁷ Ardrah and his Reform Party attempt to destroy the newly formed kingdom of Angria from its conception in 1834 by expelling the country from the Verdopolitan Union.

his throne at the battle of Evesham. After this, Percy's Revolutionary ideal topples for good.

It is, in fact, Percy's forceful bid for violence and death that imprints a deep psychological scar on to Angria. As Chapter Three: 'The Napoleonic Wars' notes, Glass Town and Angria's soldierly inhabitants are psychologically damaged from the relentless wars that are, primarily, orchestrated by Percy. Embodying the hostility, violence and bloodshed that accompany disorder and anarchy, Percy represents the detrimental ramifications of national division and struggle, the revolutionary struggle for reform equally constructing an opportunity for both butchery and bloodshed. The French Revolutionary model remained an ideal that Branwell's protagonist continued to strive for throughout the siblings' collaborative decade, demonstrating its importance in constructing both events and personalities throughout the siblings' saga. Its combination of values, ranging from Romantic notions of liberty to the sanctioning of violent, unorthodox modes of execution, ensured its persistence in Branwell's battle tactics. The Revolution's solid presence within the juvenilia demonstrates that the siblings' interest in war came in all shapes and sizes: civil conflict was as interesting, impactful and sensational as the larger scale wars. In fact, it was Branwell's preferred war game.

The Rumblings of Civil Conflict: Post-Napoleonic Britain in the Brontë Imagination:

Has life no variety now? [...] Does Love fold his wings when Victory lowers her pennons? Surely not! (*Tales* 2010: 223).

Charlotte's preface to her last Angrian tale *Caroline Vernon* (1839) begins with a forthright commentary concerning her post-war kingdom. In recent memory, she had

watched despairingly as her imaginative world was torn apart by a highly complex, bloodthirsty series of civil war campaigns masterminded by Branwell during the years 1836-37. In this quotation, she questions the worth and momentum of life without war. In a similar vein to post-Napoleonic Britain, Charlotte reflects on the stagnation of the period, but decides to gather herself and move on. Jibing at her brother's lust for war, she exclaims:

Reader, these things don't happen every day. It's well they don't, for a constant recurrence of such stimulus would soon wear out the public stomach & bring on indigestion. But surely one can find something to talk about, though miracles are no longer wrought in the world (*Tales* 2010: 222).

Despite her humorous urge for the reader to 'solace ourselves with a chastened view of mellowed morality' (*Tales* 2010: 223), Charlotte's preface appears to reflect on and react to the feelings of monotony in the post-Napoleonic period. Her poetic verses such as 'there's not always an Angrian campaign going on in the rain [...] Nor a Duke & a lord drawing the sword' (*Tales* 2010: 222) along with her forlorn imagery of battlefields are satirical, but there is a glimmer of fondness in her tone as she pauses to reflect on her long collaboration with Branwell.

After the Napoleonic Wars, Britain's reaction was mournful and reflective. Despite the arrival of peace after years of global unrest, many saw the Napoleonic Wars as a stimulating period that somehow brought life to a sensation-hungry nation. As Heather Glen observes, Benjamin Disraeli's novel *Vivian Grey* (1826) notes, 'if it wasn't for the general election, we really must have a war for variety's sake. Peace gets quite a bore' (Disraeli, Glen 2006: 520). Judging by this general deflated atmosphere within early nineteenth-century Britain, it is clear how Charlotte could mimic society's

grief surrounding this seemingly uneventful lull in military action and heroism.

Nevertheless, all was not as it seemed. Despite a comparatively peaceful period in the history of war,⁸ post-war Britain was presented with new challenges. As well as continuing with its imperial exploits, the country turned in on itself, struggling to cope with its own minor conflicts and economic recovery.⁹ Britain's stagnant, uncertain post-war condition is regularly transmogrified within Charlotte and Branwell's imaginary kingdom. This study has consistently reiterated that the siblings engaged with and translated war in all its forms, be it literal combat or its cultural effects. Alluding to the economic and social condition of Britain in the aftermath of the Napoleonic Wars, Branwell's post-war narrative, *The Wool is Rising* (1834), focuses on Angria's struggling economy after the recent war between Frenchyslands and the Verdopolian nations.¹⁰ This is achieved through Branwell's introduction of Edward and William Percy – Alexander Percy's sons and precursors to the Crimsworth brothers in Charlotte's later work *The Professor* (1857) – who have become successful partners in their own manufacturing mill business. In this tale of industry, Branwell is shown to take note of the contemporary social conditions of the 'Frenchy' prisoners of war, a fictitious and real-life presence in the British manufacturing landscape. Branwell writes, 'thousands of French prisoners, whom the Government distributed among the Manufactory are now out of employ, wandering about in a state of perfect idiotism' (*WPB II* 1999: 47). In reality, an 1821 edition of *The Quarterly Review*, a publication with which the Brontë family was familiar, documents a similar reference to French

⁸ Although Britain was involved in other small-scale colonial wars, these do not compare to the Napoleonic Wars, which was a multi-nation conflict that included a series of extended global campaigns.

⁹ See 'Great Britain After the Napoleonic Wars' in Lucy Hanson's *Story of the Great People of Britain* (1923), pp. 5–27. Bainbridge's *British Poetry and the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars* (2003) makes numerous references to how artists individually processed war in the aftermath of the Napoleonic Wars. For example, as discussed in Chapter Three: 'The Napoleonic Wars', Bainbridge explores artistic, societal reactions to the figure of the returned soldier.

¹⁰ Zamorna is gifted Angria in 1834. His military prowess gains him enough prestige and respect to become sovereign of his own kingdom.

prisoners of war.¹¹ It declares that, due to the knock-on redundancy of local cottagers, ‘prisoners were prohibited from making for sale, woolen gloves and straw hats – it would have injured, in these petty branches, the commerce of the subjects of His Britannic Majesty!’ (Anon 1821: 9). In turn, however, the prisoners were left with ‘neither rent, nor taxes, nor lodging, firing, food, or clothing to find’ (9). It is clear that Branwell’s tale accurately reflects the literal dilemmas ex-soldiers faced in the post-war moment. Moreover, it is clear that these dilemmas rippled through the post-war media and into public consciousness.

It is highly plausible that the siblings were writing from their own experiences. As the Introduction to this thesis has evidenced, the Brontës’ local parish was no stranger to the presence of soldiers; Haworth, like any other parish, had male members who served and were known in the local community.¹² In a broad sense, the siblings would have also been familiar with the wave of returning soldiers who covered the country, many of whom lacked direction and had to adjust to normal everyday life.¹³ Aside from those named in the Introduction, Haworth and the surrounding area would have welcomed home a number of ex-Napoleonic soldiers in recent years. As this study’s section on war trauma in Chapter Three: ‘Napoleonic Wars’ evidences, many of these soldiers would have been physically and psychologically scarred by their experiences of overseas conflict. In addition to the French prisoners of war, of whom Britain had previously held an estimated 80,000,¹⁴ multitudes of British soldiers and sailors also returned home in the years following the Napoleonic Wars. These soldiers would have been living within the small financial parameters of half-pay. As Norman Gash notes:

¹¹ In *OCB* (2006), Alexander and Smith state that the children modeled a character in their juvenilia from the editor, William Gifford.

¹² See the Introduction of this thesis for further information on soldiers who lived in Haworth.

¹³ See the first concluding section of this thesis for a discussion of Branwell’s 1842 poem, ‘Sir Henry Tunstall’, where Branwell addresses the theme of the returning soldier in relation to the First Anglo-Afghan War (1839-42).

¹⁴ See Catriona Kennedy’s *Narratives of the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars* (2013) and Walter Scott’s *Life of Napoleon* (1827).

[half-pay] was not so much a pension as a species of retaining fee for hypothetical future calls on their services. Unfortunately for them, half-pay [...] was still fixed at the monetary level of 1714. An officer of thirty years service whose pay was £600 per annum received £146 on retirement (Gash 1978: 147).

From this quotation it is clear that a soldier's life post-duty was unstable, liminal and regressive. Evidently, the century-long lack of progression for soldiers' economic rights and their unfulfilled position in society at the mercy of a future promise of work would have contributed to an already anxious post-war climate.

From this nationwide feeling, it is understandable why civil unrest generated as a consequence. The disorganisation and inequality of the military was just one example of wider problems concerned with the poor rights and injustices suffered by the working classes. National division between the British government and the people tore through the social fabric of Britain. Political and social unrest prevailed throughout the Brontës' childhood, their local community aggravated by industrial and agricultural unrest. Those in Haworth – and neighboring towns such as Bradford and Halifax – whose livelihoods depended on wool saw their employment in flux. The industrial revolution had replaced man with machine, and many working class people found themselves out of work and in dire financial straits. Henceforth, various riots and strikes broke out across the country. In the early 1830s, the crisis had reached a high point: many members of the population were convinced that Britain was heading for full-scale revolution. The Parisian 'July Revolution' of 1830 provoked this anxiety.¹⁵ This event saw revolutionaries attempt to overthrow the monarchy in a bid to instigate economic reform: there was fear that this ripple of change could find its way across the channel.

¹⁵ Charlotte's later academic tutor and idol, Constantin Heger, would be part of the ripple of European conflicts generated by the 'July Revolution'. He relayed to Charlotte, during her time as a student and teacher in Brussels, that from the 23–27 September 1830 he had fought for Belgian liberty at the barricades. His wife's younger brother was killed in his presence during the fighting.

The Revd. Patrick Brontë expressed his concern regarding this in a letter to Mrs Franks in 1831. Speaking about temperance reform, he argued that unless this issue was addressed the ‘inveterate enemies’ would encourage a revolution: ‘We see, what has been lately done in France – We know, that the Duke of Wellington’s declaration, against reform, was the principal cause, of the removal, of him, & other Minsters, from power’ (Green 2005: 77).¹⁶ Indeed, the Brontë siblings would have read warmongering articles and verse in the periodicals they subscribed to, informing their views on radicalism and reform. As late as 1834 *Fraser’s Magazine* declared that the French were burning for war again ‘fight or no fight’ (Anon 1834: 275). There was also a counter-reaction throughout 1830 in order to quell the fears from France. For example, a series of hurried letters were published in the high Tory paper, *John Bull*, which the Brontë family read, penned by an anonymous Englishman in Paris. It was these letters’ purpose to quell fears that Europe was heading for revolution, despite the Parisian uprising occurring just a few months later. On 17 January 1830 the paper published:

Dear Bull – There are wars or *rumours of wars* from Japan to Christians, and from Washing to the Black Sea; but at present there are more rumours than wars, and by and by there are to be more wars than rumours (Anon 1830: 22).

In this same letter, the writer even attempts to deflect the infiltration of revolutionary feeling with tongue-in-cheek humour directed at the government and the military. Taking the fear of French revolt to a new level, the author adds a new layer to Britain’s anxiety by proposing that the Duke of Brunswick may invade, whose predecessor (and the Allied Army) had embarked on a failed war with France during the French Revolution. These meta-layers all contribute to the superficial status of Britain’s

¹⁶ The Brontës’ hero, the Duke of Wellington, lost a vote of no confidence on 15 November 1830 after upholding his stance on no reform and no extension of suffrage. For more information on the public’s perception of Wellington, see this study’s Chapter Three: ‘Wellington and Napoleon’.

troubled and apprehensive position: the contributor attempts to reclaim the power of reason by explicitly mocking the nation's panicked atmosphere:

Prepare, however for the worst. Let the Martello towers be well manned – let the militia be raised – let all our forts and fortresses be put into the best possible posture of defense – for the Duke of BRUNSWICK is about the *invade England* in a brig, two corvettes and collier. The troops, mustering 500 strong, all able-bodied men, from 15 to 75, are all collected – the review has been held – the soldiers are fired with enthusiasm – and are resolved ‘*to conquer or die*’. The alternative of conquering they rather prefer the otherwise: and I trust that the DUKE OF WELLINGTON and our brave army will strive heart and hand to repel from our shores this new, powerful and dangerous enemy. Yet, however, as ‘fortune favours the brave,’ who will venture to predict that the brave Brunswick will not defeat the assembled armies of a power so pigmy and insignificant as *Old England* (Anon 1830: 22).

Despite this attempt made by *John Bull*, a number of periodicals took the matter of Britain's perturbed landscape seriously. Like France, whose main problem rested in the class divide between the aristocracy and the people, contributors to national periodicals recognised that this similar class divide was Britain's downfall. Published in *Blackwood's*, an 1831 article titled ‘On the Approaching Revolution in Great Britain’ depicts the narrator, Emeritus, exclaiming: ‘All is darkness. We are now in some respects in the situation of Rome at the period of the Triumvirates; we are on the brink of the same collision between our aristocracy and our people’ (Emeritus 1831: 328). Opposed to this looming revolution, a poem titled ‘The Progression of Revolution’, published in an 1832 edition of *Fraser's Magazine*, explicitly condemns the government's 1832 Reform Act,¹⁷ legislated to appease the long campaigning reform activists:

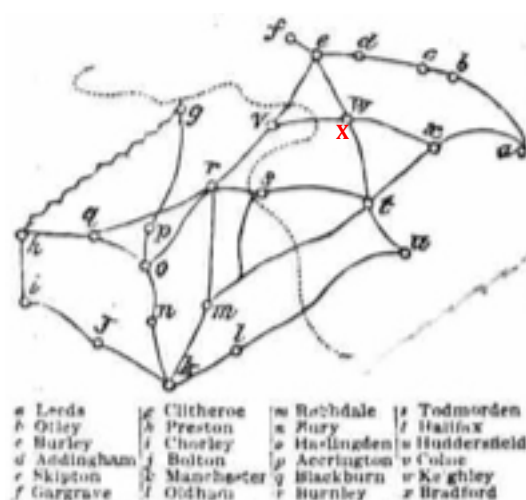
¹⁷ The Representation of the People Act introduced much needed parliamentary reform, but it was limited. Despite creating new constituencies and extending the vote to all householders who paid a yearly rental of £10 or more, a

The change, you say, is wanted by the mass,
And grumbling thousands choose the bill should pass!
What! – is my country then indeed so low,
To fear the empty, though so loud a foe! [...]

See at our relics of the free,
And learn from them what England soon must be,
When strangers weep o'er London's marble gloom,
And search through ruins for a Wellesley's tomb

(Anon 1832: 684).

It was clear that, despite post-war peace ensuing after Waterloo, Britain was in flux. Its military, economic and social system was embroiled in an internal conflict that the national press could not ignore.



'Map of Local Area' (04/05/1826) in *The Leeds Intelligencer*. British Newspaper Archives.

The siblings' knowledge of national discontent would not, however, have solely derived from periodicals and papers of national interest. The Brontë family was also informed of economic and social unrest around the country through their local papers, *The Leeds Mercury* and *The Leeds Intelligencer*. *The Leeds Mercury* prioritised coverage on widespread riots throughout the

1820s and 30s, reporting cases in Norwich, Manchester, Bradford, Macclesfield, Wakefield, Sheffield and other such industrial areas.¹⁸ In *The Leeds Intelligencer*, as Sally Shuttleworth notes:

majority of working class men still could not vote. For more information, see the official 'Living Heritage' page of the parliament website: <http://www.parliament.uk/about/living-heritage/evolutionofparliament/houseofcommons/reformacts/overview/reformact1832/>.

¹⁸ Search conducted online through 'The British Newspaper Archive'. See bibliography for further details.

The famous Bradford combers and weavers strike, for example, which involved 20,000 people and lasted for twenty–three weeks between 1825 and 1826, ending with a complete defeat for the strikers, was reported in great detail. At the same time, the economic crash, brought on by joint stock ventures and reckless financial speculation, led to widespread riots in industrial cities in the spring of 1826. On 4 May 1826, the *Leeds Intelligencer* included a chart of all the riots and disturbances which had recently taken place in the region, and Edward Baines published his ‘Letter to the Unemployed Workmen of Lancashire and Yorkshire’ (Shuttleworth 1996: 20).

Expanding on the content discussed in this quotation, the commentary accompanying Edward Baines’ letter indicates the local public feeling in Yorkshire. Indeed, the very distribution of this letter – which had been, according to a contributor in the *Leeds Mercury*, ‘extensively disseminated through the disturbed districts’ (Anon 1826: 3) – had been by citizens who were more ‘anxious to preserve the public peace by moral influence than by military coercion’ (3). This evidences that the public had reconfigured the military as the enemy – the heroes of the Napoleonic Wars were now attacking their own.¹⁹ Moreover, as Shuttleworth’s quotation suggests, the Brontës would have also had access to visual material that showed them they were right in the centre of the industrial and social conflicts. They would have witnessed different types of conflict: the rebellious violence of the militant everyday man taking up arms, and the retaliation of the official military. As the chart published in the *Leeds Intelligencer* on 4 May 1826 suggests, the family were caught in the centre of this violent web of disruption. The red x roughly marks the location of Haworth in the area. It is unsurprising then, that civil conflict was a constant backdrop for the siblings’ collaborative kingdom. Like Haworth, Glass Town and Angria were realms of anxiety, unrest and discontent. Despite larger-scale wars raging through their stories, the relentless disputes and squabbles amongst their saga’s own inhabitants add a new layer to understandings of conflict: the siblings

¹⁹ This concept will be revisited in more detail in this chapter’s imminent discussion of Charlotte Brontë’s later Angrian novella, *Stancilffe’s Hotel* (1838).

did not always need armies, battles and grand military idols to present war: sometimes war manifested itself as a nation turned in on itself, where the everyday man would pick up a weapon and shout ‘no more!’

Context and Collaboration: Civil Conflict in Glass Town and Angria:

Charlotte and Branwell repeatedly plunged their decade-long saga into civil chaos. Their response is multi-layered. Rather than just recreating the post-war condition of the people listed above, Charlotte and Branwell went further, creating a mutually dependable dynamic by engaging with and mimicking political speeches in Britain’s turbulent early nineteenth-century climate. Throughout 1834–35, tensions between their protagonists, Zamorna and Alexander Percy, climaxed through a heated series of damning monologues. Alexander recognises the link between British and Angrian politics, observing that 1834 was a turbulent time for politics: ‘News of a government crisis [...] soon reached the Haworth parsonage [...] The previous ministry under Lord Grey had had to resign [...] The King called on Wellington to form a government: Wellington suggested Peel’ (Alexander 1983: 134). By addressing the combination of political and social disruption present in their youth, the siblings were able to faithfully reflect that instability and antagonism within their politically driven world. In the saga, having just gained the kingdom of Angria, both characters, Zamorna as king and Percy as prime minister, are once again at war with one another. At this point, Zamorna accuses Percy of inciting rumours and indulging in conspiracy and betrayal against their kingdom. Collectively, Charlotte’s *A Scrap Book: A Mingling of Many Things* (1834–35) carries these speeches whilst her *My Angria and the Angrians* (1834) discusses their outcome. Branwell’s are more fragmented, yet they are included within *Angria and the*

Angrians I(a-d) (1834–5).²⁰ The speeches represent an important division between royalty and the people, Percy breaking sovereign allegiance to once again take up his role as leader of the Democratic Party in a bid to reform the Verdopolitan Constitution. As with the contemporary society the Brontës lived in, the political debate for public reform is paramount in the siblings' minds, acting as a catalyst for the final Angrian civil wars that shattered their imaginary kingdom late in 1836–37.

Whilst paying homage to the volatile political climate of the period that aggravated the intense feelings of social anger and discontent, the focus of this section will mainly show how the Brontës reflected on and responded to the events and voices of the everyday people embroiled in civil conflict.²¹ Focusing on Charlotte specifically, her two tales, *The Foundling* (1833) and *Stancliffe's Hotel* (1838), were influenced by recent riots that were engrained in the early nineteenth-century British imagination. *The Foundling*, as observed by Christine Alexander,²² presents startling similarities to the recent 1831 Bristol riots: both show working class people struggling for political reformation.²³ In the tale, 'Naughty Ned Laury' leads the working class people of Glass Town into a violent rebellion after the disappearance of the kingdom's wise man and justice giver, Crashie:²⁴

An immense crowd assembled [...] which, at the word of command, formed itself in squares, files, battalions, etc., etc., with the accuracy of a well-disciplined army. Through these armed and ferocious-looking ranks, Naughty passed to and fro, exhorting them, with that rude eloquence [...] They answered

²⁰ The content and tone of these speeches are compared to John Milton's *Paradise Lost* (1667) in the section 'Late Renaissance to Early Restoration' within the first chapter of this thesis.

²¹ For a detailed discussion surrounding the context of the young Brontës' engagement with parliament and contemporary political issues, see Simon Avery's chapter, 'Politics Legal Concerns, and Reforms' in *A Companion to the Brontës* (2016), and Alexander and Smith's section on British politics in *OCB* (2006).

²² See *EEW II* (1991), p. 92.

²³ The Bristol riots were, in turn, inspired by the July Revolution.

²⁴ An early Glass Town 'rare lad', a group of characters holding similar qualities to the infamous northern Luddites. Laury eventually becomes a loyal supporter of the Duke of Wellington, retiring to his estates. Additionally, Crashie, otherwise known as Captain Butter, is one of the original Twelves that sailed to and colonised the West Coast of Africa. He is 140-years-old and is, in essence, a demi-god. He resides in the Tower of All Nations and distributes both justice and peace.

with loud shouts, crying out that they would tear every redcoat in Verdopolis to atoms (*EEW II* 1991: 99)

It is important to note that, despite expressing a hatred of the military, the crowd structure themselves into a military formation.²⁵ Very early on in her writing career, Charlotte realised that it was not just the official military redcoat that could be classed as a military man, but the everyday working class man could be a threat and execute violence with determination, precision and order.

The Brontës would have read about the Bristol riots through numerous publications. Both their local newspapers, the *Leeds Mercury* and *Leeds Intelligencer*, ran articles on the incident.²⁶ Additionally, an 1831 contemporary report titled *A Full Report of the Trials of the Bristol Rioters* (1832) contained a detailed account of the violent clash between military personnel and the people. These, amongst other similar titles were distributed widely and circulated in libraries in the north.²⁷ These texts relayed the spectacular violence and fear present at the event:

orders were immediately given to the troops to charge, and the scene instantly become one of the greatest confusion. The people, who ran in all directions, were pursued to the limits of the city, the rioters engaged at the Council–House taking refuge in the numerous courts and alleys in Broad–street and Wine–street, from whence they assailed the troops with stones (Somerton 1832: 17).

Although this is just one example, it is clear that the siblings were able to emulate the

²⁵ The crowd's adoption of military tactics and formations resonates with another band of rioters the Brontës would be familiar with, the Luddites. This group were often made up of ex-militia men and orchestrated tactical, organised violence.

²⁶ See The British Newspaper Archive. For example, the *Leeds Intelligencer* ran 'Dreadful Riots at Bristol on the 3 November 1831' and 'The Late Riots in Bristol' on 10 November 1831. The *Leeds Mercury* also ran an article with a title of the same name, 'Dreadful Riots at Bristol', on 5 November 1831 and reported the executions of the convicted rioters on 4 February 1832.

²⁷ Other titles that were distributed include John Eagles's *The Bristol Riots: Their Causes, Progress and Consequences* (1832) and *Trials of the Persons Concerned in the Late Riots* (1832) printed by P. Rose.

sensational language of the incident that was disseminated to the British public, aggravating a national reaction. In *The Foundling*, Charlotte describes in a similar style how ‘a horrible struggle’ occurred between the military and the people, the military with their ‘superior discipline’ overpowering the mob: ‘By degrees the living mass melted. Thousands sought safety in flight, and the few who remained were quickly cut to pieces’ (*EEWI* 1987: 100). Charlotte’s words, in all their poetic bluntness, may well have been a realistic commentary, her tale imitating the same dramatic language used in these emotional reports, which were intended to tap into contemporary sentimentality and spur people to act.

In a similar fashion, evidence of Charlotte’s imitative response to military violence directed towards rioters is found in *Stancliffe’s Hotel*. Although reflective of numerous contemporary rioting and unrest, recent scholarly criticism likens her violent narrative to the Peterloo Massacre of 1819.²⁸ A crowd, aggravated by Zamorna’s relationship with Angria’s arch nemesis, Alexander Percy, erupts into protest outside Stancliffe’s Hotel in central Angria. After they have confronted their king and rushed at the royal carriage with a ‘hideous roar’, Zamorna declares:

‘Men of Zamorna, three hundred horsemen are upon you. I see them; they are here; you will be ridden down in five minutes if you do not bear back instantly from the carriage.’ There was not time: with horse-hair waving and broad sabres glancing, with loud huzza and dint of thunder, the cavalry charged on the mob [...] Causeway and carriage were cleared; the wide street lay bare in the fierce sun behind them. A few wounded men alone were left with shattered limbs, lying on the pavement. These were soon taken off to the infirmary, their blood was washed from the stones, and no sign remained of what had happened (*Tales* 2006: 115).

The use of military force is reminiscent of the violence witnessed at Peterloo: panicking

²⁸ See *OCB*, p. 480.

magistrates set yeomanry cavalry on the 50,000 peaceful protesters that assembled on St. Peter's Fields, Manchester. The massacre was discussed in newspapers and journals around the country, and prompted a number of new two-penny weekly publications such as *London Alfred or People's Register* and the *Democratic Recorder and Reformer's Guide*.²⁹ Although unrests such as the Peterloo Massacre and Bristol Riots are alluded to in just a few examples of Charlotte's work, each illustrates the impact of Britain's social and political instability upon the country, the Brontë family, and more specifically, young Charlotte. Despite not exuding the same sensational modes of war as discussed in this study's previous three chapters, civil unrest in Britain was a localised threat. The reorientation of the military as the enemy, and the substitution of the people as the real 'heroes' embodied the anxieties and social fears of a growing industrial nation that failed to identify with its people.

Another riotous group that resonated with the Brontë imagination was the Luddites. This group, who operated in the north between 1811–16, was comprised of skilled workers who violently rebelled against the introduction of stocking frames, spinning frames and power looms in the manufacturing industry. It is likely that the siblings were aware that a number of Luddites were ex-servicemen,³⁰ most likely through listening to accounts from their father.³¹ As Gash comments:

The Luddites – or some of them – drilled and went about in military formation. Many of them had served in the militia and others... enlisted in the army to avoid detection and arrest. There were unemployed soldiers and sailors in the Spa Fields riots in 1816 and ex-soldiers were involved in the Pentridge 'rising' in 1817. The abortive affair dignified by the name of the Huddersfield 'rising' in

²⁹ See Stanley Harrison's *Poor Men's Guardians: A Survey of the Struggles for a Democratic Newspaper Press, 1763–1973* (1974).

³⁰ Evidence of military men becoming revolutionaries is also seen in Branwell's *Letters from an Englishman Vol III* (1831): 'They had all being military men come to town for the purpose of gaining Glory in the approaching revolution' (*WPB I* 1997: 182).

³¹ See the Introduction of this thesis for further biographical discussions relating to the Revd. Patrick Brontë.

1820 was led by a Barnsley weaver named Comstive who had been a sergeant in the 29th Foot and fought at Waterloo (Gash 1978: 51).

The violent methods of these textile artisans in the years of 1811–16 captured the siblings' imaginations, allowing them to indulge in exciting history that involved their local area. In recent scholarly publications, Charlotte's later novel *Shirley* (1849) has received critical attention relating to the Luddite riots. Her story, although informed by her opinion of the Chartist movement, is set during the industrial depression resulting from the ongoing Napoleonic Wars.³² Although her interest in the Luddites materialised much earlier in her own and Branwell's writing, her later novel evidences her considerable understanding of the Luddites' actions and the moral dilemma they instigated amongst the tradespeople. While, in her later research for *Shirley*, Charlotte managed to obtain copies of the *Leeds Mercury* to find out more about various Luddite activities, her and her siblings' early knowledge of the Luddites' radicalism would have been gained purely through tales from their father and other acquaintances.³³ In one instance in the narrative, Charlotte's protagonist, Caroline, is shown to look on as her love interest Robert Moore's mill is subjected to a fierce attack:

Shots were discharged by the rioters [...] The hitherto inert and passive mill woke: fire flashed from its empty window-frame [...] the mill-yard, the mill itself was full of battle-movement: there was scarcely any cessation now of the discharge of firearms; and there was struggling, rushing, trampling, and shouting between them (Brontë 2006: 326).

³² For more information on Charlotte's reworking of the Luddite rebellions in her later work see K Hiltner's article 'Shirley and Luddism' (2008) in *Brontë Studies*. Herbert Rosengarten conducted the first critical research on *Shirley* and the Luddites in his introduction to the 1998 Oxford University Press edition. Rosengarten argues how 'skillfully she manipulated facts derived from the *Mercury*' (xv), conceptualising the attack at Hollow's mill in an emotional, climatic battleground. Rosengarten also points out various biographical parallels between real-life events and Charlotte's novel, which were fuelled by 'her long-standing attraction to the Napoleonic period', which gives credit and foundation to this thesis. For further discussion of how war itself is treated within *Shirley*, see the first concluding section of this study.

³³ Charlotte would have also heard tales of Luddite activity from Margaret Wooler, her head teacher at Roe Head. The school was not far from Rawfields Mill where a Luddite attack had previously taken place.

Despite this narrative's intensely violent imagery, Caroline remains a passive observer of the manufacturing plight. This combination of surveillance and reflection is repeated throughout the novel. Charlotte offers a mature moral response to the Luddite cause, acknowledging the plight of the poor whilst condemning the Luddites' violent actions of illegality and aligning herself with, as Lucasta Miller notes, the 'middlerank and aristocracy' (Miller 2006: xxi). However, her earlier work, *Something about Arthur* (1833), is far from the sophisticated response demonstrated here.³⁴ Although both influenced by the attack on Rawfields Mill,³⁵ *Something about Arthur* (1833) is a juvenile response to a sensitive local topic. In the tale, Charlotte's young Zamorna [the Marquis of Douro] helps orchestrate a group of Luddite-like rioters who burn down a 'prisoner filled' mill belonging to the 'villainous' jockey and gambler Lord Caversham. This revenge attack, spurred by Caversham's duping him into a rigged horse race, is told with childish joviality. Zamorna declares: 'if I am victorious in this undertaking I will call it my first essay in the art of war, but mind what I say, Ned, it shall not be my last' (*EEW I* 1987: 26). Rather than acting as a spectator, like Charlotte's later heroine, Caroline, her youthful protagonist is at the centre of the riot. The party rushes in 'ferociously', releasing the prisoners and setting the mill alight:

In less than a quarter of an hour wreaths of dun smoke, mingled with darting tongues of fire, were seen issuing from some of the lower windows. A dull roaring noise was also heard, and, after the lapse of another fifteen minutes, the wished-for conflagration broke forth at once in a column of clear, red flame which rose suddenly with a rushing sound into the air (*EEW I* 1987: 28).

³⁴ This manuscript was first identified and discussed in Alexander's critical edition of *Something about Arthur* (1981). In her introduction Alexander talks of the significance of the Luddite attacks in relation to this tale (17). Alexander also mentions an allusion to the Luddite riots in an earlier tale of Charlotte's, *The Bridal* (1832). Although, at this point, most of the saga's attention is on Alexander Percy's 1832 uprising, Charlotte describes how, alongside this: 'Unequivocal symptoms of dissatisfaction began to appear at the same time among the lower orders in Verdopolis. The workmen at the principal mills and furnaces struck for an advance of wages, and, the masters refusing to comply with their exorbitant demands, they all turned out simultaneously' (*EEW I* 1987, 344-45). Although brief, this tale demonstrates a preface to her extended interest in Luddism, exhibited in her later text *Shirley*.

³⁵ See previous footnote. In her *Life*, Charlotte recounts: 'Miss Wooler spoke of those times, the mysterious night drillings [...] of the overt acts, in which the burning of Cartwright's mill took a prominent place; and these things sank deep into the mind of one, at least, among her hearers' (*Life* 2009: 86).

It is evident from this early work that Charlotte remains ignorant of the moral issues present in her later industrial novel, her young self disconnecting from recent troubles and instead using Luddism as merely an exciting, danger-infused plot development. Both texts give an insightful perspective on Charlotte's progression into maturity. Although demonstrating a deep understanding of Luddism in her childhood years, it is only later that she identifies with the movement in both an adult and emotive way.

Although no reference to a Luddite attack is made explicitly, Branwell's *The Wool is Rising* is influenced by the trading conditions during and after the Napoleonic Wars. Throughout this study, it is Branwell who is often deemed the sensationalist war writer of the pair, the previous Chapter Four: 'Colonial Warfare' revealing Branwell's lust for violence and gore. In regard to Luddism, however, it is Branwell who appears to respond with a maturity lacked by his youthful sister whilst retaining language that suggests the Luddites to be dangerous and somewhat animalistic in their ferocity. In tune with the British economic depression, which was prolonged by the passing of the Corn Laws,³⁶ *The Wool is Rising* depicts two brothers, Edward and William Percy, struggling to make their business in the wool trade. Despite their overall success, they are nevertheless both aware of the economic climate, referencing the consequential poverty that accompanied Britain's post-war trade slump. Sending his work partner Timothy to gain employees, William takes advantage of their predicament whilst warning him to steer clear of 'rare lads', the siblings' Luddite-influenced rogues:

'I mean to send thee instantly among the most destitute of these. workers. mind keep clear of the rare lads they are fending for themselves – but pick out the most miserable of the others – offer them but with thy native tenacity. first the

³⁶ Trade laws that imposed high import duties, making it too expensive for the British people to import grain from overseas.

sum of 1s per week for little load is better than no meat' (*WPB II* 1999: 47).

Here, Branwell's narrative tone is concerned and sentimental, yet still manages to dress Luddism in sensational language: 'they are fending for themselves' conjures animalistic imagery. It is likely that Branwell would have been aware first-hand of the Luddite plight. Juliet Barker speculates that Branwell was part of an 'Anti-Plug Dragoon Regiment', which captured workers 'who sabotaged their employers' machinery by removing the plugs from the boilers which powered the looms' (Barker 1997: 402). These workers were imprisoned in Haworth's pub, The Black Bull. Barker goes on to note that Branwell had once 'offered to go in during a mill riot and thrash a dozen fellows' (402). Through his own personal experiences, Branwell would have been able to both empathise with the workers he spoke to, yet equally understand the problems and dangers of their rebellions. With this knowledge of local and nationwide recession, Branwell, along with his sister, furnished their fictitious kingdoms with a sophisticated backdrop of economically driven social feeling. Their tales, despite their playful origins, offer an important account of localised violence and what it was like to grow up in an unstable socio-economic climate.

In conclusion, Charlotte and Branwell's *Glass Town* and *Angria* reflect and reconstruct significant components of, and feelings conjured by, civil war. By taking inspiration from Britain's present condition whilst simultaneously reanimating historical uprisings of the past, each sibling was able to provide a social commentary of civil conflict. It is through this fantastical reimagining of social anarchy and civil unrest that contemporary scholars may digest an unedited insight into contemporary British revolutionary fears and also a youthful perspective of factually inspired, if somewhat exaggerated, violence. Overall, the siblings' collective understandings of civil war and conflict provide an imaginative, alternative history regarding the divide between

sovereignty/governmental systems and the everyday ‘common man’. Through their kingdoms, the siblings were able to indulge their passion for danger and excitement whilst equally providing an innovative and honest response to the real-life damage civil war and conflict bring to a nation. In short, this final chapter has confirmed that Charlotte and Branwell are important all-round social historians of and commentators on war in early nineteenth-century Britain. Their responses to war and conflict do not always require a canvas awash with iconic military figures or overseas ‘official’ campaigns. This chapter has shown that some of the most influential conflicts in the siblings’ saga are instigated and carried out by the common man, demonstrating the potential that anyone could be a soldier. As Charlotte muses:

‘Is all crime the child of war?’

(*Tales* 2010: 223)

Perhaps the Brontës thought that it was. War did not necessarily stop when the troops returned home, or international peace had been restored. Rather than be limited to a certain place, war could follow the troops back and establish itself in a domestic setting: discontented people could readily and unofficially mutate into the military itself.

Conclusion Part I: After Angria

‘If life be a war, it seemed my destiny to conduct it single-handed’
(*V* 2008: 296)

The first part of this conclusion offers new ways of reading the Brontës’ later literature in regard to war, masculinity and conflict, before the second section provides a more traditional conclusion to the thesis as a whole. Charlotte and Branwell’s collaborative partnership ended in 1839. In her *Farewell to Angria* (1839), Charlotte bid farewell to her characters, scenes and subjects and ventured into her publishing career: ‘I feel almost as I stood on the threshold of a home and were bidding farewell to its inmates’ (*Tales* 2010: 314). Meanwhile, Branwell did not break from Angria, continuing to write stories relating to his kingdom up until his death. In 1845, he even made an attempt to rework the saga into a standalone tale titled *And the weary are at rest*, which recast his soldierly characters in an English setting. The tale, however, mutates into a ranting, bawdy fragment of Alexander Percy’s attempts to seduce a married woman. It is not known how much of this piece survives – it begins mid-sentence – and it lacks structure and coherence.

Branwell continued to be interested in war. His later poetry draws on a number of themes that have been discussed within this study. For example, in line with his interest in classicism, Branwell challenged himself to translate Horace’s militant odes throughout the 1840s. Horace was a leading Roman lyric poet, who drew from a range of subject matters – including civil war and military masculinity.¹ Branwell also maintained an interest in key figures and literature relating to the Napoleonic Wars: he wrote a poem dedicated to and titled *Lord Nelson* in 1842. Neufeldt notes that Branwell

¹ Branwell’s full translations of Horace’s odes can be found within *WPB III*, pp. 299 – 334.

read Southey's *Life of Nelson* (1830) before composing this. As in so much of the Angrian poetry seen within this study,² Branwell conflates patriotism with suffering: 'No words of mine have power to rouse the brain | Distressed with grief. The body bowed with pain' (*WPB III* 1999: 354). Although separate from the Angrian saga, Branwell still uses his position as a social historian to emulate contemporary post-war feeling. Post-war feeling continues to extend to Branwell's new branch of war poetry. In 1840-42, Branwell composes two poems entitled 'The Affgan War' (1842) and 'Sir Henry Tunstall' (1840-42): the latter considered by Winifred Gérin to be Branwell's finest achievement (Donovan 2016: 219). 'The Affgan War' recounts the British army being forced to withdraw from Kabul in January 1842 during the First Anglo-Afghan War (1839-42): the funeral bell tolls and 'no returning | Fate allows to such farewell' (*WPB III* 1999: 367). Donovan argues that the poem 'conveys the power of stillness and quietness' (Donovan 2016: 219): an attribute of Branwell's poetry that this thesis attests can be traced back to his poignant and careful use of verse within his Angrian battles.³ The melancholic themes of this poem feed into Branwell's final draft of 'Sir Henry Tunstall' (1842), which focuses on a soldier who returns to Britain after sixteen years of military service in India. Throughout, the poem laments a man who has changed both physically and mentally, who cannot adjust to his old domestic realm. It is clear, from the similar name of the protagonist of this poem, that Branwell has not forgotten his old protagonist 'Henry Hastings', whose degeneration into alcoholism as a result of trauma is discussed in this thesis's 'Chapter Three: The Napoleonic Wars'. Similarly, Branwell has not forgotten the plight of the returning soldier, recalling his reworking of the post-Napoleonic social climate within the Angrian saga and transmogrifying it in the context of this new war and character. The trauma embedded within the verse is evident:

They did not think how oft my eyesight turned

² See especially the discussion of patriotism in 'Chapter Three: The Napoleonic Wars'.

³ See page 83 of this thesis.

Toward the skies where Indian Sunshine burned,
 That I had perhaps left an associate band,
 That I had farewells even for that wild Land;
 They did not think my head and heart were older,
 My strength more broken and my feelings colder,
 That spring was hastening into autumn sere -
 And leafless trees make loveliest prospects drear -
 That sixteen years the same ground travel o'er
 Till each wears out the mark which each has left before.

WPB III (1999): 240.

This extract parallels Branwell and Charlotte's earlier treatment of trauma in their Angrian verse and poetry. Like Percy, whose eyes 'wander towards the skies' in 'Misery Part II' (1836), the Duke of Fidenia, who is described as 'cold and distant' in Charlotte's *Lily Hart* (1833),⁴ or Henry Hastings who draws ever further from his sister Elizabeth Hastings as he descends into alcoholism, Tunstall is testimony that Branwell carried the sentimental, dysfunctional voice of the soldier into his later works: the legacy of war and its impact still affected Branwell and his characters.

'Sir Henry Tunstall' was sent to Thomas De Quincey on 15 April 1840, and the final version was sent to *Blackwood's* on 6 September 1842. Although this particular poem was not published, Branwell successfully published numerous other poems throughout the 1840s. He was, in fact, the first of the Brontë family to be published. As Victor Neufeldt notes:

Branwell published at least twenty-six items in his lifetime, and was in print five years before his sisters. Twenty-five of these publications appeared before his sisters published their volume of poems in 1846 [...] His last published work was a poem, fittingly titled *The End of All*, in the *Halifax Guardian* June 5, 1847, just four months before the publication of *Jane Eyre*. (Neufeldt 1999: xx)

⁴ For Percy, see page 81 of this thesis, for Fidenia, see page 160.

Although a full discussion of Branwell's range of published poetry is beyond the theme and scope of this study, it is clear that Branwell enjoyed a wide readership of his later militant verse: for example 'The Affgan War' was published in the *Leeds Intelligencer* on 7 May 1842. Unlike his sister Charlotte, however, Branwell did not successfully channel his interest in the military into any significant published works. Despite this, his success as a poet and continued interest in war should be acknowledged. Branwell died on 24 September 1848, leaving behind a legacy of writing that, amongst other themes, provides a significant socio-historical commentary on war in a recovering nation. Critics can only speculate as to how this intuitive response to war would have taken shape had Branwell lived to develop his writing career.

Charlotte, on the other hand, went on to write published work that involves events and characters that are historically grounded in her interest in the military. Whereas *The Professor* (1845–46, 1857), *Jane Eyre* (1847) and *Villette* (1853) contain relevant yet subtler references to the military, Charlotte's 1849 work, *Shirley*, set during the Napoleonic Wars, provides the most literal translation of war from the juvenilia to the later works. Although war in its literal sense is no longer treated as a core theme in the sister's published writing career, war and conflict are broad terms and are embedded within the fabric of their literature, from personal relationships to emotional conflict, from domestic and racial violence to warring identities. The majority of characters within the collective Brontë writings are battling inner and outer demons.

The remainder of this concluding section is, however, concerned with the legacies of literal warfare. Divided into three sections – Silent Soldiers, Military Masculinity, and Wellington and Napoleon – it explores how this study's research into war and the military relates to Charlotte's later writings. It is important to note that these are brief readings that need to be investigated further and expanded on in future scholarship, but add merit to this thesis' argument and findings. It is this study's hope

that the siblings' early role as war commentators and historians will influence and inspire future readings and evaluations of Charlotte's plots and characters.

Silent Soldiers:

Mike [Hartley] was busy hedging rather late in the afternoon, but before dark, when he heard what he thought was a band at a distance—bugles, fifes, and the sound of a trumpet; it came from the forest, and he wondered that there should be music there. He looked up. All amongst the trees he saw moving objects, red, like poppies, or white, like may-blossom. The wood was full of them; they poured out and filled the park. He then perceived they were soldiers—thousands and tens of thousands; but they made no more noise than a swarm of midges on a summer evening. They formed in order, he affirmed, and marched, regiment after regiment, across the park. He followed them to Nunnely Common; the music still played soft and distant. On the common he watched them go through a number of evolutions. A man clothed in scarlet stood in the centre and directed them. They extended, he declared, over fifty acres. They were in sight half an hour; then they marched away quite silently. The whole time he heard neither voice nor tread—nothing but the faint music playing a solemn march⁵ (Brontë 2006: 16).

This poetic passage, taken from Charlotte's later novel *Shirley*, renders soldiers silent. Strangely, the achievement of Charlotte and Branwell's juvenilia to recognise and give voice to the everyday soldier is lost a decade later: the soldier is back to being a large bodily mass.⁶ Despite the number of soldiers, between thousands and tens of thousands, Mike does not hear them. They move silently across the landscape as if they were part of nature. Perhaps, here, Charlotte is alluding to the relationship between soldierhood and nature she had learned through her reading of military memoirs. Although warfare blights the natural landscape, Napoleonic soldierly campaigns allowed some soldiers to

⁵ This passage conjures images of Malcolm's army moving the trees of Birnam Wood up Dunsinane hill in Shakespeare's *Macbeth* (1606). In the play, this strategic attack brings the downfall of Macbeth's reign, as is foretold in an apparition's prophecy: 'Macbeth shall never vanquish'd be until | Great Birnam Wood to high Dunsinane Hill | Shall come against him' (Shakespeare 2008: I, IV, 108–110). Charlotte's merging of military men and nature stirs this same kind of invisible, mass threat.

⁶ See Chapter Three: 'The Napoleonic Wars', which explains how, before the rise of the military memoir, the soldier was seen as a 'cog in the war machine' and not considered as an autonomous subject. Charlotte's published literature falls in line with this representation; this with the exception of Colonel Dent in *Jane Eyre*, who attends the lavish party at Thornfield. Although explicitly named, he is still a passing, invisible figure compared to the title characters in the scene.

reconfigure their journey as a travelogue.⁷ Another explanation for Charlotte's comparison is that the presence of soldiers had become such a part of northern England's topography, that a mass of soldiers was now but everyday wildlife in the Haworthian habitat and, in an abstract sense, a staple part of the Brontë imagination. As the final chapter of this study has demonstrated, the Brontë children grew up in a landscape that was home to returning soldiers.⁸ In addition, the juvenilia's focus on song and military spectacle is adopted and replayed in a poignant fashion. By this point, Charlotte had lost Branwell who was her fellow collaborator and songwriter – in this section the bugles, fifes, and trumpets are distant and unceremonious.

Silent soldiers linger in the background throughout *Shirley*. In another instance within the text, a 'red speck' on the horizon interrupts Shirley and Caroline's conversation: 'a line of red. They are soldiers – cavalry soldiers [...] They ride fast. There are six of them. They will pass us. No; they have turned off to the right. They saw our procession, and avoid it by making a circuit [...] We see them no more now' (Brontë 2006: 287).⁹ Later, a similar interruption occurs, this time whilst Shirley and Caroline are lost in thought:

They listened, and heard the tramp of horses. They looked, and saw a glitter through the trees. They caught through the foliage glimpses of martial scarlet; helm shone, plume waved. Silent and orderly, six soldiers rode softly by. "The same we saw this afternoon," whispered Shirley. "They have been halting somewhere till now. They wish to be as little noticed as possible, and are seeking their rendezvous at this quiet hour, while the people are at church. Did I not say we should see unusual things ere long?" Scarcely were sight and sound of the soldiers lost, when another and somewhat different disturbance broke the night—hush—a child's impatient scream (Brontë 2006: 305).

⁷ As Ramsey notes in *The Military Memoir and Romantic Literary Culture*, soldiers adopted the Romantic ethos of 'nature as a more morally pure and authentic realm than civilian life' (Ramsey 2011: 156). As a soldier, one could enjoy a 'natural life'.

⁸ See Chapter Five: 'Civil War and Conflict'.

⁹ Charlotte's description of a 'red speck' on the horizon preempts Thomas Hardy's treatment of individual humans as a 'speck' in his novels, reminding the reader of the insignificance of the human race as opposed to the seismic scale of the universe. In a similar vein, this passage in *Shirley* demonstrates the insignificance of the individual soldier, reducing his presence to that *en masse*.

Glimpses of the juvenilia are seen here. References to glitter and ‘martial scarlet; helm shone, plume waved’ evoke imagery of military parades in Glass Town and Angria, or portraits of Zamorna and his loyal band of elite military brothers. However, despite the soldiers in *Shirley* displaying an equally ‘loud’ colour, they softly pass in an understated ‘silent and orderly’ manner, weaving in and out of the foliage. The uncanny harmony between the military and nature startles the characters; Shirley notes that this was ‘unusual’. Unlike Glass Town and Angria, whose streets were littered with jaunty soldiers riding by on horseback, soldiers in this landscape take on new meaning: they are mystical and symbolic; an omen that a disruption is going to occur.

The passages here enlighten readers to the soldiers’ role in the narrative. Although an understated, subtle feature of Charlotte’s novel, their invisibility brands them the concealed monsters of the text. Much as Rochester’s estranged wife, Bertha Mason, haunts the hallways of Thornfield in *Jane Eyre*, the soldiers’ persistent presence in *Shirley*’s narrative reminds readers that the Yorkshire landscape is under threat: the reader sees red. Moreover, to contribute to this study’s broader historicist readings, the soldiers are fitting mood music for the societal grievances of the time. As *Shirley* extends the discussion of the public versus the military – seen within the final chapter of this study – it is clear why Charlotte transformed military men into something more sinister.¹⁰

Some years later, Charlotte again plays with soldierhood and visibility to indicate danger and disruption. In *Villette*, Lucy Snowe travels to Villette in ‘thick fog and small dense rain – darkness’. She ‘passed through a gate where soldiers were stationed – so much I could see by lamplight’ (*V* 2008: 61). The presence of soldiers is,

¹⁰ This is in reference to the violent division between the public and the military in organised events and rallies. See Chapter Five: ‘Civil War and Conflict’ for discussions of Luddism, Chartism and notable uprisings such as the Peterloo Massacre.

as in *Shirley*, aligned with feelings of fear. Like Mike, who sees the soldiers just before dark, Lucy approaches Villettes as darkness ‘had settled on the city’ (61). Along with her new surroundings, new emotions come to the forefront of her mind: she is plagued with ‘ceaseless consciousness of anxiety lying in wait on enjoyment, like a tiger crouched in a jungle’ (61). When her carriage stops, her first impressions of her environment are of disruption. The conductor speaks only French and ‘the whole world seemed now gabbling around me’. Like *Shirley*’s soldiers, who are an unnatural blemish on the landscape, Lucy takes on this alien role. The Belgian soldiers, who stand silent amidst the murky light, contribute to this uncertain, threatening terrain that she must conquer. They symbolise, as do the redcoats in *Shirley*, that the landscape is under threat. This time, however, rather than the literal landscape, the soldiers act as a carefully timed omen that the landscape of the novel will soon change: only a few paragraphs later, Lucy describes how ‘Fate took me in her strong hand’ (62) as she rings the doorbell of the Pensionnat.

This brief recognition of soldiers’ role in Charlotte’s later narratives demonstrates that, despite its subtle inclusion, the military continued to impact Charlotte’s creative consciousness. Her familiarity and frequent engagement with the military in her youth allowed her to reconstruct the figure of the soldier into an understated yet effective symbolic plot device. The examples offered in this conclusion are but the foundational building blocks of future studies of how soldierhood is reworked and reimaged in later Brontë literature, despite its seemingly invisible or insignificant presence. It is this concluding section’s aim to offer a tantalising but convincing preface to the more identifiable examples of soldierly presence in these narratives, hoping that further research will uncover more examples using this study’s argument as context.

Military Masculinity:

Much critical literature has focussed on the Brontës and masculinity and there is no scope in this section to compile a comprehensive review. There are, however, characters within both *Jane Eyre* and *Shirley* that can be historically grounded within the findings of this thesis. The previous section focuses on the invisibility of soldiers *en masse*, however, remnants of soldierhood can be found implicitly within masculine protagonists.¹¹ Broadly, characters such as Edward Rochester in *Jane Eyre* might appear militant in their bearing; numerous critical studies have addressed his sexually dominant treatment of Jane.¹² He is, however, actively described as being the antithesis of militancy. Whilst attending an elite gathering at Thornfield Hall, Charlotte notes the characters in attendance. When Rochester enters the room, she observes that he lacks the ‘military distinction of Colonel Dent, contrasted with his look of native pith and genuine power’ (*JE* 2008: 175).¹³ Despite this, the sentence’s final words, ‘genuine power’, immediately conjure imagery of war and conflict. This is, however, just one instance where the legacy of militarism is explicit and attached to individual personhood. In this study’s Chapter Four: ‘Colonial Warfare’, *Jane Eyre*’s missionary, St. John Rivers, is included in the discussion of war, colonisation and religion. Unlike Charlotte’s published literature, it was clear that, in the juvenilia, the siblings preferred sensational battle scenes to Christian ideals of conversion. St John Rivers demonstrates a maturation of Charlotte’s values: despite racist overtones of the Christian mission, Rivers’ aim is not to kill, but to save.

The discussion also alludes to the juvenilia’s preempting of muscular

¹¹ Although this chapter is concerned with the writings of Charlotte and Branwell, it is important to note that Heathcliff in Emily’s *Wuthering Heights*, also conforms to this soldierly legacy. The timeframe of the novel aligns with the American Revolutionary War, which is alluded to in the text. After Heathcliff’s absence in the narrative, the housekeeper Nelly asks, ‘Have you been for a soldier’ (Brontë 2008: 82), which Heathcliff does not respond to. Additionally, Heathcliff’s obsession with conquering and defending territories – including properties and people – would make an interesting discussion based on a historicist reading of the text.

¹² For example, see Louisa Yates’ chapter ‘Reader, I [shagged/beat/whipped/f****d/rewrote] him’ in Regis, Amber and Deborah Wynne (eds) *Charlotte Brontë: Legacies and Afterlives* (2017).

¹³ At the same party, Rochester also cross-dresses as a gypsy, displaying effeminate characteristics.

Christianity. Zamorna and Alexander Percy conform to ideals of the Christian colonial warrior.¹⁴ *Jane Eyre*, published in 1847, consolidates the relationship between Christianity and the military. At one point, St John reveals his divine duty, likening his mission to that of a soldier:

After a season of darkness and struggling, light broke and relief fell: my cramped existence all at once spread out to a plain without bounds—my powers heard a call from heaven to rise, gather their full strength, spread their wings, and mount beyond ken. God had an errand for me; to bear which afar, to deliver it well, skill and strength, courage and eloquence, the best qualifications of soldier, statesman, and orator, were all needed: for these all centre in the good missionary (*JE* 2008: 361).

Here, colonisation is directly associated with the characteristics of soldierhood. His intended wife, Jane, notes his military bearing, stating to Rochester after rejecting St John's marriage proposal: 'He prizes me as a soldier would a good weapon; and that is all' (Smith 2008: 405). These direct references to the military evoke imagery from the juvenilia, and St. John, despite being a modern Victorian gentleman, is a direct legacy of the soldiers Charlotte imagined in her youth.

The relationship between soldierhood and religion is highlighted again in Charlotte's later text, *Shirley*. Like St John, whose mental and physical attributes lend a demigod exterior to Christianity, a similar description is awarded to Caroline's uncle, the curate Reverend Helstone:

He should have been a soldier, and circumstances had made him a priest. For the rest, he was a conscientious, hard-headed, hard-handed, brave, stern, implacable, faithful little man; a man almost without sympathy, ungentle, prejudiced, and rigid, but a man true to principle, honourable, sagacious, and sincere (Brontë 2006: 36).

¹⁴ See Chapter Four: 'Colonial Warfare' within this thesis

Again, this passage directly links the attributes of Christianity with the military. It is clear through these passages from *Jane Eyre* and *Shirley* that the legacy of militarism may not lie in soldierhood itself, but in the qualities of characters that bring a military bearing to their everyday occupations.

In short, despite the invisibility of soldiers in Charlotte's literature, subtle references and comparisons to militarism play an important hand in constructing some of her later key masculine characters. Although these personalities are not directly involved in the military, their dispositions bear the remnants of the soldiers that proliferated through Charlotte and Branwell's juvenilia, and therefore are also reimagined from the soldierly profiles constructed in the literature they read. Thus it is clear that Charlotte's hyper-masculine characters are historically grounded in war.

Wellington and Napoleon:

In Charlotte's later works, the legacy of Wellington and the Napoleon is much more explicit than the legacy of the 'everyday soldier'. Alongside a body of scholarly literature, this study's Chapter Two: 'Wellington and Napoleon', demonstrates Wellington's early impact on Charlotte's writing career, however, his authoritative hold on her imagination lasted into her adulthood. For example, in 1850, three years before her death, Charlotte travelled to London and caught a glimpse of the Iron Duke himself. Moreover, Charlotte maintained an interest in Napoleon, writing a *devoir* commemorating his death, 'On the Death of Napoleon' (1843), during her schooling in Belgium.¹⁵ It is not surprising, then, that legacies of these two men are apparent in her published literature. In addition, numerous Brontë biographies and scholarly pieces have alluded to and quoted passages from the later novels' engagement with Wellington

¹⁵ For Charlotte and Emily's *devoirs*, see Sue Lonoff's edited collected of *The Belgian Essays* (1997)

and Napoleon. It is interesting to note how these representations imitate or differ from those in the juvenilia that were, in turn, derived from the periodical press.

There is, on the one hand, an outburst of praise for Wellington as is repeatedly expressed in the juvenilia and post-Waterloo periodical press. In *Shirley*, characters such as Shirley and Revd. Helstone embody the patriotic virtues akin to Charlotte's own temperament. Helstone's declarations of 'Wellington is the soul of England. Wellington is the right champion of a good cause, the fit representative of a powerful, a resolute, a sensible, and an honest nation' (Brontë 2006: 37) could well have been declared by a young Charlotte or a post-Waterloo commentator in *Blackwood's*. Despite the public's disillusion with Wellington, namely for his high Tory political views (OCB 2006: 535), Charlotte continues to promote his name. In her writings, as is noted by Barnard and Barnard: 'every opportunity was taken to pay tribute to him, often in disputes in which the contrary view is put by one person, who is worsted by the Duke's admirer' (Barnard, Barnard 2007: 368). This is certainly true of *Shirley* and *The Professor*, whose characters often engage in carefully constructed political debates. The above quotation from *Shirley* is taken during a disagreement between Helstone and *Shirley's* Belgian-born protagonist, Robert Moore. Another similar situation occurs between Frances and Hunsden in Charlotte's earlier novel, *The Professor*, where a personal argument is compared to Wellington and Napoleon's battle at Waterloo. In her defence, Frances asserts: 'he [Wellington] persevered in spirit of the laws of war and was victorious in defiance of military tactics – I would do as he did' (P 2008: 200). These scenarios demonstrate Charlotte's unwavering heart: she gave voice to the critics of her idol before verbally bludgeoning them, reaffirming her unconditional devotion.

Considering Wellington's continued praise, it is no surprise that, just as in the

juvenilia,¹⁶ the language used to describe Napoleon is overwhelmingly negative. For example, in *Shirley*, those who were ‘shuddering on the verge of bankruptcy’ found Napoleon’s ‘insolent self-felicitations [...] on his continued triumphs [...] tedious’ (Brontë 2006: 161). They endured a ‘hopeless struggle against what their fears or their interests taught them to regard as an invincible power, most insufferable’ (161). As the analysis of Napoleon in this thesis has determined, this rhetoric is not unfamiliar. Charlotte is merely continuing her interaction with the menacing representations she and Branwell had built into their juvenilia, which, in turn, engaged with negative portrayals of France’s Emperor in the periodical press and influential biographies, as demonstrated previously in relation to Walter Scott’s *Life of Napoleon* (1827).

In this thesis, Chapter Two: ‘Wellington and Napoleon’ went further than literal representations and focussed on the transmogrification of Wellington and Napoleon into the siblings’ juvenilia, particularly as their sexualised second-selves, Zamorna and Alexander Percy. Embodiment of these two rivals continued to be an important part of Charlotte’s construction of fictional personalities: Wellington and Napoleon’s individual characteristics and rivalry were an imaginative, readymade plot and character device. Interestingly, despite her lifelong hero worship of the Duke of Wellington, it is Napoleon’s character that particularly inspired Charlotte in her later writing career. In her last novel, *Villette*, both Lucy Snowe’s Belgian love interest, M. Paul, and enemy, Madame Beck, embody the French Emperor. Madame Beck is described as looking ‘like a little Bonaparte in a mouse-coloured silk gown’ (*V* 2008: 143), whilst ‘heroically and inexorably’ ordering her female pupils away from the boys’ school across the yard (143). On the other hand, her teacher, M. Paul, embodies a more Romantic, Byronic form of Napoleon.¹⁷ In fact, he is more reminiscent of Branwell’s youthful embodiment

¹⁶ See Chapter Two: ‘Wellington and Napoleon’.

¹⁷ For a detailed discussion of Napoleon’s Byronic legacy, see the section on the ‘Late Renaissance to Restoration Period’ within the first chapter of this thesis.

of Napoleon, Alexander Percy. Like Percy – and in proxy Napoleon –¹⁸ who is both a revolutionary and threat to social order, M. Paul is described as an ‘intelligent tiger’ and ‘tiger-Jesuit’ (*V* 2008: 143, 474). These descriptions adhere to Voltaire’s general animalisation of common countrymen.¹⁹ In regard to descriptions of Napoleon during the Napoleonic Wars, Charlotte revises and remoulds representations of his power and menace and applies them in a personal teacher/pupil context:

I used to think, as I sat looking at M. Paul, while he was knitting his brow or protruding his lip over some exercise of mine, which had not as many faults as he wished (for he liked me to commit faults: a knot of blunders was sweet to him as a cluster of nuts), that he had points of resemblance to Napoleon Bonaparte. I think so still. In a shameless disregard of magnanimity, he resembled the great Emperor. M. Paul would have quarrelled with twenty learned women, would have unblushingly carried on a system of petty bickering and recrimination with a whole capital of coteries, never troubling himself about loss or lack of dignity. He would have exiled fifty Madame de Staëls, if, they had annoyed, offended, outrivalled, or opposed him (*V* 2008: 348).

Although these characteristics described by Charlotte are not in any way new or shocking, in this instance they take on new meaning. In the novel, comparisons with Napoleon are not counteracted with the virtues of Wellington, but offer standalone characteristics that, in their ugliness and animalism, paradoxically and explicitly ignite sexualised imagery of power. In one instance the protagonist, Lucy, remarks of her teacher: ‘He was roused, and I loved him in wrath with a passion beyond what I had yet felt’ (*V* 2008: 481). In her final years, Charlotte’s celebration of Napoleon’s role as Byronic hero had prevailed over his role as Wellington’s foil.

As well as Wellington and Napoleon’s literal legacy in the literature analysed in this study, the racial tensions between France and Britain manifest themselves in broader ways. Anne Longmuir’s article ‘Negotiating British Identity in Charlotte

¹⁸ Despite being best known for his role in the Napoleonic Wars, Napoleon rose to prominence as a Revolutionary during the Revolutionary Wars.

¹⁹ See John Wilson Croker, *Essays on the Early Period of the French Revolution* (1857), p. 554.

Brontë's *The Professor* and *Villette*' (2009) argues:

The Belgian settings in *The Professor* and *Villette* are not [...] merely a product of Brontë's own personal experience on the continent. Instead, they reflect both Brontë's own concern with the clash of British and French values and a particular mid-Victorian understanding of the significance of Belgium to British national identity (Longmuir 2009: 187).

Whilst recognising these tensions, Longmuir suggests that this mutual setting where French and British values collide is, moreover, symbolic of Charlotte's wish for reconciliation and offers a space where a new racially harmonious home may emerge (170, 187). Despite maintaining the public binaries of Wellington and Napoleon as arch rivals, Charlotte's negotiation of French and British peace is indicative of her wish for peace amidst war: a luxury that her brother did not grant in the juvenilia with his excessive lust for battle. In fact, this harmony could be an extension of Angria's post-war years of 1838–9, where Zamorna and Percy reconciled and the country was rebuilding. Even one of Branwell's last narratives imagined them both walking down the stairs, hand in hand as brothers.²⁰

Longmuir's article is positive in its outcomes and offers a form of Franco-British atonement. The idea, however, of a 'little Britain on the continent' conjures the darker elements of Charlotte's interaction with race. Longmuir argues that the Belgian setting of Brontë's texts provides a positive, self-conscious reaffirmation of British identity, however, in the context of the juvenilia it is more violent. Examples are put forward to evidence a self-conscious Britishness in Belgian topography. Notably, Longmuir references Frances and Crimsworth's union in *The Professor*, noting that their meeting place is 'English-looking': pastoral, with English plants (P 2008: 186). In *Villette*, it is noted that the Brettons furnish their Belgian home with furniture bought

²⁰ See Branwell's *Angria and the Angrians V(d)* (1838).

from England (178). Is this explicit colonisation not just the same as the Twelves arriving in Glass Town and battling the Ashantees in Charlotte and Branwell's original plays, or battling and conquering over France in *Wars of Encroachment and Aggression*? Whereas once it was necessary for Wellington and his son to be the conquerors, it now takes only the humble William Crimsworth and Lucy Snowe to establish Britishness in a foreign landscape. What is clear, however, is that the need for British colonisation has merely been displaced from Africa into Belgium. In the context of Wellington and Napoleon, the discussion has extended not just to their notability as figures, but to instead the legacies of racial tension itself and how, some years later, their rivalry has broadened to define entire nationalities. The war between Wellington and Napoleon thrives, both literally and in abstract forms of nationhood.

To conclude, this section has traced the relationship between war and militarism in the juvenilia through to Charlotte and Branwell's later works. Branwell remained interested in war, continuing his process of imitating and transcribing whilst engaging with the military on an emotional level. In regard to Charlotte, it is clear that, despite war and soldierhood in a literal sense being relegated to the backdrop of her imagination, its legacy impacts on events, themes and characters in her later writings. Although brief, this section seeks to provide new avenues for future research on Charlotte and Branwell's later works, whilst taking into account their lifelong interest in war and militarism.

Conclusion Part II:

‘My lord, you see it, you feel it yourself. In what state was Angria last year at this time? You remember it laid in ashes – plague and famine and slaughter, struggling with each other which should sway the sceptre that disastrous war had wrested from your own hand. And I ask, my lord, who had brought Angria to this state?’ (Brontë 2010:185).

This thesis has argued that Charlotte and Branwell Brontë are important social historians of and commentators on war in the early nineteenth century. Their eclectic and wide-ranging juvenilia offer one insight into the mosaic of facts, opinions and feelings on war that were circulating in early nineteenth-century British culture. From the literature they read, the siblings are able to provide an alternative social and cultural response to contemporary attitudes regarding war conflict, and masculinity. The juvenilia map an exciting (post)moment in history that saw the reactions and emotions of a war-torn nation explored through artistic outlets. Although this thesis has also demonstrated that these were exceptional siblings from an exceptional family who were exceptionally creative, their intellectual digestion of literature ranging from periodicals to soldiers’ memoirs allows their writing to capture a range of responses that were expressed by a wider writing public. Although the Brontë family had no direct experience of war, their willingness to learn and engage with others’ experiences of conflict, ranging from canonical reimaginings to opinionated media pieces and biographical accounts, transforms their superficial fantasy works into a multidimensional alternative history of war and militarism. The intense, multi-layered content within the juvenilia responds to many forms of new movements ranging from the birth of celebrity culture to the rise of the periodical press and from the proliferation

of the military memoir to newly published travel narratives relating to the Dark Continent.

The first contextual sections in ‘Chapter One: The Brontës’ Military Reading’ laid the foundations of this study, demonstrating the siblings’ knowledge of historical warfare. The first explained the siblings’ fascination with classical sporting culture and warfare. The second built upon these foundations, offering examples of their engagement with late Renaissance to early Restoration models of soldierhood, both comedic and satanic. The following section grounded their interest in the military within the recent Romantic moment, arguing that the Romantics’ ever-changing perceptions of, and allegiances to war encouraged them to develop their pro- and anti-war sentiments. Finally, deserving of his own section, Walter Scott is shown to have influenced not only their mythological and (medieval) romantic ideals of military chivalry but also their use of the ‘fog of war’ literary technique. Combined, these canonical influences demonstrate the complexity of the siblings’ understandings of war. Their inclusive juvenilia form multiple histories of war, bundled together to create a fantastical, yet deeply knowledgeable and sophisticated alternative history. The siblings piece together different timeframes of war and mould them into a hyper-saga that defies the limitations and evolution of war: the siblings are free-spirited social historians and commentators.

The main analysis of the thesis built on the foundations of the previous contextual sections. The following chapter, ‘Wellington and Napoleon’, acted as a gateway that led the thesis from contextual analysis to a detailed discussion of Charlotte and Branwell’s juvenilia. From hereon, the thesis mainly engaged with print culture of the contemporary moment, focussing on the periodicals, newspapers and publications of their time and how the Brontës were situated within this post-war opinion. ‘Wellington and Napoleon’ began by comparing post-war constructions of Wellington and Napoleon’s relationship in the press. Although these military titans never met, it became

clear how a media obsession with their opposition would have animated the public imagination. The remainder of this chapter presented Charlotte and Branwell's juvenilia as a lively interpretation of these media stimuli. The sections continued to emphasise that the Brontës were products and producers of this war-fuelled rhetoric. Their juvenilia provide an array of responses to various opinions and myths built by contemporary publications, and rework and reimagine Wellington and Napoleon's relationship through the evolving characters of their saga's rivals: Zamorna and Alexander Percy. This chapter aided the argument that the siblings were social historians of and commentators on war, providing one entry-point by which they were able to respond and contribute to post-war conversation by responding the viewpoints of the mass media. In this instance, they adopted the generally positive representations of Wellington and negative representations of Napoleon whilst also using their artistic licence to play with this media-constructed rivalry. By engaging with mass public opinion, the siblings are important case studies in a social history of celebrity culture and how the sensational outpourings of the media had the potential to impact and invigorate the public.

The final three chapters moved away from focussing on military personalities to war in a broad sense. The first of these chapters, 'The Napoleonic Wars', discussed Charlotte and Branwell's immersion in the military memoirs circulating in post-war Britain. It is through vicariously participating in this literary movement that, again, the siblings can be considered as social historians of and commentators on war. Reading and responding to personal experiences of soldiers opened the siblings' imaginations not only to the logistics of warfare but also the emotions of war itself. It also exposed the siblings to a variety of responses. Unlike the last chapter, which focussed entirely on the elites, this chapter demonstrated the siblings' deeper interest in war. Their juvenilia incorporate and mimic the voices of the everyday soldier, both through patriotic and

traumatic rhetoric. The memoirs act as the key to the siblings' highly intuitive understandings of the mentality of conflict. In a broader sense, their ability accurately to reflect this mentality demonstrates that the wider public had the potential to vicariously experience and vividly imagine the emotional toll that war brought to the male population. This chapter argued that the siblings, despite their age and surroundings, were able to recognise heightened and difficult states of being before they were sufficiently recognised in medical terminology. The final section of the chapter, which discussed early conceptions of war trauma alongside alcoholism, proposed that the siblings' descriptions of soldierly suffering in their juvenilia provide alternative insight into post-Napoleonic mentality.

The following chapter diverted the study away from the Napoleonic Wars, and Western territories more generally, and focussed on the First Anglo-Ashanti War. Although a minor conflict in comparison to Britain's previous war against France, the racial dynamics and exotic, sensational elements of battle made for thrilling reading in the periodical press. The chapter focussed on how Charlotte and Branwell incorporated colonial warfare in their juvenilia through characterisation, religion and location. The chapter added another dimension to the siblings' role as social historians of and commentators on war, this time arguing that their uncensored militaristic writings allowed them to explore racism in its extremity; replicating racist discourse of the period, they used war as a tool for fun and violent expression. This chapter argued that the colonial elements of the juvenilia act as an important source for understanding how the media had the potential to aggravate the public's negative reaction to racial conflict and racial stereotyping more generally. For the siblings specifically, it continued to emphasise that they were interested in multidimensional types of warfare: their war writings were knowledgeable, varied, and conscious of media-driven opinions that defined the historical moment.

The final chapter broadened the remit of this study from war to civil war and conflict more generally. Many important violent episodes within the juvenilia either concern internal wars between Royalists and Republicans, or are centred on uprisings and civil revolts. This provided the final layer of this study's argument: that the siblings are *all round* social historians of and commentators on war, understanding and replicating numerous forms of conflict. The chapter began by contextualising two wars that influenced the siblings' fascination with revolt: the American War of 1812 and the French Revolution. Although not as important as the Napoleonic Wars – which each war led into – they were both instrumental in the siblings' construction of revolutionary characters and violent insurrections. The remainder of the chapter concluded the study within the siblings' home territory: Haworth and the north of England. Despite international peace, the Brontës' upbringing in times of economic, political and social turbulence impacted on their writings. Their saga acknowledges the plight of their local topography – from industrial revolts to war-weary soldiers wandering the landscape – emulating post-war states of feeling. Their collective understandings of civil conflict provide an alternative history of post-Napoleonic Britain: the siblings' writings offer a valid, creative perspective on what it was like living in a war-torn nation.

Finally, the first concluding section of this study offered brief insights as to how this thesis's research ties into Charlotte and Branwell's later work. After exploring Branwell's Angrian afterlife, Charlotte's late published works were critiqued. Divided into three sections – Silent Soldiers, Military Masculinity and Wellington and Napoleon – the remainder of this chapter tracked how the legacy of war in the juvenilia is filtered through to Charlotte's mature works and dispersed. It is this final section that consolidated this study's findings and suggested foundational ideas through which future scholars might conduct research relating to how conflict and masculinity are constructed in the Brontë imagination.

In summation, the various chapters of this thesis promote Charlotte and Branwell's juvenilia as an important socio-historical source that responds to and reworks the opinions and feelings circulating in post-Napoleonic Britain. This thesis has revealed a new line of enquiry in Brontë scholarship and has historically grounded popular topics of discussion associated with the Brontës' later works, such as masculinity and violence. It is clear that Charlotte and Branwell Brontë's early writings offer a new lens through which present day scholars can view and understand the post-war social and cultural climate of early nineteenth-century Britain.

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