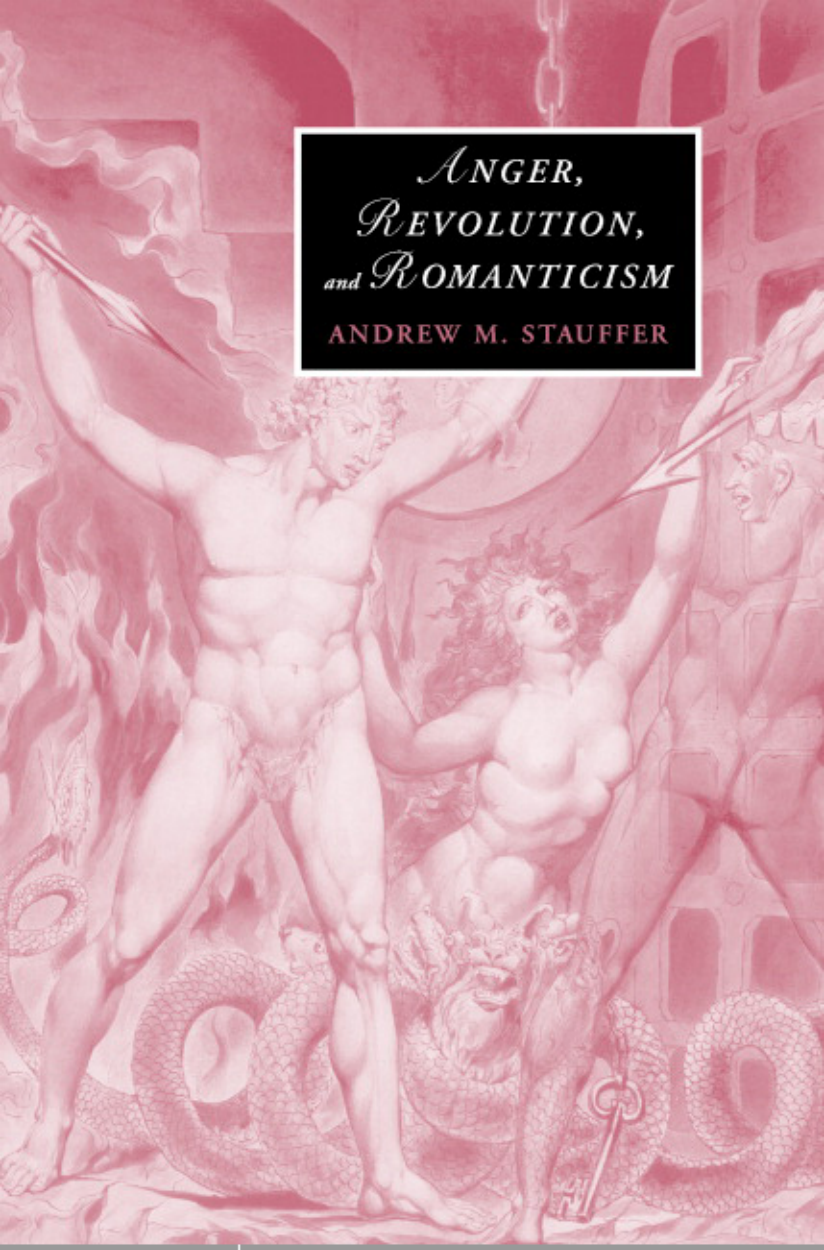

Anger, Revolution, and Romanticism

ANDREW M. STAUFFER

CAMBRIDGE

more information - www.cambridge.org/9780521846752

This page intentionally left blank

ANGER, REVOLUTION, AND ROMANTICISM

The Romantic age was one of anger and its consequences: revolution and reaction, terror and war. Andrew M. Stauffer explores the changing place of anger in the literature and culture of the period, as Englishmen and women rethought their relationship to the aggressive passions in the wake of the French Revolution. Drawing on diverse fields and discourses such as aesthetics, politics, medicine, and the law, and tracing the classical legacy the Romantics inherited, Stauffer charts the period's struggle to define the relationship of anger to justice and the creative self. In their poetry and prose, Romantic authors including Blake, Coleridge, Godwin, Shelley, and Byron negotiate the meanings of indignation and rage amidst a clamorous debate over the place of anger in art and in civil society. This innovative book has much to contribute to the understanding of Romantic literature and the cultural history of the emotions.

ANDREW M. STAUFFER is an Assistant Professor of English at Boston University. He has published on nineteenth-century British literature in *Studies in Romanticism, Keats–Shelley Journal, Victorian Literature and Culture* and *Victorian Poetry*. He was awarded a fellowship from the National Endowment for the Humanities to complete *Anger, Revolution, and Romanticism*.

CAMBRIDGE STUDIES IN ROMANTICISM

This series aims to foster the best new work in one of the most challenging fields within English literary studies. From the early 1780s to the early 1830s a formidable array of talented men and women took to literary composition, not just in poetry, which some of them famously transformed, but in many modes of writing. The expansion of publishing created new opportunities for writers, and the political stakes of what they wrote were raised again by what Wordsworth called those 'great national events' that were 'almost daily taking place': the French Revolution, the Napoleonic and American wars, urbanization, industrialization, religious revival, an expanded empire abroad and the reform movement at home. This was an enormous ambition, even when it pretended otherwise. The relations between science, philosophy, religion, and literature were reworked in texts such as *Frankenstein* and *Biographia Literaria*: gender relations in *A Vindication of the Rights of Woman* and *Don Juan*: journalism by Cobbett and Hazlitt: poetic form, content, and style by the Lake School and the Cockney School. Outside Shakespeare studies, probably no body of writing has produced such a wealth of response or done so much to shape the responses of modern criticism. This indeed is the period that saw the emergence of those notions of 'literature' and of literary history, especially national literary history, on which modern scholarship in English has been founded.

The categories produced by Romanticism have also been challenged by recent historicist arguments. The task of the series is to engage both with a challenging corpus of Romantic writings and with the changing field of criticism they have helped to shape. As with other literary series published by Cambridge, this one will represent the work of both younger and more established scholars, on either side of the Atlantic and elsewhere.

For a complete list of titles published see end of book.

ANGER, REVOLUTION, AND ROMANTICISM

ANDREW M. STAUFFER

CAMBRIDGE
UNIVERSITY PRESS

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS
Cambridge, New York, Melbourne, Madrid, Cape Town, Singapore, São Paulo

Cambridge University Press
The Edinburgh Building, Cambridge CB2 2RU, UK

Published in the United States of America by Cambridge University Press, New York

www.cambridge.org
Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9780521846752

First published in print format 2005

ISBN-13 978-0-511-11354-3 eBook (NetLibrary)
ISBN-10 0-511-11354-4 eBook (NetLibrary)

ISBN-13 978-0-521-84675-2 hardback
ISBN-10 0-521-84675-7 hardback

For Mom and Dad,
and for Zahr and Layth

Contents

Acknowledgments

Many hands have helped guide mine as this book grew. Thanks first to Chip Tucker, Jerry McGann, and Paul Cantor, whose very different kinds of inspiration and advice made it possible, and then helped me make it better. They are my teachers, and along with Mark Edmundson, Robert Langbaum, Michael Levenson, Vicki Mahaffey, David McWhirter, and Jim Nohrnberg, they opened my eyes. Thanks also to fellow Romanticists at Boston University, Chuck Rzepka and David Wagenknecht, who were very generous with their help, as indeed were a number of Boston University faculty members, particularly Christopher Decker, Christopher Ricks, John Paul Riquelme, and James Winn. My colleagues at California State University, Los Angeles deserve gratitude, with special recognition to Alfred Bendixen, Peter Brier, Michael Calabrese, John Cleman, Michelle Hawley, and Steve Jones. In addition, I would like to thank my students at Boston University and California State University, Los Angeles, who have energized my thinking about the matters set forth herein, and so much else. Other sources of happy influence include Peter Accardo, Neil Arditi, Bernard Beatty, Alison Booth, Charles Choi, Anne Coldiron, Clark Davis, Jim Epstein, Alina Gharabegian, Kevin Gilmartin, Marilyn Gaull, Andy Franta, Anup Ghosh, Dennis Kezar, Paul Kirkitelos, Michael O'Neill, Cara Norris, Martha White Paas, Paul Perrone, Seamus Perry, Don Reiman, Russ Schweller, Jim Soderholm, David Vander Meulen, Swen Voekel, and Jim Wamsley. It troubles me to imagine what the book would look like without the contributions of these friends and colleagues, all giants in the earth.

This project was supported by a fellowship from the National Endowment for the Humanities, and my thanks go to that organization and the reviewers of my application. At an earlier stage, a generous grant from the Bradley Foundation allowed me to pursue research in England. In addition, welcome support came from DuPont fellowships administered by the English Department at the University of Virginia, and from the

College of Arts and Sciences and the English Department at California State University, Los Angeles. The writing of this book depended on the following libraries and the people who work there: the Huntington Library, the British Library, the New York Public Library, Butler Library at Columbia University, the Widener and Houghton Libraries at Harvard University, and (most of all) Alderman Library at the University of Virginia. Thanks also to Boston University for consistently supporting me and my work as the project was completed.

A special thank-you to Linda Bree at Cambridge University Press for having faith in this book and for seeing it through, to Josie Dixon for first showing an interest in it, and to series editors Jim Chandler and Marilyn Butler for their continual support. I'm also immensely grateful to Joanna Breeze and Maartje Scheltens, who faithfully saw this book through production, and to Audrey Cotterell, who copy-edited the manuscript with a keen and patient eye. I'm also very grateful for my two anonymous readers, whose excellent advice helped me shape the argument and its presentation.

I have presented sections of this book at various conferences, including the North American Society for the Study of Romanticism, the American Conference on Romanticism, the Wordsworth Summer Conference, and the International Byron Society Conference; my thanks to all who offered questions and contributions on these collegial occasions. A shorter version of chapter 4 appeared in *Studies in Romanticism* 39 (Winter 2000) and is reprinted by permission of the Trustees of Boston University. Chapter 5 appeared in an altered form in *Keats–Shelley Journal* 49 (2000) and is reprinted by permission of the editor. Sections of the introduction and chapter 6 were included in *Romantic Passions*, edited by Elizabeth Fay (1998), part of the Romantic Praxis series on the Romantic Circles website (www.rc.umd.edu/praxis); that material is reprinted here by permission.

A closing word of thanks to the people to whom this book is dedicated: my parents George and Libby, whose love and support never falters; my wife Zahr, my greatest friend and teacher, who helped me and this project in countless happy ways; and our dear son Layth, forthcoming as this book was being born.

Abbreviations

BLJ	Lord Byron, *Byron's Letters and Journals*, ed. Leslie A. Marchand. 13 vols. London: John Murray, 1973–94.
CPW	Lord Byron, *The Complete Poetical Works*, ed. Jerome J. McGann. 7 vols. Oxford: Clarendon, 1980–93.
E	William Blake, *The Complete Poetry and Prose of William Blake*, ed. David Erdman. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982.

Introduction: fits of rage

> The men who grow angry with corruption, and impatient at injustice, and through those sentiments favour the abettor of revolution, have an obvious apology to palliate their error; theirs is the excess of a virtuous feeling. At the same time, however amiable may be the source of their error, the error itself is probably fraught with consequences pernicious to mankind.
>
> – Godwin, "On Revolutions," *Enquiry Concerning Political Justice*, 1793

> And the just man rages in the wilds
> Where lions roam.
> – Blake, "The Argument," *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell*, 1789

In the latter part of the eighteenth century, two closely related developments in Europe changed utterly the functions and forms of anger in public discourse. First, the French Revolution inspired intense debate over anger's role in, and in creating, new forms of civil society. From its beginnings, the Revolution was centered in an assertion that the anger of the people deserved respect, and had a legitimacy of its own. Yet as they democratized anger, the Revolution and the Terror demonstrated the dangers of unbounded public rage, leaving conflict an ambiguous inheritance for English writers.[1] Second, the periodical press began a phase of rapid expansion that transformed the substance, style, and reach of the public voice. Printing technologies allowed for the dissemination of angry rhetoric across lines of class and nation, and helped establish the right of an outraged people to redress. The democratization of anger meant that learning to marshal the emotions of the populace took on new urgency, and the press was there to step into the breach. By way of anger, the newly emergent media discovered its demagogic powers; and the fight in England over the French Revolution became simultaneously a fight over the place of angry words and deeds in the modern liberal state.

This book aims to elucidate connections between these phenomena and the contours of Romantic literature in England. In that country particularly, where large-scale revolutionary violence never took place, the printing press became the field of contention upon which the political struggles of the age played themselves out; the rhetoric of anger became central. For Romantic-period writers, anger was a vexed locus of rational justice and irrational savagery, and determining its place in society and in their own work as a tool or weapon confronted them as an urgent task: how did rage fit, and what relation did fits of rage have to "fyttes" of poetry? The simultaneous importance and difficulty of writing anger make that emotion a revealing pressure point of literary history, particularly in this period when the issue of anger was so plainly and troublingly visible in Paris, Lyons, and the Vendée.

Bringing various modes of inquiry to bear on the study of anger, this book attends to the epistemology of a specific emotion in the Romantic period. We now have a growing body of interdisciplinary work on the history and theory of emotions in general (including important studies by Martha Nussbaum, Philip Fisher, William Reddy, and David Punter, among others), much of which has made the case for the value of emotions to moral and ethical judgments, particularly by examining them in relation to historical and literary contexts.[2] And while scholarly studies have appeared on the representation of anger and hatred in England in the Middle Ages,[3] the Early Modern period,[4] and the Victorian era,[5] little attention has been given to Romantic anger. Indeed, critical studies of the emotions in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century literature and culture have thus far tended to emphasize grief, melancholy, and (in relation to both the gothic and the sublime) fear.[6] Closer to my interests is John Mee's recent work on Romantic "enthusiasm," which shares some of the emotional and cultural dynamics of anger, particularly in relation to questions of revolution and irrationality; he writes, for example, that "enthusiasm . . . remained haunted by the fear of combustible matter within both the individual and the body politic."[7] In a similar fashion, I begin by assuming the value of reading the angry passions in their Romantic and revolutionary contexts.

My interpretive work on the literature of this period thus follows and extends paths laid down by historicist-minded critics who have read the imaginative products of the period as figuring particular social and cultural pressures (e.g., the work of Marilyn Butler, Marjorie Levinson, Jerome McGann, Alan Liu, and James Chandler).[8] In addition, this book makes an alliance with two strands of scholarship: firstly, with the powerful current of English radical culture studies that itself has been

energized by its increased attention to discourse as a political act (e.g., the work of Olivia Smith, David Worrall, James Epstein, Marcus Wood, and Kevin Gilmartin);[9] and secondly, with French Revolution studies in the wake of François Furet, who executed a Toquevillian turn away from Marxist historiography towards the political analysis of the Revolutionaries' contingent self-representations and semiotic practices (e.g., the work of Mona Ozouf, Lynn Hunt, and Keith Michael Baker).[10] Recent work that pursues a similar agenda includes Simon Bainbridge's *British Poetry and the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars*, Philip Shaw's *Waterloo and the Romantic Imagination*, and Gillian Russell's *The Theatres of War*, all of which trace the nervous involvement of Romantic discourse and art with an historical context in which conflict was both a dominant fact and an imaginative preoccupation.[11] Focusing on a specific emotion within this context, I pursue a cultural history of concern over anger, and chart the literary repercussions of that concern.

I direct my attention to three intertwined categories of influence with regard to Romantic anger: political history, literary history, and an aggregate of discipline-specific conceptions and rhetorics under the heading of the history of ideas. First, the French Revolution and its English reception produced a politically supercharged conception of the angry passions. Second, as Romanticism developed in the wake of Augustan satire, the sensibility tradition, and the cult of the sublime, it mandated certain formal and imaginative transvaluations of anger in literature – and thus of literature itself. Finally, changing attitudes in legal, medical, and moral-philosophical contexts not only registered political pressures, but also contributed to the culture of wrath that was the Romantics' inheritance. Viewing these many influences, we may fairly say that the Romantic articulation of anger was an overdetermined affair, one that reveals much about the wrenching transition of these years that witnessed the birth of modernity. The literary work of the period becomes the conduit leading from the eighteenth-century imagination of anger to our own.

In political terms, the Romantic movement in England has been perpetually associated with the French Revolution and its Napoleonic aftermath. In addition to citing such topical works as Wordsworth's *Prelude* and Blake's *The French Revolution*, readers have often felt a larger "spirit of the age" animating Romantic literature, and visible as a dialogue between forces of rebellion and reaction: Orc and Urizen, Prometheus and Jupiter, Cain and Jehovah. In recent decades, historically minded critics have elucidated the ways that this dialogue was variously inflected by its specific cultural and discursive contexts, particularly in regard to English radicalism and the periodical press. Indeed, the last two decades

of Romanticist scholarship have witnessed a remarkable outpouring of commentary and information regarding the 1790s, particularly in regard to English political culture and the public sphere.[12] In part, this book continues this line of investigation, examining certain structures of language visible in the Revolution debates and beyond. As we will see, these structures had far-reaching implications for the Romantic articulation of anger. Not only was the Revolution itself all but constituted, and certainly punctuated, by spectacular displays of rage, but the argument in England was also conducted in tones of increasing acrimony as the decade wore on. What's more, anger itself was pointedly at issue in a debate that began with Edmund Burke's outraged *Reflections on the Revolution in France* (1790), and halted only with the passage of laws forbidding further public dissent.[13] The conceptual and political positions emergent from this cacophonous argument became the most influential legacies of the French Revolution to writers of the Romantic era.

Put another way, the 1790s in England witnessed a large-scale redefinition of anger in public consciousness, due primarily to the influence of the Revolution and the ways it was discussed. Chapters 2, 3, and 4 of this book illustrate various aspects of this process, by which anger was generally demonized as irrational, destructive rage – as an all-but-uncontrollable passion visited upon its victims. In the political, medical, and legal discourse of the period, we find a remarkable alignment of changing attitudes towards rage in the wake of the Revolution, as if the fear of popular anger washed over the entire culture and altered the landscape of the mind. It begins in the Revolution debates, in a rhetorical struggle over indignation: both sides want to claim this position by ascribing ferocious rage to their opponents. As a result, indignation becomes a moral stance detached from the emotion of anger as such, which is firmly identified as a dangerous loss of self-control. This outcome is mirrored, at the level of metaphor, in a change in post-Revolutionary medical theory and practice: raging inflammations (or "angry" swellings) are reconceived as destructive diseases rather than purgative symptoms. Bleeding thus comes briefly back into fashion as a treatment for fevers, given the newly perceived need to suppress displays of rage. Analogies between the physical body and the body politic mark this conceptual shift. Finally, we see a similar alteration in legal discourse during the period, whereby provocation law defines angry outbursts as transports of rage during which the rational self is abandoned. This meant defendants bore less responsibility for crimes of passion, since (it was assumed) anger no longer involved rational judgment or implied forethought. Thus in a number of discursive

communities during this period, anger was thought of as, or as verging closely upon, uncontrollable rage.

My primary aim, while delineating the history of this redefinition of anger, is to show its impact on the work of Romantic-period authors. In the wake of Augustan satire, the Romantic poets developed their ambivalent attitudes towards angry art in concert with or in the immediate wake of the multitude of outraged voices in the periodical press.[14] Romanticism in England can thus be seen as a chorus of responses to the crisis that was brought about by anger's prominence in public discourse. Godwin, Coleridge, Wordsworth, Mary Shelley, and others provide important evidence of the various political and aesthetic pressures on anger for the post-Revolutionary author in England. However, it is Blake, Shelley, and Byron who stand closest to the heart of this book, because the imaginative and poetic programs of each are founded, however uneasily, on a particular species of anger. These three writers attempt to work beyond the limiting sense of anger they inherit from the English reception of the French Revolution. That is, they reject anger as something experienced passively as a visitation upon the self, and articulate angry emotions as positive and decisive enactments of the self upon the world. In so doing, they provide new ways of imagining the value of anger to a culture that has lost faith in that emotion. The literary work produced out of this commitment is characterized by generic experimentation as well, as these poets develop methods of presenting this essentially spectacular emotion in written form.

The question of anger's genre provokes first an attention to the history of satiric writing. Between the Augustans and the Romantics, Thomas Lockwood finds a widening split between satire and poetry: it is not that satire was not being written, but that critical canons were changing, dismissing wit, reason, and politics as components alien to "pure" poetry. Primarily under Rousseau's influence, English poetry came to be governed by an aesthetic ideology of (authorial) sincerity and (readerly) sympathy that prohibited the essential theatricality and confrontational implications of angry satire. As the voice of poetry became more disembodied and more isolated in order to avoid imputations of theatricality, anger – a violent passion that relies on tone, gesture, and facial expression for its communication to others – necessarily grew problematic for Romantic lyric poets, whose work assumes soliloquy and apostrophe as its ground. How does one perform anger without a body, a voice, or an established dramatic context? One answer is to write very strongly worded imprecations and curses; yet such an unlyrical strategy invites charges of overreaction and overacting, or madness and insincerity. The Romantic aesthetic

ideology made the composition of angry poetry a difficult and risky proposition.

Yet, like irony, anger often acts as an instrument of truth, pointing out injustices, betrayals, and false states of affairs, and seeking to even scores. So for the Romantic poets, angry satire was a highly rhetorical art and also a test of sincerity, a theatrical performance aimed at stripping away masks, an antithetical charade in the service of truth. It was by way of such contradictions that some Romantics found a place for anger in their imaginations of the literary. Scholarly activity of the past several decades has asserted the importance of satire to the Romantic period.[15] Steven Jones has declared that "satire can no longer be excluded from our representations of the period," and that "satire offers an important antithesis operating *within Romanticism* . . . it does not simply go away."[16] For one thing, amidst the political upheaval of the period, the popular press teemed with satiric poetry in the form of propaganda. In addition, we have always known that Byron and Shelley both wrote satires, and that Blake was driven by a satiric urge. Yet less clear have been the relations between anger and satire in the Romantic imagination.

One might begin to understand the Romantics' conflicted inheritance by looking to Juvenal, who in his First Satire implies that angry verse depends upon a split between the poet and the natural order of the world:

> quem patitur dormire nurus corruptor avarae,
> quem sponsae turpes et praetextatus adulter?
> si natura negat, facit indignatio versum,
> qualemcunque potest . . .

[Who can sleep when a daughter-in-law is seduced for money, / When brides-to-be are corrupt, and schoolboys practise adultery? / If nature fails, then indignation generates verse, / Doing the best it can . . .][17]

The conditional "si natura negat" prefaces anger's creation of verse, "qualemcunque potest," as best it can. That is, anger serves as an inspiring force for the satirist despite, or rather because of, a perversion of natural creative principles exemplified by the "sponsae turpes, et praetextatus adulter" of the previous line. In other words, unnatural times call for unnatural measures, of which angry poetry is one. Because Juvenal's declaration here is recognizable as a rhetorician's claim to unskilled sincerity, some translators render "natura" as "talent" or "wit," emphasizing the close ties between nature and reason in classical thought. Anger makes verse when nature, or the reasonable order of operations, fails in both the poet and society. Thus, even as it asserts its emotional sincerity, Juvenalian satire

repudiates organicism, and becomes the cursèd spite that proves the world is out of joint.

However, for the Romantic poets, the denial of nature that Juvenalian verse requires took on a new and unsettling dimension. Surveying Juvenal's reputation, Wiesen writes, "From late antiquity, when the satires first became popular reading matter, until the early nineteenth century, general opinion agreed that Juvenal's attack on the faults of contemporary society was prompted by a fiercely sincere hatred of . . . moral laxity."[18] This view came under attack as the Romantic cult of sincerity grew; also writing on Juvenal's reputation, E. J. Kenney observes, "With the Romantic movement came a concomitant distrust of rhetoric" and a pervasive "assumption that rhetoric connotes insincerity."[19] Thus Wiesen finds that "the reaction against Juvenal . . . was a perverse outgrowth of the nineteenth-century Romantic search for striking originality" ("Juvenal's Moral Character," 451) and William Kupersmith concurs: "Juvenal the insincere, hyperbolic rhetorician . . . is an invention of nineteenth-century criticism."[20] Juvenal's satiric anger came to be seen as anti-natural because conventionally rhetorical; and indeed, the satiric tradition generally fell under similar critique. Kenney maintains, "It is no doubt not accidental that the decline of Juvenal's fortunes in England was roughly synchronous with the virtual disappearance of formal verse satire" ("Juvenal: Satirist or Rhetorician?," 705). For the Romantics, the angry satirist was primarily a conventional and theatrical figure incapable of lyric sincerity.

Alvin Kernan demonstrates that the satiric tradition is one "not of Romantic self-expression but of self-conscious art, of traditions, conventions."[21] He cites John Marston as a satiric poet who "specifically disavows the lyric tradition" in a passage from *The Scourge of Villanie* (1599) clearly indebted to Juvenal:

> I invocate no *Delian* Deitie,
> Nor sacred of-spring of *Mnemosyne*:
> I pray in ayde of no *Castalian* Muse,
> No Nimph, no femall Angell to infuse
> A sprightly wit to raise my flagging wings,
> And teach me tune these harsh discordant strings;
> I crave no Syrens of our Halcion times,
> To grace the accents of my rough-hew'd rimes;
> But grim *Reproofe*, a stearne Hate of villany,
> Inspire and guide a Satyres poesie.[22]

Embracing his own anger, Marston rejects the natural and the supernatural as sources of poetry, a comprehensively anti-Romantic gesture duplicated by John Cleveland (1613–58) in his "On the Pouder Plot":

> I neede not call thee from thy miterd hill
> Apollo, anger will inspire my quill.
> If nature should deny, rage would infuse
> Virtue as mutch as could supply a muse.[23]

Amplifying Juvenal, Marston and Cleveland both make an exaggerated turn to their own anger as inspiration. These Renaissance satirists engage in rhetorical posturing, energetically unconcerned with questions of sincerity. Jonas Barish claims that Renaissance culture evinces a "frank delight" in "outward splendor" and spectacle, a "pervasive pleasure in the twin roles of actor and spectator."[24] Indeed, Cleveland emphasizes the link between rollicking exertion and rage, and presents himself as an angry, clownish performer. In "The Rebell Scot," he exclaims,

> Ring the bells backward; I am all on fire.
> Not all the buckets in a Countrey quire
> Shall quench my rage. A poet should be fear'd
> When angry, like a Comet's flaming beard. (*Poems*, p. 72, lines 5–8)

He further claims that, "Before a Scot can properly be curst, / I must (like Hocus) swallow daggers first" (lines 25–6). In these examples, Cleveland exaggerates his own theatricality, going so far as to relate himself to "Hocus," a conjurer or juggler, whose chosen mode of entertainment is his own anger. To be sure, Cleveland's poems express political convictions in no uncertain terms, but they reveal nothing so much as an obvious relish of performing his invective.

The anger in Cleveland, Marston, and other Renaissance satirists demonstrates the slippage towards theater common in poetic representations of anger. Having reached over the Augustans to claim their precursors in the Renaissance, the Romantics found they still had to respond to satire's challenges. The Romantics shouldered a burden of self-expression that included abiding anxiety over the sincerity of emotional communication in poetry. For them, angry satire embodied an anti-lyrical impulse grounded in mock sincerity, and thus had to be abandoned or transformed. Blake, Shelley, and Byron discovered ways to reshape their satiric inheritance as they struggled to incarnate the disembodied voice, and to convey the alienated perspective, of anger. However uneasily, they held onto their rage because they were convinced of the dialogic relation between anger and truth. Certainly satire had long been imagined as a weapon against deception and corruption. Furthermore, in the apocalyptic dawn of the French Revolution, anger promised to undermine false structures of power and reveal the true nature of humanity. In

the chapters that follow, I show that similar promises lie close to the heart of these poets' work.

Wordsworth, on the other hand, constitutes the absent center of this book. It may well be that the almost-complete lack of anger in his poetry, combined with his emergence as the representative Romantic poet, constitutes the strongest evidence of the anxieties surrounding that emotion in the Romantic period, as well as the cultural legacies of those concerns. In his recent study, *The Vehement Passions*, Philip Fisher sees Wordsworth as embodying the emotional tenor and allegiances of Romanticism: "In Wordsworth we can readily see the division of art between a poetry of elegiac loss, only in part recovered in memory, and a poetry of the sublime, with its center in experiences of fear. Wordsworth would, I think, stand here for romanticism as a whole. Its elegiac and sublime aspects locked in place a configuration of the passions around fear and mourning" (*The Vehement Passions*, 150). According to Fisher, a conception of the passions with fear as its representative case has held sway in Western thought ever since Wordsworthian Romanticism, displacing a former model in which anger was the template. Moreoever, he asserts that "Fear and anger sponsor opposite accounts" of the passions as a whole: anger "makes clear the relation of the passions to spiritedness . . . to motion, to confidence, and to self-expression in the world"; but

> when fear, rather than anger, is taken to be the template for inner life . . . Accounts of the passions . . . are preliminary to the therapeutic description of how the passions might be minimized or eliminated from experience . . . When fear is used as the template, as it was in Stoicism, the passions are taken as disturbances of the self . . . passive and opposed to action. (*The Vehement Passions* 14–15)

In Romantic-period culture, the aesthetic priorities of Wordsworthian Romanticism dovetailed with the demonization of anger in the political sphere to confirm this transition to fear as the representative passion. And, as Fisher demonstrates, we have only begun to consider the implications of this historical narrative for our understanding of the modern subject and the place of anger in post-Romantic culture.

In the 1805 *Prelude*, Wordsworth describes France in July of 1793 in language that reveals an essentially negative, though ultimately ambivalent, attitude towards anger:

> The goaded land waxed mad; the crimes of few
> Spread into madness of the many; blasts
> From hell came sanctified like airs from heaven.
> The sternness of the Just, the faith of those

> Who doubted not that Providence had times
> Of anger and of vengeance, theirs who throned
> The human understanding paramount
> And made of that their god, the hopes of those
> Who were content to barter short-lived pangs
> For a paradise of angels, the blind rage
> Of insolent tempers . . .
> And all the accidents of life, were pressed
> Into one service, busy with one work.[25]

That "work" is the work of the guillotine: here Wordsworth presents Robespierre's Paris as a city of madness, infected by "blasts from hell." "Sternness," "anger," "vengeance," and "blind rage" are prime movers of the guillotine's blade, like the "blast" of wind that makes the child's pinwheel "whirl the faster" as he runs (*Prelude*, 10:344–5). The allusion to Hamlet's words to the ghost – "Bring with thee airs from heaven or blasts from hell" (1.4.21) – evokes the spirit of vengeance abroad in France and Wordsworth's own ambivalence regarding it, even as it associates winds with both pestilence and song ("airs" and "blasts"). These "blasts from hell" produce the feverish rage of the Terror and also recall the "loud prophetic blast of harmony / An ode in passion uttered, which foretold / Destruction to the children of the earth / By deluge yet at hand" in Wordsworth's dream of the Arab (5.96–99). In other words, the passage presents a complex amalgam of human and divine wrathfulness, transposed rhetorically onto nature: the winds and the "goaded land." Alan Liu has made the case that Wordsworth turned to nature as "a blind or screen" after confronting acts of Revolutionary rage, in order to return "the facts of historical violence to the status of the ghostly" (*Wordsworth: The Sense of History*, 166). This insight has wider application to Wordsworth's processing of anger, an emotion that haunts his poetry by its absence.

In later, more directly political poetry, Wordsworth has little use for anger, particularly that of "the people." For example, in a poem called "The Warning," written in 1833, he laments over those agitating for the passage of the Reform Bill:

> Lost people, trained to theoretic feud!
> Lost above all, ye labouring multitude!
> Bewildered whether ye, by slanderous tongues
> Deceived, mistake calamities for wrongs;
> And over fancied usurpations brood,
> Oft snapping at revenge in sullen mood;
> Or, from long stress of real injuries fly

> To desperation for a remedy;
> In burst of outrage spread your judgements wide,
> And to your wrath cry out, "Be thou our guide."[26]

For Wordsworth, the tygers of wrath are clearly not wiser than the horses of instruction; and when the people allow themselves to be guided by anger, they become bewildered, deceived, mistaken, desperate, and lost. Such an attitude towards public wrath owes a great deal to his experience of the French Revolution and the Terror, and also to his disapproval of the angry rhetoric of the popular press, that "theoretic feud" of "scandalous tongues" leading the citizens astray. As Wordsworth wrote in response to what he saw as Carlyle's overly enthusiastic account of the French Revolution, "Hath it not long been said the wrath of Man / Works not the righteousness of God?"[27] The agitation surrounding the Reform Bill was England's version of the Revolutionary conflicts in France, and Wordsworth saw in both only a blind outrage dangerous to the people and the nation. For many writers of the Romantic period, his attitudes towards anger became the nation's common stock.

The basic (and indeed, perennial) question that haunts these decades is this: what is the relationship of anger to authenticity and justice? For the eighteenth-century moral philosophers of sensibility (i.e., Locke, Hume, Shaftesbury, Hutcheson, Adam Smith, Ferguson, and Kames), human emotions were the very groundwork of the moral sentiments; and the Romantics grew out of this tradition of thinking. William Reddy has argued in *The Navigation of Feeling* that the late-eighteenth century sentimentalist answer was grounded in a firm belief in the rightness of one's personal feelings. One can see this operating, for example, in *Emile* (1762), wherein Rousseau presents a revealing tableau of a child being beaten, and gives a sentimental reading of the scene:

> I shall never forget seeing one of these troublesome crying children thus beaten by his nurse. He was silent at once. I thought he was frightened, and said to myself, "This will be a servile being from whom nothing can be got but by harshness." I was wrong, the poor wretch was choking with rage, he could not breathe, he was black in the face. A moment later there were bitter cries, every sign of the anger, rage, and despair of this age was in his tones. I thought he would die. Had I doubted the innate sense of justice and injustice in man's heart, this one instance would have convinced me.[28]

For Rousseau, the child's rage signifies an "innate sense of justice," a reading that equates natural emotions with virtue in a way Reddy sees as typical in eighteenth-century France until the fall of Robespierre. The

onset of the Terror, to the accompaniment of sentimentalist rhetoric of the natural moral sense and the passionate human heart, caused this discourse of emotion to collapse, making way for a Romantic-era world in which "virtue was regarded as an outgrowth of the exercise of the will, guided by reason, aimed at disciplining passions" rather than encouraging them (*The Navigation of Feeling*, 216). Reddy writes of this sudden alteration, "For a few decades, emotions were deemed to be as important as reason in the foundation of states and the conduct of politics. After 1794, not only was this idea rejected, even its memory was extinguished" (143).[29]

I mean to offer a number of windows on the English history of this transition, focusing on the ways anger was expressed and discussed in the Romantic period and presenting a composite picture of angry discourse as a contextual field for Romantic poetry. By way of background, the book's first chapter conducts a survey of the literary-historical field of anger as it tends towards the work of the Romantic poets. I take Seneca and Juvenal as representative of two opposing traditions of anger (briefly, madness versus justice), and examine the issue of angry rhetoric with regard to the aesthetics of the sublime, beginning with Seneca, whose denunciations of anger in *De Ira* are matched in vehemence only by the angry soliloquies of his tragic characters such as Medea. Reading Seneca by way of Longinus (which is what English writers on anger began to do in the eighteenth-century), we can see the beginnings of angry speech as sublime performance and empowering transgression, an aesthetic that Juvenal comes to embody. Here also we find questions of sincerity and calculation that surround the classical idea of anger inherited by the Augustans, and ultimately confronted by the Romantics. However, when Burke and Kant replace Longinus as theorists of the sublime in the mid-eighteenth century, the role of anger in poetry begins to change. Instead of Pope's acerbic and enlarging outrage, sincere terror, experienced in response to some external angry figure, becomes the favored emotional pathway to sublimity. The wrathful Jehovah of the Old Testament focuses the displacement of anger, as seen in the writings of Dennis, Warton, and others. Furthermore, the poetry of sensibility – Collins, Gray, Cowper – also enacts this transition from anger to fear. The Romantics thus inherited an aesthetic that demanded distance from one's anger, even as it seemed to require sensibility, true feeling. This paradox determined their engagements with anger as a poetic mode, and set the stage for the influence of the French Revolution and the Terror on their work.

Chapter 2 begins by examining the ways in which the fight in England over the meanings of the French Revolution was simultaneously a fight over the place of public anger in the modern liberal state. Ultimately, in a period intensely interested in the causes and consequences of anger, just indignation is firmly separated from anger per se, which is made equivalent with irrational rage. This choice resonates with the Juvenalian–Senecan distinction of the first chapter, and points to similar divisions determining anger in the Romantic imagination. After showing how this process of reconceptualization resonates strongly through the writings of Burke and his respondents in the Revolution debates, I turn to the work of Coleridge, whose conception of anger is intimately related to his culture's experience of revolution and war. On the one hand, he writes of anger as an invasive force that thwarts the will, a mad passion that operates like a violent storm or an attack of indigestion. In this sense, Coleridgean anger resembles the fearful, neo-Stoic attitude that grew out of the Revolution debates: anger as irrational rage, something like a disease. And like his fellow contributors to the debates, Coleridge envisions an aggressive engagement with error that would be productive and healthy for the political body, and avoid the dangers associated with the *enragés*. On the other hand, as a poet, Coleridge finds himself in states of inspired rage, or poetic frenzy, and thus has reason to court the energies, if not the polarities, of anger in his creative work. The "crash of onset" that the poet dreads in "Fears in Solitude" (*Poetical Works*, 471, line 38)[30] in fact dovetails with the "Rushing of an Host in rout" from "Dejection: An Ode," the former a figure for a sudden attack of violence, the latter an image created by a "mighty Poet, e'en to Frenzy bold!" (*Poetical Works*, 701, lines 109–11). Coleridge's writing is marked by this paradox of the Romantic era, when rage comes to be thought of simultaneously as invading enemy (a real concern during the Napoleonic years) and invited guest, whose welcome visitations are near the source of poetry.

In the book's third chapter, I look at inflammation as a conceptual and discursive category, and trace connections between political, medical, and literary uses of the term. In Romantic-era political discussions (by Coleridge, Thelwall, and many others), anger is almost invariably *treated* as if it were a disease or disorder, and the recommended therapeutic programs involve a conception of anger as inflammation or raging fever. Moreover, a split in the handling of this metaphor develops along political lines. Writers sympathetic to the Revolution interpret inflammation (i.e., popular rage) as a salutary symptom of a deeper imbalance, whereas counterrevolutionaries see such inflammation as itself a debilitating

disease of the national body. This split mirrors a contemporary medical debate over the pathology of inflammation: is it a healing effect (that should be encouraged to take its course) or a dangerous cause (in which case bloodletting becomes the order of the day)? The chapter then turns to the work of William Blake in order to show the way his poetry is influenced by these conceptions of anger and inflammation. I read Blake's work (e.g., *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell*, *America*, and *Jerusalem*) in the context of this discourse of inflammation, particularly as revealing his attitude towards revolutionary anger. Reading his work via inflammatory pathology illuminates thus the ways that wrath and revolution are enmeshed in the structure of the Romantic imagination.

Chapter 4 begins by reading Godwin's *Caleb Williams* in the context of the Revolution debates and legal history, showing how the novel bodies forth current attitudes towards provocation and crimes of violence committed in a rage. With particular attention to the novel's allusions to Alexander the Great, I show how Godwin imagined a common plot of anger determining the novel-as-narrative and the political scene of the 1790s. Caleb's allusion to the story of Alexander and Clitus invokes a kind of inexorable logic of provocation, eruption, and regret that Godwin evokes in his political writings as well. Yet the gothic allegiances of *Caleb Williams* betray the lingering fascination of Romantic-period authors with the spectacle of anger in the wake of the French Revolution. The chapter concludes with a reading of Mary Shelley's *Frankenstein* as a postwar sequel to these concerns. The discussion focuses on the issues of sympathy and vengeance that structure the novel, with particular reference to *The Sufferings of Young Werther* and the Romantic imagination of anger after Waterloo.

In chapter 5, I examine Percy Shelley's ambivalent representations of wrath as a satiric tool to unmask corruption, a tool which itself must be rejected as incompatible with his utopian imaginings. I relate this dynamic to a masque/anti-masque dialectic that determines the movements of works such as *Prometheus Unbound* and *The Mask of Anarchy*. In the face of injustice and falsehood, Shelley feels both anger and a revulsion at that emotion; the resulting poetry – and it comprises much of his work—involves pageants of rage and its retraction. Haunted by the degeneration of the French Revolution into a theater of cruelty, and yet prone to aggression in response to tyrannies, he works to find a use for anger that will not involve giving way to cyclical patterns of revenge. Shelleyean anger draws on a satiric tradition of revelation and abuse, and finds its strength in the act of unmasking—since evil, for Shelley, is almost invariably founded in deception, disguise, and hypocrisy. But Shelley forces his poetry to move

beyond the rough justice of satire towards a state of expectation and amelioration. He negates his poetry's angry outbursts, but only after they have cleared the air. These rituals of revelation have a corollary in the masques of Jonson and Milton, who use grotesque anti-masque material as contrast for harmonious visions of reconciliation. Thus Shelley portrays anger as both anti-masque and anti-mask: it is a violent stage that reveals hidden corruption and is then dispersed to make way for a millennial political vision wherein aggression has no place.

In the final chapter, I examine Byron's poetry and letters to illustrate the poet's sense of angry writing as a theater of revenge, which replaces readerly sympathy with a curious fascination. Unlike Godwin and the Shelleys, who present the tragic consequences of revengefulness, Byron turns to meditated hatred as a determining influence on his poetry. For the lyric speaker whose art depends upon a sincere and sympathetic voice, anger invites the encroachment of the dramatic and the juridical, and thus threatens to break down lines of imagined communion between poet and reader; Byron's poetry of anger performs a high-wire act on such lines. He typically pronounces his anger as a curse, and thus simultaneously performs and postpones vengeance in scenes of writing. As in the case of Wordsworth, the memory of loss shapes Byron's imagination, but rather than finding recompense within, Byron remains engaged with the past, never forgiving or forgetting those he holds responsible for his suffering. I argue that, paradoxically, the charges of theatricality that have clung to Byron's work arise from the sincerity of his rage, which disables both irony and sympathetic connections (and thus the appearance of sincerity) for his Romantic-era audiences.

In a very literal sense, Western culture begins with anger: the first word of Homer's *Iliad* names that emotion as primarily worthy of historical memory and epic attention. This book addresses a crucial moment in the history of anger, involving the advent of discursive practices and attitudes towards the passions that have shaped the modern world. At this angry nexus, the English Romantic poets labor to accommodate the aggressive passions to the demands of the creative imagination. An explication of this process necessarily raises larger questions: how are politics and the media bound up with our emotional lives? In what ways does art bear the scars of larger cultural struggles regarding its affective content? What place does anger have in the civilized precincts of *polis* and poetry? Coleridge once noted, "It is most true: we are all Children of Wrath."[31] Focused on Coleridge's era, the pages that follow explore the cultural inheritance attendant upon that powerfully vexing genealogy.

CHAPTER 1

Towards Romantic anger

The French Revolutionaries did not invent anger, nor did English writers of the Romantic period develop their conceptions of that emotion in isolation from its literary and philosophical past. When Blake writes of "wrath" or Byron of "vengeance," their language takes as a point of departure its pretexts, from the classical and Biblical periods through to their own. History may well have sculpted anger's articulation for the Romantics, but the clay itself was dug from the accumulated layers of thinking and writing in the Western tradition since Homer– with the eighteenth century and its particular attitudes uppermost. Thus, in order to understand the unique transformations that the events and exchanges of the period enjoined upon anger, we must first glance backward to gather the horizon of possibility within which these took place. Furthermore, if Romanticism is to be more than an historical descriptor roughly equivalent with the revolutionary spirit of the age, we have to attend to the aesthetic concerns that occupied writers even amidst, and sometimes athwart, their political interests and ends.

Romanticism is generally acknowledged to have emerged out of two parallel aesthetic movements or ideologies of the second half of the eighteenth century, both of which center on issues of emotional affect and transmission: sensibility and the sublime. Grief and terror were their foundational emotions, and in this chapter, I want to show how this meant that the Romantics inherited a tradition of thinking about (and writing in) anger that led to a seeming aesthetic paradox: how can a poet be filled with fury yet pleasingly terrified, enraged yet in control, angry yet a figure of sympathy to an audience? These dilemmas formed the unstable ground upon which the Romantics found themselves, newly pressurized by the discourse of the Revolution and the Terror.

In *Restraining Rage*, William Harris has surveyed the numerous and varied attitudes towards anger and its control in classical antiquity, tracing

the long tradition of concern over that emotion.[1] It turns out that, like most struggles, the debate over the value of anger has always been concerned with issues of boundaries and thresholds. Plato explicitly compares the spirited element of the soul (*thumos*) to the guardians of a city, who use anger to avenge injuries from without while limiting or moderating incursions of anger from within.[2] For both Plato and Aristotle, moderate anger in response to a perceived injustice can be a natural, even a rational and requisite, means of correction. In the *Nicomachean Ethics*, Aristotle sums up the classical ideal of emotional moderation: "Now we praise a man who feels anger on the right grounds and against the right persons, and also in the right manner and at the right moment for the right length of time."[3] Anger, kept within its proper bounds by reason and the will, delimited by multiple considerations of rightfulness and kept beneath the level of irrational overflow, helps define and defend the self.

Plato's banishment of poets from the ideal republic and Aristotle's subsequent defense of them in the *Poetics* both arise from a commitment to the control of potentially destructive human emotions. More specifically, both philosophers are concerned with the relationship of poetic texts to the overflow or eruption of immoderate emotion. Both name Homer the first of tragedians, thereby emphasizing the importance of poetic representations of anger to their debate.[4] *Menin*, the first word of the *Iliad*, means "wrath," and Homer's epic devotes itself to marking the evolution of this emotion in Achilles. In *The Republic*, Plato holds that, because the poet naturally imitates the extremes of emotion, "he stimulates and fosters this element in the soul, and by strengthening it tends to destroy the rational part" (11.10.7). Poetry, dealing in vehemence, encourages the growth and expression of strong emotion by example. For Aristotle, however, observation of poetic emotion provides for harmless release, or catharsis, of potentially violent passions. As W. Hamilton Fyfe summarizes Aristotle's position in the *Poetics*, "pent-up emotion is apt to explode inconveniently. What the citizens need is an outlet such as dramatic poetry conveniently supplied."[5] Both Plato and Aristotle see the individual and the populace as emotional pressure-cookers; Plato advises turning down the heat, while Aristotle is in favor of blowing off steam.[6] The role of poetry, particularly dramatic poetry enacted before a large audience, is central to both conceptions, which have been shaped by fears of an uncontrollable angry mob. As we will see in the chapters that follow, this prescriptive disagreement persists and acquires fresh urgency in the Romantic era in England.

The classical tradition of writing against anger culminates in Seneca's *De Ira* (*c.* 40–50 AD), perhaps the most influential treatise on the subject. For Seneca, anger is a sickness, "the most hideous and frenzied of emotions, " always to be eliminated.[7] Such is the path of the Stoic:

> The man who does not get angry stands firm, unshaken by injury; he who gets angry is overthrown . . . [The Stoic] will say, "Do what you will, you are too puny to disturb my serenity. Reason, to whom I have committed the guidance of my life, forbids it. My anger is likely to do me more harm than your wrong. And why not more? The limit of the injury is fixed, but how far the anger will sweep me no man knows." (3.25.2)

Yielding to one's feelings of anger amounts to transgression, a willful crossing of a line that involves one in an episode of expression with a logic of its own. Seneca condemns comprehensively here, but behind his diatribe against anger lies a terrified and seemingly exaggerated perception of its power: "There is no passion of any kind over which anger does not hold mastery" (2.36.6). Because of its "unbridled . . . ungovernable" (1.9.3) nature, anger once indulged threatens to engulf the self, leading to madness: "Never will the wise man cease to be angry if once he starts" (2.9.1). Faced with the perversity of the world around him, the wise man, the *vir bonus* or *vir sapiens* of satiric tradition, must respond with uninterrupted rage unless he continually checks his rising feelings and controls his tongue. The alternative, as Seneca sees it, amounts to an insane loss of control, an unlimited trajectory of anger.

The precondition of the Stoic attitude seems to be a radical permeability to passion, a profound sense of vulnerability to the promptings of the emotions. Stoicism sees itself as a protection of the self's integrity, its rigid exclusion of anger reminiscent of the no-alcohol policy for alcoholics. As Gordon Braden says, Stoicism is "informed by a drive to keep the self's boundaries under its own control," a kind of "inner imperialism."[8] As such, it reverses the Homeric ethos, in which the defense of the boundaries of the self is accomplished through outward action, and specifically through anger. Braden writes that Achilles resents Agamemnon's appropriation of Briseis, "because she is the outward demarcation of his *timê*, his martial honor and worth. Agamemnon has trespassed on almost physical territory, whose largely arbitrary markers are given their very real meaning precisely by Achilles' anger, the emotion that locates and maintains the borders of a kind of honorific self" (*Renaissance Tragedy*, 10). Seneca rejects the idea, held by Plato and Aristotle as well as Homer, that any boundaries can be maintained once anger exists, for

anger is precisely that which recognizes no limit: "If . . . anger suffers any limitation to be imposed upon it, it must be called by some other name – it has ceased to be anger; for I understand this to be unbridled and ungovernable" (*De Ira*, 1.9.3). In other words, in the Stoic conception, anger produces only chaos.

Seneca's priority as a theorist of anger rests in part on this thorough and uncompromising stance; *De Ira* became a rich deposit of anti-anger material that later writers could mine. However, its originality depends more heavily on its author's ambivalent fascination with anger: Seneca wrote *De Ira* while simultaneously composing some of the angriest tragedies in Western literature, which had their own extensive influence on English drama.[9] Moreover, his writings reveal that he was acutely aware of the rhetorical and aesthetic power of the spectacle of anger. For example, *De Ira* begins with an extended catalogue of anger's outward manifestations:

> you only have to behold the aspect of those possessed by anger to know that they are insane. For as the marks of a madman are unmistakable – a bold and threatening mien, a gloomy brow, a fierce expression, a hurried step, restless hands, an altered colour, a quick and more violent breathing – so likewise are the marks of the angry man; his eyes blaze and sparkle, his whole face is crimson with the blood that surges from the lowest depths of his heart, his lips quiver, his teeth are clenched, his hair bristles and stands on end, his breathing is forced and harsh, his joints crack from writhing, he groans and bellows, bursts out into speech with scarcely intelligible words, strikes his hands together continually and stamps the ground with his feet: his whole body is excited and "performs great angry threats"; it is an ugly and horrible picture of distorted and swollen frenzy. (1.1.3–5)

A more kinetic description can scarcely be imagined.[10] The angry man curiously approaches dance and song as he "groans and bellows, bursts out into speech . . . strikes his hands together. . . . and stamps the ground," literally making a spectacle of himself. For Seneca, anger is theater: its manifestations are energetic and dramatic, and we experience another person's anger as spectators. Anger becomes a violent, compelling performance, a ritual of self-expression that for Seneca is like the raving of a madman.

Yet by focusing on the angry person's loss of self-control, Seneca justifies the elimination of anger as an emotion without condemning it as a rhetorical mode: "'The orator,' you say, 'at times does better when he is angry.' Not so, but when he pretends to be angry. For the actor likewise stirs an audience by his declamation not when he is angry, but when he plays well the rôle of the angry man" (2.17.1). Seneca himself "plays well

the rôle" of the angry person in writing the denunciations of *De Ira*, as well as the furious soliloquies of a Medea. The genuinely angry person expressing his or her emotion will never do, ultimately because such expression amounts to self-absorbed verbal violence, rather than rhetorical manipulation of others. Seneca, following Aristotle, Cicero, and Horace, praises the orator who "pretends to be angry," who calculates each tone and gesture for its effect on his audience and thus retains control over himself and his art.

Typically, the apparently impassioned rhetorician makes a bid for affective command over his auditors through their mistaken sympathy; he cultivates tears so that they will weep. And although Horace avoids the issue of deception, his injunction in *Ars Poetica*, "si vis me flere . . . ," is complicated by Seneca's consideration of anger:

> He that would have spectators share his grief,
> Must write not only well, but movingly,
> And raise men's passions to what height he will.
> We weep and laugh as we see others do:
> He only makes me sad who shows the way,
> And first is sad himself; then, Telephus,
> I feel the weight of your calamities,
> And fancy all your miseries my own.
> But if you act them ill, I sleep or laugh.[11]

Unlike Seneca, Horace makes no distinction between actual and feigned emotion; the command to grieve, "dolendum est," implies that the poet must actually feel the emotion, but the warning against inept speech a few lines later, "male si mandata laqueris" (translated here as, "But if you act them ill"), conflates the poet's expression with the art of theater, or rhetoric. Because Horace concentrates on grief, his conception of audience sympathy remains simple: "We weep . . . as we see others do." He thus avoids Seneca's anxiety over sincere versus theatrical emotion. Anger, according to Seneca, quickly inspires revulsion and dismissal when out of control (i.e., sincere). But for Horace, such a reaction to another's grief comes only when that emotion is improperly acted, dimly represented, or consciously undermined: in other words, when it is not recognizable as grief. The question of sincerity doesn't seem important to Horace because an audience will readily respond with sympathy to displays of intense grief.

Not so for anger, a more threatening and potentially explosive emotion. Although Seneca does say, "we must pretend now anger, now fear,

now pity, in order that we may inspire others with the same" (*De Ira*, 2.17.1), Senecan anger ultimately resists the fellowship of Aristotelian fear and pity because of its unique relationship to observers. As we have seen, Seneca views the sincere expression of rage as "an ugly and horrible picture of distorted and swollen frenzy" (1.1.5) he finds no sympathetic feeling for those who are angry, *ergo* out of control. Unlike Horatian grief and Aristotelian fear and pity, Senecan anger rarely inspires sympathetic feeling in an audience, because sympathy is not its goal. Clearly, anger has importance in the rhetorical tradition (as *indignatio*), but its dynamics are more complicated than those of grief.[12] The angry orator can either be angry at his particular audience, in which case he wants to evoke feelings of remorse and fear, or he can be angry before them, so that they will come to share his feelings of anger and be moved to action against a common enemy. A third possibility haunts the other two: his anger may be wholly alienating, so that the audience either judges him insane and foolish, or is simply swept beyond both sympathy and judgment by the violence of the rhetoric. Seneca wants to expose his angry speakers as animals or madmen, and thus typically aims at this third goal.

Take, as an example, Seneca's description of anger personified:

> let us picture anger – its eyes aflame with fire, blustering with his roar and moan and shriek and every other noise more hateful still if such there be, brandishing weapons in both hands (for it cares naught for self-protection!), fierce and bloody, scarred, and black and blue from its own blows, wild in gait, enveloped in deep darkness, madly charging, ravaging and routing, in travail with hatred of all men, especially of itself, and ready to overturn earth and sea and sky if it can find no other way to harm, equally hating and hated. (De Ira, 2.35.5)

Such a figure is not a candidate for normal sympathetic response. Attempting to present *ira* in unattractive terms, Seneca creates a sublime tableau. *De Ira* is replete with such overpowering epic descriptions, and Seneca's tragedies present similar moments, in which we see the results of uncontrolled wrath. In the midst of their anger, his characters experience a dark glory in which the self is empowered beyond human limits, past all boundaries of meddling intellect. Arguably transformed into monsters by their own excesses, they nevertheless assume commanding postures by seizing the metaphorical initiative. Seneca's Medea flexes her own emotion in this manner:

> my madness shall never cease in its quest of vengeance and shall grow on forever. What ferocity of beasts . . . shall burn with threats such as I? No whirling river, no storm-tossed sea, no Pontus raging beneath the north-west wind, no violence of

fire, fanned by the gale, could imitate the onrush of my wrath. I shall lay prostrate and destroy all things . . . I will storm the gods, and shake the universe.[13]

Medea imagines her anger moving outward in an ever-expanding vortex of destruction. This is the "unbridled . . . ungovernable" anger of *De Ira*, an emotion that exists as transgressive transcendence, whose power ceases in the instant of repose. Seneca may be "playing the rôle" of an enraged woman here, yet clearly not in order to "inspire others with the same" emotion. His renditions of anger are intended to inspire very different responses, primarily those of revulsion; he hopes that the alienating effects of anger and violence will make such figures appear horrific and therefore monitory. However, the intensity of his presentations more often works to carry the reader beyond affective and cognitive responses in a transport that indicates the presence of the Longinian sublime.

Longinus' *Peri Hypsous* ([*On the Sublime*], 1st century AD) is primarily a study of rhetorical sublimity, a mode of writing in which the effect "upon the audience is not persuasion but transport."[14] Indeed, Longinus' lost work on the passions may well have countermanded Seneca's *De Ira*, for in *Peri Hypsous*, Longinus privileges the expression of violent passion as "intimately allied with sublimity": "There is no tone so lofty as that of genuine passion, in its right place, when it bursts out in a wild gust of mad enthusiasm and as it were fills the speaker's words with frenzy" (*On the Sublime*, 8.4). Seneca, in a Longinian passage discussing our response to literature, makes a similar point, but views it negatively: "Passion, consequently, does not consist in being moved by the impressions that are presented to the mind, but in surrendering to these and following up such a chance prompting . . . Anger must not only be aroused, but it must rush forth, for it is an active impulse" (*De Ira*, 2.3.1–4). For Seneca, a mind will inevitably be moved in the direction of anger by outward impressions, both from literature and life. Only when that impulse leads to demonstrable eruption, a "rushing forth" of violent action, is anger truly present. Yet Longinus defines sublimity as "passion . . . when it bursts out in a wild gust of mad enthusiasm" in the "speaker's words" and implicitly, in the reader's mind (*On the Sublime*, 8.4). For the reader, the Longinian sublime results from an interiorization of that rushing forth which overturns all obstacles, a sublimation of physical violence, the imaginative equivalent of an adrenalin rush. The reader's imagination, confronted with the onrush of the wrath of Seneca's Medea, "is uplifted by the true sublime; it takes a proud flight and is filled with joy and vaunting, as though it had itself produced what it has heard" (Longinus, *On the*

Sublime, 7.2). Thus, a strangely intense alternative to sympathy emerges, as the reader imagines the speaker's anger as his/her own.

As it did for Plato and Aristotle, Homer's *Iliad* serves as a model text for Longinus; he reads Homer as the model of sublime rage, a poet who, to paraphrase Pope's subsequent judgment of Longinus, is himself the great angry sublime he draws: "In truth, Homer . . . shares the full inspiration of the combat, and it is neither more nor less than true of the poet himself that 'mad rageth he as Ares the shaker of spears, or as mad flames leap wild-wasting from hill unto hill in the folds of a forest deep, and the foam-froth fringeth his lips'" (*On the Sublime*, 9.11). In depicting the destructive rage of Hector, Homer partakes of an identical fury. Neil Hertz has commented on Longinus' tendency "to override certain conventional lines of demarcation – between writers and their subject matter, between text and interpretation": that is, his stylistic and theoretical "transgressions of conventional limits."[15] Indeed, the Longinian sublime as enacted in the *Peri Hypsous* resides in such transgressions, which in turn transport the reader; for Longinus, crossing thresholds constitutes the sublime. In Thomas Weiskel's concise definition, "The essential claim of the sublime is that man can, in feeling and in speech, transcend the human. What, if anything, lies beyond the human – God or the gods, the daemon or Nature – is a matter of great disagreement. What, if anything, defines the human is scarcely less sure."[16] For Longinus, sublime excess is "the echo of a great soul" (*On the Sublime*, 9.2) rather than an indication of monstrosity. He depicts Homer as rabid with "the full inspiration of combat," a description that, if it appeared in other works of the classical period, would amount to severe condemnation. Certainly Seneca would have abhorred Longinus' privileging of the wild, the mad, the frenzied, and particularly the enraged.

Seneca in fact speaks directly to this issue, in a passage from *De Ira* that anticipates Longinus' claims for sublimity:

> And you must not assume this, either – that anger contributes anything to greatness of soul. That is not greatness, it is a swelling . . . All whom frenzy of the soul exalts to powers that are more than human believe that they breathe forth something lofty and sublime; but it rests on nothing solid, and whatever rises without a firm foundation is liable to fall. Anger has nothing on which to stand. (*De Ira*, 1.20.1–2)

The recurrent theme of Seneca's protest is the loss of control attendant upon episodes of anger. Unable to determine where anger will carry him or when the bottom will drop out, he rejects it, fixedly concerned with preserving his command over himself. Angry sublimity "rests on nothing

solid" and thus "is liable to fall"; the episodic nature of intense internal experience, like anger and sublimity, undermines Stoic firmness with unpredictable fluctuations. For Seneca, only when such anger is feigned, or delivered as dramatic rhetoric, can true sublimity be engaged.

Like Senecan anger, the Longinian sublime seems to operate under the sign of irrationality. E.R. Dodds, in *The Greeks and the Irrational*, also considers Homer's description of Hector here as a primary example of *menos*, an inspired and destructive fury that is both angry and sublime:

> When a man feels *menos* in his chest . . . he is conscious of a mysterious access of energy; the life in him is strong, and he is filled with a new confidence and eagerness . . . It is something much more spontaneous and instinctive than what we call "resolution"; animals can have it, and it is used by analogy to describe the devouring energy of fire . . . It is an abnormal experience. And men in a condition of divinely-heightened *menos* behave to some extent abnormally. They can perform the most difficult feats with ease . . . They can even, like Diomede, fight with impunity against gods . . . They are in fact for the time being rather more, or perhaps rather less, than human. Men who have received a communication of *menos* are several times compared to ravening lions; but the most striking description of the state is in Book 15, where Hector goes berserk (μαίνεται), he foams at the mouth and his eyes glow.[17]

The Longinian sublime is rhetorical *menos*; Longinus makes that identification explicit by attributing Hector's rage to Homer. The "spontaneous . . . devouring energy" of the berserker and the passionate enthusiasm of the sublime poet both exempt their bearers from human limits. The value of such transgressions, or what lies beyond the human, is, as Weiskel says, "a matter of great disagreement." Dodds's remark that those in a state of *menos* are "for the time being rather more, or perhaps rather less, than human," reveals his uncertainty as well. When sublime fury is the propellant, the arc of transcendence can appear to lead either upward to Longinian *hypsos* where man seems a divinely inspired minister of destruction, or downward to the chaos of Senecan *ira* where man seems a mad demon or a rabid dog.

By way of Seneca and Longinus, we discover the ground of the angry sublime: an oscillation or agon between rhetorical elaboration and irrational expression enacted within the text. For the author or speaker dealing in anger, sublimity amounts to maintaining figurative coherence and verbal complexity while presenting violent, theoretically ungovernable rage. Typically, as an emotion is felt more powerfully, rhetoric becomes more difficult; at the far end of our attempts to communicate emotion there is only sound: snarls of anger, sobs of grief, shrieks of fear.

Thus sincerity comes to equal incoherence, and rhetorical invention seems theatrical, often comic. W. H. Auden, writing on the poetic exchange of insults, notes the

> contradiction between the insulting nature of what is said which appears to indicate a passionate relation of hostility and aggression, and the calculated skill of verbal invention which indicates that the protagonists are not thinking about each other but about language and their pleasure in employing it inventively. A man who is really passionately angry is speechless and can only express his anger by physical violence. Playful anger is intrinsically comic because, of all emotions, anger is the least compatible with play.[18]

Theatrical or "playful" anger can seem a comic oxymoron: laughter deflates both anger and the sublime. Therefore, to maintain metaphoric control over the experience of anger while simultaneously yielding to its transports is to walk the high-tension wire of angry sublimity. The result is poetry produced out of cultivated anger: anger that is simultaneously encouraged and shaped. Out of this combination of heat and pressure, one's metaphors are continually transformed. As we have seen, Seneca thinks this feat impossible without invoking the dramatic: play the role of an angry man, and do the trick with mirrors.

It first appears that Longinus, in favoring "genuine passion" (*On the Sublime*, 8.4), reverses Seneca's recommendation that the orator imitate anger rather than feel it. Yet it becomes clear that, like Horace in *Ars Poetica*, Longinus approaches passion from a reader-response perspective. The sublime, as we have said, shifts from style to effect. Ultimately, sincerity in and of itself is unimportant to the effect a work has on an audience; the sublime is sufficient. As Suzanne Guerlac writes,

> Sincerity implies a truth value, or at least an intended one. It operates at the level of the *énoncé*. The sincerity effect of the sublime, which operates at the level of the enunciation, carries instead a "force-value" – an apparent force of conviction, which coincides with a force of seduction. In the Longinian sublime, sincerity and duplicity produce the same effect: transport, ec-stasis.[19]

Horace, in failing to discriminate between sincerity and duplicity, operates under a similar paradigm. As long as the "force-value" of the enunciation is able to move the audience, the truth of the *énoncé* remains beside the point; this is a general maxim for all orators, rhetoricians, and lawyers. Longinus, however, seeks "not persuasion but transport" (*On the Sublime*, 1.4), not simply to "move" an audience emotionally but to "transport" them beyond cognitive reaction, by means of an overpowering affective response.

Yet even for Longinus, the expression of violent passion is not an absolute good. He warns, for example, against what he calls *parenthyrsus*:

> By this is meant unseasonable and empty passion, where no passion is required, or immoderate, where moderation is needed. For men are often carried away, as if by intoxication, into displays of emotion which are not caused by the nature of the subject, but are purely personal and wearisome. In consequence they seem to hearers who are in no wise affected to act in an ungainly way. And no wonder; for they are beside themselves, while their hearers are not. (*On the Sublime*, 3.5)

The unifying moment of singularity which characterizes the sublime breaks down in response to *parenthyrsus*, which is apparently a lack of emotional concentration. In the sublime moment, the self must become a conduit; any residue of the "purely personal" gets in the way. In expressing one's anger, the poet must guard against the overreaction caused by matters exterior to the issue at hand; this is "wearisome" and "empty." Anything internal which will not contribute to the coherent affective nature of the expressed emotion should be eliminated from one's discourse. Thus, far from being a source of untrammeled emotional expression, the sublime author of anger, as Longinus conceives of him, must balance rage with rhetoric.

We learn from Seneca and Longinus that angry outbursts, unrefined by self-dramatizing rhetoric to a greater (Seneca) or lesser (Longinus) degree, have little chance of stirring an audience to anything other than disgust or embarrassment. Further, when angry rhetoric does succeed in producing a like emotion in its listeners, it typically does so not by the routes of sympathy typical to other emotions (like grief), but by means of the sublime. The audience partakes of the emotion in a moment of imaginative transgression and identification with the intensity of the angry rhetoric. Paradoxically, this intensity can be achieved only when the angry speaker modulates his sincerity with calculation.

In effect, Longinus returned to the Western world's consciousness with Boileau's translation of *Peri Hypsous*, which appeared in 1674 and, according to Samuel Holt Monk, reached its height of popularity in the first half of the eighteenth century.[20] As one editor of *Peri Hypsous* observes, "The days of Pope were the great days of the treatise" (Roberts, ed., Longinus, *On the Sublime*, 261). In fact, as early as 1677, Dryden was calling Longinus "undoubtedly, after Aristotle, the greatest critic amongst the Greeks."[21] It is with Dryden and Boileau that any inquiry into the fortunes of angry sublimity in the eighteenth century must begin, for they not only established Longinus' reputation, but also championed

Juvenalian acerbity over Horatian smoothness (Monk, *The Sublime*, 43).[22] Both Boileau and Dryden produced their own versions of Juvenal's satires, and both found in the vehement invective of Juvenal an instance of the Longinian sublime.[23] As Dryden writes in comparing Juvenal and Horace in "A Discourse Concerning the Original and Progress of Satire" (1692), "[Juvenal's] expressions are sonorous and more noble; his verse is more numerous, and his words are suitable to his thoughts, sublime and lofty. All these contribute to the pleasure of the reader; and the greater the soul of him who reads, his transports are the greater" (*Essays of John Dryden*, 11:2.85). Indeed, Dryden and Boileau were not alone in their ascription of sublimity to Juvenal. W. B. Carnochan and William Kupersmith have charted the progress of Juvenal's reputation in post-Augustan England as a function of his perceived sublimity. Further, Inez G. Scott, in a monograph devoted to explicating the Longinian *hypsos* of Juvenal's satires, finds in the rhetorical figures of Juvenal a "spirit of invective," an "unrestrained wrath," which "approaches the grand style because of its lack of restraint, its use of amplification, and its 'passion.'"[24]

Reading Juvenal by the light of Longinus reveals sublimity that is primarily rhetorical; the harangue of the Juvenalian satirist enacts the stylistic recommendations of the *Peri Hypsous*. Dryden says of Juvenal, "his soul is kindled, and he kindles mine" (*Essays of John Dryden*, 11:85).[25] Yet this communication of emotion is carried out in the sublime register rather than the normal sympathetic one. The reader is overawed by the vehemence and hyperbole of Juvenal's rhetoric, a moment of transport that, in the Longinian paradigm, results in sublime identification. Boileau and Dryden begin a tradition that favors Longinus and Juvenal over Horace, the genius of the Augustan Age, by locating intense passion as the mark of great poetry. As Carnochan observes, "When an eighteenth-century critic looks at Juvenal, the 'anger' or 'spleen' that pleased Dryden but offended many others comes . . . to be read as a spontaneous elevation of feeling, the sign of a free spirit" ("Satire, Sublimity, and Sentiment," 261) in which the reader can share. Indeed, by 1751, John Hill would write that Juvenal's "Admirers think him an angry Writer, whose Subject required him rather to tear to the Bone, than to play about the Imagination."[26] Juvenal's *saeva indignatio*, his sublime anger, was set against the urbane wit of Horace; and Pope, by cultivating his role as the English Horace, became known, however erroneously, as an enemy of sublimity and intense emotion.[27] Thus the eighteenth-century champions of Juvenal, from Boileau and Dryden forward, helped articulate the

anti-Augustan position so crucial to the Romantic movement, by finding in the satires a sublime anger that seemed the mark of poetic greatness.

The anger that structures Popean satire is rarely the ungovernable emotion of Seneca's *De Ira* or the irrationally creative *menos* of Longinus' *Peri Hypsous*. X. J. Kennedy speaks of the "coldly intense" hatred in Pope's poetry, which "instead of rushing headlong, stands back with its long slim foil and flicks off its victim's buttons."[28] And Donald Davie, after observing that, "Anger is beautiful; and the art that anger feeds is crisp and clear and bright, not the hulking and nebulous immensities of 'the sublime'", turns to Pope as his great example: "In . . . Pope, the anger is more than half contempt. This has to be so, if the anger is to be cleanly and completely discharged; the occasion of the anger is consumed clean away, never to be thought of again."[29] Davie follows Seneca, in the sense that he sees the loss of control of one's anger as aesthetically and personally destructive. A fear of "indistinct and murky" rage (*Trying to Explain*, 61) and the absence of self-control it implies leads him to the high and dry ground of the Popean satiric couplet, with its focused, biting, and ironic contempt – an emotion quite different from the "unbridled, ungovernable" anger of Seneca and the sublime. In this conception, Pope and Horace enact a healthy and restitutive process of anger by employing contemptuous ridicule, while Juvenal and Seneca's Medea, for example, engage in a tragic and melancholic circle of rage by refusing to relinquish their anger. Anger that *is* anger, not "more than half contempt," exacts a severe toll from its bearer because it cannot be easily "discharged."

As we have seen, both Horace and Seneca view anger as a brief madness, a loss of control that disables rational expression, while for Juvenal and Longinus anger is a primary tool of artistic communication, one whose irrationality enables its power. In the eighteenth century, the venerable choice between Horace and Juvenal as the first of satirists became a choice between measured comedy and frenzied tragedy, a development that Harold Weber has traced.[30] To choose Juvenal meant to privilege, according to John Dennis, "Anger, Indignation, Rage, Disdain, and the violent Emotions and vehement Style of Tragedy."[31] The aesthetics of the sublime, invigorated after mid-century by the theoretical modifications of Burke and Kant, grew in popularity through the post-Augustan age, intertwined with the surging fortunes of angry Juvenalian satire. Yet just as the eighteenth-century writers altered Juvenal, through acts of selective perception, to suit their own needs, so also did they modify Longinus, a process begun by Boileau's translation.

The eighteenth century saw the theoretical evolution of the sublime away from its Longinian beginnings. In the *Peri Hypsous*, the sublime style prompts the reader to submission that feels like strength. As John Dennis, writing in the early eighteenth century, describes the Longinian sublime, "It gives a noble Vigour to a Discourse, an invincible Force, which commits a pleasing Rape upon the very soul of the reader" (qtd. in Monk, *The Sublime*, 53). Yet as the century continued, theories of the sublime steadily retreated from authorial domination, exaggerating and extending Longinus' interest in the reader's experience of the sublime instead. In particular, the contributions of Burke and Kant, which emphasized the reader's experience of sublimity over the author's creation of sublime effects, provided for a reinterpretation of the sublime as a function of the natural world, a sublime "self-begot, self-raised"[32] that allowed readers to avoid the manipulative precedence of a Longinian creator. To be sure, the sublime moment in both Burke and Kant involves an implicit awful submission to some external scene. However, particularly for Kant, who deemphasizes the causal dynamics of the sublime, such a moment originates in the subject's capacity for feeling. As Guerlac writes, "The Kantian account of the natural sublime explicitly establishes the sublime as an arena of aesthetic experience in which authorial intention is totally irrelevant" ("Longinus and the Subject of the Sublime," 289). The importance of an observer's subjective perceptions grew accordingly, so that poetry, instead of a rhetorical effort to move an audience, became an attempt to express faithfully the process of being moved, a performative expression of passion taken, as Harold Bloom says, "as the demonstration of a receptive spirit," and given the name, "Sensibility."[33]

As the aesthetics of sensibility and the sublime were following this rough trajectory through the end of the eighteenth century, the fortunes of anger as an artistic mode were consequently developing towards paradox. We have seen how, in the eighteenth-century Longinian and Juvenalian models, anger and sublimity were intimately related; with the growth of sensibility, which privileges emotional reaction and expression, one would expect anger to take its place at the forefront of poetic practice. However, insofar as the origins of the sublime moved from the writer affecting to the writer being affected – the writer as transcriptive "reader" – poets began to seek out experiences of sublimity, which they could then translate into art. Fear, awe, confusion – the emotions of the sublime experience – therefore became the dominant emotional tones of poetry. The abandonment of Longinian *hypsos* for Burkean sublimity can be seen in a generation of poets less interested in wielding Juvenalian vituperation

than in recording moments of anxious grandeur. Accordingly, Juvenal's popularity brought him more critical appreciation than imitation. In the post-Augustan poetry of the sublime, anger shifted from the poet to some external terror-inspiring force, such as nature or God.

David Morris demonstrates the importance of images of God's wrath to this changing conception of the sublime. Paraphrases of passages from the Bible became occasions for angry *tours de force*, as Morris's citation of the elder Thomas Warton's "A Paraphrase of the xiiith Chap. of Isaiah" (1751) exemplifies:

> The dread *Jehovah* comes – before him march
> *Anger* and *Vengeance*: The polluted Land
> Shall desolated mourn, and far away
> His red Right Hand shall shrieking Sinners sweep.
> Then shall the Stars of Heav'n, the glittering Gems
> Of awful Night's dark robe, the pale-ey'd Moon,
> The weary Pilgrim's Friend, and the great Sun,
> Who from the crystal Portals of the East
> Walks forth with tenfold Brightness cloth'd, and pours
> Intolerable Day, all darken'd droop.
> Earth from her Orbit shall astonisht leap,
> Heav'n rock and tremble to the Throne of God.[34]

Morris calls Warton's poem "a short, exhilarating divagation into the sublime" (*The Religious Sublime*, 109), one of many such renderings found in the poetry of the period. Significantly, the poet's own emotion within these delineations of divine vengeance partakes not of anger but of the astonishment requisite for the sublime. By displacing anger onto the Christian God and portraying anger as a personified cipher, these poets avoid the troubling aesthetic and ethical issues surrounding that emotion. Divine anger is by definition sublime and justified; the poet portraying *Ira Dei* or the *Dies Irae* takes his place in a long tradition extending back to the prophets of the Old Testament. Such poetry forsakes the *vituperatio* of Juvenal for the creation of a set-piece, a tableau of wrath, that terrifies its own renderer, and thus does not implicate him in the alienating spectacle.

The Longinian sublimity of divine anger was first asserted by John Dennis, who is perhaps known best for his vitriolic exchanges with Pope. An early champion of Longinus, Dennis produced a series of writings firmly linking sublimity to passion, and introducing terror as fundamental to the dynamics of the sublime.[35] For Dennis, as Morris remarks, of all the inducements to such terror, "none could be more sublime than those which showed the wrath of an angry God" (*The Religious Sublime*, 74).

Anticipating Burke's *Philosophical Inquiry into the Origin of Our Ideas of the Sublime and the Beautiful* (1757), Dennis finds "Enthusiastick Terror" to be the chief source of the sublime. He therefore looks to God's infinite wrath to inspire such fear, and in so doing, remakes Longinian sublimity as he praises it. Inspired anger, or rhetorical *menos*, moves outside the poet, an externalization reminiscent of Senecan strategies; the result, for both Seneca and Dennis, is alienation from the angry figure, whether in Stoic revulsion or Christian terror.

Even when eighteenth-century poets were not working under Christian auspices, when it came to speaking in their own voices, the psychology of fear often seemed more congenial to sublimity than that of anger. We observe the poet's strained and fitful negotiations with fear as a muse in William Collins's "Ode to Fear."[36] Collins, eager to tap sublime terror as his creative wellspring, imagines "*Vengeance*, in the lurid Air," who "Lifts her red Arm, expos'd and bare" ("Ode to Fear," lines 20–21), in order to frighten himself with an image of anger that he has created; or, as Collins puts it in "The Passions. An Ode for Music,"

> First *Fear* his Hand, its Skill to try,
> Amid the Chords bewilder'd laid,
> And back recoil'd he knew not why,
> Ev'n at the Sound himself had made.
> ("The Passions," *Works*, lines 49, 17–20)

Although in "The Passions" Fear proves to be the passion least capable of producing music, Collins addresses that emotion in the "Ode to Fear" as, "O thou whose Spirit most possest / The Sacred Seat of *Shakespear's* Breast" (lines 64–65). Collins implies that fear is the source of sublime poetry, rather than beautiful music, and therefore decides, "I, O Fear, will dwell with *Thee!*" (line 71).

Steven Knapp has shown that in personified emotions, the "combination of fanatic self-absorption and overt fictionality perfectly matches the dual criteria of the sublime."[37] Like many personified emotions, Fear in Collins's ode is both the cause and the bearer of fright, a self-reflective status that culminates in the fear of its own actions, as seen in the passage from "The Passions" above. Coleridge complains of the frequency of this kind of reflexivity in Spenser, whose personified "Grief represents two incompatibles, the grieving and the aggriever," a "confusion of agent and patient" (qtd. in Knapp, *Personification and the Sublime*, 83). However, this confusion accurately reflects the standard of sympathy that governs most emotional exchange: "We weep or laugh as we see others do," in Horatian phrase. Personified, and therefore quintessential, emotions wield

their affective power as a sign of their own saturation. Collins addresses Fear in the language of sympathetic response; her fright produces an identical emotion in the poet:

> Ah *Fear!* Ah frantic *Fear!*
> I see, I see Thee near.
> I know thy hurried Step, thy haggard Eye!
> Like Thee I start, like Thee disorder'd fly
> . . .
> *O Fear*, I know Thee by my throbbing Heart.
> ("Ode to Fear," lines 5–8;42)

As Weiskel writes of this passage, "The persona is internalized. 'I see you there' becomes 'I know you here'" (*The Romantic Sublime*, 110).

Yet anger, as Seneca makes clear, normally does not partake of sympathetic transference; we in fact rarely become angry as we see others do. Indeed, the moral philosophers of the eighteenth century also tend to emphasize the alienating effects of anger. For Adam Smith, who views sympathy as the cornerstone of man's moral sense, anger precludes a sympathetic response. As he writes in his *Theory of Moral Sentiments* (1759):

> The hoarse, boisterous, and discordant voice of anger . . . inspires us with either fear or aversion. We do not fly towards it . . . It is the same case with hatred. Mere expressions of spite inspire it against nobody, but the man who uses them. Both these passions are by nature the objects of our aversion. Their disagreeable and boisterous appearance never excites, never prepares, and often disturbs, our sympathy.[38]

Here Smith objectifies anger and hatred in the act of turning his heart from them: "these passions are by nature the objects of our aversion," never the subjects of our sympathy. Lord Kames makes a similar point in his *Elements of Criticism* (1762):

> Anger, I think, is singular; for even where it is moderate and causeth no disgust, it disposeth not the spectator to anger in any degree. Covetousness, cruelty, treachery, and other vicious passions, are so far from causing any emotion similar to themselves, to incite a spectator to imitation, that they have an opposite effect. They raise abhorrence, and fortify the spectator in his aversion to such actions. When anger is immoderate, it cannot fail to produce the same effect.[39]

As Kames sees it, anger puts its audience on the defensive and invites moral judgment. This emotion not only disables sympathy but also invites condemnation of (and actual "aversion" to) the angry man, who has abandoned decorum and, in effect, exiled himself from the community of good-natured men.

Because of this antipathetic effect, personifications of anger and its relations almost inevitably work towards alienation, and are typically presented by authors as negative and (self) destructive. In the *Faerie Queene*, for example, Spenser splits anger into two allegorical characters: Pyrochles and Furor, or spite and rage, respectively.[40] Pyrochles, an incarnation of bad temper, has as his motto, "Burnt do I burne" (*The Faerie Queene*, 2.4.38). He eventually becomes a victim of Furor, or personified rage, whom Pyrochles himself literally unleashes. Spenser describes Furor in Senecan idiom:

> Yet his great yron teeth he still did grind
> And grimly gnash, threatning reuenge in vaine:
> His burning eyen, whom bloudie strakes did staine,
> Stared full wide, and threw forth sparkes of fire;
> And more for ranck despight, then for great paine,
> Shakt his long lockes colourd like copper-wire,
> And bit his tawny beard to shew his raging ire. (2.4.15)

Like Seneca's Anger, which was "black and blue from its own blows" (*De Ira*, 2.35.5), Furor is bent on destruction, which he focuses on himself in the absence of another victim. Furor seems ready to devour himself here, gnashing his teeth and eating his own beard. However, when freed by Pyrochles, his better half, Furor drags him "through durt and myre without remorse" (*The Faerie Queene*, 2.5.23). Like Collins's Fear in "The Passions" who fears himself, Furor gets furious with his own alter-ego.

The emotions of personifications are by definition unmotivated and extreme, but these evaluations are particularly damning for anger. It seems the less we know about the circumstances of the anger of others – its prelude, its stimulus, its target – the less likely we are to be sympathetic with it. An angry person without sufficient context seems insane, often laughable, as the enraged antics of screwball comics demonstrate. Thus personifications of anger must forego any aspirations to the aesthetics of sensibility, and aim for the sublime, if they wish to be taken seriously. Collins's own personification of anger in "The Passions" seems caught somewhere between these two purposes, especially if we consider revenge, or active anger, as part of the same emotion:

> Next *Anger* rush'd; his eyes on fire
> In Lightnings own'd his secret Stings:
> In one rude Clash he struck the Lyre,
> And swept with hurried Hand the Strings.
> . . .

– but with a Frown,
Revenge impatient rose,
He threw his blood-stain'd Sword in Thunder down,
And with a with'ring Look,
The War-denouncing Trumpet took,
And blew a Blast so loud and dread,
Were ne'er Prophetic Sounds so full of Woe.
And ever and anon he beat
The doubling Drum with furious Heat;
And tho' sometimes each dreary Pause between,
Dejected *Pity* at his Side,
Her Soul-subduing Voice applied,
Yet still He kept his wild unalter'd Mien,
While each strain'd Ball of Sight seem'd bursting from his Head.
("The Passions," *Works*, 50–51, lines 21–52)

Anger remains a comic grotesque here, his attempts at music "rude" and "hurried"; and to some extent, Revenge is also a bug-eyed caricature. However, Revenge's "loud and dread" trumpet prophesying war indicates at least a mock-sublime, one potentially more powerful than that provided by Fear or Pity. In these representations of Anger and Revenge, as well as in the image of Vengeance in his "Ode to Fear," Collins shows that he recognizes and even values wrath as a source of the sublime. Yet ultimately Collins shrinks from an appropriation of anger, from a true engagement with anger as a muse. Fear and Pity can be explored in specific odes, but Anger remains at the margins, an occasion for these more acceptable and more sympathogenic emotions. Collins, whose palpable inability to overcome the influence of precursors has been often cited, can only imagine *responding to* the sublime anger of Spenser's Furor, Shakepeare's Lear, or Milton's God, allying himself with the emotions of accommodation.

Evidently, Collins's contemporaries also chose to dwell with emotions other than anger, for we meet its personification only rarely in the poetry of the period. Most eighteenth-century representations of anger follow Senecan and Spenserian patterns in portraying that emotion as a foe to temperate behavior and an enemy to virtue. For example, James Armstrong, a medical doctor and poet, writes of anger in *The Art of Preserving Health* (1744):

But there's a Passion, whose tempestuous sway
Tears up each virtue planted in the breast,
And shakes to ruins proud Philosophy.
For pale and trembling Anger rushes in,
With fault'ring speech, and eyes that wildly stare;

Fierce as the Tiger, madder than the seas,
Desperate, and arm'd with more than human strength.
How soon the calm, humane, and polish'd man
Forgets compunction, and starts up a fiend!
. . .
But he whom Anger stings, drops, if he dies,
At once, and rushes apoplectic down;
Or a fierce fever hurries him to hell.[41]

Armstrong's Anger is truly demonic, "madder than the seas, / . . . and arm'd with more than human strength" and yet a specific propellant towards the underworld. Armstrong pits the centrifugal expansiveness of anger that we saw in Medea against the centripetal pull of human frailty, condemning angry outbursts as dangerous to body and soul. For Armstrong, angry sublimity gives the soul a "proud flight" filled not with Longinian "joy and vaunting" (*On the Sublime*, 7.2) but with fever and apoplexy, a Satanic prideful flight or fall into hell. We can see that poets like Armstrong and Collins trade on anger's potential sublimity even as they condemn and mock the angry figures they create. Yet of course, such tonal oscillation undercuts the sublime, a fundamentally univocal mode, dependent upon concentration and vehemence; as Blake puts it memorably, "If the sun and moon should doubt / They'd immediately go out" (E, 596). Both anger and sublimity require a kind of faith in, or at least a professed commitment to, one's own emotional perspective. In Armstrong and Collins, anger does not inspire such faith.

Beyond the realm of personification, poets working in the sublime mode in the later eighteenth century have other occasions to invoke anger, invariably with qualifications. For example, Thomas Gray's "The Bard" (1757) begins with the curse of the last Welsh poet on Edward the First:

"Ruin seize thee, ruthless King!
Confusion on thy banners wait,
Tho' fann'd by Conquest's crimson wing
They mock the air with idle state.
Helm, nor Hauberk's twisted mail,
Nor even thy virtues, Tyrant, shall avail
To save thy secret soul from nightly fears,
From Cambria's curse, from Cambria's tears!"[42]

The shift from curse to tears in the final line is instructive, for the tone of the poem moves from anger to grief.[43] We begin with a confrontation, in which the armies of Edward are daunted by the bard's angry voice: "Stout Glo'ster stood aghast in speechless trance" (*Gray: Poetical Works*,

1.1.13); the first stanza thus dramatizes the angry sublime. However, the second stanza changes its tone to one of mourning. The bard, "Robed in the sable garb of woe, / . . . With a Master's hand, and a Prophet's fire, / Struck the deep sorrows of his lyre" (1.2.3–8). The curse that follows moves from grief over the deaths of the bard's fellow poets (1.3) to a prophetic vision of Edward's line (2.1–2.3), to a "vision of glory" of Elizabeth and the eventual triumph of the poets (3.1–3.3); and at the poem's conclusion, the bard's suicide is an act of defiant "joy" and "triumph," not anger.

Adam Smith, again in his *Theory of Moral Sentiments*, articulates the aesthetic values of artists and writers like Gray, for whom anger was a medium best deployed in moderation: "When [music] imitates the notes of anger, it inspires us with fear. . . . The voice of anger . . . and of all the passions which are akin to it, is harsh and discordant . . . It would be a strange entertainment which consisted altogether of the imitations of hatred and resentment" (37). Much of Juvenal, then, is very strange entertainment indeed; and the growing sense that anger must be "guarded and qualified" (38) in art as well as life led poets away from Juvenalian invective towards more introspective forms. Anger, when it does appear in post-Augustan poetry, is usually quickly transformed, as in Gray's "The Bard," or abandoned, as in Book 3 of Cowper's *The Task*, in which the poet begins a section of vituperation on classic Juvenalian themes, only to cut himself off as his anger begins to grow. Like Juvenal's Third Satire, Cowper's *Task* finds its unity in "its consistent recommendation of country over city life."[44] And in Book 3, lamenting society's lack of commitment to domestic happiness, Cowper echoes Juvenal's First, Third, and Sixth Satires in a striking passage:

> what shipwreck have we made
> Of honor, dignity, and fair renown,
> 'Till prostitution elbows us aside
> In all our crowded streets; and senates seem
> Convened for purposes of empire less
> Than to release th' adultress from her bond.
> Th' adultress! what a theme for angry verse,
> What provocation to th' indignant heart
> That feels for injur'd love! but I disdain
> The nauseous task to paint her as she is,
> Cruel, abandon'd, glorying in her shame!
> No:–let her pass, and, chariotted along
> In guilty splendour, shake the public ways.[45]

Facit indignatio versum, for Cowper as well as Juvenal, and the revulsion at female promiscuity and the sexual impropriety of urban society, so strongly present in Juvenal, finds an echo here. Yet just as Cowper reaches full-throated anger in line 68, he checks himself with the interruptive, "No:–", abandoning his rage for a return to the self-involved meditations and descriptions that structure the poem; only forty lines later, the famous "I was a stricken deer" passage begins (line 109), and rumination entirely replaces vituperation.

For Cowper, as for Gray, Armstrong, Collins, and many other poets of the period, the aesthetic (and indeed the moral) value of anger is intimately bound up with its negation, one's own anger having become less a means of transcendence than a thing to be transcended. Clearly, most poets of the eighteenth century, insofar as they were interested in the poetic transformation and communication of anger, made efforts to distance themselves from that emotion: through the displacement of anger onto divine or personified figures, or the overt disapproval of angry emotions, or the preference for ridicule over invective, or the transformation or truncation of rage. This deliberate distancing that permeates the history of angry art, from Homer and Seneca and perhaps even Juvenal, through the post-Augustan poets, made the legacy that the Romantics received a particularly vexed one. At an historical moment when anger was newly pressurized in the public sphere (thanks to the French Revolution and the ways it was discussed), Romantic-period poets shouldered the double burden of sublimity and sincerity, attempting to enact Longinian *ekstasis* in communicating their own "purely personal" emotions. Anger makes such a task difficult, just as it made difficult the negotiations of the eighteenth-century poets with sensibility and the sublime. It required one to yield to the transports, while controlling the utterance, of what became known in the years of Revolution and Terror as a dangerous and fundamentally alienating emotion.

CHAPTER 2

Burke, Coleridge, and the rage for indignation

In his 1796 *Letters . . . on the Proposals for Peace with the Regicide Directory of France*, an exasperated Edmund Burke looks back on the long series of outrages that for him have constituted the French Revolution, and asks his readers to suppose for a moment that all of these things had occurred in England's green and pleasant land:

> Should we not obtest Heaven, and whatever justice is yet on Earth? Oppression makes wise men mad; but their distemper is still the madness of the wise, which is better than the sobriety of fools. Their cry is the voice of sacred misery, exalted, not into wild raving, but into the sanctified phrensy of prophecy and inspiration – in that bitterness of soul, in that indignation of suffering virtue, in the exaltation of despair, would not persecuted English loyalty cry out, with an awful warning voice, and denounce the destruction that waits on Monarchs? . . . Would not this warm language of high indignation have more of sound reason in it, more of real affection, more of true attachment, than all the lullabies of flatterers, who would hush Monarchs to sleep in the arms of death?[1]

As both disquisition upon and exemplification of the complex discourse of political anger during the 1790s, this passage is particularly revealing. Burke writes here in a high Juvenalian style, associating angry rhetoric with wisdom, virtue, and sincerity, and setting it against foolish moderation and deceitful flattery. Like Juvenal, he turns to *indignatio* as the only rational option for the *bonus vir*, the good man surveying a world gone wrong; "it's hard *not* to write satire," Juvenal tells us, asking "who could be so inured / to the wicked city, so dead to feeling, as to keep his temper?"[2] Burke presents an emotion that is prophetic, "sacred," "exalted," "sanctified," "awful," and "high," and thus clearly separated from the brutish, atheistic fury – the "wild raving" – that he locates in the words and deeds of the revolutionaries. In other words, he articulates a species of anger, allied with "virtue," "sound reason" and "English loyalty," that folds easily into the martial spirit of a nation at war. Further, the language of the passage invests that emotion with epic sanctity,

alluding to Milton's "warning voice" from *Paradise Lost*, and to Pope's *Odyssey* in which Odysseus is heard "obtesting Heav'n" for allowing him to sleep through the slaughter of the Oxen of the Sun.[3] Both allusions carry associations of rousing a placid, ignorant sufferer to a posture of wakeful defense, which is precisely what Burke intends in *Letters on a Regicide Peace*. The "lullabies of flatterers" would lull Englishmen and their king to sleep; the voice of anger must be the alarm, the wake-up call. Furthermore, by exalting despair and sanctifying misery, the passage evokes a kind of emotional apotheosis, a "sacred phrensy of prophecy and inspiration," in which, to paraphrase William Blake, the voice of honest indignation becomes the voice of God.

Burke wrote this passage at the end of the great period of English debate over the French Revolution, what Gregory Claeys calls in the introduction to his 3,500-page collection, *Political Writings of the 1790s*, "an intense controversy . . . which produced one of the most voluminous and theoretically significant bodies of political literature, indeed the most important debate about democratic principles, in British history."[4] During this time, the public voice of dissidence found its pitch and tenor in the wake of publications by Burke and Paine, as pro-Revolutionary tracts, articles, letters, and speeches streamed from the press, all bearing critiques of the political status quo in England. By 1796, however, virtually all supporters of Revolutionary principles had been converted by the Terror, the execution of the king, and several years of warfare – or else silenced by a series of governmental restrictions. As far as anger is concerned, then, Burke's passage signifies an important discursive victory of the conservative party, and one with real political implications. The anger of the revolutionaries and their reformist sympathizers in England had been more or less completely identified as blind and ferocious rage (or diabolical hypocrisy), while their opponents had firmly seized the elevated ground of noble indignation. In a sense, this was a self-fulfilling prophecy: as the reformers found themselves shut out from any real consideration by the government, they were forced to adopt more aggressive positions. As Mark Philp writes, "we should understand the 1790s in terms of the development of a logic of confrontation . . . at each step, the stakes in the struggle were raised – both in the sense of increasing the costs of agitating for reform, and in the sense of making moderate reform less likely."[5] Throughout this period, the evolution of conceptions of anger was a determining force behind such developments. Ultimately, in a period intensely interested in the causes and consequences of anger, just indignation is firmly separated from anger per se, which is made

equivalent with irrational rage. As we will see, this process of reconceptualization resonates strongly through the work of the Romantic poet who, more than any of the others, found his voice amidst the Revolution debates of the 1790s: Samuel Taylor Coleridge.

To the end of his life, Burke labored to establish the indignation–rage distinction, and it determined the British discussion regarding revolution and reform for decades to come. Early respondents to Burke either dismissed his anger as inappropriate to rational discussion (e.g., Godwin, Piggot, Macaulay), or became angry themselves at Burke, his rhetoric, and the corrupt status quo he defended (e.g., Paine, Wollstonecraft).[6] As the debates and the Revolution wore on, this latter group and their followers came to dominate the discussion on the side of reform, even as Burke and other reactionaries became more severe in their attacks on the French and French sympathizers. Thus as both parties were claiming righteous indignation as their weapon, they were condemning anger as expressed by the opposition. In his *Reflections on the Revolution in France*, Burke had encouraged the "indignation of mankind" in the face of "the furies of hell," thereby prefiguring this all-important distinction between a righteous, judgmental emotion exercised for the public good, and a furious, irrational passion indulged in a personal, destructive fit.[7] The years 1790–96 in England witnessed an elaborate rhetorical struggle over the political ownership of these two opposing conceptions of anger.

Conducted via oratory and argument, this struggle shows strong evidence of connections with the literary past. The contest evoked two traditions of anger, traceable to Juvenal on the one hand and Seneca on the other. In Juvenalian satire, anger is intense indignation: just, necessary, continuous with the self, required of the rational man confronted by corruption and evil. Like Juvenal's portraits of the Roman citizens, Burke's depictions of the revolutionaries tend towards extremity. For example, Juvenal in Satire 1 asks rhetorically, "When was Vice more rampant? When did the maw of Avarice gape wider?" and later proclaims, "All vice is at its acme."[8] In the *Reflections,* Burke calls the leading of the royal family from Versailles to Paris "the most horrid, atrocious, and afflicting spectacle, that perhaps ever was exhibited to the pity and indignation of mankind" (117), and describes the procession as one in which "the royal captives who followed in the train were slowly moved along, amidst the horrid yells, and shrilling screams, and frantic dances, and infamous contumelies, and all the unutterable abominations of the furies of hell, in the abused shape of the vilest of women" (122). This exhibition or spectacle is the "*most* horrid," its actors the "*vilest*"

imaginable: Burke reaches readily for the superlative degree at a time when most Englishmen felt the comparative was sufficient. Thus from Burke's enemies came many charges of inappropriate anger and immoderate censure, cast in Senecan terms.[9]

For Seneca, anger is furious rage: irrational, worse than pointless, a negation of the self and its allegiances, a pathway to madness and evil. Seneca himself calls the angry man "devoid of self-control, forgetful of decency, unmindful of ties . . . closed to reason and counsel, excited by trifling causes, [and] unfit to discern the right and true."[10] Virtually all of these accusations would be leveled at Burke in the wake of his *Reflections*. As William Anderson characterizes the opposing views of anger,

> Whereas Juvenal's satirist implies the righteous nobility of his anger, Seneca admits no justification at all for wrath or indignation . . . Instead of labeling indignation virtuous, noble, magnanimous, liberal, or simply honest, [Seneca] calls it insane. It follows that the indignant man, not a *vir bonus*, is much rather a person who has lost his essential humanity and sunk to the level of the beasts.[11]

Because of these classical foundations, the debates in England were haunted by myriad rhetorical and conceptual ghosts: corollaries and assumptions bending the discourse towards rigid polarities. The typical contributor to political debate in the 1790s claimed he was angry in the Juvenalian manner *at the fact that* his opponents were angry in the Senecan – and thus these opponents became madmen, beasts, furies of hell, and the vilest of women.

In *British Satire and the Politics of Style, 1789–1832*, Gary Dyer demonstrates that the Juvenalian temper became the province of conservative writers during the Romantic era, primarily because "the perceived threat of 'jacobinism' in politics and culture demanded monological, unambiguous satire"; that is, it demanded a rhetoric of urgent defense.[12] According to Dyer, this led radical authors towards more dialogic and ironic modes of satire that avoided the ancient Juvenalian/Horatian division. This narrative should be supplemented with a recognition that the conservatives came to own Juvenalian indignation only after a pitched battle over anger itself, which they won by effectively ascribing Senecan rage to radicals and refomers alike. There were plenty of indignant friends of the Revolution responding to the publication of Burke's *Reflections*, Paine and Wollstonecraft among them, and, as Robert Whitford writes of their reponses, "the Juvenalian spirit was one of the important factors in social progress of that Revolutionary era."[13] Indeed, Gilbert Highet states that, like Rousseau and Marat, "in England . . . the revolutionaries of the mind

were devoted to Juvenal," citing Wordsworth, Coleridge, and Byron as examples.[14] The conservative victory depended upon the recasting of Revolutionary discontent as irrational fury, a process that typically relied upon the associating of it with the most extreme instances of violence occurring in France. Yet, particularly in the early 1790s, Juvenalian indignation was a rhetorical option for all.

After all, to claim indignation is to appropriate a three-fold bonus for one's anger: it is justified (because it has been caused by evident wrongdoing), it is righteous (because it is felt on behalf of others), and it is dignified (because it has resulted from an affront to dignity worth defending). For example, Wollstonecraft makes her emotions clear in *A Vindication of the Rights of Men* (1790). Of Burke's *Reflections*, she says, "My indignation was roused by the sophistical arguments," and tells Burke, "I glow with indignation when I attempt, methodically, to unravel your slavish paradoxes."[15] In a neo-Juvenalian vein, she continues, "Observe, sir, that I called your piety affectation . . . I speak with warmth, because of all hypocrites, my soul most indignantly spurns a religious one: – and I very cautiously bring forth such a charge, to strip you of your cloak of sanctity" (1:28). The unmasking of hypocrites is a cherished function of angry satire, one that Wollstonecraft invokes here. As is the case for Juvenal, *indignatio* prompts her writing; both confront opponents using a tone Dyer sees as "not merely exposing their [enemies'] behavior for all to see but imitating the wrath of the God who awaits them" (*British Satire*, 43). The Juvenalian temper is predicated on the assumption that one's anger is more than justified, eminently righteous. According to Howard Weinbrot, Juvenal typically implies that "not to be an indignant satirist in such a world is worthy of being satirized in its own right."[16] Thus Wollstonecraft presents her anger as a rational, even requisite, response to falsehood, performed for the public good.

Thomas Paine also recognized the importance of indignation for the cause of revolution, since it is an emotion predicated on the essential dignity of those who feel it.[17] For the underclass attempting to establish a species of social and political equality, claiming indignation at the status quo and its defenders was crucial. One contemporary reader of Paine described the methods of *The Rights of Man* as using "the rude grasp of coarse, but manly, indignation, to tear away the curtain that mysteriously concealed from the public eye, those tricks of state which the public purse has so liberally contributed to support, and to expose to ridicule that Aristocracy which can continue to exist no longer than while it continues to be respected."[18] We can glimpse here the way that anger was implicated

in the struggle for respect during this period. For Paine's reader, the indignant unmasking of the deceptive and hollow shows of state will transfer their unjustly held respect back to the people themselves. Like Juvenalian satire, *The Rights of Man* names and castigates corruption on behalf of the "natural dignity" of man, sadly eclipsed in the author's time. Paine describes his emotions in this way in *Rights of Man* 1: "When I contemplate the natural dignity of man; when I feel (for Nature has not been kind enough to blunt my feelings) for the honour and happiness of its character, I become irritated at the attempt to govern mankind by force and fraud, as if they were all knaves and fools" (41). Like Wollstonecraft, Paine presents his anger (here named "irritation") as an emotion felt on behalf of mankind. What's more, that anger depends on the "natural dignity" of the people, something which has been shamefully traduced by those in power. The argument gains power because it implies that their anger is not simply a reaction to physical deprivation or suffering; it is predicated upon the violation of a fiduciary relationship, in this case something called "the Rights of Man."

One might say Richard Price was the first Englishman to lay significant claim to indignation on behalf of the French revolutionaries, in his *Discourse on the Love of Our Country* (1789) which so provoked Burke. In a passage Burke quotes in his *Reflections* in order to demolish it, Price writes, "I have lived to see THIRTY MILLIONS of people, indignant and resolute, spurning at slavery, and demanding liberty with an irresistible voice."[19] As we have seen, Burke will go on to establish the people's anger as that of the "furies of hell," an emotion productive of violations and destructions that should call forth the "indignation of mankind." Yet it was Burke's own temper that many of his respondents targeted. Issac Kramnick begins his aptly titled book *The Rage of Edmund Burke* by stating, "Edmund Burke was an angry man," and calls his later career "a study in rage and furious indignation."[20] By way of illustration, he describes a famous scene in Parliament when Burke broke openly with Fox in 1791: "Burke got increasingly angrier as the debate wore on, pouring out his words in torrents of rage. The members of Parliament were appalled and shouted him down. Burke turned on the speaker, declaring: 'I am not mad, most noble Festus, but speak the words of truth and soberness' (180–81). The debate itself turned on Burke's introduction of a harangue against the French Revolution amidst a discussion of a constitution for Quebec. As Kramnick notes, Burke was repeatedly called to order by his colleagues, which only inspired him to more urgent and self-isolating rhetoric. A May 1791 cartoon (attributed to

Rowlandson), "The Volcano of Opposition," depicts the scene, with Burke erupting angrily, vomiting a lava of "damnation" on Fox as the members of Parliament run for cover, calling for "Monro!" who was "an expert on lunacy."[21] To one side, Sheridan comforts Fox, dismissing Burke's torrent as "the effusions of a Demoniac," a man possessed. The moment is emblematic of Burke's reception in England during the Revolution debates, particularly as Burke's Shakespearean rebuttal evokes the relation of anger to truth and self-control. He wants to be seen as a figure of heroic indignation, and his opponents cast him in the role of madman beside himself with rage.

This struggle helps explain more fully why the Marie Antoinette passage from Burke's *Reflections* became a lightning-rod for his opponents, who saw the stakes of the emotional rhetoric it deploys. Essentially, Burke attempts to evoke an heroic, chivalric indignation in the face of Revolutionary outrages, describing the dauphiness as "glittering like the morning-star" and then contemplating her rough handling and imprisonment as Queen of France:

> Oh! what a revolution! and what an heart must I have, to contemplate without emotion that elevation and that fall! . . . little did I dream that I should have lived to see such disasters fallen upon her in a nation of gallant men, in a nation of men of honour and of cavaliers. I thought ten thousand swords must have leaped from their scabbards to avenge even a look that threatened her with insult. – But the age of chivalry is gone . . . It is gone, that sensibility of principle, that chastity of honour, which felt a stain like a wound, which inspired courage whilst it mitigated ferocity, which ennobled whatever it touched . . . (126–27)

Burke implies that indignation is the nameless "emotion" that all with hearts must feel in response to this "revolution," and he believes the same emotion should have caused "ten thousand swords" to leap out, not to defend the queen, but "to avenge" a threatening look. The language thus evokes the emotional dynamics not of open warfare but of dueling, wherein honor is guarded by means of fierce reprisals and yet according to a set of rigid principles that "mitigate ferocity." Burke invokes an aristocratic temper involving rational judgment, courage, and "manly sentiment" (127), felt in reaction to insults offered by madmen and furies; both are ways of describing anger, and Burke's passage and its reception make clear the political stakes of seizing the former and ascribing the latter to the opposition.

With his *Reflections*, Burke had placed the tone, or temper, of the debate at the center of the debate itself. From the first, respondents made an issue of his anger, and their objections fell generally into two

categories: the insufficient causes and the potentially ruinous consequences of his enraged rhetoric. Of those who considered the causes, most writers blamed Burke's overheated imagination as producing, via spectacular and sentimental scenes like the Marie Antoinette passage, a kind of self-induced, reactive fury. Calling the *Reflections* a "volume of outrage" (29) and a work of "copious fury," "let loose in a frenzy of passion" (12), Thomas Paine in *Rights of Man* 1 exclaims, "Mr. Burke has outraged his own imagination, and seeks to work upon that of his readers" (22). In other words, Burke has become angry in looking at the "tragic paintings" he has himself created (22). As Tom Furniss has stated in similar terms, "Burke presents himself as horrified by the enactments on the political stage of the most extreme of the possible denouements of his own political and aesthetic plot."[22] The last two words are important in their indication of the way this emotional dynamic relates to the trajectories implicit in Burke's theories on the sublime. His contemporary respondents readily made the connection between a theory that valued a sensibility to delicious terror, and an enraged reaction to the terrors of Revolutionary France: both depend on an imaginative exaggeration. Wollstonecraft, for example, mocks Burke's "pampered sensibility," saying, "You foster every emotion till the fumes, mounting to your brain, dispel the sober suggestions of reason. It is not in this view surprising, that when you should argue you are impassioned, and that reflection inflames your imagination" (*Vindication of the Rights of Men*, Claeys, 1:13). Furthermore, she later asks, "Your reason may have often been the dupe of your imagination; but say, did you not sometimes angrily bid her be still, when she whispered that you were departing from strict truth?" (1:57). For Wollstonecraft, Burke's aesthetic ideology encourages an imaginative inflammability that has expressed itself in the anger of the *Reflections*.[23]

In their eagerness to condemn him for emotional intoxication and excess, Burke's respondents often touch upon an unsettling paradox: the *Reflections* are the product of both overreacting and overacting. Paine says the vignettes Burke presents "are very well calculated for theatrical presentation, where facts are manufactured for the sake of show . . . But Mr. Burke should recollect that he is writing History, and not Plays; and that his readers will expect truth, and not the spouting rant of high-toned declamation" (*Rights of Man* 1, 22). Metaphors involving painting, drama, and fictional narrative are often applied to the *Reflections* as a way of indemnifying Burke's calculation. As a practiced political orator and a theorist of aesthetic effects, he would know how to manipulate an

audience's emotional reaction by means of art. Paine makes a point of seeing through the rhetoric – he calls it "spouting rant," recalling Rowlandson's cartoon – by associating it with overacting. Yet, as we have already seen, even as Paine and others object to this declamatory excess and transparent theatricality, they identify Burke's outrage as a species of method-acting, induced by an overly warm imagination. His anger thus becomes simultaneously a cynical, politically motivated fiction and a sign that he is out of control, close to madness.

Other writers who fault the tone or temper of the *Reflections* stress the likely dangers of a debate conducted in anger. In his *Letters on the Revolution in France* (1790), Thomas Christie warns pointedly,

> If a man let loose his over-heated imagination, and accuses others of being plunderers, confiscators, atheists, and even murderers, they may be stimulated to retaliate, by calling him court-flatterer, turn-coat, toad-eater, knave, pensioner and slave. Thus a war of abusive epithets and malignity is begun, which troubles the peace of society, and often produces dreadful consequences.[24]

Christie's sharp-tongued dread of the discussion becoming "a war of abusive epithets" was perhaps more prescient than he knew, and was certainly shared by other English sympathizers with the Revolution, who heard in Burke's outrageous tone the death knell of moderation. The anonymous author of *Strictures on the Letter of the Rt. Hon. Mr. Burke* (1791) writes that if the French had any regard for Burke's opinions, "the constant repetition of degrading, vilifying, and inflammatory passages directed against the principal persons who support the revolution must inevitably have been productive of such discord throughout the nation as would have been followed by the most tragical events. The scenes of confusion and horror might have been unutterable."[25] Again, this looks like a foreshadowing of the massacres and the Terror, episodes still only vaguely imaginable ("tragical" but "unutterable") by most Englishmen in 1791. Like Christie, this author perceives an immediate causal link between the temper of the revolution debates and the course of "society" and "the nation." Angry words will produce scenes of horror, by making the ground of moderation a literal no-man's land.[26]

Poststructuralist historians in the wake of François Furet have argued that the course of the French Revolution was in large part determined by the logic of its own discursive and representational practices. In Furet's view, the primary function of the Revolution was the freighting of all words and actions with political meaning – a kind of hyper-historical consciousness that amounted to a national ideology ultimately incarnated

by Robespierre, who is "an immortal figure not because he reigned supreme over the Revolution for a few months, but because he was the mouthpiece of its purest and most tragic discourse."[27] Furet claims to be "deducing the Terror from Revolutionary discourse" (*Interpreting the French Revolution*, 61), and he has been followed in this project by scholars such as Lynn Hunt, Mona Ozouf, Simon Schama, and Alan Liu.[28] They describe a world "where a network of signs completely dominated political life" (Furet, *Interpreting the French Revolution*, 48), one in which "human action no longer encounters obstacles or limits, only adversaries, preferably traitors" (Furet, *Interpreting the French Revolution*, 26). As Liu puts it, "The Revolution . . . was a poetics of violence that interpreted itself so as to declare that there was neither reality nor right outside its poetics. It was a totalitarian poetics."[29] Not surprisingly then, denunciation and its consequences fairly defined the Revolutionary experience. Furet speaks of the counterrevolutionary "aristocratic plot" as "central to this system of notions and actions that constituted the Revolutionary phenomenon itself" (*Interpreting the French Revolution*, 63); "obsessions with conspiracy thus became a discourse common to all" (55–56).[30]

In this light, we can better understand the nameless fears expressed by Burke's respondents regarding the consequences of his enraged discourse. They foresaw that in committing to anger, both sides of the debate would necessarily imagine each other as increasingly powerful, threatening, and despicable, while emphasizing their own losses at their opponents' hands. As a result, moderation would become anathema: England would make foreign and domestic policy decisions in an atmosphere charged with rage, and debate as such would virtually cease. Mark Philp writes that

> the period 1789–1803 is one in which the language of political debate undergoes a process of continual transformation. In this process, positions are polarised . . . and the stakes of controversy become extraordinarily inflated. Faint-hearted reformers are denounced as Jacobin terrorists, well-meaning humanitarians become the enemy within, and the cautious critic of the status quo is accused of bringing the country to an inch of defeat . . . Given this kind of response, viewing the period as involving a "debate" on France becomes questionable.[31]

A similar process occurred in France as well, where the aristocratic plot was an angry, retributive specter that called forth its opposite number in the figure of the Terror, and in the language of Marat, Hebert, and Robespierre. To be a patriot was to be indignant; the *enragés* set the tone. As Furet says, this required "adversaries, preferably traitors," and instituted a political and moral economy whereby one could only prove loyalty by

denouncing, rather than debating, another.[32] Under the influence of anger, extremity became the order of the day; and in the eyes of English reformers (like Christie), Burke's *Reflections* offered to inaugurate a similar discursive economy on his side of the Channel.

Within the confines of the Revolution debate itself, objectors to Burke hear his anger as rhetorical distortion, an irrational trope leading him away from truth and disqualifying him for rational discussion. Irish author Benjamin Bousfield writes that the *Reflections* "appears to be nothing else, than the soaring flights of a boundless imagination, and the effusions of an irritable and irritated mind."[33] Similarly, Joseph Priestly remarks in a open letter to Burke, "You appear to me not to be sufficiently cool to enter into this serious discussion."[34] One anonymous early respondent perceives that Burke's expressions "appear on all occasions to be dictated by a warmth that he is at no pains to restrain," although "He will, perhaps, tell us they are the effusions of an honest indignation"; the *Reflections* "can now only be regarded as a splenetic invective, a vague and impassioned declamation."[35] The physicality of these various characterizations – irritated, warm, splenetic – associates Burke's anger with the thoughtless reactions of the body (like Rowlandson's vomited lava) rather than the rational judgments of the mind. Like ascribing someone's rage to hormones or exhaustion, this strategy involves assuming that the angry person cannot see things clearly, without the darkened bias enjoined by a jaundiced, splenetic eye.[36]

Thus, as it was painted by many of the reformers, Burke's anger was either a false and melodramatic pose adopted for political ends or it was the authentic but automatic reaction of an unsound brain. Indeed, sometimes it was both of these things at once, a self-induced and self-indulgent fit of rhetorical rage. Furthermore, because it involved the exaggeration or manufacturing of evils, it threatened to polarize discussion of the French Revolution (and thus English reform) into two armed camps. Certainly a good many of the reformist participants in the Revolution debates deplored anger and its rhetorical corollaries: invective, abuse, exaggeration, and irrationality. Locating these first in Burke, they attempted to banish them from the discussion. Godwin was the great leading spirit of this cause in his ultra-rational *Enquiry Concerning Political Justice* (1793). In the early 1790s, one could find other radical reformers like Catharine Macaulay writing of Burke's "temper" of "indignation," which unfortunately obliges him "to substitute a *warm* and *passionate* declamation to a *cool investigation*, and to address the *passions* instead of the reason of mankind."[37] Similarly, Charles Piggot

opines in a 1791 pamphlet: "To men in the sober habit of reflexion, such indecent intemperance must seem a very sorry proof of the aspersions he wishes to convey . . . Moderation is the surest proof of conviction, and . . . passion was never yet useful to any cause."[38] Such recommendations of cool, reasonable, moderate investigation were meant to apply to both sides of the debate. Furthermore, it is during this period that we still find pamphlets appearing in England with titles like *Moderate Politics* (1791), or a periodical like *The Political Magazine* (1780–91) publishing extensive extracts from Burke and Paine simultaneously. In other words, politics as such – involving a rational, bipartisan process of discussion and compromise – was still possible. Nothing attests more eloquently to the conclusion of such a period than the passage of the infamous Two Acts in December of 1795, which essentially criminalized opposition to the political status quo.

In effect, the British government came to require indignation against France and French principles, thus institutionalizing what had been the conservative position from the beginning. An anonymous 1794 pamphlet published in London makes this point explicitly, as it consciously removes the option of calm moderation:

> In a cause like this, and in a time like the present, there is no neutrality. They who are not actively, and with decision and energy, against Jacobinism, are its partisans. They who do not dread it, love it; it cannot be viewed with indifference: it is a thing made to produce a powerful impression on the feelings. Such is the nature of Jacobinism, such is the nature of man, that this system must be regarded either with enthusiastic admiration, or with the highest degree of detestation, resentment, and horror.[39]

Such sentiments are the product of outrage, as the author confirms by quoting Shakespeare's Kate from *The Taming of the Shrew* at the outset of the pamphlet: "My pen has told the anger of my heart" (*Desultory Thoughts*, 1). His position also marks the growing alarmism in England during this period, and is duplicated in any number of loyalist publications of this period. "Cato" in the *Anti-Jacobin* encourages "hatred and indignation" in the face of "the Jacobin system," and calls moderation "ridiculous squeamishness," saying, "Whoever is not for us is against us . . . Even lukewarmness is a high crime and misdemeanor."[40]

Of course, it was not only the conservatives who were advancing such opinions. Sampson Perry's radical weekly, the *Argus*, published in November 1795 an ode "To Moderation," in which that personification is spurned as a "HYPOCRITE" with a "traitor heart," and called "the fatal source of human woe."[41] Moderation is anger's enemy, so condemnations

of it like this one amount to defenses of that emotion and rededications to its energies. Just as "Cato" calls for "hatred and indignation," so the author of "To Moderation" openly objects to viewing anger as madness or fury: "'Tis thine to call it mad erroneous rage," the poem reads, "When Indignation's spirit nobly glows" (45). Here the rhetorical division between the Juvenalian and Senecan conceptions of anger is explicit. Thus the reformers tend to see moderation as a sleep, an acquiescence to an unjust status quo, even as loyalists are painting it as the surest conductor to ruinous French principles and practices. Under the influence of anger, each side exaggerated the evils and power of those who disagreed. As a result, the complex range of political positions possible in 1789 was reduced by 1795 to a simple choice: with us or against us, in Cato's phrase. Angry rhetoric had transformed each party's perception of their political opponents to a frightening caricature, producing two specters of ruin named "Jacobinism" and "tyranny." In the end, the conservatives' version triumphed in English popular consciousness, assisted by the French invasions of neighboring nations and primarily by the litany of French terrors described or invented in the pages of the government-controlled press.

In addition to bloody descriptions, metaphorical acts of naming were fundamental to this process. A survey of the English loyalist prints in the 1790s reveals a certain oscillation on the question of whether the Jacobins are devils or tigers. The anonymous author of *Desultory Thoughts on the Atrocious Cruelties of the French Nation* assures us, "Devils and tygers are the just epithets now in fashionable usage, to distinguish [Frenchmen] from men of other nations!" (76–77). Certainly the tiger epithet for violent French revolutionaries was popular: Ronald Paulson cites examples from the *Times*, Wilkes, Romilly, Burke – even Blake, Wollstonecraft, and Wordsworth[42] – and this list could easily be extended.[43] The counterrevolutionaries aimed to ascribe savage, bloodthirsty rage to the French by associating them with thoughtless and wild predatory beasts.

We might also remember Book 10 of *The Prelude*, in which Wordsworth recalls his experiences in Paris in 1792, just after the September Massacres and the declaration of the Republic, both of which put him at great unease: "But at best it seemed a place of fear, / Unfit for the repose of night, / Defenceless as a wood where tigers roam."[44] Wordsworth's image of unfenced tigers prowling the *civitas* is meant to register his sense that the state should police the anger of citizens rather than encourage it. But even Wordsworth would have recognized that, like it or not, the

Revolution had created a new place for anger within the public sphere. How much had changed in regard to anger can be seen by comparing two passages that recall Wordsworth's from *The Prelude*. The first is from Edward Young's *A Vindication of Providence*, written in 1728, when the anger of the monarch was still king of the political jungle: "It is elegantly said, the *King's anger is as a roaring lion*, which Description of it is confin'd to Kings, only as to its Efficacy; it is strong, though not as *successful* in other Men. By a King it is let loose into the large Field of Power; in others it bites the Bars that confine it."[45] Young recognizes that anger is our fundamental political emotion, the ferocity of which is equal in all men. By picturing the common man's anger as a caged lion that "bites the Bars that confine it," Young implies that instruments of control (i.e., chains and prisons) are the only things that separate the king – both physically and ontologically – from his subjects. Approximately one hundred years later, Sir Walter Scott looked back on the period leading up to the fateful meeting of the Estates-General (on May 5, 1789), and wondered at the provoking behavior of Louis XVI's government: "The conduct of the government . . . towards the nation whose representatives it was shortly to meet, resembled that of an insane person, who should by a hundred teazing and vexatious insults irritate into frenzy the lion, whose cage he was about to open, and to whose fury he must necessarily be exposed."[46] The political role of the angry citizen had changed utterly between Young's era and Scott's; the enraged populace – one of the larger cats of history – had been let out of the bag, and had entered the "large Field of Power" as a legitimate force for political change. Like the unfenced tigers that Wordsworth imagines in Paris, the uncaged lion offers to tear apart the old order in the name of the people's wrath.

However, the characterization of revolutionaries as bestial becomes a problem when the writers turn their attention from the violent mob to the leaders, and to their real targets, the English Jacobin writers, orators, and editors who were determining the radical cause. For the loyalists, the mindless fury of an animal was not sufficient to represent the diabolical plots and machinations by which such leaders manipulated their publics. Hence, they were also, or alternately, devils: cold and calculating monsters of hypocrisy whose only aim was to rouse the anger of masses for their own selfish and cruel desires. In 1796, the loyalist daily *Tomahawk!, Or Censor General* offers a "Receipt to Make a Jacobin," wherein "Hypocrisy" is the first ingredient, followed by pride, sedition, falsehood, rebellion, enmity, envy, and "dissembling tears"[47] – a thoroughly Satanic mixture, reminiscent also of Blake's speaker in "A Poison Tree" who nurses hidden

wrath with "tears" and "soft deceitful wiles" (E, 28). Such a figure is emphatically not an enraged beast but a demonic plotter, of whom the reactionary John Bowles writes, "This infernal fiend can appear as an angel of light; he can wear the mask of REFORM."[48] Throughout the 1790s, much energy is spent labeling the mass of French revolutionaries, English radicals, and reformers as tigerish Jacobins, and portraying prominent men such as Marat, Robespierre, and Thelwall as their devilish guides.[49]

Opposing the rage of the tigers and the enmity of the devils is a force insisted upon by the loyalists: the just indignation of Englishmen. Free of Gallic influences, this variety of anger rises naturally and rationally in the English breast when provoked by evidence of tigers and devils at work. The author of the aforementioned *Desultory Thoughts* describes his work as "an humble and well-meant endeavour to excite in Englishmen a just indignation and abhorrence of principles so repugnant and monstrous to the real nature of man!" (5). Similarly, a letter by "Brittanus" in the London newspaper *The True Briton* (the nationalistic rhetoric here approaching hysteria-levels) announces that its purpose is to "tear off the flimsy veil by which these men attempt to conceal their real designs from their indignant country."[50] "These men" here referred to are members of radical groups such as the London Corresponding Society and the Society for Constitutional Information – in other words, devilish Jacobins whose duplicity needs to be countered with national indignation. In this same hortatory vein, one T. Moore writes in his *Address to the Inhabitants of Great Britain* (1793), "Let the example of France be a warning to my Countrymen; – let the unparalleled, cruel, and deliberate murders committed there, be impressed so forcibly upon the heart of every Briton as not to be eradicated! – Let us view with horror and indignation a system marked with every species of infamy."[51] The loyalist press had clearly become a bully pulpit for indignation by 1793, and the doctrine was plain enough: insofar as you are a true Englishman, you shall be indignant at the rage of the French and their sympathizers, whose emotion has no basis in actual grievances but has been excited by cruel and manipulative demagogues. In short, indignation is just and English; rage is unjust and French. As a corollary, any Englishman expressing sympathy with the Revolution in France is necessarily an angry tiger or a fiend.

A few radicals were still contesting this semantics of anger in 1795–96, most notably John Thelwall, and Burke continued to be an easy target. Operating in a Godwinian mode, Thelwall casts himself and his cause as

one of moderation, and labors to condemn all anger – especially Burke's – as destructive rage. In deference to the Enlightenment roots of his cause, he presents himself as the champion of reason and nonviolence, even if (as Michael Scrivener has shown) his own political rhetoric oscillated between "intemperance and moderation."[52] With regard to indignation, Thelwall attempts a zero-sum game by removing all varieties of anger from the discussion, while other radicals (like Sampson Perry) are still fighting to reclaim indignation as the indispensable province of his party. Responding to Burke's *Letter to a Noble Lord*, Thelwall adopts a thoroughly Senecan posture of disapproval: Burke's anger is an "ungovernable phrenzy."[53] Surveying everything Burke has written since 1790, Thelwall finds only "the distemper of his mind":

> The hydrophobia of alarm rages too fiercely in his mind, to suffer him to wet his lips with the sober stream of reason, or turn to the salutary food of impartial investigation. All is rage, and foam, and headlong precipitancy, and the individual must be as mad as himself who expects any thing but to be torn by his envenomed tooth. ("Sober Reflections," 330).

In other words, Burke is a mad dog, foaming at the mouth, utterly unreasonable and destructive. In addition, that "envenomed tooth" implies contagion, a process whereby his rage spreads to infect the political atmosphere. Like Seneca, who deplored that "the mind plunges headlong into anger" because "no more frenzied state besets the mind" (*De Ira*, 3.1.5), Thelwall also stresses the "precipitancy" enjoined by anger, involving a rush to judgment and punishment without a pause in which the moderating influence of reason might enter. "Like *Collins*'s personification of Anger," Thelwall exclaims, "forth ' – he rushed: his eyes on fire / In lightnings own his secret stings!'" ("*Sober Reflections*,"359). Thelwall in fact also offers this quotation as the epigraph to the entire pamphlet, and associates Burke with Collins's personified "Revenge" from the same poem, "The Passions." In a phrase James Nohrnberg uses to describe Spenser's Pyrochles, Burke in Thelwall's presentation is "a kind of tantrum going somewhere to happen."[54] This characterization of Burke was common enough in the 1790s; as one satirist described his behavior following the break with Fox: "And wild he roams the country round / And angry scours the streets, / And tweaks the nose, or kicks the breech / Of every Whig he meets."[55] Thelwall follows this line precisely, and indeed it was the dominant one among Burke's opponents, as we have seen.

Thelwall's condemnation of Burke's rage grows out of a more encompassing rhetoric of moderation. He seems to have spent much of the years 1795–96 urging both parties to abandon invective and violence as destructive instruments of factionalism. He saw quite clearly that the conservatives aimed first to collapse the cause of reform into its angriest and most violent fringe; the "Jacobin" label was the obvious and ubiquitous indicator of this strategy. In the same pamphlet, he claims that the defenders of the status quo

> endeavour to confound together . . . every sanguinary expression, every intemperate action of the obscurest individual whose mind has become distempered by the calamities of the times . . . with the honest and virtuous labours of those *true sons of moderation and good order* who wish to render their fellow citizens firm and manly, that they may have no occasion to be tumultuous and savage; to spread the solar light of reason, that they may extinguish the grosser fires of vengeance; and to produce a timely and temperate reform, as the only means of averting an ultimate revolution. ("Sober Reflections," 369)

Renouncing tumult, savagery, and vengeance in favor of moderation and order, Thelwall strikes his characteristic pose of the later 1790s. It was essentially a rear-guard maneuver by a man who had been demonized as a rabble-rouser, an inflammatory agent bent on inciting the working and middle classes to furious destruction. For example, when the king's carriage was stoned in St. James's Park in 1795 following a speech by Thelwall to an immense crowd, the *Tomahawk* announced, "The MISCREANT *Thelwall*, and his daring associates have become lost to all respect for the laws of their country" (4:17), and claimed that he "only wishes to irritate, not to relieve; and by that means to rouze the million to some daring act" (4:16). This was despite the fact that the title and subject of the address was "Peaceful Discussion, and Not Tumultuary Violence, the Means of Redressing National Grievances."[56] For Thelwall and his cause, anger had become an unshakable liability.

The writings of Samuel Taylor Coleridge, who was very much a part of these controversies in the 1790s, show that the dynamic fortunes of anger in the Revolution debates not only influenced the ways Englishmen thought and wrote about politics, but also altered their more private negotiations with the aggressive passions. Lyric poetry of the expressive school thus also bears the impress of the change, recorded in Coleridge's case as an uneasy flirtation with violence-as-inspiration. As Simon Bainbridge has argued, Coleridge's "influential ideas about poetry and imagination were formulated in relation to the era of war in which he lived."[57] Just before his thirty-first birthday, Coleridge recorded in his

notebook the thoughts and emotions of a day hauntingly representative of his engagements with anger. Following a lament over his lack of productivity – "This year has been one painfull Dream / I have done nothing!" – he begins again,

> Oct. 19 1803. The general Fast Day – and all hearts anxious concerning the Invasion. – A grey Day, windy . . . the Lake has been a mirror so very clear . . . & now it rolls in white Breakers, like a Sea, & the wind snatches up the water, & drifts it like Snow / – and now the Rain Storm pelts against my Study Window![58]

The moment is an evocative one, recalling both the 1798 "alarm of an invasion" that produced "Fears in Solitude" and "the coming on of rain and squally blast" of the more recent "Dejection: An Ode" (1802).[59] The peace with Napoleon had collapsed in May of 1803, and as Kathleen Coburn notes, "Buonaparte was massing troops and supplies at Boulogne . . . [it was] a period of real alarm" (*Notebooks,* 1:1577n).

Coleridge watches the changing weather with thoughts like those of "Fears in Solitude," in which he had wondered,

> What uproar and what strife may now be stirring
> This way or that way o'er these silent hills –
> Invasion, and the thunder and the shout,
> And all the crash of onset; fear and rage,
> And undetermin'd conflict – even now. . .
> (*Poetical Works*, 471, lines 35–39)

Furthermore, as in "Dejection: An Ode," the storm figures the poet's own troubled emotional state and, ultimately, an energizing of his imaginative powers. In "Dejection," he writes,

> And oh! that even now the gust were swelling,
> And the slant night-shower driving loud and fast!
> Those sounds which oft have raised me, whilst they awed,
> And sent my soul abroad,
> Might now perhaps their wonted impulse give,
> Might startle this dull pain, and make it move and live!
> (*Poetical Works*, 698, lines 15–20)

Similarly, the notebook entry in which he asks "Whence am I not happy?" ends with the following notation: "Storm all night – the wind scourging & lashing the rain, with the pauses of self-wearying Violence that returns to its wild work as if maddened by the necessity of the Pause / I, half-dozing, list'ning to the same, not without solicitations of the poetic

Feeling" (*Notebooks*, 1:1577). When Coleridge writes that the wind is "scourging & lashing the rain" and "returns to its wild work as if maddened by the necessity of the Pause," he recalls his opening lament, in which he uses similar language to describe his own work: "O me! My very heart dies! . . . I have done nothing! – O for God's sake, let me whip & spur, so that Christmas may not pass without some thing having been done" (1:1577). His identification with the wind and storm is anticipatory of Shelley's in "Ode to the West Wind," and again recalls "Dejection," in which he addresses the "Wind, that rav'st without" (line 99) in this manner:

> Thou mighty Poet, e'en to Frenzy bold!
> What tell'st thou now about?
> 'Tis of the Rushing of an Host in rout,
> With groans of trampled men, with smarting wounds –
> At once they groan with pain, and shudder with the cold!
> (*Poetical Works*, 701, lines 109–13)

In this passage, we return full circle, via the "crash of onset, fear and rage" of "Fears in Solitude" to the "hearts anxious concerning the Invasion" of the 1803 notebook vigil. Furthermore, in Coleridge's entry, anxiety over a French invasion merges with more personal negotiations with aggression. In the notebook, he writes,

> A day of storm / at dinner an explosion of Temper from the Sisters / a dead Sleep after Dinner . . . / I slept again with dreams of sorrow & pain . . . I was worsted but not conquered – in sorrows and in sadness & in sore & angry struggles – but not trampled down / But all this will come again if I do not take care. (*Notebooks*, 1:1577)

The Southeys had recently moved to Keswick, and the Fricker sisters (Edith and Sara, now Mrs. Southey and Mrs. Coleridge) were evidently quarrelsome. The domestic conflicts at the dinner table – itself a sign of the Keswick circle's rebellion against the Fast Day – translate to the "sore & angry struggles" of Coleridge's dreams, as he dozes in the tense atmosphere of the household, amidst the sounds of the rain-storm and the fears of war.

In fact, the dream of anger was a recurring one for Coleridge. Before dawn on Saturday morning, July 20, 1805, he awoke from a distressing dream – the latest in a long series of such – and wrote the following:

> How often am I doomed to perceive & wonder at the generation of violent Anger, in dreams, in consequence of any pain or distressful sensation in the bowels or lower parts of the Stomach / When I have awoke in agony of pure

Terror, my stomach I have found uniformly stretched with wind / But anger not excluding but taking the Lead of Fear . . . (*Notebooks*, 11:2613)

These are the words of a man who has had anger as a bedfellow for quite some time, weary and anxious about the physiological causes (bad digestion) and psychological effects ("pure Terror") of his angry nightmares. He describes the precise character of these dreams in a letter to Southey written almost two years earlier, in the first version of the poem that would become "The Pains of Sleep":

> Pangs of Revenge, the powerless Will,
> Still baffled, & consuming still,
> Sense of intolerable Wrong,
> And men whom I despis'd made strong
> Vain-glorious Threats, unmanly Vaunting,
> Bad men my boasts & fury taunting
> Rage, sensual Passion, mad'ning Brawl,
> And Shame, and Terror over all![60]

Coleridge called this "a true portrait of my nights" (*Notebooks*, 11:984), and, in a number of versions, it remains one of the best-known psychological self-depictions of the Romantic age. However, its grounding in the emotion of anger has been obscured by readers' emphasis on Coleridge's guilt and shame, the classic Freudian emotions.[61] By changing our focus to his "fury," "Rage," and "Pangs of Revenge," we may begin to see the importance of anger to Coleridge's dream-haunted imagination and literary work.

From the numerous passages marshaled here, we can begin to see that Coleridge often experiences anger itself as an invasion: an onset of passion that baffles "the powerless Will," not unlike a violent wind-storm or a bout of wind in the digestive tract. In this sense, his conception of anger falls in line with post-Revolutionary attitudes that identify that emotion by and large with blind rage: a painful disorder or disease that depends upon an essentially irrational loss of self-control. However, one also perceives in Coleridge's comments a pleasurable (and quite traditional) association of rage with inspiration; those windy visitations amount to "solicitations of the poetic Feeling," a "wonted impulse" that can hardly be separated from violent fury and frenzy. His work thus bears signs of a crucial paradox: for the Romantic poet as such, "rage" must be a good thing – even as rage is being demonized in English culture. In his many writings on the subject, Coleridge closely associates the negative

experience of anger with feelings of fear, involving a sense of vulnerability to attack closely related to the invasion fears of the Napoleonic years. Yet he also envisions various positive enactments of the angry passions that would arise from a visitation of energizing rage. In struggling to make this distinction between *invasion* and *visitation*, Coleridge takes up the Romantics' project of defining poetic anger in their particularly vexed historical moment.

One of Blake's aphorisms is appropriate: "To be in a Passion you Good may do / But no Good if a Passion is in you " (E, 492). We know Blake is speaking specifically about anger here, thanks to Wordsworth, who reminds us in a passage from the *Essay, Supplementary to the Preface* (1815),

> Passion, it must be observed, is derived from a word which signifies *suffering*; but the connection which suffering has with effort, with exertion, and *action*, is immediate and inseparable. How strikingly is this property of human nature exhibited by the fact, that, *in popular language, to be in a passion, is to be angry!*– but,
>
> "Anger in hasty words or blows
> Itself discharges on its foes."
>
> To be moved, then, by a passion, is to be excited, often to external, and always to internal, effort. [62]

Both poets emphasize the expressive imperative of anger; like the swollen, angry apple of "A Poison Tree," it requires discharge. Yet, like Coleridge, both remain uneasy about its passive and reactive aspect. As Romantics, they want a species of rage that could be the handmaiden of the will, an invited visitor rather than an invading conqueror. When Coleridge notes in 1803 that he listened to the wild storm "not without solicitations of the poetic Feeling," he indicates this desire, and his grammar nicely catches the ambiguity of his relationship to inspiration: who is soliciting whom here? It seems nature's wrath acts pander to the Coleridgean imagination: frenzied storms give rise to the *furor poeticus*, the noble rage of the poet.

Writing in the particular cultural context of anger we have traced thus far, Coleridge was at pains to imagine poetic rage distinctly separated from the destructive and irrational anger-as-rage paradigm of the 1790s, to which Coleridge himself contributed. One approach was simply to exclude anger from the precincts of one's poetry; another was to back away from references to imaginative inspiration as "rage." These strategies of retrenchment are reflected in microcosm in Coleridge's revisions to his "Monody on the Death of Chatterton." In the first version of the poem, written in 1790, "rage" serves two important functions; by 1794, these

have been eliminated. First, in the 1790 manuscript (unpublished in the author's lifetime), to express a turn from mournfulness to anger over England's neglect of Chatterton, Coleridge writes, "Now is my breast distended with a sigh, / And now a flash of Rage / Darts through the tear, that glistens in my eye" (1:13; lines 10–12). For the 1794 published text, this becomes "Now Indignation checks the feeble sigh, / Or flashes through the tear that glistens in mine eye!" (1:126; lines 31–32). Coleridge's renaming of his emotion (from "Rage" to "Indignation") is symptomatic of the widespread revaluation of these terms in British discourse during the 1790s which we have traced, whereby "indignation" had become a locus of rational judgment almost separate from anger itself, and "rage" had been firmly associated with blindly destructive, animal fury. Second, in preparing the 1794 version, Coleridge removes the Thomas Gray epigraph to the poem which read in 1790, "Cold penury repress'd his noble rage, / And froze the genial current of his soul" (1:13). This eighteenth-century "rage" is hardly anger, but rather is in keeping with another definition: "poetic or prophetic enthusiasm or inspiration," as the OED has it.[63] Coleridge approves Gray's identification of rage as "noble," and associates it with a natural aristocracy of the poet's mental, creative powers, and with the upright justice of indignation. Yet the motto is excised in 1794, figuring the general stepping away from rage enacted in England during this period.[64]

Furthermore, in the Gray epigraph to Coleridge's Chatterton poem, poetic rage is associated with an inflammatory state, insofar as "Cold penury" represses it and freezes another kind of metaphorical circulation, "the genial current of his soul." Inflammation here involves not blockage but free-flow, a salutary accession of energy and heat rather than a dangerous state of imbalance. The concept links the epigraph to the passage from Coleridge's "Dejection" (quoted above) in which the poet wishes "that even now the gust were swelling, / And the slant night-shower driving loud and fast," so that these sounds "Might now perhaps their wonted impulse give, / Might startle this dull pain and make it live!" The poem presents inspiration as a process of contagious inflammation, a swelling gust enlivening the poet with a startling impulse, which causes a renewed circulation; the process imagined is something like holding a foot numb with cold over a flame. Always fascinated by the relation of the human imagination to both physiology and the natural world, Coleridge characteristically imagines rage at a junction of interchange among these realms.

For Coleridge, separating poetic, creative rage from rage-as-anger also meant falling in line with contemporaries who saw the latter as merely reactive and destructive. In a late essay entitled "On the Passions" (1828), he sets out his description of rage as a bodily state, one that barely involves the mind at all. He writes that "Rage is an affection of the Irritability or Instinctivity . . . and has its seat & birth place in the Vasculo-muscular System, the Blood and the Muscles," and sees it as occupying (with fear) "a mid place between the Appetites and the Passions" due to its grounding in "*Impulse* and *Seizure*" and its dependence upon "external excitants."[65] According to Coleridge, this primarily physiological state works

> by sudden Dilation, Diffusion, Explosion – So Milton's Satan, roused to fury by the contemptuous sarcasms of Gabriel and the menace of the angelic guard, dilated stood – & at the touch of Ithuriel's spear – "as when a spark
>
> Lights on a heap of nitrous powder –
> – – – – – – – the smutty grain
> With sudden blaze *diffus'd* inflames the air." (*Shorter Works*, 11 :1433)

In this reading of rage in *Paradise Lost*, Satan's bodily expansion from toad to "his own shape" (Milton, *Paradise Lost*, 4:819) to the size of "Teneriffe or Atlas" in which "His stature reached the sky" (4:987–88) occurs as part of the physiological phenomonology of anger. In a process of inflammatory swelling or chemical reaction, Satan is literally "waxing more in rage " (4:969).[66] Coleridge presents this scene as illustrative of deep connections between anger and the body, recalling his "pain . . . in the bowels" and "the generation of violent Anger" in dreams thereby. The self-as-mind is virtually excluded from the circuit.

Another way of depicting angry rage as physically organic might be to displace it onto the natural world, in storms and "squally blasts." At one level, Coleridge found this strategy particularly attractive because it allowed him to reappropriate the energy of rage once it had been purged of associations with human resentment and cruelty. Few poets have such a high incidence of stormy weather in their work. Yet for Coleridge, windstorms prove to be the link between mind and nature; as he theorizes in "The Eolian Harp,"

> And what if all of animated nature
> Be but organic harps diversely framed,
> That tremble into thought, as o'er them sweeps
> Plastic and vast, one intellectual breeze,
> At once the Soul of each and God of All?
> (*Poetical Works*, 234, lines 44–8)

Coleridge's insistence on the thoughtful, intellectual aspects of this interchange signals that his externalizing and naturalizing of rage as the "Wind that rav'st without" ("Dejection," line 99) occurs not as part of a further alignment of anger with the irrational, but as the articulation of the Lakist conviction that (to adapt Wordsworth) the passions of men are incorporated in the beautiful forces of nature. In other words, storms do not merely represent the poet's emotional weather metaphorically, but they provoke stormy emotions, and in some sense are provoked by them as well. When the dejected Coleridge wishes "That even now the gust were swelling, / And the slant night-shower driving loud and fast" ("Dejection," lines 15–16), he calls forth this sympathetic weather in a Lear-like moment of imagined command. The storm becomes a locus of interchange between the poet's emotional state and the world of nature; in his imagined narrative, its rage calls forth the poet's and vice versa.

Finally, as another strategy to separate true poetic feeling from anger, Coleridge presents insecurity as the source of that emotion, which comes to characterize failed poets in his mind. In 1801, he writes in his notebook that "genuine Anger, which is made up of *Fear & animal Courage*, will be found in those most, who most hang upon the opinions of others, & to whom those opinions are of the most importance," and thus, "Verse-makers who are not Poets, are angered, irritable" (*Notebooks*, 1:979). He would repeat this theory years later in the *Biographia Literaria*, in chapter 2: "Supposed Irritability of Men of Genius," where he claims that only bad poets who hunger vainly for fame are often angry. As he puts it, "men, whose dearest wishes are fixed on objects wholly out of their own power, become in all cases more or less impatient and prone to anger," which is based in "an involuntary sense of fear."[67] At the same time, men of genius are not irritable in personal matters; Milton for example "reserved his anger, for the enemies of religion, freedom, and his country" (*Biographia Literaria*, 36–37). We can glimpse the underpinnings of this distinction in the culture of Romantic-period anger, where one species of anger (rage) is involuntary, selfishly destructive, and fearful, while another (indignation) is controlled, moral, and potent. Yet Coleridge ascribes the latter to Milton, thus associating it with the creative force of the author in a manner that works to recuperate rage as a conceptual category. In the poet's mind, Juvenalian indignation emerges in a state of inspired rage.

Coleridge's definitional and representational strategies with regard to anger signify his unease with that emotion, particularly as experienced personally. His indignation at Napoleon, for example, was one thing, and

could be assimilated to poetic inspiration *a la* Milton; his gnawing resentment at Wordsworth or Southey was quite another, and seemed to signify the petty fears and insecurities of a failed artist. Thus came the vicious and classically Freudian cycle so familiar to readers of Coleridge: aggression, born from insecurity, is introjected as guilt. In "The Pains of Sleep," he gives a recipe for this emotional cocktail as "Rage, sensual Passion, mad'ning Brawl, / And Shame, and Terror over all!" Coleridge's problem is that this state of mind – Coleridgean Hell – is separated by only a knife's edge from the paradise of poetic rage. Not only does his imaginative work draw upon the same intertwined fearful and aggressive passions that fuel his nightmares, but he figures inspiration as something akin to a fit of anger. For example, in the closing lines of "Kubla Khan," the inspired singer fills his audience with "holy dread"; the cry of "Beware! beware!" and the weaving of that protective circle indicate the presence of a threatening, wrathful spirit at its center. However, anger as such remains unmentioned and indeed unwarranted here, because Coleridge wants to articulate a state of rage free from the guilt and fear associated with his angry feelings.

Following his (probably hallucinatory) sighting of Wordsworth in bed with Sara Hutchinson, his beloved "Asra," at Coleorton in November of 1806, Coleridge found himself awash in outrage.[68] He wrote in his notebook, "Spite of Reason Anger & Resentment carried on amid anguish and self-trouble by mere power of distinct Images and Thoughts" (*Notebooks*, 11:2954). The notation tells two stories, one of the connection between anger and suffering ("anguish and self-trouble") in Coleridge's mind, and the other of its relation to his imaginative powers ("distinct Images and Thoughts"). Furthermore, both affiliations occur under the sign of the irrational; for Coleridge here, anger is quite literally spite against reason, and proceeds by means of visions. Like Burke's overactive imagination that gave rise to his anger, Coleridge's "power of distinct Images and Thoughts" kept his anger at Wordsworth boiling, and recalls his preface to "Kubla Khan," where he claims that, in a sort of waking dream, "images rose up before him as *things*, with a parallel production of the correspondent expressions, without any sensation or consciousness of effort" (*Poetical Works*, 1:296). His imagination is riven by the similar phenomenology of the painful invasiveness of anger and the joyful visitation of rage.

Coleridge's work thus serves as an example of how the Revolution controversy, particularly as determined by Edmund Burke, changed the ways Englishmen thought about anger. We have seen that, in committing

themselves to anger as indignation, both loyalists and reformers had to imagine each other as increasingly more powerful, dangerous, and out of control – and had to keep asserting their own losses and fears of losses at the enraged opposition's hands. As a result, moderation became the great enemy as the Revolution debates wore on. Writing in this scorched-earth landscape that persisted through the Napoleonic years, the Romantic poets had to find ways to accommodate their rage even while asserting the dangers of resentment and vengefulness. Yet the case was more complicated and far-reaching than we have seen thus far, as the anxious struggle over anger spilled beyond the political arena, into other disciplinary contexts including medicine and the law. In the next chapters, it is to this overspill and its effect on the Romantic imagination that we turn.

CHAPTER 3

Inflammatory reactions

In December of 1777, Charles James Fox addressed the House of Commons in the following manner:

> For the two years that a certain noble lord has presided over American affairs, the most violent, scalping, tomahawk measures have been pursued: – bleeding has been his only prescription. If a people deprived of their ancient rights are grown tumultuous – bleed them! If they are attacked with a spirit of insurrection – bleed them! If their fever should rise into rebellion – bleed them, cries this state physician! More blood! More blood! Still more blood![1]

In Fox's terms, tumult, insurrection, and rebellion (i.e., manifestations of the people's anger) have called forth a monoideistic program of therapy from George III's secretary of state for the colonies, Lord Germain. Bleeding, here a synecdoche for military repression, is metaphorically related to bloodletting as an anti-inflammatory remedy for fever. Explicitly mixing the rhetoric of revolutionary politics with that of medical therapeutics, Fox enacts a common trope of discourse that would achieve new urgency in the half-century following the American Declaration of Independence. It was during this period – that is, during the Romantic era – that the anger of the people assumed political legitimacy (in addition to mere efficacy), demanding from the ruling classes ideological resistance or capitulation (in addition to mere struggle or flight). In the resulting war of words, a diagnostic view of anger prevailed, as authors on both sides of the revolutionary question labored to establish the nosology and pathology of public rage, as a prelude to prescribing treatment for the disorder.[2] The two emergent definitions of inflammation – disease or symptom – were deeply embedded in the contemporary discourse of political anger. As we will see with reference to the work of William Blake and others, Romantic-period literature bears the impress of this conceptual-discursive situation in its dealings with anger and revolution.

In his address, Fox objects to Lord Germain's regimen of colonial bloodletting, not only on the grounds of its inflexibility, but also because it seems to encourage the disease it means to cure. None other than Edmund Burke had made this objection in similar terms in his January 1777 "Address to the King." Of Lord North's oppressive policies in response to the "great disorders and tumults" in America, Burke states,

> Other methods were then recommended and followed, as infallible means of restoring Peace and order. We looked upon them to be, what they have proved to be, the cause of inflaming discontent into disobedience, and resistance into revolt … It seem'd absurd and preposterous, to hold out as the means of calming a people, in a state of extreme inflammation and ready to take up arms, the austere Law which a rigid Conqueror would impose … [3]

The raging of the French Revolution would send Burke to the other side of this debate, but here he implies that inflammation *cannot* be treated effectively by bleeding – that an inflamed populace will become even more so in reaction to the strong repression of that symptom of discontent. Those in favor of strong controls and reprisals – Lords Germain and North, George III – saw the matter quite differently. To them, the raging inflammation of the American colonists was itself a disease, not a symptom, and thus required forceful countermeasures. In a speech to Parliament delivered in October of 1775, the king made his position clear:

> Those who have too long successfully laboured to inflame my people in America … now openly avow their revolt, hostility, and rebellion . . . It is now become the part of wisdom and (in its effects) of clemency, to put a speedy end to these disorders by the most decisive exertions. For this purpose, I have increased my naval establishment, and greatly augmented my land forces.[4]

Although less explicitly than Fox or Burke, here George III assumes a therapeutic relation to the inflammatory "disorders" plaguing the colonial body politic. Thus he has prepared for "decisive exertions" – in this case, military interventions – to scotch the rebellion, which has been spread as a kind of contagious fever among the people.

The debates which gave rise to all of these statements would be rehearsed, with a difference, in the next several decades as the French Revolution trumped the American one in English political consciousness. In fact, after the 1780 Gordon Riots, the threat of popular violence had come home; and following the fall of the Bastille in 1789, the contours of the discussion of anger came under increasing pressure. The English debates over revolution and reform were basically conducted in two periods of intense activity: 1789–96, and 1815–19; and in the texts of these

periods, groups associated with a particular political view – and most often, "the people" as a potentially insurrectionary aggregate – are described as being "inflamed." Depending on the sympathies of the author, this inflammation calls for a particular therapeutic program. For the counterrevolutionaries, such a condition, exacerbated and indeed produced by the "inflammatory" rhetoric of "Jacobin" publications and speeches, must be suppressed. In this view, inflammation is itself a disease which will have destructive effects on the body and its constitution if allowed to rage freely. For republican authors on the other hand, the people's inflammation (that is to say, their rebellious outrage) is a response to economic and political realities supported by the government. From this perspective, inflammation is a symptom of a deeper disease or debility of the constitution, and a part of the political body's natural defense system; thus the inflammatory action should be allowed to run its course, to do its work.

This latter view had come to dominate actual medical practice in the latter half of the eighteenth century. John Hunter (1728–93) and William Cullen (1710–90) represent this older guard as the most important English spokesmen for the essentially restorative powers of inflammation. In this they followed the work of George Stahl (1660–1734) who introduced the idea, "clearly foreign to many physicians of his time . . . That inflammation is a physiological 'action' on the part of the forces controlling the body, rather than a merely morbid or praeternatural 'passion' – in other words a reaction rather than a disease or lesion."[5] As Hunter claimed, "inflammation may be said in all cases to arise from a state of parts in which they cannot remain" (*Treatise* 364), and "as every inflammation has a cause, that cause should be removed before the resolution can take place" (329). At least through Hunter's generation, then, inflammation was mostly thought of in medical circles as a potentially salutary action caused by some injury or disorder. Except in extreme cases in which the inflammation was so violent that it threatened to send the body into complete "disorganization," therapy should be primarily supportive in nature, allowing the inflammatory action to perform its healing function, while treating its cause through other methods.

But a change was building throughout the Revolutionary years, so that after Waterloo, medical conceptions of inflammation and its treatment had been reversed. This transaction was the result of what medical historian Peter Niebyl has called "The English Bloodletting Revolution," describing the several decades when medical theory came to regard inflammation as itself a disease, or cause of all disorders in the

body, and medical practice adopted bloodletting as the favored treatment for it.[6] For example, prior to this medical "revolution," the standard treatment for fever (then recognized as a primary cause of inflammation) was Peruvian bark, or cinchona, taken orally; its active ingredient is quinine, and thus it could often be effective. However, this was changing in the early nineteenth century: "In 1818, Thomas Bateman (1778–1821), physician to the London Fever Hospital, recounted how, as a young physician in the late 1790s, he had employed the then fashionable method of treating fevers, bark. Twenty years later he had abandoned the fashion of his youth and turned to bloodletting."[7] Niebyl argues that the Revolutionary spirit of the times and the sanguinary experiences of physicians in the Napoleonic wars were in no small part responsible for this reversal in medical progress. To this I would add that the redefinition of inflammation as disease, rather than symptom, seems also to have been partially determined by the conceptual and rhetorical patterns of the Revolution debates, particularly as they were concerned with anger. As Revolution gave way to Terror and war, the dangers of inflaming the populace were trumpeted ever more loudly in the British press, and popular anger was more consistently described as destructive rage. That is, anger-as-inflammation came to look like a disease or contagious infection, rather than a rational, purgative symptom. The belated result was a conceptual rapprochement between political and medical approaches to inflammation in the post-Revolutionary era: bleed, suppress, eliminate.[8]

In his 1795 *Letter to William Elliot*, Burke may be remembering Fox's address to Commons, and seems to have anticipated my observations when he remarks, "These analogies between bodies natural and politick, though they may some time illustrate arguments, furnish no argument of themselves. They are but too often used under the color of a specious philosophy. . ."[9] Yet two paragraphs later, we find him speaking of the revolutionary spirit of Europe in the following terms: "The meditations of the closet have infected the senates with a subtle frenzy, and inflamed armies with the brands of the furies. The cure might come from the same source with the distemper. I would add my part to those who would animate the people (whose hearts are yet right) to new exertions in the old cause" (IX:41). Notice how he combines the language of feverish disease ("infected," "frenzy," "distemper," "cure") with that of fire ("inflamed," "brands") to characterize the effects of revolutionary writers on civilization ("senates," "armies," "the people"). Here the rhetoric of inflammation comes so readily to hand that Burke doesn't notice his reliance on "analogies between bodies natural and politick" to make his

point. Furthermore, the interchangeability of the two metaphors (fever and fire) here confirms the counterrevolutionary tendency to assimilate reformist outrage to destructive disorder.[10]

In fact, most English reformers wanted to preserve distinctions among several varieties of inflammation, while their opponents aimed to collapse them all into one leveling holocaust. Thus, in the discourse of the loyalists, anything – journal, speech, or event, even an abstraction – deemed "inflammatory" threatened the state with violent insurrectionary destruction. The reformers, on the other hand, tried to assert anger's importance while disclaiming, or perhaps flirting with, popular violence as that emotion's necessary correlative. Not surprisingly then, this debate takes the form of metaphorical manipulations. Personal anger (experienced while reading a radical journal), popular outrage (excited by one of John Thelwall's speeches), and mob violence (including the literal torching of buildings and crops) were all part of a rhetoric of inflammation that also involved the metaphorical blazing of ideology. As Richard Price writes in *A Discourse of the Love of our Country* (1789), addressing all "friends of freedom, and writers in its defence," "Behold the light you have struck out, after setting AMERICA free, reflected to FRANCE, and there kindled into a blaze that lays despotism in ashes, and warms and illuminates EUROPE!"[11] Like the "beacon's comet blaze" of Liberty that Wordsworth praises in his 1793 *Descriptive Sketches*, this fire burns away abstract categories, political structures, and mental chains. It is the flame at which William Blake so assiduously kindled his torch.

For example, in Blake's *America* (1794), the struggle between "Albions Angels" and the revolutionary "fierce Americans" reaches its climax on plate 14, as Albion's Guardian sends a feverish "plague wind" against the rebellious colonies (E, 55). Blake describes the scene:

> Fury! rage! madness! in a wind swept through America
> And the red flames of Orc that folded roaring fierce around
> The angry shores . . .
> Then had America been lost, o'erwhelm'd by the Atlantic,
> And Earth had lost another portion of the infinite,
> But all rush together in the night in wrath and raging fire
> The red fires rag'd! the plagues recoil'd! Then roll'd they
> back with fury
> On Albions angels; then the pestilence began in
> streaks of red
> Across the limbs of Albions Guardian . . .

> The plagues creep on the burning winds driven by
> the flames of Orc,
> And by the fierce Americans rushing together in
> the night. . . (E, 56–57)

Fighting fire with fire, the Americans oppose the "burning winds" with "the red flames of Orc," and send those inflammatory plagues back to England, causing "streaks of red / Across the limbs" of their persecutors. Essentially, this is Blake's vision of the situation described by Fox and Burke regarding England's approach to the unruly American colonies: the people are angry; call it a plague and then suppress it. But Blake shows that conceptual strategy recoiling upon the English, by means of a counter-inflammation, a series of purging watch-fires lit by the "rushing together" of the wrathful Americans: *e pluribus unum*. Thus Blake's work, like that of so many of his contemporaries, demonstrates its imaginative involvement with the unprecedented fact – and even more so with its European sequels – that after 1776, American anger was no longer a disease; it was a revolution.

Even the older Wordsworth, characterizing his revolutionary sympathies as he revised the *Prelude*, remembered his heart's command thus: "Ye purging fires, / Up to the loftiest towers of Pride ascend, / Fanned by the breath of angry providence."[12] Furthermore, in 1793, he had described another such revolutionary "phoenix-rite of regenerative immolation" (as Alan Liu calls it) in *Descriptive Sketches*.[13] He first presents "Liberty," looking for all the world like Blake's Rintrah who "roars and shakes his fires in the burdened air" (E, 33), in a posture like that of the lady with her torch in New York's harbor: "Liberty shall soon, indignant, raise / Red on his hills his beacon's comet blaze; / Bid from on high his lonely cannon sound, /And on ten thousand hearths his shout rebound."[14] Surely that red, indignant blaze also finds an echo in the flames of the "ten thousand hearths" of England, in which we imagine flames leaping higher in response to Liberty's call. Yet there is more fire to come, from a very different source. In the *Prelude*, "purging fires" will consume the "towers of Pride"; here, in *Descriptive Sketches*, pride's anger itself sets the land afire:

> Yet, yet, rejoice, tho' Pride's perverted ire
> Rouze Hell's own aid, and wrap the hills in fire,
> Lo! from th' innocuous flames, a lovely birth!
> With its own Virtues springs another earth:
> Nature, as in her prime,
> Begins, and Love and Truth compose her train. . .
> (481, lines 780–85)

As in the *Prelude*, fire is the engine of "the mighty prospects of the time" and the agent of justice (6:443), here giving rise to a world reborn. In both poems, Wordsworth presents inflammation as a curative symptom, "innocuous" and purgative of pride's perversions. Whether ire's fire is revolutionary (as in the *Prelude*, where the towers of Pride are consumed) or counterrevolutionary (as in *Descriptive Sketches*, where "Hell's own aid" is roused by Pride's anger), Wordsworth imagines it as a salutary stage or crisis that brings about regeneration.

One should resist, however, taking these samples of Wordsworth's poetry as confirming a taste for wrath. As a metaphor for the spread of republicanism, inflammation was one thing; as a program for political change, it was quite another, even in "the radical years." In a 1794 letter to William Matthews, in which he discusses plans to publish a monthly journal, Wordsworth writes,

> when I observe the people should be enlightened upon the subject of politics, I severely condemn all inflammatory addresses to the passions of men, even when it is intended to direct those passions to a good purpose. I would put into each man's hand a lantern to guide him, and not have him set out upon his journey depending for illumination on abortive flashes of lightning, or the coruscations of transitory meteors.[15]

Like most middle-class English "Jacobins" (including Godwin, Coleridge, and Priestly), Wordsworth was troubled by the idea of mob violence, and took pains to separate himself from the incendiaries of the radical press: his projected journal the *Philanthropist* would not contain appeals to the anger of the people.

For the counterrevolutionaries, the enraged mob was even more of a worry. In their writings, as we have seen, anger's ancient associations with madness and heat conjoin in a rhetoric of inflammation as both fever (including redness and swelling) and fire (including flames and explosions); both implied something potentially ungovernable and destructive. Such negative metaphorical characterizations of anger are at least as old as Seneca's *De Ira*, which begins with the description of the angry man quoted in chapter 1:

> you only have to behold the aspect of those possessed by anger to know that they are insane. For as the marks of a madman are unmistakable – a bold and threatening mien, a gloomy brow, a fierce expression, a hurried step, restless hands, an altered colour, a quick and more violent breathing – so likewise are the marks of the angry man; his eyes blaze and sparkle, his whole face is crimson with the blood that surges from the lowest depths of his heart, his lips quiver, his teeth are clenched, his hair bristles and stands on end, his breathing is

forced and harsh, his joints crack from writhing, he groans and bellows, bursts out into speech with scarcely intelligible words, strikes his hands together continually and stamps the ground with his feet: his whole body is excited and "performs great angry threats"; it is an ugly and horrible picture of distorted and swollen frenzy.[16]

Seneca is primarily concerned with personal anger as an irrational disruption of Stoic *constantia*, or self-possession, whereas the Revolution debates have popular outrage as their continual theme. Yet the wide circulation of his rhetorical figurations of anger in the eighteenth century – including madness, inflammation, fever, fire – ensured that a diagnostic attitude towards anger would predominate: where did it start? How does it spread? What treatment is required? Most fundamentally, is it a destructive disorder, a reactive symptom, or a salutary action with regard to the political body?

As might be expected, answers to this last question depend on whose anger is at issue; each side of the Revolution debate wants to diagnose raging fevers in the other. Yet because of revolution's long association with fire (from, say, Prometheus forward), inflammation tends to be strongly ascribed to those antagonistic to the *anciens régimes* of France and England. Furthermore, in some cases the English radicals stretched out their arms and embraced the flame of fire, accepting inflammation as their birthright. For example, in October 1795, Sampson Perry wrote in the advertisement to his newly relaunched radical weekly, *The Argus*, "He who best seizes the subject which is now warming the cold heart, and inflaming the stoick mind, will best please, will best succeed."[17] Here, fever warms and warns, and the rejection of Seneca is explicit: anger is not a disease but a cure for Stoic torpor. More frequently, however, "inflammation" is used in the loyalist press as an adjective of warning and condemnation, applied to the speeches and publications of the radicals from the 1790s through the postwar era. In this regard, anger spreads like contagious fever and like wildfire, thanks to the windy, infectious, incendiary words of Paine, Thelwall, Eaton, and Spence. Both metaphors imply an unnatural and destructive state of emergency, requiring immediate repression and control.

Yet as the radicals continually struggled to assert, revealed abuses often make people mad without resulting in violence and destruction. For Eaton and Perry in the 1790s, and later for Wooler and Sherwin, anger was necessary to rouse a public whose ancient rights were being usurped while it slept. As Perry writes in his *Argus*, published from prison in 1796, "An *inflammatory* writing under despotism, is a *virtuous* writing."[18]

Similarly, in the post-Waterloo period, W.T. Sherwin writes in 1817 in the inaugural issue of his weekly *Political Register,*

> By *inflammatory harrangues,* you mean the endeavors of such a man, to convince his countrymen of the *true* causes of their distress; and because he takes truth for his guide, you charge him with an attempt to *inflame* the minds of the people. I will tell you what inflames, or irritates the minds of the people, – . . . the want of a representation in Parliament . . . and a thousand other things, which all emanate from this source.[19]

In the same week, William Hone employed a self-consciously inflammatory rhetoric in his *Reformist Register*. Responding to an article in the *Times* wherein the people have been spoken of as objects to be dealt with, a bit like surplus potatoes, Hone turns up the heat:

> Read, for instance, the following extract from the *Times* of to-day; and if before you get to the end of it, you do not feel the blood from your heart rushing up into your cheeks, and scorching your very skin, if you do not feel as if you were nearly choking, before you have got half through, you have not the feelings which I had . . . "[20]

Precisely as the loyalists feared, Hone attempts to spread angry inflammation widely via a kind of sympathetic, contagious writing. He would be arrested and jailed for blasphemous libel within a month's time.

Clearly, the Revolution debates of the 1790s had produced conceptual and rhetorical figures that set the tone for discussions of domestic reform through the Napoleonic era. As Southey laments in an 1812 review,

> The most inflammatory harangues . . . are published like dying-speeches and sold through the manufacturing districts at a halfpenny or penny each. The effusions of hot city orators, and the most incendiary paragraphs of the anarchist journals are circulated in the same manner . . . The incendiaries have succeeded in kindling a flame; it is in the power of the laws to prevent them from extending it, and adding fuel to the conflagration . . . The first duty of the government is to stop this contagion . . . While the poor continue what they are . . . the materials for explosion will always be under our feet.[21]

The language of both "contagion" and "conflagration" that Southey uses here indicates the permeability of the metaphor, and thus its flexibility for loyalist writers. "Rage" becomes the pivot term in such writing, associating the revolutionaries with fire, fever, and ferocious beasts. Implicit in these ascriptions is the irrationality and indeed the pathology of popular anger: the mob is headless, blind, and ultimately passive, serving as flammable material set alight for destructive purposes by the "incendiary paragraphs" of the radicals. In other words, their anger is a "passion"

in the root sense of the word, a visitation upon them (like a disease, like a house-fire) that brings suffering. Thus "inflammatory" (rather than "inflamed) often becomes the accusation of choice, aimed at the radical leaders and authors, and implying that the people's outrage has been forced upon them by opportunistic villains, rather than provoked by material or political causes.

Southey's article takes this line exactly, blaming "harangues," "orators," "paragraphs," and "journals" as the source of discontent, particularly as they are circulated cheaply among the working poor. He elaborates on this theme, looking back to Burke's "swinish multitude":

> The weekly epistles of the apostles of sedition are read aloud in tap-rooms and pot-houses to believing auditors, listening greedily when they are told that their rulers fatten upon the gains extracted from their blood and sinews . . . The lessons are repeated day after day, and week after week. If madder be distributed to a pig only for a few days his bones are reddened with its die [*sic*]; and can we believe that that bloody colouring of such "pig's-meat" as this will not find its way into the system of those who take it for their daily food? (345)

The extraordinary metaphor developed here – with its reference to the radical journal *Pig's Meat* – is imperfect (pigs would not be particularly greedy for madder), but it vividly depicts the passive transference of anger-as-inflammation (here, the reddening associated with madder) from the radical press to the manufacturer in the ale-house, a passive pig swallowing everything whole, and being changed – made "madder" – thereby.

Southey may have been remembering a similar passage, written by his compatriot Coleridge during their period of Jacobinism in the 1790s. In the "Introductory Address" to his 1795 *Conciones ad Populum*, Coleridge repeats the language of his first political lecture at Bristol (originally published as *A Moral and Political Lecture* in 1795), and also incorporates passages from letters sent previously to Southey himself.[22] Here Coleridge calls for reform without violence, and closes with a series of significant metaphors regarding anger, the final one particularly related to Southey's comparison of an enraged public to maddened, reddened pigs:

> We should be cautious how we indulge the feelings even of virtuous indignation. Indignation is the handsome brother of Anger and Hatred. The Temple of Despotism, like that of Tescalipoca, the Mexican Deity, is built of human skulls, and cemented with human blood; – let us beware that we be not transported into revenge while we are leveling the loathsome Pile; lest when we erect the edifice of Freedom we vary the stile of architecture, not change the materials . . . The energies of the mind are wasted in these intemperate effusions. These materials of projectile force, which now carelessly explode with an offensive and

useless noise, directed by wisdom and union might heave Rocks from their base, – or perhaps (dismissing the metaphor) might produce the desired effect without the convulsion . . . That vice is the effect of error and the offspring of surrounding circumstances, the object therefore of condolence not of anger, is a proposition easily understood . . . but . . . it is not enough that we have once swallowed these Truths – we must feed on them, as insects on a leaf, till the whole heart be coloured by their qualities, and shew its food in every the minutest fibre.[23]

Like Marvell's quiet mind with its "green thought in a green shade," Coleridge's insect here becomes an emblem for the power of natural benevolence and Truth (figured by nature itself) to fortify the self against tumultuous passions like anger. In this, the metaphor precisely reverses Southey's, in which pigs who feed on the madder plant grow red, signifying the anger inculcated by the inflammatory falsehoods of the radicals. For Coleridge, the truth of benevolence is an anti-phlogistic leaf; for Southey, the falsity of discontent is an histaminic stalk. Both pithy metaphors suggest that when it comes to anger, you are what you eat: emotions are a function of habits of intake, which should be controlled.

Coleridge's other primary metaphor in this passage involves the demolition of a temple, and its progress demonstrates his ambivalence about his subject. Recognizing that the "Temple of Despotism" must be leveled to make room for the "edifice of Freedom," Coleridge turns to anger's incendiary power: "intemperate effusions" become "materials of projectile force" which may "heave Rocks from their base" if properly "directed by wisdom and union." Yet he has just warned his audience against the dangers of anger, hatred, and revenge, which would involve replicating the skulls and blood of the original structure. Ultimately he is forced to dismiss the metaphor (and with it, anger as such), hoping that the "desired effect" of demolition may be produced "without the convulsion." Behind this conflicted passage is the destruction of the Bastille, which was literally accomplished without explosives but whose capture required the inflamed anger of the citizens of Paris. Can we tear down a "loathsome Pile" without "intemperate effusions?" The question particularly haunted middle-class English reformers and sympathizers with revolution, who deplored scenes of popular violence and yet continually – if unconsciously – wooed the anger of oppressed members of the nation. Wordsworth's *Convention of Cintra* (1809) evinces similar anxieties as he attempts to figure the regulation of outrage, here on the part of the Spanish revolutionaries: "The difficulty lies – not in kindling, feeding, or fanning the flame; but in continuing so to regulate the relations of things – that the

fanning breeze and the feeding fuel shall come from no unworthy quarter, and shall neither of them be wanting in appropriate consecration."[24] Like Coleridge who wants incendiary public anger to be "directed by wisdom and union," Wordsworth hopes to "regulate the relations of things" so that patriotic inflammation remains worthy of the name, and consecrated to its purpose. Both writers fear political anger as wildfire, and both produce metaphors that represent this anxiety: Coleridge wants a demolition without a convulsion, and Wordsworth imagines a holy flame to which the "fanning breeze and the feeding fuel" impart a consistent moral charge.[25]

The point of this brief survey has been to demonstrate the two ruling paradigms of inflammation in the Revolutionary period – as disease or as symptom – and to show the function of those paradigms in the contemporary discourse of political anger. It becomes clear that the debates over inflammation were fundamentally concerned with the causes and consequences of popular anger. Thus they conform to a larger pattern of concern over anger in the period, centered on defining the basic trajectory or plot of that emotion. Narratives of the French Revolution and commentaries on British reform offer various versions of this plot, as do Romantic-era works of literature, from "A Poison Tree" and *Caleb Williams* to *Prometheus Unbound* and *Marino Faliero*. To identify a plot of anger is to validate some particular way of handling that emotion. As we have seen with regard to inflammation, one's response could be to support or repress the work of anger, depending on how one reads its causes and consequences. The larger cultural and political fabric provided many more opportunities to analyze anger's function, particularly in the midst of the passionate debates over revolution and reform, which in many cases were expressly about anger itself. In the case of William Blake, to whose work the remainder of this chapter is devoted, the revolution question was always subsumed within the emotional register of its articulation. Put another way, Blake's work embraces revolution as a correlative (perhaps even a consequence) of an allegiance to particular passions and emotional trajectories.

As a way into Blake's imaginative representations of anger, we might first consider Blake's personal negotiations with that emotion, memorably enacted in his arrest for treason after cursing the soldier Scofield whom he found trespassing in his garden at Felpham in August of 1803. Blake's altercation with Scofield (like Achilles' with Agamemnon) demonstrates how, in wartime, the division between private and public anger is almost impossible to maintain. Anger aims to have consequences, and it tends to

expand to include all apparent targets, rapidly crossing lines towards public concerns. Achilles' private quarrel with his king has immediate political and martial repercussions; Blake's personal indignation at Scofield's invasion of his garden grows to an assertion that all soldiers are slaves, and then to a damning of the king. Whether Blake actually said these things matters less than their insertion (either by Blake or Scofield) into a private conflict between strangers, indicating the tendency of citizens' anger to implicate or involve the state in times of crisis. Furthermore, private experiences of indignation and outrage establish the patterns by which the citizen will behave towards indignities threatened by and/or at the political status quo. And finally, Scofield's appearance in *Jerusalem* as a target of Los's rage indicates the permeability of Blake's work to his personal emotional narratives.

In one of the verses recorded in his notebook, Blake struggles to comprehend his anger:

> Was I angry with Hayley who used me so ill
> Or can I be angry with Felphams old Mill
> Or angry with Flaxman or Cromek or Stothard
> Or poor Schiavonetti whom they to death botherd
> Or angry with Macklin or Boydell or Bowyer
> Because they did not say O what a Beau ye are
> At a Friends Errors Anger shew
> Mirth at the Errors of a Foe (E, 504)

Blake, it would seem, was not an easy man to befriend. As in "A Poison Tree," anger is an emotion best reserved for friends – a paradox here, since in offending Blake and raising his ire, friends are transformed into foes. In this alienating economy of emotion, anger dissipates not by forgiveness of offenders but by their demotion. Such a strategy indicates a fundamental aversion to the imposition of anger; Blake would rather write off everyone as enemies than submit to anger's reactive dynamics. In an extreme (and paranoid) assertion of the imaginative will, he transforms his anger into "Mirth" by recasting friends as foes.

Yet Blake must imagine this resulting mirth as an equivocal emotion, one similar to what Milton calls "grim laughter" in a prose passage on satire:

> . . . the veine of laughing (as I could produce out of grave Authors) hath oftimes a strong and sinewy force in teaching and confuting; nor can there be a more proper object of indignation than a false Prophet . . . in the disclosure whereof if it be harmfull to be angry, and withall to cast a lowring smile . . . it will be long enough ere any be able to say why those two most rationall faculties of humane intellect anger and laughter were first seated in the brest of man.[26]

For Milton, the most effective mode of satire involves a dialectical play of anger and laughter. By pairing these two traditionally irrational and uncontrollable emotional reactions as the "two most rationall faculties of humane intellect," Milton privileges the wrath that is their synthesis, and that can melt away the words of the false prophet to reveal the true text they obscured. For Blake, the grim laughter of the wrathful satirist, because it indicates imaginative triumph, is preferable to the painful, reactive anger of personal experience, which indicates victimization and belatedness.

"A Poison Tree," Blake's best-known depiction of personal anger's destructive effects, begins where the satiric "Was I angry . . . " notebook verse ends, transforming the triumphant aphoristic conclusion of that work into a program for ruin. "Was I angry" closes with the recommendation, "At a Friends Errors Anger Shew / Mirth at the Errors of a Foe." Later in the notebook, "Christian forbearance," the poem later renamed "A Poison Tree," appears:

> I was angry with my friend;
> I told my wrath, my wrath did end
> I was angry with my foe:
> I told it not, my wrath did grow.
>
> And I waterd it in fears,
> Night & morning with my tears:
> And I sunned it with smiles,
> And with soft deceitful wiles. (E, 28)

Anger can be shown in response to the offenses of a friend, not a foe; the two notebook poems have that much in common. However, the poems diverge, as if "Christian forbearance" misread the concluding line of "Was I angry." The speaker does show mirth ("smiles" and "soft . . . wiles") in response to the errors of a foe, but here that mirth serves to disguise and indeed to compound his anger rather than transform it, aided by the "fears" and "tears" indicating dissimulation. The speaker's is not the "lowring smile" of Milton's wrathful satirist but the falsely sunny smile of the angry reactionary caught up in a secret cycle of revenge.

Hiding his anger, the speaker nurtures a tree of poison, preparing a bitter harvest:

> And it grew by day & night.
> Till it bore an apple bright.
> And my foe beheld it shine,
> And he knew that it was mine. (E, 28)

This poison tree, cultivated in secret, produces an "apple bright," inflamed with undischarged anger. The foe desires this fruit because he wants to deprive the speaker of it. In this sense, the apple comes to represent revenge itself; to pursue it is to bring destruction on one's own head. The speaker tells that his foe

> . . . into my garden stole,
> When night had veiled the pole;
> In the morning Glad I see;
> My foe outstretched beneath the tree. (E, 28)

Blake's speaker – here resembling the Jehovah who insists that both fruit and vengeance are "mine" – knows that revenge is a dish best served cold. Out of his obsessive anger, a plot slowly emerges, by "night & morning," by "day & night" – a plot that will implicate the foe in his own downfall. At the poem's conclusion, the speaker has been made "Glad" by observing the fruit of his vengeance: the corpse of his victim beneath the lowering tree of anger. The "apple bright," a swollen boil of contained anger that itches for revenge, proves toxic, devouring its own devourer by means of the secret ministry of poison.

In *De Ira*, Seneca writes *contra* Blake, "The best corrective of anger lies in delay" (2.29.1), urging his reader,

> Fight against yourself! . . . If [anger] is kept out of sight, if it is given no outlet, you begin to conquer. Let us conceal its signs, and so far as it is possible let us keep it hidden and secret . . . It should be kept hidden in the deepest depths of the heart and it should not drive but be driven; and more, all symptoms of it let us change into just the opposite. Let the countenance be unruffled, let the voice be gentle, the step very slow; gradually the inner man conforms to the outer (3.13.1–3)

Such recommendations directly contradict the dynamics of anger shown in "A Poison Tree," where "soft deceitful wiles" inflame anger instead of gradually dousing it. For Seneca, secrecy is the path to transformation, but Blake blames secrecy for the perpetuation of error. Yet both authors believe that anger "should not drive but be driven"; both want to eliminate personal anger and revenge in order to free men from uncontrolled emotional reaction that promotes violence towards mind and body. Like the Stoic sage whose ideal is immunity to the world's promptings to emotional reaction, Blake scorns the loss of imagination attendant upon reactive emotions. Both see anger as capitulation, the result of a misguided attachment to the mundane or to the narrow selfhood; both recommend more acute perception as the cure. Blake turns

to art to effect this refocusing, while the Stoics turn to reason. In *De Ira*, anger's irrational torsions threaten Stoic *constantia*; in Blake, anger's predictable constancy thwarts the transformation of self and world.

Writing on forgiveness in Blake, Jeanne Moskal has occasion to quote Hannah Arendt: "In contrast to revenge, which is the natural, automatic reaction to transgression, forgiveness can never be predicted . . . Forgiveness, in other words, is the only reaction which does not react but acts anew and unexpectedly."[27] While Blake's opinion of forgiveness is more ambivalent, as Moskal has shown, he shares Arendt's view of revenge as reaction, and disapproves whole-heartedly of it;[28] for above all else, Blake favors emotional priority, which is another name for imaginative self-creation. Reactive emotions, or passions as passive responses, are inevitably part of a cycle of opacity, a mill of death with complicated wheels. Just as he emphasizes freedom and the horrors of restraint, Blake evinces an equivalent disapproval of reaction, the automatic passions that subject the imagination to the actions of another. As he writes in "Auguries of Innocence," "To be in a Passion you Good may do / But no Good if a Passion is in you" (E, 492): To possess emotional energy is positive, to be possessed by it is not.

Blake's conception of fallen anger as a reactionary and therefore undesirable emotion emerges in part from the historical nexus of the late eighteenth century. The events of the Ninth of Thermidor and the subsequent execution of Robespierre in July of 1794 signaled the end of the French Revolution and beginning of the reaction. Indeed, the French term "réactionnaire" emerged during this period as a designation for the growing counterrevolutionary sentiment, exemplified by the White Terror of 1795.[29] As George Lefebvre writes of that period, "The reactionaries . . . hoped to take vengeance on the Jacobins and Sans-Culottes by turning the Terror against them," vengeance that Isnard would neologistically label "*crimes réactionnaires*" in 1796.[30] Thus the representatives of the Revolutionary government seized semantic priority by relegating the maneuvers of their enemies to "reaction," or belated response. Recognizing the importance of such designations, the party of reaction banned the use of the word *révolutionnaire* in June of 1795.[31] Two decades later, the word "reaction" in its political sense began to appear in English writings. In *Old Mortality*, Scott writes of "that perpetuating of factious quarrels, which is called in modern times Reaction"; and in the same year (1815) the *Edinburgh Review*, in praising the early days of Napoleon's leadership, stated that "all men dreaded what the French call a *reaction*."[32] In both cases, usage indicates that the political meaning of the word was a

relatively new addition to the language, retaining overtones of angry retaliation and cycles of revenge, which Blake deplored.

In fact, Blake uses the word "reaction" only once in his works: in *Jerusalem*, as the voice of "Divine Vision" says in condemnation,

> The Reactor hath hid himself thro envy. I behold him.
> But you cannot behold him till he be reveald in his System
> Albions Reactor must have a Place prepard: Albion must Sleep
> The Sleep of Death, till the Man of Sin & Repentance be reveald.
> Hidden in Albions Forests he lurks; he admits of no Reply
> From Albion: but hath founded his Reaction into a Law
> Of Action, for Obedience to destroy the Contraries of Man[.]
> He hath compelld Albion to become a Punisher . . . (E, 191)

Northrop Frye writes of this passage, "Satan, Blake says, is a 'Reactor'; he never acts, he only reacts; he never sees, he always has to be shown; and if our attitude to what we see is 'reactionary' we are done for" – that is, doomed because another does (or acts) for us.[33] According to Erdman, the "Reactor" also resembles the vengeful Jehovah, whose eye-for-an-eye example has led England to reactionary and retributive policies towards France (*Prophet*, 470). Here, reaction is explicitly associated with vengeance and punishment, with a state of anger founded upon a defensive and watchful pacing of boundaries and characterized by an inherently belated responsiveness. Blake wants instead an anger that is an assistant to his imaginative will, an emotion that is active and revolutionary, that privileges the trope, the metaphorical turning that escapes the dull round of history and the single vision of Newton, whose third law of motion in the *Principia* makes "reaction" a primary structuring force of the universe.

Blake's attitude towards action and reaction is further informed by his reading of Swedenborg. In a copy of *The Wisdom of Angels concerning Divine Love and Divine Wisdom* (1788), Blake noted the following passage:

> There is from God in every created Thing a Reaction, Life alone hath Action, and Reaction is excited by the Action of Life: This Reaction appears as if it appertained to the created Being, because it exists when the Being is acted upon; thus in Man it appears as if it was his own, because he does not perceive any otherwise than that Life is his own, when nevertheless Man is only a Recipient of Life. From this Cause it is, that Man, from his own hereditary Evil, reacts against God; but so far as he believes that all his Life is from God, and every Good of Life from the Action of God, and every Evil of Life from the Reaction of Man, Reaction thus becomes correspondent with Action, and Man acts with God as

from himself. The Equilibrium of all Things is from Action and joint Reaction, and every Thing must be in Equilibrium.[34]

According to Swedenborg, God alone acts and man merely reacts; man's "hereditary Evil" leads him to react against God, while believing he is acting originally. To overcome this state of affairs, Swedenborg suggests, man must accept his own reactive nature, subordinating himself to God's action, which then flows through man in such a way that reactive man may paradoxically act "with God as from himself." For Swedenborg, this "Equilibrium" is true freedom. In the margin of his copy of *The Wisdom of Angels*, next to this passage, Blake writes, "Good & Evil are here both Good & the two contraries Married" (E, 604). He recognizes that the marriage or equilibrium presented by Swedenborg transforms reaction into a species of action – precisely Blake's project in regard to anger and wrath, as we have seen. Yet Blake seems to have come to recognize in Swedenborg an affinity with Newton, and soon rejects a system requiring reaction to explain existence: what looks like incarnation of the divine act reveals itself as mere ventriloquism. Blake sees that the claim, "Man acts with God as from himself," means not "as *well as* from himself," but "as *if* from himself." *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell* enacts Blake's rejection of this system and its sponsor.

Ultimately, the distinction between reactive anger and active wrath determines much of Blake's work, particularly the prophetic books. The crowning example occurs at the conclusion of *Jerusalem*, where he envisions the awakening of Albion from his sleep of imaginative and spiritual torpor, a moment heralding apocalyptic transformation. On plate 94, we find Albion "on his Rock: storms & snows beat round him" and "The weeds of Death inwrap his hands & feet" (E, 254). All seems lost, until Brittania's lament enters "Albion's clay cold ear; he moved upon the Rock" (E, 254); and as "the Breath Divine went forth upon the morning hills,"

> . . . Albion rose
> In anger: the wrath of God breaking bright flaming on all sides around
> His awful limbs: into the Heavens he walked clothed in flames
> Loud thundring, with broad flashes of flaming lightning & pillars
> Of fire, speaking the Words of Eternity in Human Forms, in direful
> Revolutions of Action & Passion . . . (E, 255)

Albion literally rouses himself to anger here, partaking of the wrath of God and taking his place at the end of a line of prophets who spoke their own wrathful "Words of Eternity." As in Biblical eschatology, history

ends on a *dies irae*, with an angry roar, not a whimper.[35] Yet, as Erdman has noted, "the motif of *Jerusalem* is peace without vengeance" (*Prophet*, 462). Albion's apocalyptic wrath must be something other than the emotional reaction Los fears when he exclaims, "O Albion, if thou takest vengeance; if thou revengest thy wrongs / Thou art forever lost!" (E, 194). His rising anger must be distinct from both the unspoken wrath of "A Poison Tree," which grows to produce deadly fruit, and the vicious curses of Tiriel against his children. Here, at the conclusion to *Jerusalem*, Blake offers an anger that is redeemed from fallen cycles of vengeance and frustration, a wrath untainted by Urizenic (and Homeric) retribution. Blake is fundamentally concerned with creating a structure for, while working within, this "bright flaming" wrath that produces "Words of Eternity" and "direful / Revolutions of Action & Passion."

The conclusion of *Jerusalem* thus illuminates the differences between this redeemed anger that ends historical strife and the fallen anger that precipitates it. Specifically, Blake's rendering of apocalypse in the last five plates of *Jerusalem* presents the culmination of a symbolic theme that runs through Blake's prophetic writings: the bow and arrows of flaming gold – the weapons of the prophet and vehicles of divine wrath. Albion rises like the sun, "bright flaming," "upon the morning hills," and the wrath of God is seen "breaking" with the day; Blake makes the identification explicit:

> . . . Thou seest the Sun in heavy clouds
> Struggling to rise above the Mountains; in his burning hand
> He takes his Bow, then chooses out his arrows of flaming gold
> Murmuring the Bowstring breathes with ardor! clouds roll round the
> Horns of the wide Bow, loud sounding winds sport on the mountain brows.
> (E, 255)

Albion has become a wrathful Apollo; but for Blake, Apollo is one of the "detestable gods of Priam" (*Milton*, E, 108), equivalent to Apollyon, the Destroyer in the Book of Revelation. Blake knew that the history and literary history of the West begins with a fall into anger, enacted by Apollo and related in Homer's *Iliad*. Although we hear of Achilles' wrath first, Apollo and his priest introduce the angry cycle of vengeance that occupies both the epic and the fallen history of mankind. In Book One of the *Iliad*, Apollo, hearing the prayer of his priest for revenge,

> . . . strode down along the pinnacles of Olympos, angered
> in his heart, carrying across his shoulders the bow and the hooded
> quiver; and the shafts clashed on the shoulders of the god walking

> angrily. He came as night comes down and knelt then
> apart and opposite the ships and let go an arrow.
> Terrible was the clash that rose from the bow of silver.[36]

Albion rises like the sun and Apollo descends like night, both bringing stormy weather with them.[37] The murmuring thunder of each bow becomes a prophetic fiat, Apollo's heralding a fall into one kind of anger and Albion's indicating redemption by means of another. Apollo's arrows literally carry plague to the Greek camp; they also bring vengeful anger in a trajectory of contagious reaction. In *Jerusalem*, Blake asserts Albion's wrathful bowshot as the cure.

Plates 97 and 98 of *Jerusalem* present Albion's apocalyptic archery most thoroughly:

> . . . Then Albion stretchd his hand into Infinitude
> And took his Bow. Fourfold the Vision for bright beaming Urizen
> Layd his hand on the South & took a breathing Bow of carved Gold
> Luvah his hand stretch'd to the East & bore a Silver Bow bright shining:
> Tharmas Westward a Bow of Brass pure flaming richly wrought:
> Urthona Northward in thick storms a Bow of Iron terrible thundering.
> And a Bow is a Male & Female & the Quiver of the Arrows of Love,
> Are the Children of this Bow: a Bow of Mercy & Loving-kindness: laying
> Open the hidden Heart in Wars of mutual Benevolence Wars of Love
> And the Hand of Man grasps firm between the Male & Female Loves
> And he Clothed himself in Bow & Arrows in awful state Fourfold
> In the midst of his Twenty-eight Cities, each with his Bow breathing
> Then each an Arrow flaming from his Quiver fitted carefully
> They drew fourfold the unreprovable String, bending thro the wide Heavens
> The horned Bow Fourfold, loud sounding flew the flaming Arrow fourfold.
> Murmuring the Bow-string breathes with ardor. Clouds roll round the horns
> Of the wide Bow, loud sounding Winds sport on the Mountains brows:
> The Druid Spectre was Annihilate loud thundring rejoicing terrific vanishing
> Fourfold Annihilation & at the clangor of the Arrows of Intellect
> The innumerable Chariots of the Almighty appeard in Heaven
> And Bacon & Newton & Locke, & Milton & Shakespear & Chaucer
> A Sun of blood red wrath surrounding heaven on all sides around,
> Glorious incompreh[en]sible by Mortal Man . . . (E, 256–7)

Uniquely here, the four Zoas (or states of Albion) – Urizen, Luvah, Tharmas, and Urthona – act in one accord, indicating Albion's "Fourfold vision" as a function of political unity; out of many, one. Thus, this weapon is "unreprovable": undeserving of blame and free from cycles of retaliation. The "flaming Arrow fourfold" that Albion lets fly is one of "Love," or redeemed desire, and "Intellect," or redeemed reason, uniting even

Locke and Milton. These forces will transform the destructive strife of mankind, exemplified by the Trojan War in Homer and the warring Zoas in *Jerusalem* and *The Four Zoas*, into "Wars of mutual benevolence, Wars of Love" conducted within a glorious "Sun of blood red wrath." Epic anger gives place to apocalyptic wrath.

As we have seen, the Blakean hero is necessarily inflamed (think of Rintrah shaking his fires in *The Marriage*, for example) and transgressive, always breaking chains, circles, and horizons in outbursts of self-created rage. As such, he enacts a particularly anti-classical, post-Christian variety of the sublime. As an analogue, we might consider how Chateaubriand, in his monumental and influential *Génie du Christianisme* (1802; English trans., 1815), praises the sublime of the Bible over that of Homer in Longinian (and Blakean) terms: "the sublime in Homer commonly arises from the general combination of the parts, and arrives by degrees at its acme. In the Bible it is always unexpected; it bursts upon you like lightning, and you are left wounded by the thunderbolt before you know how you were struck by it."[38] Homer is indeed "vanquished" by the Bible, "in such a manner as to leave criticism no possible subterfuge" (362). Milton too defeats Homer in Chateaubriand's account of the sublime, for Homer's "*marvellous* and all his grandeur are nevertheless eclipsed by the *marvellous* of Christianity" (330), a judgment Chateaubriand supports by citing Satan's transgressive journey from Hell to Earth in *Paradise Lost*, 2–3. "Satan speeding his course from the depths of Chaos up to the frontiers of nature" is "a sublime species of the marvellous" (333), precisely because of Satan's mighty extroversion. In the midst of the passage Chateaubriand abstracts, Milton's God observes Satan's movements:

> Only begotten Son, seest thou what rage
> Transports our adversary, whom no bounds
> Prescribed, no bars of hell, nor all the chains
> Heaped on him there, nor yet the main abyss
> Wide interrupt can hold; so bent he seems
> On desperate revenge, that shall redound
> Upon his own rebellious head. And now
> Through all restraint broke loose he wings his way[39]

For both Chateaubriand and Blake, transporting rage that bursts boundaries constitutes the style of the prophetic sublime, which surpasses the heroic sublime of Homeric epic. Like Blake's Albion, who "rose / In anger: the wrath of God breaking bright flaming on all sides around / His

awful limbs . . . / Loud thundring with flashes of flaming lightning" (E, 255), the sublime of the Bible and Milton "bursts upon you like lightning" in a wrathful moment of explosion. Blake, however, wants to replace Milton's figuration of the sublime in Satan, here a misplaced epic hero seeking "desperate revenge," with a divine wrath, transgressive rather than vengeful or regulatory, that will enact apocalypse as a figure for his own sublime style.

William Blake's prophetic moment consists in an escape from anger's bonds by way of wrath's energies. As Morton Paley has written of wrath in Blake's conception, "the poet aspiring towards prophecy perceives and fixes its terrible energies as sublime"; the anger of the prophet enables this transgressive discourse of sublimity.[40] Vincent A. De Luca finds that Blake views the sublime "as a turbulent, subversive, indecorous force, a surpassing of conventions and reasonable limits'," a definition all but indistinguishable from Blake's view of prophetic wrath.[41] Reactive anger amounts to "Single vision & Newtons sleep" (E, 722), while prophetic wrath suggests a fourfold vision at once satiric, apocalyptic, transgressive, and sublime. Further, the sublime is not merely energy, but rather a dialectical structure involving both containment and eruption. The turn from bondage to liberation, and from anger to wrath, constitutes the Blakean sublime, which resides in that continually refigured trope. As Blake states in *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell*, "Reason is the bound or outward circumference of Energy" (E, 34). Under a similar assumption, Longinus asserts, "There is no tone so lofty as that of genuine passion, in its right place, when it bursts out in a wild gust of mad enthusiasm."[42] Blake and Longinus both approve of outbursts in the right places. In an oscillation between the centripetal binding agent (usually reason) and the centrifugal force of transgression (passion or imagination), the sublime moment and the scene of anger find a common dynamic structure.

At the end of *A Song of Liberty*, the epilogue to *The Marriage*, a fiery revolutionary figure confronts a "jealous king", and cursing gives way to energetic eruption (E, 44). As the poem concludes, the wrathful figure, "Spurning the clouds written with curses, stamps the stony law to dust" while "loosing the eternal horses from the dens of night crying, / Empire is no more! and now the lion & wolf shall cease" (E, 45). Directly underneath these lines, as Erdman has pointed out, "the text is illuminated with dashing and prancing horses" (*Prophet*, 195). These are Blake's horses of wrath, analogues of the four horses of Revelation that are released on the *dies irae*. Erdman sees these horses from *A Song of Liberty* as products of the marriage of Reason and Energy, or a synthesis of the

"tygers of wrath" and "the horses of instruction," cited in Blake's *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell* (E, 37), with the result that "The era of the beasts of prey gives way to the era of the untethered horses of the intellect" (*Prophet*, 195). The "son of fire" probably speaks the prophetic concluding line, again involving the discourse of inflammation with revolutionary rage; but the syntax allows us to attribute it to the "eternal horses" themselves, who prophesy the end of history as they shake off their fetters, representing the transgressive, anti-reactionary energies of Blakean anger.

Ultimately, the virtually constant pairing of wrath and fire in Blake's work has a basis in both classical and Biblical models, even as such imagery is shaped by a discourse of anger and inflammation in the public sphere of the 1790s. For Blake, questions of history and eschatology linked these influences: how can vengeful, circular anger be transformed into creative, forward-looking wrath? Can inflammation be both a reactive symptom and a self-originating agent of change? What vision of anger will bring us closer to the world we desire? The Romantic period confronted such concerns at an unprecedented level of urgency, as revolution and its media continually demonstrated and asserted the power of anger (as a human phenomenon, as a conceptual category, as a rhetorical device) to reshape society and the lives of men. In Blake's work, the transfiguration of epic anger by means of apocalyptic wrath produced a kind of prophetic blaze, a shaking of fires in an air burdened with assumptions about anger that threatened art, the spirit of revolution, and, thus for Blake, the human form divine.

CHAPTER 4

Provocation and the plot of anger

I was angry with my friend;
I told my wrath, my wrath did end
I was angry with my foe:
I told it not, my wrath did grow.
– Blake, "A Poison Tree"

William Blake's "A Poison Tree" suggests that acting upon anger puts an end to plot; whether we tell or wreak our wrath, its expression is antithetical to calculated narratives. As Philip Fisher says, anger is a fundamentally rash emotion precisely at odds with the "world of plots."[1] On the other hand, the same poem presents the cultivation of angry passions as dependent upon the secret plotting of the speaker, whose hunger for vengeance grows in proportion to the narrative's deferral of satisfaction. In other words, in Blake's poem, anger both requires plots and disables them. This double vision is symptomatic of a broader, historically specific oscillation in British conceptions of anger during the 1790s, due primarily to the influence of the French Revolution and the ways it was discussed. In English political, medical, and legal discourse of the period, we find a remarkable alignment of changing attitudes towards rage in the wake of the Revolution, as a fear of popular anger permeated the culture. As revolutionary anger was being demonized as irrational, destructive rage in conservative political discourse, inflammation (of the body and body politic) was being reconceptualized as a dangerous disease in metaphorical and medical terms.[2] To this extent, the plot of anger was being written as a blind and rash trajectory – the arc of shrapnel in the explosion. On the other hand, a parallel discourse depicted the radical leaders as pursuing a conscious, calculating program of wrath against the state, a plot of anger as sharply directed as a knife in the back. Furthermore, it remained a question of some importance to the Revolution debates whether British subjects were discontented (i.e., angry) because of rational causes, such as

their lack of representation in Parliament, or because they had been inflamed by radical rhetoric that blinded them to their best interests. Was their anger a rational exercise of the will to advance the nation towards reform, or a mindless response to demagoguery, one that followed only a trajectory of destruction?

These questions underlie much of the rhetoric surrounding the issue of reform in England during this period, and answers to them overspill the bounds of political debate into other disciplinary arenas. More specifically, and for my purposes here, changes in the way English courts judged cases of provocation follow the contours of the debate, suggesting a large-scale shift in national consciousness. As Jeremy Horder has shown, a new legal situation at the end of the eighteenth century had its basis in a changing conception of anger:

> in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries the law ceased to describe anger in terms of outrage, the conception of anger in which reason plays the dominant role in guiding action. The law instead described it in terms of a loss of self-control . . . according to which passions overwhelm the power of reason, leaving people at the mercy of their desires for retaliatory suffering.[3]

As a result, defendants who could establish that they killed in anger were assumed to have been out of control and thus not fully culpable for their actions. Just as medical doctors were redefining inflammation from curative symptom to irrational disease, lawyers and judges were rethinking outbursts of anger as fits of madness rather than exercises of the will. In this account, anger's narrative logic – a perceived injury followed by a desire for retaliation and an expression of that desire – becomes an automatic reaction that usually thwarts one's larger interests, rather than a rationally pursued path in keeping with the self and its desires: the angry man kills his best friend; the British worker pulls down the political structures that have sustained him. Of course, the paradox of this new legal dispensation is that as it reduces the defendant's culpability, it amplifies his error: the angry murderer is less guilty (because he is out of control), but also less human, more pathetic, more self-destructive.

The work of William Godwin nicely reflects these developments in the history of anger, politics, the law, and narrative. Following the publication of *Caleb Williams* in 1794, Godwin imagined that two of his next projects would be "Observations on the Revolution in France" and a "Life of Alexander the Great."[4] Neither was actually completed, but both were clearly prepared for in his novel. Much has been made of its revolutionary (or in any case, politically radical) themes,[5] and I suggest that the figure of

Alexander as he appears in *Caleb Williams* provides a key to Godwin's attitudes towards anger and provocation, revolution and reform – ones quite in keeping with the new Stoicism of the 1790s. This is true particularly with regard to the legend in which Alexander rashly kills his good friend Clitus after being provoked by his invective during a drunken banquet.[6] By Godwin's era, the legend was already well-worn as an illustrative example. Looking back, in the *Biographia Literaria*, on his boyhood education in the classics at Christ's Hospital, Coleridge remembers "the example of Alexander and Clytus" being forbidden as a simile by his schoolmaster James Bowyer, since it "was equally good and apt, whatever might be the theme. Was it ambition? Alexander and Clytus!– Flattery? Alexander and Clytus! – Anger? Drunkenness? Pride? Friendship? Ingratitude? Late repentance? Still, still Alexander and Clytus!"[7] Bowyer's objection lies in the various applicability of this ancient anecdote which plays an important role in Godwin's *Caleb Williams* (1794), where its applicability – that is, the recognition of it as an apt allusion – is precisely at issue. *Pace* Bowyer, I want to unfold the Alexander–Clitus story as a figure indicating Godwin's thoughts on anger, particularly in relation to the intemperate political climate of the 1790s and current conceptions of anger and provocation. Furthermore, Mary Shelley's *Frankenstein* provides a useful post-Revolutionary counterpoint to the questions of provocation involved in her father's work, a topic explored at chapter's end. In Godwin's novel, Caleb alludes to the story of Alexander and Clitus and thus points to a plot of anger that structures both the novel-as-narrative and revolutionary politics as Godwin saw them. Ultimately, like so much of the writing of this period, *Caleb Williams* is concerned with the tyrannous consequences of uncontrolled rage: for leaders, for rebels, and for political communities. In Godwin's hands, a biography of Alexander and observations on the French Revolution would have had this same set of concerns at heart.

In *Caleb Williams*, during his early residence with Falkland, Caleb claims that he often found himself in the midst of conversations with his master that touched upon Falkland's "secret wound": his guilt over the murder of Tyrrel.[8] As the most memorable example, he tells of a discussion on the merits of Alexander the Great, one that reveals much about the two interlocutors. Citing Prideaux[9] and Fielding[10] as precedents, Caleb disparages Alexander as a "Great Cut-throat," "who has spread destruction and ruin over the face of nations" (*Caleb Williams*, 111). Falkland, on the other hand, offers a spirited defense of the conqueror as "gallant, generous, and free," a "model of honour, generosity, and

disinterestedness" who "set out in a great undertaking to civilise mankind" (111). The conversation proceeds amiably enough until Caleb makes the following all-too-applicable remarks:

> what is worse, sir, this Alexander in the paroxysm of his *headlong rage* spared neither friend nor foe. You will not pretend to justify the excesses of his *ungovernable passion*. It is impossible sure that a word can be said for a man whom a momentary *provocation* can hurry into the commission of murders . . . (112; my emphasis)

Hearing in this an allusion to his own vengeful murder of Tyrrel, Falkland is stricken: "The blood forsook at once the transparent complexion of Mr. Falkland, and then rushed back again with rapidity and fierceness" (112). He attempts a stammering defense of Alexander, and seems eager to dismiss the topic, but Caleb cannot resist probing the wound with a more pointed allusion: "Clitus, said I, was man of very coarse and provoking manners, was he not?" (113). Again, Falkland's reaction is immediate and physical; he glares at Caleb, is "seized with a convulsive shuddering," and then "strode about the room in anger, his visage gradually assumed an expression as of supernatural barbarity, he quitted the apartment abruptly, and flung the door with a violence that seemed to shake the house" (113). The episode marks Caleb's "advancing to the brink of the precipice," as his curiosity dooms him to Falkland's wrathful persecution (113).

Caleb's negative view of Alexander initially seems to be an echo of Godwin's own. In *Political Justice*, Godwin writes of him as a monarch who had employed "bloodshed, violence and murder" for the purpose "of enslaving mankind," and notes that "The conquests of Alexander cost innumerable lives."[11] Yet evidence suggests a more ambiguous opinion, one that moderates this view with that of Falkland. Later in *Political Justice*, Godwin paraphrases a "common opinion" of the "school of adversity," which is that "the mixed, and, upon the whole, the vicious, yet accomplished" character of Alexander was formed in his struggles with "injustice and persecution" (11:7). Godwin goes on to refute the necessity of adversity for the creation of virtue, but does not challenge this "mixed" characterization. In addition, in Godwin's *History of Greece: From the Earliest Records of that Country to the Time in which it was reduced into a Roman Province* (published in 1822 under the pseudonym Edward Baldwin), he writes sympathetically, "The reign of Alexander could not be omitted in the history of Greece: he was one of the most extraordinary persons which that memorable portion of the earth

produced, and his character must be considered as the offspring of the institutions and achievements of the Greeks" (quoted in Mace, "Hercules and Alexander," 42). Finally, in the language of Falkland's defense of Alexander, we hear sentiments of which Godwin would have approved. When Falkland says, "It is mind, Williams, the generation of knowledge and virtue that we ought to love," and praises Alexander as "a true and judicious lover of mankind" (*Caleb Williams*, 111–12), he recalls Godwin's *Political Justice*, in which "mind" plays a central role in Godwin's scheme of a just society (e.g., 1:25–26). As he puts it in that work, glowingly, "to raise those who are abased; to communicate to every man all true wisdom, and to make all men participators of a liberal and comprehensive benevolence. This is the path in which the reformers of mankind ought to travel. This is the prize they should pursue" (1:448). Caleb's perennial sympathy for and devotion for Falkland throughout the novel perhaps figures Godwin's own conflicted attitude towards Alexander, and towards elitism generally.[12]

Yet beyond noting the basic association of Falkland with Alexander, critics have paid little attention to the contours of this conversation, and particularly to the implications of Caleb's allusion to Clitus. Mace only states that "Falkland's identification with Alexander is most apparent when he reacts violently to Caleb's mention of Clitus" ("Hercules and Alexander," 41). Given Falkland's preoccupation with his own guilt, one assumes that this is so because Clitus reminds him of Tyrrel, another provoking victim. But actually the Tyrrel–Clitus comparison is not a particularly apt one. After all, Clitus was Alexander's intimate friend of long standing, who had saved his life in the past, thus making the murder all the more egregious. In contrast, Tyrrel and Falkland were decided enemies at the time of Tyrrel's death. Falkland does not regret the loss of Tyrrel, but of his own chivalric image of himself – whereas Alexander sincerely mourns Clitus.[13] Thus there is something curious in Falkland's instant recognition of the Clitus allusion as applicable to his own situation with Tyrrel. In fact, it reveals a more appropriate analogy that Falkland may glimpse simultaneously: Caleb as Clitus.

After all, both Caleb and Clitus are devoted assistants who unadvisedly provoke their powerful masters to fits of destructive rage. Further, both accomplish this by means of allusion. The substance of Clitus' reproaches and taunts varies with the historian, but all agree he disparaged Alexander's egotism and his refusal to share credit appropriately with those under his command. Plutarch and Quintus Curtius Rufus are two of the primary classical sources of the tale, both of which Godwin knew.[14]

According to them, Clitus' remarks involved his alluding to a passage from Euripides' *Andromache* beginning, "Oh, how perverse customs are in Greece!" and which continues,

> When the army sets up trophies over an enemy, people do not regard this as the deed of those who have done the work. Instead the general receives the honor. He brandished his spear as one man among countless others and did no more than a single warrior, yet he gets more credit. And sitting arrogantly in office in the city they think grander thoughts than the common people, though they are worthless. The people would be far superior to them in wisdom if they acquired daring and will.[15]

Plutarch reports that Clitus sang out only the first line, which so enraged Alexander that he slew him with a spear. Similarly, Curtius Rufus (in the edition owned by Godwin) notes that before being killed, Clytus was "rehearsyng verses of Euripides . . . The effect of them was, that the Greekes dyd evyll, whiche in the monumentes of their victoryes, did subscribe onely the names of theyr kynges, whiche usurped the glorye to them selves that other menne dyd winne by sheadyng of theyr bloude" (*Actes of the Great Alexander*, 151). Just as Alexander hears a maddening accusation in the quotation, Falkland hears one in Caleb's allusion to this ancient scene of provocation and wrath. In such a mirrored echo chamber, Caleb becomes Clitus in the moment of alluding to him.

The burden of the Euripides passage is a challenge to aristocratic elitism, precisely what Caleb challenges in Alexander, and thus implicitly in Falkland, during their conversation. Caleb asks Falkland, for example, "But shall I forget what a vast expence was bestowed in erecting the monument of his fame? . . . How many hundred thousands of lives did he sacrifice in his career?" – to which Falkland answers, "what in reality are a hundred thousand such men more than a hundred thousand sheep?" (*Caleb Williams*, 111). In a sense, therefore, both Clitus and Caleb can claim a revolutionary consciousness, objecting to an unfair distribution of goods and evils in the service of tyrannical desires. As is immediately evident when Caleb raises the topic, Alexander's reputation is close to Falkland's heart, Clitus or no; the Macedonian ruler represents everything – the rule of "honor, generosity, and disinterestedness," "learning, sensibility, and taste," a "cultivated liberality of mind," a commitment to "knowledge and virtue" – that Falkland hugs so dearly (110–11). Yet all of these attributes are based in Falkland's commitment to aristocratic chivalry and *noblesse oblige*, both of which involve a view of common men as "sheep." So for Falkland, Caleb's invocation of Clitus brings forth not only the specter of Tyrrel, but also of revolutionary dissent (in the person

of Caleb himself), predicated on the "ungovernable passions" indulged by the aristocracy.

In this confrontation with Caleb, Falkland reveals himself as trapped in a recurrent cycle of provocation and reaction, again playing Alexander to another's Clitus. His angry pacing, his "expression of supernatural barbarity," and his violent door-slamming in response to Caleb's words are the prelude to his destructive persecution of his devoted secretary. As Caleb himself puts it after being told the truth, "He killed Mr. Tyrrel, for he could not control his resentment and anger . . . how can I expect that a man thus passionate and unrelenting will not sooner or later make me his victim?" (137). In confirmation of this, we soon find Falkland informing Caleb, "I shall crush you in the end with the same indifference that I would any other little insect that disturbed my serenity . . . miscreant! reptile! . . . cease to contend with insurmountable power!" (153–54). Along with Tyrrel's similar failing, Falkland's inability to defuse his rage becomes the prime mover of the tragedy that ensues. And like Alexander, Falkland learns to lament his wrath.

In fact, Godwin's novel, and particularly volume 1, might fairly be read as a primer on the wages of anger. Initially Falkland appears as the soul of restraint, placating Count Malvesi, who is "drunk with choler" upon suspecting Lucretia's infidelity. Yet even here he warns Malvesi, "My temper is not less impetuous and fiery than your own, and it is not at all times that I should have been thus able to subdue it" (15). These are prophetic words, put to the test by means of Barnabas Tyrrel, whose envy and aversion regarding Falkland produce torments of anger for both men. Tyrrel himself does little besides nurse resentment and indulge in angry outbursts. We see him as he "brooded . . . in the recesses of a malignant mind" (23), and "seemed ready to burst with gall and indignation" (26); he says of Falkland, "I should be glad to see him torn with tenter-hooks, and to grind his heart-strings with my teeth" (37); he curses Emily for defying him, and "his despotic and unforgiving propensities stimulated him to a degree little short of madness" (57); "foaming with rage," he curses Hawkins, claiming "I will suffer nobody to stop the stream of my resentment" (77). Godwin informs us that "vengeance was his nightly dream, and the uppermost in his waking thoughts" (78), and that he "was under the dominion of an uncontrollable fury" (85). Even after Emily's death, "his rage was unbounded and raving. He repelled every attack with the fiercest indignation" (93), and ultimately gives Falkland a beating in a fit of drunken rage. This last detail – Tyrrel's intoxication – connects again to the Alexander–Clitus story, in which anger and alcohol both

figure to produce a dangerous loss of self-control. Under the influence of these two inflammatory agents, Tyrrel acts to demonstrate Godwin's Stoic horror at their destructive power. Falkland's forbearance gives way, and he murders Tyrrel in the street.

Or does he? In fact a strong case could have been made at the time for mitigating Falkland's offence to manslaughter, rather than murder. Because of the legal changes that Horder has traced, provocation to anger was a viable defense against charges of premeditation, and had been so since the latter half of the eighteenth century. This alteration was thus less a reaction to conceptual changes introduced by the French Revolution and the ensuing debate, than a parallel development that helped confirm (and was itself strengthened by) the widespread reimagining of anger as irrational rage in the Revolutionary era – what Karen Weisman calls in her article on provocation and Romanticism the "newly emergent conceptualizations of the angry agent."[16] For example, in successfully defending "the Wicked Lord" Byron (the poet's great-uncle) against a murder charge, Solicitor General William de Grey argued in 1765: "an ungovernable transport of passion will so far alleviate the crime, as to make that, which would otherwise have been murder, and a capital offence, manslaughter only . . . This is a condescension the law shews to the frailties of the human mind, which upon great and sudden provocations cannot command itself, nor maintain its reason."[17] By the 1790s, virtually all crimes committed in anger could be defended as having been performed in "an ungovernable transport of passion," since that was what "anger" had increasingly come to mean. In these terms, Falkland killed Tyrrel in a passionate fit of rage brought on by the overwhelming provocation of Tyrrel's beating him in public. In fact, Tyrrel had doubly offended by affronting Falkland's honor and initiating a physical assault, each of which alone was held by legal authorities to be sufficient to induce an angry loss of self control (Horder, *Provocation and Responsibility*, 92–94). Making his admission to Caleb, Falkland says, "Insulted, disgraced, polluted in the face of hundreds, I was capable of any act of desperation" (*Caleb Williams*, 135), and Caleb concludes to himself, "He killed Mr. Tyrrel, for he could not control his resentment and anger" (136–67). Furthermore, Falkland's attack followed close on the heels of the beating, one of the requisite points for establishing an angry loss of self-control. He "followed Mr. Tyrrel from the rooms," implying that there was no time for his blood to have cooled in the interim; and Tyrrel, after all, "was found by some of the company dead in the street, having been murdered *at the distance of a few yards from the assembly house*" (95; my emphasis). The

immediacy of Falkland's retaliation would have served him well in mitigating the charge of murder in an eighteenth-century court of law.[18]

However, for Falkland, reputation is the only consideration, and guilt for manslaughter is as insupportable as guilt for murder: both in this case imply a cowardly and dishonorable (although perhaps excusable) action. He covers up his crime not because he fears the gallows, but because he wants to protect his famed honor – honor which has in fact been vitiated by his vengeful wrath. As a man of chivalry in the Italian mode, Falkland has two options to settle the affair with Tyrrel: call him into the field or, if he is unworthy of such gentlemanly treatment, hire "bravoes" to assassinate him (11). In his anger, Falkland falls between these two stools, attacking the unprepared Tyrrel from behind like any hired killer. Paradoxically, his anger over the loss of public honor entailed in the beating causes him to commit a deeply dishonorable act.

As a critique of chivalric passions, Godwin's novel proceeds to reveal the dangerous connections between honor and anger. Earlier, Falkland had admitted the personality trait he shares with Tyrrel: a hot temper. In an initial attempt to disable their growing animosity, Falkland says to him,

> We are on the brink of a whirlpool which, if it once get hold of us, will render all further deliberation impotent . . . We are both of us nice of temper; we are both apt to kindle, and warm of resentment . . . A strife between persons with our peculiarities and our weaknesses, includes consequences that I shudder to think of. (28–29).

It becomes clear that the "peculiarities" and "weaknesses" of the two men amount to a pathological defensiveness regarding their public reputations. Falkland's warning almost convinces Tyrrel only when the former suggests that their rivalry "shall merely present a comedy for the amusement of our acquaintance" (29). Tyrrel's response – "Damn me, if I consent to be the jest of any man living" (29) – is in keeping with his resentment at Falkland's social victories over him, and with his final physical attack on Falkland after being cursed publicly by him, and hooted from the assembly hall. Falkland obviously shares this sensitivity to others' perceptions. From the first, he admits to Malvesi that if the Count's "challenge had been public," things would not have ended so happily (15). Falkland calls himself the "fool of fame" (135) and acknowledges, "My life has been spent in the keenest and most unintermitted sensibility to reputation" (101), a sensibility that becomes the driving force of the plot as it is expressed via acts of vengeance.

Such anxious self-regard had long been recognized as one of the leading causes of frequent anger, or susceptibility to provocation. In "Concerning

the Cure of Anger," Plutarch states, "Of all men there are none so exceedingly disposed to be angry as those who are ambitious of honor"; this would serve well as an epigraph to *Caleb Williams*, as well as to Plutarch's own history of Alexander and Clitus.[19] Similarly, in *The Rambler*, Samuel Johnson judges that "Pride is undoubtedly the original of anger."[20] He notes that men who fear their own insignificance will often "endeavour, by their fury, to fright away contempt from before them, when they know it must follow them behind," using anger to procure "some kind of supplemental dignity" ("The Folly of Anger," 68–69). Writing in his notebook some fifty years later, Coleridge expresses a similar point: "Genuine anger, which is made up of *Fear & animal Courage*, will be found in those most, who most hang upon the opinions of others, & to whom those opinions are of the most importance." Coleridge, who believed that "Rage and Fear are one disease,"[21] finds the root of anger in one's sense of vulnerability, particularly in regard to "the opinions of others."

Yet as both Johnson and Coleridge suggest, and as other authors confirm, such prideful rage only serves to excite further contempt rather than admiration. Authors who condemn anger typically present that emotion as eminently self-defeating, producing a tendency towards dramatic irony: it causes one to do precisely that which one is striving to avoid. This conception of anger, common in the eighteenth century from Young through Johnson to Godwin, is plainly indebted to classical and roughly Stoical sources, most notably Seneca, but also Plutarch. In *De Ira*, Seneca calls anger the "maximum malum"; it "brings to a father curses, to a husband divorce, to a magistrate hatred, to a candidate defeat."[22] He also writes that anger "blocks its own progress to the goal toward which it hastens" (1.12.5). Like Seneca, Plutarch presents anger as worse than useless, always adversely affecting the situation it aims to address, even when it is turned on itself: "We do in our anger reprove others for being angry . . . therein . . . rather increasing and exasperating the disease which we pretend to cure" ("Concerning the Cure of Anger," 1:58). In the words of Edward Young, who also found that "the principal Cause of Anger is Disrespect," "Anger therefore is not only an Evil itself, proceeding *from* and leading *to* Evil, but, often, to the very Evil it would most avoid. It falls on its own Sword."[23] Godwin's narrative reflects this Stoical sense of anger's plot: ultimately, both Tyrrel and Falkland lose their reputations as a result of their anger: Tyrrel is execrated for causing Emily's death by his willful wrath, and Falkland is exposed as the dishonorable murderer of Tyrrel.

Humphrey Prideaux calls the murder of Clitus "a very vile action, and the greatest blot" on the life of Alexander (*The Old and New Testaments*, 1: 722), who was also extremely protective of his reputation; and like Tyrrel with Emily, Alexander was responsible for the death of a close friend.[24] The Alexander–Clitus allusion thus helps confirm that throughout Godwin's novel, anger functions ironically, counteracting one's general will or purpose even while it appears to be a radical indulgence of the will. Godwin also sees anger as leading to further injury rather than reparation or defense; the best the angry man can hope for is mutually assured destruction, in a vicious circle of fury and contempt. Tyrrel and Falkland aptly illustrate such conclusions, as their anger destroys the lives they have constructed for themselves. Caleb's final verdict on Falkland makes this point explicitly:

> From that moment [of the murder] thou only continuedst to live to the phantom of departed honour . . . thy benevolence was in a great part turned into rankling jealousy and inexorable precaution. Year after year didst thou spend in this miserable project of imposture; and only at last continuedst to live long enough to see . . . thy closing hope disappointed, and thy death accompanied with the foulest disgrace! (*Caleb Williams*, 326)

Such a characterization of anger is in keeping with Godwin's long-standing denigration of the passions. In *Political Justice*, he makes clear that anger reproduces the very political problems that it means to remedy. Considering "the nature of revolution," he writes,

> Revolution is engendered by an indignation against tyranny, yet is itself evermore pregnant with tyranny. The tyranny which excites its indignation, can scarcely be without its partisans; and, the greater is the indignation excited, and the more sudden and vast the fall of the oppressors, the deeper will be the resentment which forms in the minds of the losing party. (1:267).

For Godwin, indignation and resentment themselves *are* the tyrannies to be resisted, structuring as they do the struggle of revolutionary and oppressor in a cycle of reaction. Anger gives birth to revolution, which therefore retains that emotion's tyrannous character: the apple doesn't fall far from the Blakean poison tree.

Godwin's special emphasis on "indignation" here in *Political Justice* reveals a connection to Tyrrel and Falkland, both particularly jealous of their own dignity or sense of worth. To feel indignation, one must first have a place of dignity in which to stand, from which one can look on the actions of others as shameful and unworthy. We have seen in chapter 1 that this particular variety or name of anger is heavily favored by writers

on both sides of the Revolution question during the 1790s: republicans and loyalists want to claim indignation, while ascribing mad fury and animal rage to their equally angry opponents. Here, and in *Caleb Williams*, Godwin intervenes to say that cherishing indignation is, well, undignified – and dangerous to the cause, whatever it may be. Coleridge makes the same point in a 1794 letter to Robert Southey, warning his friend, "Your sensibilities are tempestuous – you feel *Indignation* at Weakness – Now Indignation is the handsome Brother of Anger & Hatred – his looks are 'lovely in terror' – yet still remember, *who* are his *Relations*."[25] Like Godwin's genealogy, in which revolution is engendered by indignation and pregnant with tyranny, Coleridge's family tree of indignation bears sinister crests. In *Caleb Williams*, Tyrrel and Falkland demonstrate that the angry defense of one's dignity concludes in a shameful fit of rage.

Later in *Political Justice*, Godwin refines his view of political anger: "The men who grow angry with corruption, and impatient at injustice, and through these sentiments favour the abettors of revolution, have an obvious apology to palliate their error; theirs is the excess of virtuous feeling. At the same time, however amiable may be the source of their error, the error itself is probably fraught with consequences pernicious to mankind" (1 : 284). Here he objects not so much to anger *per se*, which can be a "virtuous feeling" called forth by injustice. The problem lies in the "consequences," or the plot, of anger, particularly when indulged in "excess." *Caleb Williams* sets out to graph the trajectory of such excessive rage, which Godwin plainly saw as relevant to the current political climate, or "things as they are." He concludes *Political Justice* with the following cautionary reflection: "The condition of the human species at the present hour is critical and alarming. We are not without grounds of reasonable hope, that the issue will be uncommonly beneficial. There is however much to apprehend from the narrow views, and angry passions, of the contending parties" (11:537). As Godwin saw it, the cause of British reform, like the French Revolution itself, would founder amidst the factional anger of the citizens – republican and loyalist – who felt their own passionate indignation as a virtue and looked upon moderation as the enemy.[26]

The Revolution debates of the 1790s ultimately centered on elucidating certain plots within rhetorical figurations and actual demonstrations of anger. For example, just one week before the passage of Pitt and Grenville's infamous "Two Bills" in 1795, Coleridge had published a pamphlet version of his final political lecture at Bristol, entitled *The Plot Discovered*, in protest. Ostensibly, the "plot" was one of "ministerial

treason" enforcing "worse than Pagan darkness" on the English people by putting an end to political discussion via the bills.[27] Yet within the pamphlet Coleridge discovers other plots, or trajectories of cause and effect, in order to contradict the government's narrative of the same events. Specifically, Coleridge is concerned with the plot of popular anger. This makes sense, given the nature of the Two Bills, which outlaw language that would "tend to incite or stir up the People to Hatred or Contempt" of the king, royal family, government, or constitution of England.[28] Thus the bills define a certain plot of anger, which they are meant to disable: the rhetoric of outrage, either in the radical press or from the mouths of an orator like John Thelwall, tends to rouse the otherwise peaceful masses to anger and subsequent acts of violent protest. Witness: the king's carriage had been stoned in St. James Park in October, mere days after a large-scale meeting of the London Corresponding Society at which Thelwall gave an impassioned speech on reform. This event was seized by the loyalists as proof-positive of the need for the measures described in the two Bills, and Parliament soon made manifest its agreement with this version of anger's plot.

In the text of the Treason Bill, the attack on the king's carriage is attributed to "the multitude of seditious pamphlets and speeches daily printed, published, and dispersed with unremitting industry" by the reformers and radicals.[29] In other words, angry protests by the populace are caused by rhetoric. This was the standard counterrevolutionary position regarding the anger of the masses: they have been stirred up, inflamed, confused, and enraged through exposure to wicked accusations and speculations regarding matters best left to their betters. In this view, material and political conditions are pointedly not at issue.[30] In *The Plot Discovered*, Coleridge rejects this narrative and provides another, holding that "the dispersion . . . of seditious pamphlets was not the cause" of "the outrage offered to his Majesty"; rather, "it was the hunger and the sense of insulted wrongs that urged the ignorant mob with misplaced indignation to utter groanings and hisses against the Sovereign" (Lectures 1795, 286–87). For Coleridge, and for English radical writers generally, insult and injury have combined to produce anger in the populace: not only have they been reduced to poverty and hunger by a ruinous government, but they have been wronged, denied representation in that government. Unlike the false rage diagnosed by the loyalists, this authentic anger demands some kind of redress. This is the plot that Coleridge has discovered in the passions of the English people, and he fears its conclusion in scenes of destruction that will do everyone more harm than good.[31]

Ronald Paulson writes of this period, "We see emerging from the events of the French Revolution a new sense of the way one action or event follows another – a new sense of plot or sequence and new examples of serial structure"; as a result, "Plot was never quite the same again."[32] Particularly after one had to map the Terror into the historical sequence, anger and its consequences were suspect, at issue. Furthermore, following Burke's *Reflections*, the central point of the Revolution debates in England was to establish the outlines of anger's narrative, what A. J. Greimas refers to as the "sequence constituted by an intertwining of states and of doing" that comprise its "passional configuration."[33] The tone of Burke's rhetoric and the reactions it provoked demonstrated that claiming one narrative program of anger (virtuous indignation) while condemning another (ferocious rage) would become the central task for British commentators on the Revolution question. Writing on *Caleb Williams* and this political climate, Gary Kelly observes,

> Early in 1794 the intensity of political debate was increasing but the tone of argument was degenerating, and on 23 January [Godwin] wrote to Joseph Gerrald advising him on how to conduct himself before his accusers at the Edinburgh Treason Trials: "Above all let me entreat you to abstain from all harsh epithets and bitter invective. Show that you are not terrible, but kind and anxious for the good of all. *Truth can never gain by passion, violence and resentment.* It is never so strong as in the firm fixt mind that yields to the emotions neither of rage nor fear." (*The English Jacobin Novel*, 188–89; my emphasis)

For Godwin, anger's various causes (pride, fear, a sense of injustice) matter less than its sequels, which inevitably thwart the pursuit of truth and typically confound the purposes of the irate. Like Coleridge, Godwin ultimately sees popular anger as a mistake.

In fact, Godwin's insistence on tranquility as the only temper for truth soon caused a serious rift between himself and the English radicals centered around Thelwall and the London Corresponding Society.[34] As with Coleridge's *The Plot Discovered*, the catalyst was the proposal in Parliament of the Two Bills. In 1794, Godwin published a pamphlet, signed "By a Lover of Order," that managed to attack the bills while also alienating the radicals, condemning both Pittites and the LCS for excessively angry rhetoric by which "the indignant emotions of the human mind are excited."[35] Yet Godwin assigns most of the blame to the king's ministers for setting the tone of debate: "They consult not the coolness of philosophy, but the madness of passion. The time calls upon them to reason, they begin to rail. Their profession is that of invective; an invective has been their principal medium for working on the minds of their

countrymen, for the last three years. They act with the unsteadiness and vehemence of passion" (*Considerations*, 75–76). And a few pages later, "They have thrown down the gauntlet. They have had recourse to every kind of irritation. They have . . . leaped, like a common wrestler, upon the stage. They have been loudest in increasing the broil; they have urged on the animosity of the combatants; and they have called for blood" (81–82). Like Falkland, like Tyrrel, and like Alexander, the ministers employ anger to defend "things as they are"; and yet this policy serves only to frustrate their purposes, producing an immoderate atmosphere of conflict and confusion by calling forth reactive anger in their opponents.

For Godwin then, the scene of provocation and reaction figured by Alexander and Clitus not only resonates through the interactions between Tyrrel and Falkland, and Falkland and Caleb; it also illustrates Godwin's view of the political anger of his time. By 1794, both sides of the debate over revolution and reform in England had adopted tones of passionate indignation that often flared into intemperate rage. Clitus is killed because of his own taunting, provoking invective and because of Alexander's angry reaction; Plutarch and Curtius Quintus present both events as rash and regrettable, enabled by drunken losses of self-control. The Stoic in Godwin finds in this anecdote a moral lesson for the political actors of the 1790s, who should choose "sober inquiry" rather than the "spices and seasoning" of ungoverned, passionately angry rhetoric (*Considerations*, 20–21). In *Caleb Williams*, Godwin uses narrative to anatomize anger's destructive plot; the conflicts among Tyrrel, Falkland, and Caleb demonstrate the self-defeating, tragic consequences of affairs conducted in a rage.

In so doing, Godwin introduces the logic of Senecan tragedy to the gothic novel, so that anger becomes the engine of dramatic irony as well as the source of the narrative's unsettling power. In classical tragedy, a crime of passion typically stands at the heart of the action; as we saw in chapter 1, Seneca finds himself presenting elaborate scenes of anger meant to repel, but which often fascinate. As an anti-anger gothic novel, *Caleb Williams* is similarly conflicted. The raging of Tyrrel and Falkland drives the narrative along paths ordained by the genre, producing intertwining plots of revenge punctuated by verbal and physical outbursts of passion: the very stuff of the gothic narrative. Yet, as scholars of the gothic have noted, Godwin adapts his novel to realist and politico-philosophical ends, eschewing the medieval trappings, supernatural occurrences, and sexual mystery so characteristic of the genre.[36] Maggie Kilgour recognizes Godwin's odd relation to the gothic, given that he represents "forces of light" rather than "darkness" (*The Rise of the Gothic Novel*, 47); in a sense,

he brings to gothicism a spirit of classical order. *Caleb Williams* thus often feels more like a drama of criminality and detection – one thinks of *Oedipus Rex*, for example (a play that Seneca reprised as *Oedipus*) – than a gothic tale. Furthermore, the novel is obviously meant as a warning against the angry passions, rather than as a dark and titillating fantasy that might encourage them. But, as with Seneca in his tragedies, the plots of anger that are the object of Godwin's disapproval in *Caleb Williams* produce episodes that compel fascination – an effect mirrored in Caleb's own reaction to Falkland's wrath. Each time Falkland shows signs of anger, Caleb becomes more watchful, more curious, more readerly, with regard to his master. The Alexander–Clitus conversation is only one of a series of such episodes.

Joanna Baillie may well have been thinking of Godwin's novel when she wrote of this phenomenon in her 1798 "Introductory Discourse" to her *Plays on the Passions*:

> Anger is a passion that attracts less sympathy than any other, yet the unpleasing and distorted features of an angry man will be more eagerly gazed upon, by those who are in no wise concerned with his fury, or the objects of it, than the most amiable placid countenance in the world. Every eye is directed to him; every voice hushed to silence in his presence; even children will leave off their gambols as he passes, and gaze after him more eagerly than the gaudiest equipage.[37]

In other words, angry performances produce eager spectators, a supposition not lost on Baillie in her own play on hatred, *De Montfort*, nor on the political actors and writers of the 1790s who used expressions of outrage to rouse public attention. In this view, Godwin's attempt in *Caleb Williams* to expose the destructive and ironic consequences of anger is undercut by the way readers respond to narrative displays of that always-emplotted emotion: with neither sympathy nor judgment, but with a suspended and anticipatory eagerness, a desire for more that British intellectuals feared characterized the modern mass audience. As the latest genre dedicated to entertainment, the gothic novel focused these anxieties, and *Caleb Williams* stands as a representative case with regard to anger in the public eye during this Revolutionary period. Like Edmund Burke's *Reflections*, in presenting the irrationality of provocation, Godwin's novel finds itself demonstrating the compelling spectacle of rage.

Mary Godwin grew up amidst the Napoleonic sequels to the Revolution and these debates over the issue of anger. Almost by 9 Thermidor (the death of Robespierre, 1794) and certainly by 18 Brumaire (Napoleon's coup, 1799), the volatile, impassioned conversation in England regarding the French Revolution had lulled, making way for a virtually monolithic

rhetoric of war. The second-generation Romantics thus inherited the neo-Stoic attitude towards anger that had been developed in the public sphere during the 1790s and preserved in a kind of cultural stasis through the Battle of Waterloo. Their concerns and struggles with anger combine the 1790s conceptions of indignation, rage, and provocation with postwar Romantic radicalism, just as *Frankenstein* synthesizes (and revises) the influences of father Godwin and husband Shelley to become a novel myth of provocation and revenge.[38] Indeed, like *Caleb Williams*, Mary Shelley's *Frankenstein* centers upon questions of provocation, criminality, and the angry passions, and yet it does so from a distinctly post-Revolutionary perspective in which reaction and revenge are particularly charged concepts.[39] Reading *Frankenstein* in its emotional–historical context, we can begin to untangle what James O'Rourke has called "the central enigma" of the novel, namely "the evolution of [a] benign creature into a child-murderer."[40] Certainly, for the student of anger, the heart of Mary Shelley's novel must be the few pages that present this alteration, as the creature turns from humble suppliant of Mr. DeLacey to merciless killer of little William Frankenstein. It is here that the monster experiences anger for the first time, and these scenes allow us one way of examining the dynamics of revenge and justice in the imagination of the second-generation Romantics.

Critics are divided on the political allegiances of *Frankenstein*, although its relation to the discourses of revolution and reaction in the 1790s has been often traced. Lee Sterrenburg writes of "the stylistic difference between *Frankenstein* and the 1790s," comparing the novel to the work of Godwin and Burke and finding that Mary Shelley "depoliticize[s] the monster tradition."[41] Jane Blumberg, on the other hand, finds that "*Frankenstein* self-consciously associated itself with the Jacobin tradition, the complex of radical literature – the 'war of ideas' – which grew up in England as an enthusiastic response to the French Revolution."[42] Ronald Paulson and Anne Mellor have been similarly interested in tracing the Revolutionary backgrounds of the novel, particularly by way of the gothic.[43] My contention is that, insofar as *Frankenstein* represents the concerns of the 1790s, its attitude towards anger determines both narrative and style. Mary Shelley revises her Revolutionary inheritance by means of her novel's plot of anger, which is driven by conflicts between sympathy and provocation.

The novel makes it clear that a lack of sympathy produces the creature's murderous impulses.[44] The creature himself says, describing his first moments of anger, "finding myself unsympathized with, [I] wished to tear up the trees, spread havoc and destruction around me, and then

to have sat down and enjoyed the ruin."[45] Furthermore, he tells his creator, "I am malicious because I am miserable; am I not shunned and hated by all mankind?" (*Frankenstein*, 119). Rejection and desertion turn him into a violent sociopath – reason enough for Frankenstein to agree to create a spouse for the creature, and also literally to scrap that plan when he considers that she too might "quit him, and he be again alone, exasperated by the fresh provocation of being deserted by one of his own species" (138). So, when he is beaten and chased from the cottage by Felix DeLacey, and then abandoned as the DeLacey family – his foster family, if you will – moves away, the creature responds with "feelings . . . of rage and revenge," saying "I could with pleasure have destroyed the cottage and its inhabitants, and have glutted myself with their shrieks and misery" (110–11). Soon thereafter, William Frankenstein lies dead at his feet.

But it is precisely that "thereafter" that remains the trouble, since it speaks of a complication in the dynamics of provocation in the novel. The creature's conditional grammar, his rhetoric of deferral, should be telling us something: "I wished to tear up the trees," "I could . . . have destroyed the cottage and its inhabitants." After all, we might expect the creature instantly to attack Felix, who "dashed [him] to the ground, and struck [him] violently with a stick" (110); or immediately to burn the cottage down, which he does the following evening. Instead, he nurses his wounds and his misery in the woods, declares "everlasting war against the species" (111), and awakes the next morning, surprisingly calm and repentant. Not until he thinks about the fact that the DeLaceys are moving away does his anger flare up with redoubled intensity: "when I reflected that they had spurned and deserted me, anger returned, a rage of anger; and unable to injure anything human, I turned my fury towards inanimate objects" (113) – namely the cottage, which he destroys. In short, meditation and reflection are the hallmarks of the creature's rage. It becomes apparent that, with regard to the legal developments concerning rage that we have traced, Mary Shelley does not want to mitigate the creature's guilt: placed in a situation of justifiable provocation and self-defense (the beating by Felix), the creature runs away; and when in a passionate fit of rage, he attacks only a house. By contrast, the creature commits all of his murders as premeditated acts in a plot of vengeance against Victor Frankenstein. William, Clerval, and Elizabeth do not provoke the creature; they exist simply as targets by which he can cause his creator to suffer. In other words, Mary Shelley gives us a monster – a terrorist, really – whom English provocation law in its recent formulation would not shield.

In fact, the monster comes to represent a third way of experiencing anger, one that fits less neatly into the paradigms of indignation and rage established in the Revolutionary 1790s, and speaks of anxieties bred in the decades of the Napoleonic wars. In 1794 (the year of Godwin's *Caleb Williams* and the height of the Reign of Terror), outbursts were the order of the day: the angry episode – be it a riot, a speech, an oath, or a killing – was primarily at issue, and this conception mirrored late-eighteenth-century changes to English provocation law. By 1816 (the year Mary Shelley wrote *Frankenstein*), concerns over episodes had given way to thoughts of anger's extended narrative, and particularly to lengthy plots of war and revenge. To be sure, Godwin's novel consists mostly of a long-term program of persecution enacted by Falkland against Caleb, and thus prefigures Mary Shelley's interests. But Falkland's impulsive murder of Tyrell stands at the heart of the earlier novel and its critique of passionate rage, whereas in *Frankenstein*, murder is always the result of the monster's acts of reflection and subsequent rededication to a plot of vengeance.

As William Blake's poem "A Poison Tree" portrays it, reflection – a combination of memory and meditation – can produce monstrous, murderous emotions. Yet for Blake (again, writing in 1794), the concern is over the violent discharge of this stored energy. In subsequent decades, writers worry over a different outcome: the poisoned soul. The moral philosopher Thomas Brown, in his 1820 *Lectures on the Philosophy of the Human Mind*, maintains that the man who nurses his anger via obsessive reflection "is like some dreadful being of another race, that walks the earth cursing and accursed; – we shun him as we would fly from some malignant spirit who, by looking at us, could transfuse into us the venom which he feels; – we have no sympathy for *him*."[46] One hears in Brown's rhetoric an all-but-explicit allusion to Frankenstein's sympathy-deprived creature, as well as to the Byronic hero (mad, bad, and dangerous to know), both of whom are associated with Satanic exile and resentment. We may, for instance, recall the creature's threat of revenge made to Frankenstein, "I will watch with the wiliness of a snake, that I may sting with its venom" (*Frankenstein*, 140). As opposed to the explosive figures that structure the Revolutionary imagination of anger, malignant wanderers haunt the Napoleonic years with threats of revenge and also of contagion – as if readers might become what they have beheld. In fact, Brown's closing declaration, "we have no sympathy for *him*" verges on the imperative, as a warning to hold the vengeful at arms' length, and not to allow their emotional dynamics to become one's own.

The problem with reflection, then, is not only a fixation on one's own sufferings and a consequent meditation of revenge; it also includes the danger of taking someone else's emotional program as a model for one's own – that is, of reflecting the passions of another. We have already seen that *Frankenstein* can be read as a primer on the ill effects of insufficient sympathy; I want to suggest that it contains a subtle warning against excessive sympathy as well. Both Godwin and Mary Shelley warn against allowing suffering to produce a rage for destruction. *Caleb Williams* presents a neo-Stoic plot of anger (essentially, anger is self-defeating) based upon the assumptions behind English provocation law, while *Frankenstein* shows how a postwar Romantic reading of that plot can be even more dangerous.

The key text in this regard is Goethe's *The Sufferings of Young Werther*, the first of the three books that Frankenstein's creature reads, and the one that has the most influence on his emotional development, and in fact determines his reaction to *Paradise Lost*, particularly his all-important identification with Satan. Indeed, *Frankenstein* scholars have often noted the centrality of reading and misreading in the novel, but the priority of Werther in the creature's imagination, and particularly in his emotional development, has not been much explored.[47] By means of Goethe's novel, the creature comes to believe that passions based on suffering produce an irresistible and permanent condition, that noble creatures reveal themselves in their tragic commitments to emotions called forth by trauma or loss. Werther's suicide is of course central, and the creature follows this example at novel's end, immolating himself on his ice-bound pyre. But provocation and murder also play key roles in both novels, which are concerned with the dangers of seeing another's experience of passion as a reflection of one's own.

On opening *The Sufferings of Young Werther*, Frankenstein's creature would have first encountered the editor's introductory headnote, with its injunction, "And you, good soul, who are feeling the same anguish as he, draw consolation from his sufferings, and let this little book be your friend, if fate or your own fault prevent you from finding a closer one."[48] The companionless creature thus would have heard the first words of sympathy and friendship ever addressed to him, delivered in the language of reflection: you and Werther are both good, suffering souls, and you suffer the same distress. And indeed, as the creature presents his own reaction to Goethe's novel, we can see that this preface has lodged itself in his mind: "As I read . . . I applied much personally to my own feelings and condition. I found myself similar, yet at the same time strangely unlike the beings concerning whom I read and to whose conversation I

was a listener. I sympathized with, and partly understood them" (*Frankenstein*, 103–04). This is the only time the creature tells us he "sympathized" with another – that crucial attitude in the novel – and it reveals the creature's deep elective affinities with Werther, whom the creature calls "a more divine being than I had ever beheld or imagined" (103). In short, precipitate sympathy causes the creature to take his temper from Werther, despite the creature's recognition that he is "strangely unlike" him and only "partly understood" his frame of mind.

To experience passion in the manner of Werther is to commit oneself to suffering as fate, as a permanent condition rather than an episode. In his debate with Albert over suicide, to which Frankenstein's creature explicitly refers, Werther defends those who commit crimes of passion, and does so in a manner that glances at late-eighteenth-century provocation law, asking "Who will cast the first stone against the husband who, in righteous wrath, sacrifices his faithless wife and her contemptible seducer? . . . Even our very laws, coldblooded pedants that they are, let themselves be moved and withhold their penalties" in such a case (*Young Werther*, 49). But his defense goes beyond this, and beyond Albert's assent that "a person who is carried away by this passion loses all power of deliberation and is as good as drunk or mad" (49). Werther in fact celebrates extravagant passions, finding that "all extraordinary beings . . . have always and necessarily been defamed as drunk and mad," and casting shame on "unsympathetic . . . moral men" who are able to control their emotions (49). According to Werther, "a growing passion robs him of all calm power of thought and drives him to destruction" (51), in a tragic process that is nevertheless preferable to a more tepid, balanced emotional life. This is the Romantic model of the passions that the creature assimilates in his first reading experience – he tells us he "inclined to the opinions of [Werther]" in this discussion (*Frankenstein*, 104) – and its effects on the phenomenology of his emotional life are profound.

Of course, like the creature's, Werther's own problems are brought to crisis by means of an encounter with someone whom he rashly reads as an emotional double. In Goethe's novel, we observe a peasant servant lad who murders his rival for a beautiful widow's love, and moreover how profoundly this scene of provocation affects Werther because of his excessive sympathy for him. Essentially, Werther sees the murderer as a version of himself, a man devoted to a woman who has chosen another, and whose devotion is his doom. On first meeting the lad and comparing his passion to his own for Lotte, Werther says, "the recollection of this genuine naturalness sets my inmost soul aglow . . . the picture of

this loyalty and tenderness follows me everywhere, and . . . I, as if set on fire by it, am languishing and pining" (*Young Werther*, 25). Here is passion as contagion, as wildfire, and it implies a devotion that will dare all things, including suicide and murder. Confronted by Werther after killing the rival, the lad says darkly, "No one shall have her, and she will have no one" (91) – a logic, incidentally, that the creature seems to recall in his memorable threat to Frankenstein, "I will be with you on your wedding night!" (*Frankenstein*, 140). Reacting to the situation, Werther "found him so guiltless even as a criminal, he put himself so profoundly in his situation, that he was confident he could persuade others as well" (*Young Werther*, 91). After fruitlessly arguing for the lad's release before a judge, Werther exclaims, "You cannot be saved, unhappy man! I see clearly that we cannot be saved!" – the slippage in pronouns marking the moment of reflection that triggers Werther's imminent suicide (92). Like Mary Shelley, Goethe seems to be interested in displaying the destructive consequences of taking one's emotional logic from the narrative of another, particularly when it comes to questions of provocation.

Under the influence of his Wertherian reading, the creature comes to believe that emotions are not things one gets over – a dangerous *modus operandi* when it comes to anger. When he opens Milton's *Paradise Lost* soon thereafter, he finds in the permanently outraged Satan what he calls a "fit emblem of my condition," and begins describing his angry emotions thus, saying things like, "I, like the arch fiend, bore a hell within me" and "I declared everlasting war upon the species, and more than all, against him who had formed me" (*Frankenstein*, 111) and "The mildness of my nature had fled, and all within me had turned to gall and bitterness" (114). This devotion to revenge – this poisoned soul – determines all of his future behavior, and is marked by his strangely ritualistic destruction of the DeLacey cottage, wherein he had hoped to find happiness; like Goethe's peasant lad, he seems to say, after being rejected, "Now no one will possess it if I cannot." Rather than experience a fit of rage – that is, an emotional episode with a temporally bound trajectory – the creature commits himself to outrage as destiny, and becomes a monster: the plot of anger and the narrative of his life become congruent.

Mary Shelley's novel thus presents a gothic tragedy, in a manner that simultaneously glances back at the classical spirit of her father and at the fervid Romanticism of the Villa Diodati over which an atmosphere of the macabre hung thick. Her vision of provocation and anger partakes of Godwin's neo-Stoicism insofar as her novel warns against immoderate passions – which it does. However, the creature's narrative and his final

speech cast him as a noble ruin, a Byronic if not Shelleyan wanderer, persecuted and driven to crimes of passion by a cold world. The task that confronted this second generation of Romantic poets was to find ways to accommodate such an attitude in the midst of post-Napoleonic anxieties regarding anger's infectious dangers, to articulate lasting outrage and still command sympathy, to plot the work of one's hands along an axis of revenge and yet not become a monster. In a manner typical of its author's work, *Frankenstein* stands in admonition and encouragement.

CHAPTER 5

Shelley and the masks of anger

When, in *A Vision*, Yeats wishes to describe a particular movement upon his byzantine Wheel of Faculties, he looks to Blake and Shelley as his representative men. Blake, "The Positive Man" of Phase 16, "hates that which opposes desire," and his hatred "is always close to madness . . . There is always an element of frenzy, and almost always a delight in a certain glowing or shining image of concentrated force: in the smith's forge; in the heart; in the human form in its most vigorous development."[1] Observing Blake's wrath, Yeats recognizes it as the fiery furnace that provides Blake with the energy that is his eternal delight. However, as the Wheel turns to Shelley ("The Daimonic Man"), this creative anger falls away. In Yeats's opinion, Shelley works best when he draws his poetry from the wellsprings of desire, but produces only "monstrous, meaningless images" when he resorts to outrage (*A Vision* 143). Shelley "can never see anything that opposes him as it really is," because "He lacked the Vision of Evil, could not conceive of the world as a continual conflict, so, though great poet he certainly was, he was not of the greatest kind" (143–44).

Once raised, the charge lingers: does Shelley suffer from a kind of congenital blindness in his dealings with evil and conflict? Does he lack a vision of anger? In *Shelley and the Revolutionary Idea*, Gerald McNeice praises Shelley's rebellious courage, which he carefully separates from "Hatred and revenge," passions with which "true freedom can never coexist."[2] Donald Reiman has reminded us that Socrates and Jesus were Shelley's "ideal figures," because they "confronted the full power of social injustice and . . . chose martyrdom over either flight or violent resistance."[3] Challenging this standard image of Shelley as pacifistic humanist, Steven Jones has argued that, in much of the poetry, "(self) righteous anger fueled by personal aggression is often just below the surface" and that "the basis of Shelley's satire is in violence rather than laughter."[4] By approaching Shelley from the vantage of satire, Jones has emphasized a

subterranean side of the poet obscured by the assertions of his idealizing and progressivist imagination. However, only by integrating both of these aspects of Shelley can we approach the complexities of his artistic and moral imagination.[5] In effect, Shelley was often both angry and determined not to be so; and this ambivalence can be traced through a large portion of his work, where it produces a particular trajectory of anger deployed and retracted. His vision of anger was always double, as he cast a fierce eye on the object of his rage and a calm one on utopian resolutions to conflict.

Always politically minded, Shelley enacts a particularly intense version of the Romantic struggle with anger. For poets of the period, the trajectory of events in France demonstrated that revolutionary outrage (which most, to greater or lesser degrees, had imbibed) would not end cycles of cruelty: anger had promised revolution and revelation, yet had brought forth reaction and terror instead. As we have seen, negotiations with anger became central to Romantic conceptions of self and world and profoundly affected Romantic poetry in ways that I attempt to further delineate here, in terms of the work of Shelley. The contours of Romanticism emerged also in partial reaction to the bad eminence of eighteenth–century satire, heightened as it was in this period of English history (as Habermas has shown) by the emergent importance of public debate to the political realm.[6] Of course, scholarly activity of the last several decades has gone a long way towards undoing our received story of verse satire as a genre that disappeared in England after the death of Pope. I mean to address this question of literary history only partially, examining the changing fortunes of angry satire, not satire generally, in Shelley's imagination. Satire had long been imagined as a weapon for revelation, and in the apocalyptic dawn of the French Revolution, anger promised to undermine false structures of power and reveal the true nature of humanity. Shelley's poetry has similar promises lying close to its heart, and he sets about creating a species of anger not implicated in vengeful cycles of cruelty, a self-consuming rage that does its work and then burns itself out, making way for the harmonies of the millennium. He admires anger for its power to unmask figures of deception and vice and thus far uses anger in a way that resembles satiric invective in revealing the corruption hiding beneath the mask of virtue.[7] Yet angry satire, content with naming and punishing such corruption, remains only caustic and pessimistic, whereas Shelley's poetry almost invariably contravenes its own wrath with more conciliatory and hopeful imaginings. For Shelley, (satiric) anger always threatens to become

another deceptive, or deceived, mask, particularly if indulged too long or too vehemently.

As a poet committed to the transformation of the political and social world, however, Shelley knew that anger was an important tool or weapon, a needful torch for burning in order that the work of building utopia might begin. Thus, like Blake, Shelley was attracted to anger precisely because of its renovating force. Sharing an emphatic desire to change the world through poetry, Blake and Shelley imagine anger as the remover of masks and the despoiler of illusions that constitute an unacceptable status quo. Masks figure evil's dependence on disguise, a false state of affairs foisted on humanity as truth. As Yeats perceived, Shelley denies any fundamental truth to evil, equating it always with falsity and error. His poetry therefore presents evil in a series of disguised figures whose ritualized unmasking prompts the advent of the millennium. Yet Shelley wants to allow anger only a momentary, functional importance in his visions of transformation, extinguishing it anxiously with more harmonious emotions. He presents his displaced outrage as a mask, or masque, of anger.

In the spring of 1819, Shelley found himself in Florence, standing before two statues of Marsyas, the satyr who boasted of his musical virtuosity and was summarily flayed alive by an enraged Apollo. For Shelley, who embraced Apollo as an image of the harmonies of the creative imagination, it was a disturbing moment, emblematic of a larger struggle with anger. In his notebook, he writes,

> This is one of the few abominations of the Greek religion. This is as bad as the everlasting damnation and hacking and hewing between them of Joshua and Jehovah. And is it possible that there existed in the same imagination the idea of that tender and sublime and poetic and life–giving Apollo and of the author of this deed as the same person?[8]

Having chosen ancient Greek culture as a refuge from the cruelties he saw in orthodox Christianity, Shelley is brought up short by the specter of Marsyas suffering under the hand of the Apollonian "author of this deed."[9] Confronted with an imagination capable of containing poetic creativity and vengeful rage within the same persona, he implicitly wonders about the place of anger in his own mind and work: what does it mean for a poet to put aside his lyre and pick up a knife or a scourge?

Figuratively, it means to turn from song to satire, and specifically to a tradition of invective that aims to anatomize and punish its target. For

example, in his First Satire, Horace remembers the satirist Lucilius, who "from conscious Villains tore the mask away, / And stripped them naked to the Glare of Day."[10] Such violent disclosure of hypocrisy remains one of the cherished powers of angry satire, through Jonson and Pope to Shelley.[11] In a letter to Leigh Hunt written in 1822, Shelley declares, "I began once a Satire upon Satire, which I meant to be very severe, – it was full of small knives in the use of which practice would have soon made me very expert."[12] Apparently, Shelley meant to use these "knives" on satire itself. However, a glance at the unfinished poem reveals an image of satiric violence directed at a more human target: "If Satire's [scourge] [could wake the slumbering hounds / Of Conscience]",

> . . . who that has & seen
> What Southey is & was, who wd. not Exclaim . . .
> Lash on, & be the keen verse dipped in flame
> Follow his flight on winged words, & urge
> The strokes of the inexorable scourge . . .
> And from the mirror of the [enchanted] shield,
> From which his Parthian arrow . . .[13] (lines 17–30)

One could say that Southey plays Marsyas to Shelley's Apollo here, although in a conditional syntactical arrangement. Shelley imagines that "Satire's scourge" could reveal Southey's heart, with "contagion's spots foul," as he says elsewhere in the draft, to the accompaniment of Apollonian imagery ("Truth's sunlike shield").[14] Given that angry satire had such powers, Shelley would "urge / The strokes of the inexorable scourge" until Southey was quite exposed.

The statues of the flayed satyr Marsyas brought Shelley face to face with the implications of such satiric revelation, which both attracted and horrified the poet. The point of "A Satire on Satire" is to deny these powers to satiric punishment ("This cannot be") and to assert that "Suffering makes suffering, ill must follow ill"(lines 35–36). Yet the revealing power of the "inexorable scourge" also attracts Shelley, who hated falsehood and hypocrisy almost as much as Blake did. In this poem, the wishful aggrandizement of satire which precedes its retraction shows Shelley having it both ways. He allows for anger's revelations and then condemns anger as a contributor to the same cycles of cruelty that called it forth. As we will see, this plot characterizes virtually all of Shelley's angry poetry. Like Blake, he knows the importance of anger as a revolutionary emotion but sees revenge as a "pernicious mistake" (*Prose*, 323). He takes pains to purge his anger quickly, after it has done its work.[15]

At the center of many of Shelley's narratives is a ritual of unmasking, usually accomplished by means of defiance and aggression: Prometheus curses Jupiter, Shelley curses the reviewer of *Endymion*, the disguised figures in *The Mask of Anarchy* are routed, Iona Taurina compels her enemies to assume their true shapes in *Swellfoot the Tyrant*. These moments cannot be fully assimilated to the satiric tradition, however, because of Shelley's own palpable ambivalence about his anger. In fact, scenes of unmasking are not the unique province of satire. The romance tradition, particularly as read through Spenser and Milton, surely provided Shelley with another approach to evil disguised.[16] Spenser, in the stripping of the witch Duessa in Book I of *The Faerie Queene*, and Milton, in the revelation of the toad as Satan in Book IV of *Paradise Lost*, emphasize the inevitability of falsehood's spectacular revelation when confronted by truth. In *The Faerie Queene*, Una (or Truth) directs the Red Crosse Knight and Arthur to strip Duessa (or Falsehood) naked, "and let her fly."[17] Once they have revealed Duessa's deformity and ugliness, Una proclaims, "Such is the face of falshood, such the sight / Of fowle Duessa, when her borrowed light / Is laid away, and counterfesaunce knowne" (1.8.49). Similarly, in *Paradise Lost*, an angelic patrol finds Satan, "Squat like a toad, close at the ear of Eve," in amphibious form that prefigures his later transformation: "Him thus intent Ithuriel with his spear / Touched lightly; for no falsehood can endure / Touch of celestial temper, but returns / Of force to its own likeness: up he starts / Discovered and surprised . . . So started up in his own shape the fiend."[18] These moments encapsulate the Shelleyan project, particularly in their rejection of vengeance. Una tells her knights to spare Duessa's life, and Ithuriel touches the toad lightly, sparing what presumably he could have speared. The "celestial temper" of Ithuriel's weapon matches the angelic forbearance of its owner, providing a model for Shelley's own poetic encounters with evil.[19]

Prometheus Unbound, for example, raises the (Blakean) Spectre of anger in order to dispel it, making way for the triumph of a pacifistic utopia. Readers tend to locate Prometheus' conversion from anger in his opening soliloquy, when he imagines Jupiter's eventual fall with "pity" rather than "Disdain."[20] Certainly by the conclusion of that speech, Prometheus claims, "I am changed so that aught evil wish / Is dead within" and "no memory be / Of what is hate"(211, 1.70–71). Yet anger's disturbing presence continues to make itself known through much of this first act, specifically in Prometheus' curse and the circumstances surrounding its rearticulation. Prometheus says, "The Curse / Once breathed on thee I

would recall"(211, 1.59–60), and critics have often noted the double meaning encoded there: he will both remember and revoke his angry curse. Yet between these meanings falls a third, one that is invoked most directly by the subsequent action of the poem. Prometheus literally recalls, or summons back, his curse, in the same sense as when in "Mont Blanc," the poet speaks of his mind as

> One legion of wild thoughts, whose wandering wings
> Now float above thy darkness, and now rest
> Where that or thou art no unbidden guest,
> In the still cave of the witch Poesy,
> Seeking among the shadows that pass by
> Ghosts of all things that are, some shade of thee,
> Some phantom, some faint image; till the breast
> From which they fled recalls them, thou art there! (98, lines 41–48)

Here in Poesy's cave, among the "Ghosts of all things that are," Shelley seeks "Some phantom" to represent his "wild thoughts," just as Prometheus summons Jupiter's phantasm from among "The shadows of all forms that think and live" (line 198) to pronounce the wild justice of his curse. In "Mont Blanc," Shelley will "recall" his "wild thoughts" from their wandering, back to his own breast, and Prometheus similarly proposes to bring his angry words out of exile and back to their place of origin: his own consciousness.[21] This is more than memory, for by thus recalling his curse, Prometheus summons anger within himself.

Despite his initial abjuration of disdain and hate, Prometheus becomes strangely irritable as soon as he determines to recall his curse, as if he cannot quite control anger's manifestations. In fact, it is precisely this sense of powerlessness that upsets him, as he demands to hear his curse and meets repeated refusals. The Mountains, Springs, Air, and Whirlwinds, as well as the Earth herself, all shrink from the task of articulation. Prometheus responds,

> Mother, thy sons and thou
> Scorn him, without whose all-enduring will
> Beneath the fierce omnipotence of Jove
> Both they and thou had vanished like thin mist
> Unrolled on the morning wind! – Know ye not me,
> The Titan, he who made his agony
> The barrier to your else all-conquering foe? (213, 1.113–19)

When the Earth replies, "They dare not," he exclaims with growing impatience, "Who dares? / For I would hear that curse again"(lines 130–31). Emphasizing the ingratitude of those he has protected from the "else

all-conquering foe," Prometheus begins to sound like Homer's Achilles or Shakespeare's Coriolanus. His anger is a fundamentally aristocratic emotion that has its source in spirited pride and jealous concern for one's place in a hierarchy. For all his anti-tyrannical sentiments, Prometheus clearly considers himself the commander-in-chief and finds it difficult to forbear giving orders accordingly.

In choosing the "phantasm of Jupiter" to repeat his curse, Prometheus indulges these tyrannical urgings, here at the expense of his foe: "Arise, appear" (line 221), he demands; "Speak the words which I would hear" (line 248). The note of urgency in Prometheus' commands indicates his recognition that, in deciding to recall his anger, he has evoked a monstrous aspect of himself. The imaginative center of a millennial and pacifistic masque, Prometheus verges on becoming a wrathful, tyrannical tragic hero. We watch as he struggles to externalize the recalled anger which threatens to effect this transformation. Yet such an act of externalization seems to have created Jupiter in the first place, an action here mimicked by the rise of Jupiter's phantasm. We begin to doubt whether the poem will transcend its cyclical creation of angry doppelgängers.

However, after the curse is spoken and Prometheus moves from remembering that he forgot to actually remembering, his anger and its accompanying anxiety disappear. Like Blake (and Freud also), Shelley believes that bringing the hidden to light is the central restorative action available to mankind. Revelation produces the good and healthy; concealment (from one's self or others) involves evil and error. This is why Prometheus must actually hear his own curse in order to revoke it fully. It also helps to explain the burden of the curse itself, which takes a similar approach to the mystifications of Jupiter. The curse concludes with the stanza that Bloom calls "the best and most important" (*Shelley's Mythmaking*, 107):

> An awful Image of calm power
> Though now thou sittest, let the hour
> Come, when thou must appear to be
> That which thou art internally.
> And after many a false and fruitless crime
> Scorn track thy lagging fall through boundless
> space and time. (218, 1.296–301)

Note that Jupiter's crimes are "false": real enough, yet necessarily the products of deception. In characteristically Shelleyan manner, Prometheus

compels him to assume a form that corresponds to his inner state. In other words, he dooms the god simply to be himself: Jupiter Unmasked.

We can see why the Earth speaks of Prometheus's angry curse as a "treasured spell" and why the spirits of nature "meditate / In secret joy and hope those dreadful words" (214–15, 1.184–86), given its power to reveal the falsehood at the core of Jupiter's tyranny. Furthermore, since the articulation of the curse brings about its own specific fulfillment, we may well wonder in what sense Prometheus retracts it. The curse in fact is a characteristically Shelleyan outburst of rage against tyrannical cruelty, an incantation he resorted to repeatedly throughout his career.[22] Like the wishful scourging of Southey in the "Satire on Satire," the cursing of monarchy and religion in the shape of Jupiter allows Shelley to put on the mask of anger and imagine the triumph of wrath over falsehood. Shelley's construction of utopia in the later acts of *Prometheus Unbound* is fueled by the energies of this lurid episode of angry confrontation and conquest. A story told by one of Shelley's schoolmates at Eton illuminates the scene: "I have seen him surrounded . . . hooted, baited like a maddened bull, and at this distance of time I seem to hear ringing within my ears the cry which Shelley was wont to utter in his paroxysm of revengeful anger."[23] Prometheus' curse of Jupiter echoes faintly behind this passage, and we can see here one of the sources of Shelley's image of himself as exile, cursing and accursed. Of course, Shelley became a pacifist, and Prometheus repudiates his curse, calling it "blind" – and then watches as it is fulfilled. Like Shelley, who stages his anger, allows it to take effect, and then renounces it, Prometheus looks the other way while his outraged curse does his dirty work for him.

Calling his own angry words "blind," Prometheus implies that the mask of anger conceals truth from its wearer as well as from its audience. Such a moment of recognition belongs to the tragic hero, and we can see Shelley here working to transform Aeschylus' character into his own by contravening the generic plot of Greek tragedy. For the Greeks, blind anger produces tragic deeds: Sophocles' Oedipus slays his father at the crossroads, Seneca's Hercules slaughters his family, Euripides' Agave tears her son apart. These scenes of domestic violence give way to moments when the eyes of the angry figure are opened to the horrible consequences of his or her wrath; indeed, Oedipus puts out his own eyes, transforming his face into a symbolic mask of blind rage. Shelley's poem begins where these tragedies leave off, thus imagining the repudiation of anger as the driving event of the action rather than as the tragic conclusion to it: the

unbinding of Prometheus as opposed to the denouement of tragedy. Furthermore, the blind anger of Prometheus has produced only words, rather than irrevocable deeds. His decision to "recall" his curse demonstrates that this is a non–tragic world of revocable anger. Yet Jupiter's subsequent fall, which accords with the terms of the curse of Prometheus, shows that those "blind" words have real power.

Shelley wants art to have the potency of vital ritual and often imagines his anger as a kind of unsympathetic magic.[24] As I have argued, Prometheus' curse operates as a performative gesture which invokes the hour of unmasking that is to come. The regeneration of mankind that follows Jupiter's fall is accomplished by way of additional unmasking, following the curse's injunction, "Let the hour / Come, when thou must appear to be / That which thou are internally" (217, I.277–79). Summoned by this imperative, the Spirit of the Hour proclaims, "The painted veil . . . is torn aside" (269, III.4.190ff.), and "The loathsome mask has fallen" (269, III.4.193). Furthermore, the Spirit of the Earth describes humanity's transformation in similar terms. This spirit remembers the "foul masks with which ill thoughts / Hide that fair being whom we spirits call man" (265, III.4.44–45) – masks which included "proud, angry looks" (265, III.4.41). Prometheus' carefully staged masque of anger thus comes to unmask anger, following the pattern of Shelley's "Satire on Satire" and his youthful oath of eternal intolerance of intolerance.[25] In the millennial society that follows Jupiter's fall, "those ugly human shapes and visages / . . . Past floating through the air," and "those / From whom they past seemed mild and lovely forms / After some foul disguise had fallen" (265, III.4.65ff.). Shelley's momentary adoption of the mask of anger allows him to imagine this universal unmasking.

Adonais contains a similar curse of revelation, directed against the reviewer whom Shelley imagines has caused Keats's death. In the midst of his lament, Shelley wonders angrily, "What deaf and viperous murderer," what "nameless worm," laid Keats low (421, lines 317, 319). He questions the identity of the anonymous reviewer, associating the "nameless" attack on Keats with deception and disguise. Furthermore, he suggests that the mask becomes a kind of curse against identity, divesting the reviewer of his own self or soul. Anonymity allows one to act without taking responsibility for those actions, which is the vice Shelley condemns so thoroughly in others. Yet this pattern characterizes precisely Shelley's own expressions of anger, which he continually disavows even as he amplifies them. Here Shelley turns to the reviewer and curses him:

> Live thou, whose infamy is not thy fame!
> Live! fear no heavier chastisement from me,
> Thou noteless blot on a remembered name!
> But be thyself, and know thyself to be! (421, lines 325–28)

Identification is the burden of this contemptuous curse, which aims to compel the equally contemptuous reviewer to self-knowledge and self-loathing. Commanding the reviewer to be and know himself, Shelley performs the Promethean ritual of unmasking evil from behind a mask of anger.

The result, Shelley imagines, will be that the reviewer will become his own worst enemy:

> And ever at thy season be thou free
> To spill the venom when thy fangs o'erflow:
> Remorse and Self-contempt shall cling to thee;
> Hot shame shall burn upon thy secret brow,
> And like a beaten hound tremble thou shalt – as now.
> (421, lines 329–33)

Shelley clearly relishes the prospect of punishing Southey here, as he did in the "Satire on Satire," despite the relegation of the beating to a simile (and despite the fact that Southey was not the reviewer in question, although Shelley thought he was). Part of Shelley wants to hit this misbehaving hound with a rolled-up copy of *Adonais*, as a way of teaching him remorse and shame. Yet Shelley also hopes that this training can be separated from angry abuse.

In his letters, Shelley makes repeated reference to this stanza of the poem, worrying it with simultaneous pride and embarrassment. To his publisher Ollier he wrote that the poem contained "some interposed stabs on the assassins of his peace and of his fame"(*Letters* II:207), and to John Gisborne and Claire Clairmont, he bragged, "I have dipped my pen in consuming fire" in order to punish Keats's "destroyers" (*Letters* II:300, 302). Yet to Byron, Shelley admitted that he had "been carried too far by the enthusiasm of the moment" and by his "indignation" (*Letters* II:308); and Byron would later say that the curse in *Adonais* contained some of the most "cutting" lines of poetry he knew.[26] In his desire to reveal the enemies of poetry, he may have allowed his anger to become too vengeful. Yet, as he wrote to Byron, "I console myself by reflecting that it is defence of the weak – not in conjunction with the powerful" (*Letters* II:309).

For Shelley, then, the angry mask can be an enabling one as long as the poet uses it for the public good and puts it away when finished. However, Shelley's anxiety, even embarrassment, over his own anger separates him

from the main line of angry satirists, from Juvenal on, who have worn a similar mask. In a seminal essay on satiric personae, Maynard Mack identified "the public defender" as one of the primary roles or masks of the satirist, who "never lets us forget that we are at war; there is an enemy."[27] Shelley is clearly torn between his desire to defend the public and his fear that Mack is right, that such a role shades quickly into warmongering and intolerance. The career of Jonathan Swift surely served as a monitory example for Shelley, as an angry phantasm or specter-self representing what Shelley might become. To end in despondency and madness was what the Romantic poets feared as they remembered the poets of the eighteenth century, from Swift through Burns; and the broad road that led to such an end was paved with consuming rage.

Shelley's well-known sonnet, "England in 1819," begins with a Swiftian torrent of abuse: "An old, mad, blind, despised, and dying king, – / Princes, the dregs of their dull race, who flow / Through public scorn,–mud from a muddy spring, –" (326, lines 1–3). Compare a typical passage from *Gulliver's Travels*, where Swift writes of friends (!) as "importunate, overbearing, quarrelsome, noisy, roaring, empty, conceited, swearing companions."[28] The power of Swift's anger, both its tragedy and comedy, is most palpable in such passages, which are his trademark. Here, eight adjectives are not enough, one senses, to exhaust Swift's rage, as he moves on to attack other "scoundrels" and "vices." Shelley's first line can hold no more descriptors of George III, and we feel the poet's anger straining against the sonnet's form. Furthermore, as for Swift, other targets present themselves to Shelley's onrushing imagination: "Princes," "Rulers," "An army," "laws," "Religion," "A senate" (326, lines 2–12). The poem reads like an almost uncontrolled litany of Shelley's hatreds, like a Swiftian list of everything wrong in a dirty and broken world. Shelley tries to begin with this type of rage and end with an image of hope. Yet he leaves himself only two lines to pull up from his sonnet's nose-dive into the abyss. All of the enumerated evils, he writes, "Are graves, from which a glorious Phantom may / Burst, to illumine our tempestuous day" (327, lines 13–14). It is a familiar Shelleyan trope: an exorcism performed by a ghost, and a turning of our gaze from a darkened present to a bright future in which there will be no cause for anger. Yet it arguably comes too late here, a pale illumination next to the darkness visible of the rest of the poem. This urgent, cumulative rhetoric of Swift and Shelley can preclude radical changes of direction or attitude.

In fact, Shelley's passion for unmasking often manifests itself as rapid, incantatory variations on a theme. The question that occupies him in "To a Sky-Lark" – "What thou art we know not; / What is most like

thee?" (305, lines 31–32) – can be read as the determining inquiry for his angry verse as well. In "To a Sky-Lark," it produces a series of similes that attempt to describe an intangible by way of an accumulating list of tangibles: a poet, a maiden, a glow-worm, a rose. In "Similes for Two Political Characters of 1819," this question – what is most like thee? – leads Shelley to another angry, Swiftian list, an incantation of incarnation, as the poet works to name and thus unmask Sidmouth and Castlereagh:

> . . . two vultures sick for battle,
> Two scorpions under one wet stone,
> Two bloodless wolves whose dry throats rattle,
> Two crows perched on the murrained cattle,
> Two vipers tangled into one.[29]

Shelley's goal is not one perfectly apt comparison, but a spell of naming that is sufficiently comprehensive to bind these protean figures and uncover their "true" selves. Like the anonymous reviewer of Keats who savaged the poet from behind a mask, Sidmouth and Castlereagh are preying on England in the disguise of public servants or heroes. Shelley thus aims to reveal them by means of anger, upstaging these figures by adopting their roles himself. As enraged public defender, Shelley will force Sidmouth and Castlereagh to appear as grotesques; he engages in an angry struggle for definition of self and other.[30]

In his discussion of Shelley's "To the Lord Chancellor," Steven Jones remarks on this incantatory aspect of that poem: "The long series of objects upon which to predicate the curse calls attention . . . to the extreme anger of the curser, foregrounding his frenzied search for the most negatively powerful 'ground' for hatred that he can find" (*Shelley's Satire*, 26). Jones recognizes the similarity to "Hymn to Intellectual Beauty" and "To a Sky-Lark," where "it becomes clear that the 'power' the poems seek to invoke cannot be covered in a single act of naming or comparison" (26). However, it seems that in "To the Lord Chancellor," and in "Similes for Two Political Characters," Shelley stops writing when he feels he has effectively unmasked his subject rather than when he has simply exhausted his imagination, as in *Epipsychidion*. His angry poems have a sense of conclusiveness that his hymns of love do not share, perhaps because his anger is essentially a reductive emotion that mandates simple oppositions (e.g., liberty versus tyranny; truth versus falsehood), while his love encourages imaginative proliferation, or promiscuity. Thus "To the Lord Chancellor" ends, like so many of Shelley's angry poems, with a turn from rage to hope, from curse to blessing:

> I curse thee, though I hate thee not; O slave!
> If thou couldst quench the earth-consuming hell
> Of which thou art a daemon, on thy grave
> This curse should be a blessing. Fare thee well!
> (*Poetical Works*, ed. Hutchinson, 544, lines 61–64)

Having done its work in revealing this "Masked resurrection of a buried form" (line 4) as a "Priestly Pest" (line 3) and a "tyrant" (line 60), the curse is itself unmasked by the poet as a potential blessing in disguise. As an incantation to dispel falsehoods and deceptions (including its own), it begins in invective and ends in benediction. Yet does this retrogression amount to anything more than a covering of tracks? By staging anger's expression and then dispelling it, Shelley guillotines Marie Antoinette and eats his cake too: he moves from violent, revolutionary vengeance to the sweetness of reconciliation without acknowledging that his anger must be either irrevocable or ineffectual, a cutting stroke or a mere feint. Both make Shelley uneasy. "To the Lord Chancellor" exemplifies his oscillation, as he writes, "I curse thee, though I hate thee not; O slave!" This emotional confusion will lead Shelley away from lyric expressions such as this to more dramatic structures, where he may enact his rage at a safer, less revealing, distance.

We can best address the generic implications of Shelley's repeated turnings from anger towards hope by imagining a poem he never wrote, or rather, wrote many times under different titles: the Masque of Anger. It is a poem that begins in outrage, with a violent spectacle of indignation that resembles satire, directed against an enemy or false hero in order to strip away his disguise. However, this confrontational, rather grotesque scene soon gives place to the triumphant entrance of a conciliatory and harmonious figure, who puts an end to anger, heralding the impending advent of a peaceful millennium. Shelley's *Prometheus Unbound* and "England in 1819" follow this generic plot rather closely, and darker variations can be found in *The Mask of Anarchy*, *Adonais*, and *The Triumph of Life*.[31] Millennial hope informs and displaces satiric anger; the resulting Shelleyan poem is a masque of unmasking.

Scholars have recognized Shelley's abiding interest in the masque, and generally attribute it to the influence of Leigh Hunt, whose *The Descent of Liberty: A Mask* (1815) uses the conventions of that most monarchical of genres to criticize George III's government.[32] Indeed, such a reversal lies at the heart of Shelley's engagement with the masque, and Hunt's example must have helped Shelley crystallize a generic structure for his moral and political outrage. Milton's *Maske Presented at Ludlow Castle*

(i.e., *Comus*) was also an important guide for Shelley here, as quite probably were Jonson's various masques, available by 1816 in Gifford's edition. In the typical Shelleyan generic trajectory, anger begins as satire and ends as anti-masque. In other words, it first unmasks falsehood and then is redefined as a grotesque and destructive indulgence to be expelled from the poet's ultimate vision; it may operate in the plot, but not in the dream. Shelley's own oscillation between caustic skepticism and progressive idealism finds its expression in this pattern, which allows for satiric anger and masque-like visions of hope in the same work of art. However, he forces his poetry to overcome mere oscillation in favor of dialectical progress, favoring the spectacle of triumph that characterizes both the Jacobean masque and the Elizabethan genre known as the "progress." Shelley attempts to dissociate these genres from their royal energies while retaining their transcendent aesthetic and in fact works hard to convey satiric meaning by means of the affirmative, progressive spectacle of the masque.

Milton's *Comus* (1634) and its most immediate Jonsonian precursor, *Pleasure Reconciled to Virtue* (1618), demonstrate the two varieties of anger that Shelley recognized: revealing and revengeful. Thus these masques provide a general summary of the role of anger within the genre, as it was available to Shelley. In addition, both *Comus* and *Pleasure Reconciled to Virtue* center around the imagined defeat of Comus (a Proteus-figure) and his minions – a plot that recalls Shelley's frequent struggles to name and unmask his protean enemies. Finally, the reconciling of pleasure and virtue, which occupies both masques, also proves to be one of Shelley's central concerns, from *Queen Mab* through *Epipsychidion* to *The Triumph of Life*. What role has anger in such a reconciliation?

In his unfinished drama *Charles the First*, Shelley deals explicitly with this question, in ways illuminated by Jonson and Milton. The play begins with a Puritan audience observing a royal masque, and responding with anger as the masque so obviously privileges (Catholic) pleasure over (Protestant) virtue. "Here is the pomp that strips that houseless orphan / Here is the pride that breaks the desolate heart," says one citizen (*Poetical Works*, ed.Hutchinson, 154–55). For most of these observers, anger serves to unmask (at least to their own eyes) the false union of pleasure and virtue enacted by these "papists, athiests, tyrants, and apostates" (line 75). The anger of the Puritans is both anti-mask and anti-masque, in that it offers to "strip the vizor from their [the masquer's] purposes" (line 77) by challenging the theatrical ideology of the masque itself. Yet one observer, "A Youth," takes a different view, reading the masque under the sign of

idealized aesthetics rather than politics. In so doing, he offers a third role for anger: in the wholly generic category of anti-masque, which is comprehended by the structure of the masque. The youth calls the masque, "Beautiful, innocent, and unforbidden / By God or man; – 'tis like a bright procession / Of skiey visions in a solemn dream / From which men wake as from a Paradise" (lines 16–19). Furthermore, seeing "the troop of cripples, beggars, and lean outcasts" that "bring up the rear" of the masque, he declares, "'tis but / The anti-masque, and serves as discords do / In sweetest music. Who would love May flowers / If they succeeded not to Winter's flaw?" (lines 174–76). That is, anger may serve as a discordant note to set off succeeding harmony.

In Jonson's *Pleasure Reconciled to Virtue*, anger appears as this kind of grotesque discord that precedes the harmonious speeches and dances. It is the emotion of anti-masque, what Stephen Orgel calls "a world of disorder or vice, everything that the ideal world of. . .the courtly main masque was to overcome and supersede."[33] Here Jonson's anti-masques present the union of pleasure and vice as that which must be put asunder, in order for virtue to take her proper place at pleasure's side. Comus presides over the first anti-masque, a celebration of gluttony dispelled by Hercules, whose legendary choice of hard virtue over easy pleasure serves as the mythological pretext for the masque. In the second anti-masque, anger is the vice in question; an enraged pygmy and his companions seek vengeance on Hercules for killing the giant, Antaeus:

> Where is this Hercules? What would I give
> To meet him now? Meet him? nay three such other,
> If they had hand in murder of our brother!
> With three? with four, with ten, nay, with as many
> As the name yields! Pray anger there be any
> Whereon to feed my just revenge, and soon!
> How shall I kill him? Hurl him 'gainst the moon,
> And break him in small portions![34]

When the pygmies discover Hercules asleep beneath a tree, and feel certain they "have him," this same angry leader exclaims, "Come, let us dance for joy" (lines 121ff.). Their anger is a pleasure, and their impending vengeance, a cause for excited celebration. Furthermore, the pygmy's prayer to anger reveals the similarity between his rage and Comus' gluttony, as the pygmy desires an ever-expanding number of victims "whereon to feed" his vengeance. The two vices merge as pleasurable forms of excess and obsession enacted as humorous grotesques.

The triumphant dance of the pygmies is immediately followed by their dispersal, as Hercules awakens to the sound of a choir, which in turn sets the stage for Mercury and Daedalus, presiding over the masque proper. The discordant dance of vengeance is replaced by the graceful intertwinings of masquers and nobles, enacting the reconciliation of pleasure and virtue. On an aesthetic level, the main masque thus uses the anti-masque to heighten its idealizations by way of contrast. From a political or moral perspective, the anti-masque represents that which must be expelled or purged in order for the ideal to exist. In the ideology of this masque, the vengeful anger of the pygmies has no business with either pleasure or virtue, except as a grotesque other to be unmasked and dispelled.

Likewise, "the execrable passion of vengeance" has no place in the utopian society Shelley envisions (*Prose*, 263). In his preface to *The Cenci*, he calls revenge a "pernicious mistake" (*Prose*, 323), and he takes pains to separate his own anger, which he presents as defiant, public, and moralistic, from vengeance, which he sees as underhanded, private, and malignant. He also recognizes that vengeful anger, which quickly becomes hatred, is a grotesque emotion at odds with the creation of beautiful works of art. In "A Hate-Song," he writes,

> A hater he came and sat by a ditch,
> And he took an old cracked lute;
> And he sang a song which was more of a screech
> 'Gainst a woman that was a brute.
> (*Poetical Works*, ed. Hutchinson, 550, lines 1–4)

Like the pygmies' dance of revenge, the screech of the hater, to the accompaniment of a broken instrument, is an ugly parodic work of art, meant to demonstrate the deforming influence of vengeful anger as a destructive rather than a creative emotion.

In the masque/anti-masque dialectic of Jonson's *Pleasure Reconciled to Virtue*, Shelley found a generic model that allows for the presentation of anger and then the elimination of it. Yet, because the anger in Jonson's masque is so openly grotesque and vengeful, Shelley had to look elsewhere for the revelatory anger that was so important to his political, satiric poetry; that is, he needed anger that was anti-mask, not merely anti-masque. Milton's *Comus* is central to this aspect of Shelley's imagination, not least because Milton reworks the masque genre so completely, separating it from the celebrations of monarchy that Jonson authored.[35] Crucial to our interests is Milton's presentation of anger in this masque as an incantation of revelation, a strategy Shelley made his own, as we have seen.

In *Comus*, the imprisoned Lady, tempted by Comus to surrender to sensual (and sexual) indulgence, responds, "Hence with thy brewed enchantments, foul deceiver! / Hast thou betrayed my credulous innocence / With vizored falsehood and base forgery?"[36] Comus remains undeterred, and the Lady's anger rises:

> Thou art not fit to hear thyself convinced:
> Yet, should I try, the uncontrolled worth
> Of this pure cause would kindle my rapt spirits
> To such a flame of sacred vehemence,
> That dumb things would be moved to sympathize,
> And brute earth would lend her nerves, and shake,
> Till all thy magic structures, reared so high,
> Were shattered into heaps o'er thy false head. (65, lines 792–99)

One can hear this extraordinary passage resonating through Shelley's angry poetry, particularly in Prometheus' curse and the curse on Keats's reviewer. Milton's Lady emphasizes Comus' "vizored falsehood," which her anger as a "flame of sacred vehemence" will dispel; here is the curse as an incantation of unmasking, the familiar Shelleyan trope. Shelley explicitly echoes this passage in *Charles the First*, when a citizen observing the nobles' masque observes, "When lawyers masque 'tis time for honest men / To strip the vizor from their purposes" (*Poetical Works*, ed. Hutchinson, 490, 1.i.76–77). Furthermore, the Lady's claim that "brute earth would lend her nerves" to Comus' defeat prefigures the Earth's participation in Prometheus' curse, as the "venerable mother" who has kept that "treasured spell. . .in secret joy" (214–15, 1.184ff). Finally, the Lady's confidence in the "uncontrolled worth / Of this pure cause" reminds us of Shelley's faith in his role as public defender, warding off the corrupt "enchantments" of church and state, and the "base forgery" of the reviewers.

The Orphean quality of the Lady's (deferred) outburst clearly attracts Shelley as well. "Dumb things would be moved to sympathize" with her anger, in the same way that the natural world responds to Prometheus' curse and Jupiter's fall. Poetic utterance that has power beyond that of unacknowledged legislation is Shelley's covert wish, part of his satiric inheritance and his prophetic aspiration. In "Orpheus," Shelley dramatizes this fantasy by depicting a broken-hearted Orpheus who returns from his unsuccessful voyage to "drear Hell":

> He chose a lonely seat of unhewn stone,
> Blackened with lichens, on a herbless plain.
> Then from the deep and overflowing spring

> Of his eternal ever-moving grief
> There rose to Heaven a sound of angry song.
> (*Poetical Works*, ed. Hutchinson, 629, lines 68–72)

Orpheus's irrigating rage overflows in a "harmonious roar" and causes "Earth herself" to bring forth trees, flowers, and bushes, which encircle his seat, "while near his feet grim lions crouch" (lines 114ff.). The song of anger moves dumb things to sympathize, and brute earth lends her nerves, here as in Milton's masque. It would seem that, in at least one corner of Shelley's imagination, any emotion felt strongly and sincerely tends towards utopian creativity.

Furthermore, Shelley follows Milton in his alteration of the Orphean myth by reconceiving this power as a disenchanting agent operating against "magic structures" and "enchantments," rather than as a charming spell. Of Renaissance masques, Orgel observes, "when magic appears in the masques, it is regularly counteracted not by an alternative sorcery. . . but by the clear voice of reason, constancy, heroism" (*The Illusion of Power*, 56). In Milton and Shelley, this clear voice partakes heavily of moral indignation. Both Milton and Shelley imagine anger as the proper tenor of the Orphean utterance, which will compel super- and un-natural illusions to yield to natural realities. Their angry curses draw power from the utter sincerity and righteousness of their speakers. In Shelley's *Prometheus Unbound* and "Orpheus," the earth is (naturally) moved by sympathy for the singer's overflow of powerful anger, not by telekinesis or mesmerism.

In Milton's masque, the Lady's last spoken words are these angry ones. Following this speech, her brothers "rush in with swords drawn," chase Comus away, and release her by calling on Sabrina and the water-nymphs to "undo the charmed band" that restrains the Lady (*Comus*, 68, line 904). The masque ends as a spirit admonishes, "Love Virtue: she alone is free" (71, line 1019). This concluding sequence presents the fulfillment of the Lady's curse, much in the same way that the later acts of *Prometheus Unbound* fulfill Prometheus' curse of Jupiter. A moment after she threatens Comus with the destruction of his "magic structures," the brothers enter and accomplish just that, making way for the "victorious dance / O'er sensual folly and intemperance" (70, lines 974–75). Shelley is more ambivalent than Milton about the power of outrage, and may have perceived too close a resemblance between this "victorious dance" and the joyous dance of the vengeful pygmies in *Pleasure Reconciled to Virtue*. In emphasizing too completely the righteousness of the Lady's wrath, Milton's masque presents the triumph of virtue over pleasure, not the

reconciliation of the two. Whereas Milton is content to let his heroine's anger have the last word, Shelley fears anger's tendency to adopt the robes of the tyrant it has overthrown. Therefore, Prometheus explicitly renounces his curse; his anger unmasks, and then is itself unmasked. In Shelley's view, only when indignation is dispelled can pleasure and virtue meet in an unconflicted embrace.

Shelley tests the limits of this generic structure most overtly in *The Mask of Anarchy*, inspired by the poet's openly satiric outrage over the Peterloo Massacre and by his attempts to transcend that outrage by way of the masque. A good deal of critical ink has been devoted to the strange intersection of satire and masque found in *The Mask of Anarchy*. Most notably, Stuart Curran, Lisa Vargo, and Steven Jones have all discussed its various maskings and unmaskings, and all three critics seem quite prepared to read *The Mask of Anarchy* as following the generic trajectory I have described: from satiric anger and its unmasking imperative to millennial, masque-like hope as the end of satire.[37] At a relatively high level, *The Mask of Anarchy* does conform to this structure. The masked, allegorical figures of evil are dispersed by a spirit of freedom and the voice of the earth, thus restoring "Hope" (line 128). However, because the "indignant earth" gets the last word – and there repeats her first, most militant advice – we may feel that anger remains dominant at the poem's conclusion. Shelley is explicitly concerned here with breaking cycles of violence and revenge, yet he is unwilling to relinquish the outrage that he continually defers. He claims to have felt a "torrent of indignation" in response to Peterloo, but he begins *The Mask of Anarchy* not as a raging poet, but as a dreaming one. The poem opens on a cinematic vision that combines Biblical iconography and English politics with the logic of nightmare. As a poetic spectacle or masque of evil (Shelley calls it a "ghastly masquerade" in line 27), the first twenty-five stanzas of the poem are grim and disturbing, but their tone can hardly be called angry. As Morton Paley puts it, the speaker "does not seem to comprehend the meaning of what he relates: extraordinary events are recounted in a flat, quotidian tone, much as in Blake's 'The Mental Traveller'" ("Apocapolitics," 94). Frequent echoes of the Biblical Revelation reinforce a sense of apocalyptic detachment at odds with the satiric anger that relishes actual revelation:

> I met Murder on the way –
> He had a mask like Castlereagh –
> Very smooth he looked, yet grim;
> Seven bloodhounds followed him: (316, lines 5–8)

Unlike other masks we have seen, Murder's Castlereagh-mask is part of an array of verbal iconography that is meant to reveal rather than disguise. Shelley offers this image, and others like it, as a vision of a higher disorder that does not require satiric unmasking: what good would it do to strip Castlereagh's image from Murder's face? In Shelley's mythography, both are images and sources of evil; Murder has adopted this mask not to fool the English people but to publicize the allegiance of Castlereagh as his faithful right-hand man.

This initial visionary anti-masque depicts the triumphant progression of Anarchy and his minions as a prophetic revelation. Carl Woodring remarks that the poem "treats the mode of prophetic dream-vision as apocalypse, a final uncovering and revelation."[38] It is too late, Shelley implies, for satire's angry scourge; the powers of evil have already revealed themselves in all their strength, eager for the inevitable apocalyptic clash.[39] The expository power of satire has become redundant, and more severely violent methods of dealing with evil are required of the poet. Thus anger manifests itself, in the second half of the poem, as a call to arms, as if "indignant earth" had "cried aloud":

> Rise like Lions after slumber
> In unvanquishable number
> Shake your chains to Earth like dew
> Which in sleep had fallen on you–
> Ye are many – they are few. (320, lines 151–55)

A trumpet of a prophecy to unawakened England, the earth's oration partakes of both the defiant rage of the public defender and the calmer assurance of the apocalyptic visionary. Here the lions will not lie down with the lambs, but "rise. . . / In unvanquishable number," obviously with less conciliatory plans for the bloodhounds of Murder; these rough beasts slouch towards a second, apocalyptic Peterloo.

In fact, the poem's uncanny circling around, and back to, the scene of a bloody massacre reveals Shelley's ambivalence regarding the generic and moral polarities of killing: is it an imaginative necessity for the radical poet? Certainly this poem requires a good deal of bloodshed to keep it going. The first thing Anarchy does when he appears is trample "to a mire of blood / The adoring multitude" (317, lines 40–41), cheered on by his "mighty troop," "Waving each a bloody sword" (317, lines 42–44). Under Anarchy's rule, indiscriminate slaughter apparently is the order of the day; Anarchy is just as eager to kill supporters as enemies. This initial scene of bloodshed gives way to another, presented obliquely, as Anarchy is

somehow killed following the appearance of "a Shape arrayed in mail" (319, lines 110):

> And the prostrate multitude
> Looked – and ankle-deep in blood,
> Hope that maiden most serene
> Was walking with a quiet mien:
>
> And Anarchy, the ghastly birth,
> Lay dead upon the earth –
> The Horse of Death tameless as wind
> Fled, and with his hoofs did grind
> To Dust, the murderers thronged behind. (320, lines 126–34)

As Morton Paley has noted, that "ankle–deep" blood signifies some epic slaughter, not the mere leveling of one skeleton and a few dusty murderers ("Apocapolitics," 100). The defeat of Anarchy, Shelley implies, will occur when the "sons of England" (320, line 140) deliver their bodies to be slaughtered in protest of their condition. The poem's final scene makes clear how this should be accomplished: by staging another Peterloo, which will in turn lead to revolution. The "tyrants" may "Slash, and stab, and maim, and hew," but "that slaughter to the Nation / Shall steam up like inspiration, / Eloquent, oracular; / A volcano heard afar" (325, lines 342ff.), and awaken England with the same lion-rousing cry to battle.

Leigh Hunt decided not to print the poem in the *Examiner* precisely because of its encouragement of revolutionary anger among the people. As he explained in 1832, when the poem was eventually published,

> I did not insert it because I thought that the public at large had not become sufficiently discerning to do justice to the sincerity and kindheartedness of the spirit that walked in this flaming robe of verse. His charity was avowedly more than proportionate to his indignation; yet I thought that even the suffering part of the people, judging, not unnaturally from their own feelings, and from the exasperation which suffering produces before it produces knowledge, would believe a hundredfold in his anger, to what they would in his good intention.[40]

For Hunt, anger and good intentions are mutually exclusive when times are ripe for violent revolution, because the people are ready to "believe a hundred-fold" in anger and act accordingly. Shelley may have avowed his charity, but, in Hunt's view, his indignation was all too temptingly apparent to those suffering under Pitt's repressive ministry. Withholding the reconciliations of masque as the conclusion to its satiric anger, *The Mask of Anarchy* leaves this voice of righteous indignation ringing in the ears of its auditors.

Shelley's poem thus traces a circle which leads to and from a scene of violence. Anarchy's initial triumphant entrance, with its bloody, war-like deeds, serves as the anti-masque for Shelley, who presents the (equally bloody) passive resistance of the sons of England as the masque proper. However, this scene of resistance prefigures yet another conflict, the one mandated by the "eloquent, oracular" blood spilled, the "volcano heard afar," prophesying the active overthrow of Pitt's government, the army, George III, the Church of England, and the slave trade. This is the revolution that Shelley is not ready to embrace, yet which he secretly hopes may put an end to cyclical violence by routing Anarchy and the "murderers thronged behind" once and for all.

Like "England in 1819," Shelley's *Mask of Anarchy* ends with an anticipated millennium rather than an imminent one, precisely because he avoids imagining the spectacle of decisive and bloody transition. For all of his fascination with physical violence, Shelley swerves from confronting the ultimate conclusion of his preoccupations: a vision of conflict that Yeats knew Shelley lacked, or feared. In addition, the poem stops short of the typical reconciliations of masque, as Shelley begins to perceive a fundamental evil that does survive its revelation as such, and must be dealt with by more violent means. Yet he remains skeptical that Anarchy could be defeated by the same outrage that produced the carnivalesque slaughter of the French Revolution.

The horns of this dilemma – how to destroy evil without becoming an evil destroyer – caught Shelley and left him with the bleak confirmation of *The Triumph of Life*: "God made irreconcilable / Good and the means of good" (490, lines 230–31). The last stanzas of that poem depict a scene where unmasking leads not to revelation but to enervated exhaustion and despair:

> ". . . thus on the way
> Mask after mask fell from the countenance
> And form of all; and long before the day
>
> "Was old, the joy which waked like heaven's glance
> The sleepers in the oblivious valley, died;
> And some grew weary of the ghastly dance,
>
> "And fell, as I have fallen, by the wayside;–
> Those soonest from whose forms most shadows passed,
> And least of strength and beauty did abide." (499–500, lines 535–43)

Here Rousseau describes the "phantoms" (498, lines 482ff.) or human passions as transfiguring the marching throng: "thus on the way, / Mask

upon mask fell from the countenance / and form of all," causing men to grow "weary of the ghastly dance." Each falling mask or phantom reveals another behind it and takes some "strength and freshness" from "every firmest limb and fairest face" (499, line 520) – like the "vampire-bats" to which the phantoms are compared (498, line 484). Shelley presents unmasking unto death in this poem as directly opposed to the utopian unmaskings of *Prometheus Unbound*, where "those / From whom they past seemed mild and lovely forms / After some foul disguise had fallen" (265, III.4.68–70). In *Prometheus Unbound*, "proud, angry looks" are "foul masks" that "Hide that fair being whom we spirits call man" (265, III.4.41ff.). In *The Triumph of Life*, these proud, angry masks transform man to their own image and then depart, leaving him less fair and closer to death.

By analyzing the generic and mythographic implications of anger in Shelley's poetry, we come nearer to understanding the ways political emotions shaped artistic utterance in this period. For poets who wrote in the highly charged Romantic era of revolution and reaction, negotiating the claims of politics and art meant finding ways to gather, process, and distribute outrage. Shelley responds with the deeply ambivalent, doubly "tempered" form I have called the Masque of Anger. We have seen that his faith in the revelatory power of anger determines the utopian tenor of his work, but his ultimate retraction of anger determines that the resolutions he desires shall *remain* utopian. In sum, his poetry of desire depends upon, but does not admit, his poetry of defiance. Shelley is at his best when he can imagine opposing some tyrannical authority in pursuit of some imaginative consummation, in poems like *Prometheus Unbound*, "Ode to the West Wind," and *Epipsychidion*. Moreover, he wants his anger not only to defy but also to unmask, revealing the falsehood supporting tyranny and thus creating a post-political world where anger and desire may end, where humanity may rest calm of mind, all passion spent. In "The Philosophy of Shelley's Poetry," Yeats memorably imagines Shelley worshiping "in some chapel of the Star of infinite desire," but that desire is always for the end to desire altogether, in that far Paterian household "where the undying gods await all whose souls have become simple as flame, whose bodies have become quiet as an agate lamp."[41] The same may be said of Shelley's anger, that it is a rage for order against the chaos of violent contention and the deceptions of fearful revenge. Its various play of masking and unmasking points beyond a final, apocalyptic revelation.

CHAPTER 6

Byron's curse

At every stage of his career, from *English Bards and Scotch Reviewers* (1809) and *The Curse of Minerva* (1811) to *Marino Faliero* (1820) and *Cain* (1821), Byron was writing poetry occasioned and shaped by anger. Yet modern studies of Byron have tended to downplay the importance of that emotion, probably because *Don Juan* bestrides his poetry like a colossus, and most readers understand the modes and methods of that poem – the digression, the lampoon, the sly wink, the humorous deflation of hypocrisy – as paradigmatic.[1] Furthermore, the many critics who focus on Byron's satires alone (e.g. Beaty, Gleckner, Lockwood, and Jones) exclude a large portion of his poetry of anger and revenge, since Byron characteristically combines satiric impulses with a dramatic sense of himself as a figure of vengeance, producing a kind of generic red-shift. For Byron, the resulting angry poetry – a combination of satire, dramatic curse, and confessional lyric – opposes Romantic sincerity with its theatricality, Romantic sympathy with its alienating effects, and Romantic transcendence with its commitment to mundane cycles of retribution.

Of these aspects of Byron's poetry that challenge Romantic aesthetics, self-dramatization is the most familiar. Thomas Lockwood speaks of the "personal quality in post-Augustan satire," in which the satirist "makes personal references to himself as well as to the man he is satirizing" (*Post-Augustan Satire*, 18). "Satiric rhyme first sprang from selfish spleen," Byron writes in a cancelled line of *Hints from Horace*, and his poetic career shows him writing often in a spirit of personal revenge (*CPW* 1:293). Such intimacy reverses the policies of eighteenth-century satire, wherein the poet presents himself as a scourge of vice *pro bono publico* whose private enmities must be subordinated to the larger claims of society. As Steele put it in 1710: "When the sentence [of reproof] appears to arise from personal hatred or passion, it is not then made the cause of mankind but a misunderstanding between two persons . . . No man thoroughly nettled can say a thing general

enough, to pass off with the air of an opinion declared, and not a passion gratified" (qtd. in Lockwood, *Post-Augustan Satire*, 36). Byron explores the implications of Steele's comment by writing poems of "personal hatred" arising precisely from such misunderstandings, transforming his eighteenth-century satiric inheritance by making a spectacle of his personal rage. His angry poetry avoids mere satiric rhetoric by presenting his enmities as matters of public record and the world's evils as personal affronts – as it were, dragging Europe across his bleeding heart.

The paradoxical combination of apparent rhetorical manipulation and a convincingly confessional, passionate style has kept the issue of Byron's sincerity at the forefront of criticism. Two observations by Jerome McGann capture this central paradox of reading Byron's poetry: first, Byron "is the one English Romantic who has been commonly charged with – who has had his work charged with – hypocrisy";[2] and second, "We think of Byron as the most personal of poets, recklessly candid, self-revealing to a fault."[3] Accounting for the fascination this figure exerts has long been a central task for Byron's critics: why is the Byronic personality so compelling? Romanticist scholarship generally assumes that Byron's antithetical position, and thus much of his appeal, involve his ironic masquerading in the face of Romantic ideals of sincerity and spontaneity. Yet this critical narrative tells only half of the story; the other half concerns how Byron undermines his own ironic stance, particularly by way of anger and hatred. Put another way, Byron's crucial revisionary move involves two steps: not merely the ironic interrogation of Romantic ideology, but also the importation of anger, an emotion often not productive of sympathy, into the sincere Romantic poem.

Jerome Christensen's *Lord Byron's Strength* essentially came to challenge the priority of emphasis on sincerity in Byron criticism, preferring instead "strength," the poet's command over questions of self-identification within an historical frame, "a rhetorical capacity for consequential action" which because it is "taken without regard to persons . . . may appear criminal or violently satirical."[4] Christensen identifies Byron's defining mode as a kind of stylistic and imaginative vehemence, a mode that (I want to argue) has much to do with the anger at the heart of Byron's work. Like Blake and Shelley, Byron sees anger as a way to truth, a means of unmasking betrayal and hypocrisy. As Frederick L. Beaty puts it, "Byron's goal was the revelation of truth that would set men free" (*Byron the Satirist*, 198). Unlike the other two poets, however, he has a well-developed appetite for revenge, sharpened by his powerful memory and by an aristocrat's hauteur which Shelley did not share. Threats

of punishment tend to accompany Byron's passionate denunciations of falsity; he wields his angry poetry like a weapon. As we saw in chapter 3, Shelley is content to reveal evil with a touch of Ithuriel's spear, but Byron clearly relishes the process of retribution. In "To a Knot of Ungenerous Critics" (1806), he writes rather ungenerously,

> Truth poised high Ithuriel's spear
> Bids every Fiend unmask'd appear,
> The vizard tears from every face,
> And dooms them to a dire disgrace. (*CPW* 1:20–21, 40–44)

Not content with revealing false fiends, Byron's Truth wants them direly disgraced as well; "satire's scourge" apparently fits well in his hand.

In a series of articles, McGann has emphasized the importance of "truth" to Byron's poetic procedures.[5] In his synoptic view, the contradictions of Byron's poetry are meant to expose false certainties, disrupting the orthodox by means of the paradox. Focusing on the rhetorical mobility and dialogic ethos that characterize Byron's work, McGann argues that the emergent truths of the Byronic perspective are thus negative, deconstructive truths that depend upon a process of contradiction. Irony is the most recognizable vehicle and accompaniment of such a perspective. Yet, as McGann explains, Byron's genius lies in his refusal to abide within a strictly ironic vision; his commitment to contradiction includes contradiction itself. This means that Byron sometimes grounds his work in sincere and consistent emotions, whose vehement certainty exempts them from the play of irony and contradiction. Not surprisingly, the first of these emotions are anger and hatred. As McGann says of *Don Juan*:

> Romantic irony is not the work's ground of truth either. We glimpse this even through the example of Southey, who is not known in *Don Juan* through the plays of Romantic irony. He is known rather through hatred – the same way Brougham and Castlereagh are known . . . Byron can be witty at his own expense, or at Southey's expense, but his wit is not engaged in the face of the Byron / Southey parallel . . . because Southey is not in the end a figure of fun for Byron, he is a figure of all that is hateful and despicable. (*Towards a Literature of Knowledge*, 55)

In other words, Byron's poetry operates between the poles of anger and irony. It seems that, if truth and sincerity do remain crucial issues surrounding Byron and his work, then anger's role as the antidote to irony may constitute an important focus for Byron studies and Romanticist scholarship more generally.

According to McGann, Byron's "wit is not engaged" when he considers his own resemblance to the hated Southey, indicating that in such

moments satire is unavailable to the poet. Augustan satire, for example, typically mingles anger with wit to produce such set-pieces of savagery as Pope's attack on Lord Hervey in his "Epistle to Dr. Arbuthnot":

> Amphibious thing! that acting either part,
> The trifling head, or the corrupted heart,
> Fop at the toilet, flatterer at the board,
> Now trips a lady, and now struts a lord.
> Eve's tempter thus the rabbins have expressed,
> A cherub's face, a reptile all the rest,
> Beauty that shocks you, parts that none will trust,
> Wit that can creep, and pride that licks the dust.[6]

Pope expresses his anger (and takes his revenge) by means of his wit, while simultaneously adopting the Juvenalian role of public defender against the immoral and hypocritical. In the poetry that forms the center of Byron's reputation as a satirist, like *English Bards and Scotch Reviewers*, *A Vision of Judgement*, and much of *Don Juan*, he performs similar acts of witty cruelty. Yet, in a way that resembles moments in the work of Swift, Byron's anger often overwhelms his wit. Particularly when he allows himself to brood upon personal injuries and betrayals, the result is a strangely confessional and performative invective, filled with curses.

One might say that the construction of the Byronic hero typically depends upon a curse, pronounced by or upon him, which enacts his alienation from the rest of humanity; one thinks of Childe Harold, of Manfred, of Cain, of the Giaour – and of the persona visible in many of the lyrics. In choosing the curse as vehicle, Byron situates his angry poetry between the precincts of sincerity and performance, since cursing performs its meaning (i.e., revenge) according to the authentic fervor of the curser. In other words, a curse is a dramatic attempt to compel the sympathy of the world, an invention that depends for its power on both sincerity and spectacle, or private emotion and public rage; in Christensen's terms, it is a rhetorical display of strength, or command. Byron's poetic experiments with the angry curse thus provoke both sympathy and judgment, and help create the Byronic persona that prefigures the dramatic monologists of the Victorians.

Before turning to a closer examination of Byron's work, we should sort out the connections between Romantic sincerity and sympathy, and how anger cuts against them. The discussion of Seneca and Longinus in chapter 1 demonstrated the basic theatrical quality of anger communicated to others. Clearly, as dramatic action, anger can produce a powerful

sympathetic response in an audience. From Oedipus forward, the history of tragedy has found its center in anger and revenge, as John Kerrigan has shown.[7] Because anger arises from the perception of unjust injury, we take great interest in the circumstances and consequences surrounding it; and if we think that someone's anger is appropriate to the injury, we grant him our sympathy. The complex ethical economy of anger makes the stage its proper home, where the nuances of situation and response can be presented. Furthermore, since anger emerges most often from some dramatic relation, its artistic expression is typically most effective as dialogue; it takes two to make an argument. Finally, and perhaps most crucially, the expression of anger depends on tone, gesture, and facial expression for its communication to others – things available to actors but not to lyric poets. Charles Lamb, in his "On the Tragedies of Shakespeare" (1811), sees anger as the most appropriate emotion for the stage, where the goal is the overt display of passion:

> The glory of scenic art is to personate passion, and the turns of passion; and the more coarse and palpable the passion is, the more hold upon the eyes and ears of the spectators the performer obviously possesses. For this reason, scolding scenes, scenes where two persons talk themselves into a fit of fury . . . have always been the most popular on our stage.[8]

Anger is "coarse and palpable," best represented in dialogue as a "scene," attractive to spectators who naturally prefer scenes full of sound and fury, regardless of what they signify. However, to express anger using pen and ink alone, the poet may feel obliged to resort to very strongly worded imprecations and curses. Faced with such outbursts, the reader typically assumes the poet is either overacting (and thus insincere) or overreacting (and thus unsympathetic). In either case, the sincerity effect is disabled and the poem becomes a spectacle, returning in effect to theater. Such readerly detachment opens a gap into which rush hermeneutic suspicions and judgments.

The "sincerity" that characterizes Wordsworthian Romanticism depends wholly on sympathy – precisely that which the decontextualized anger of the lyric has trouble evoking, particularly when it appears spontaneous: that is, uncalled for. Robert Langbaum has written, "*Einfühlung*," or sympathy, "is the specifically Romantic way of knowing," and the Romantic speaker is "a pole of sympathy – the means by which reader and writer project themselves into the poem."[9] We call sincere the poetry that effectively provokes such sympathetic projection. Of course, as Langbaum and McGann both recognize, sincere poetry is, at one level, an oxymoron. Langbaum writes, "the anti-rhetorical style is itself a rhetoric.

For there remains, between the sincere feeling in the heart and the effect of sincerity on the page, the art of communication" (*The Poetry of Experience*, 23), and McGann reminds us similarly, "Romantic sincerity only *presents itself* as unpremeditated verse; in fact it involves a rhetoric" (*Towards a Literature of Knowledge*, 42). However, these statements define sincerity at the level of the *énoncé*, as a truth-value of the poetry itself as a record of the poet's mind. Following Suzanne Guerlac, we may say that poetic sincerity can also be measured at the level of the *énunciation*, defined as an effect upon an audience;[10] and that effect, particularly for the Romantic poets, is called sympathy.

However, anger poses particular obstacles to sympathy. Seneca emphasized the lack of sympathy attendant on anger; and the moral philosophers of the eighteenth century (such as Smith and Kames) followed the lead of the Stoics. In the wake of the French Revolution, the same message circulated in England in regard to anger: it is a spectacle to be condemned, not an emotion with which to sympathize. In 1797, John Fawcett writes in his *Essay on Anger*:

> What a frightful and odious spectacle is the man who delivers himself up to the tyranny of his violent and wrathful passions! . . . The man is transformed into a brute, or rather into a fiend and a fury. Detestable sight! Who can behold him without horror? Fly from him; he is a disgrace to human nature. He is now only a fit companion for devils, and ought to be shunned and dreaded by human beings.[11]

Similarly, Thomas Brown, in a passage quoted earlier from his *Lectures on the Philosophy of the Human Mind* (1820), maintains that the man whose "gloomy heart . . . preserves resentment . . . is like some dreadful being of another race, that walks the earth cursing and accursed; – we shun him as we would fly from some malignant spirit who, by looking at us, could transfuse into us the venom which he feels; – we have no sympathy for *him*."[12] Like Smith and Kames, Fawcett and Brown urge the reader to "fly from" the angry man, recommending flight over the impulse to fight that anger can inspire; aversion seems to be the recommendation. Here the angry man is portrayed as "a fiend," "a fury," "a fit companion for devils," a "malignant spirit," and a "dreadful being of another race." We are very close to the Satanism of the Byronic hero, mad, bad, and dangerous to know; as Brown states flatly, "we have no sympathy for *him*."

However, if anger alienates, it still may fascinate. Joanna Baillie's "Introductory Discourse" to her *Plays on the Passions* (1798) – also quoted

earlier – initiated an aesthetic ideology antithetical to the one articulated by Wordsworth the same year. Theater and spectatorship concern her here, as she considers the outward signs and bodily extroversions of anger that may captivate an audience even while estranging them:

> Anger is a passion that attracts less sympathy than any other, yet the unpleasing and distorted features of an angry man will be more eagerly gazed upon by those who are in no wise concerned with his fury, or the objects of it, than the most amiable placid countenance in the world. Every eye is directed to him; every voice hushed to silence in his presence; even children will leave off their gambols as he passes, and gaze after him more eagerly than the gaudiest equipage. The wild tossings of despair; the gnashing of hatred and revenge . . . all the language of the agitated soul, which every age and nation understand, is never addressed to the dull or inattentive.[13]

For Baillie the dramatist, "Every eye is directed" towards the face of anger, "unpleasing and distorted" though it is, because of the lurid spectacles that anger (and other violent passions) can produce. Byron enacts this theatrical dictum as lyric practice, compelling mystified fascination rather than sympathetic assent from his audiences, and exposing his poetry to charges of insincerity and sensationalism.

Regardless of its correspondence to his actual emotions, then, Byron's poetic anger disrupts the Romantic plot of author–reader sympathy, and thus can be seen as a mark of hypocrisy. Thomas Carlyle's reaction is representative of this way of reading Byron:

> Are his Harolds and Giaours real men? . . . Surely, all these stormful agonies, this volcanic heroism, superhuman contempt and moody desperation, with so much scowling, and teeth-gnashing, and other sulphurous humor, is more like the brawling of a player in some paltry tragedy . . . To our minds, there is a taint of this sort, something which we would call theatrical, false, affected, in every one of these otherwise so powerful pieces.[14]

This passage comes in the midst of Carlyle's consideration of the "sincerity," the "indisputable air of truth" in Burns's poetry: "To every poet, to every writer, we might say: Be true, if you would be believed. Let a man speak forth with genuine earnestness the thought, the emotion, the actual condition of his own heart; and other men, so strangely are we all knit together by the tie of sympathy, must and will give heed to him" ("Burns (1828)," 268). Yet anger and hatred, quite often the actual conditions of Byron's heart, produce the opposite reaction in an audience. Carlyle worries at this aspect of Byron's poetry, returning to it in an essay on Ebenezer Elliott, the "Corn-Law Rhymer," in 1832. There he writes, as a recommendation to Elliott,

Still more, what have we to do with Byron, and his fierce vociferous mouthings, whether "passionate," or not passionate and only theatrical? King Cambyses' vein is, after all, but a worthless one; no vein for a wise man . . . Above all things, lay aside anger, uncharitableness, hatred, noisy tumult; avoid them as worse than pestilence, worse than the bread-tax itself![15]

Elliott's angry political poetry presents its one-issue agenda of reform as "impassioned Truth." Like Ezra Pound's aggravating "usura," Elliott's "corn-laws" become the scapegoat for all that plagues society, and one of the wages, or privileges, of monomania is untrammelled rage in the face of that evil. Carlyle isolates and rejects this "fuliginous, blue-flaming, pitch-and-sulphur" quality he finds in Byron and Elliott ("Corn-Law Rhymes," 153). Furthermore, in a letter to Napier written just before his review of Elliott, Carlyle says that Byron's work provided "no clear undistorted vision into anything, or picture of anything; but all had a certain falsehood, a brawling, theatrical, insincere character."[16] In such remarks, Carlyle uneasily rejects poetry he finds too angry and (therefore) false.

In the Romantic era, then, anger apparently threatened to bring down the lines of sympathetic connection believed fundamental to authentic moral feeling. Without these, one could only be an alien or outlaw – ("either criminal or violently satirical," as Christensen says) – a role that Byron's increasingly bourgeois readership found both frightening and compelling to observe. As Byron describes himself in his Childe Harold persona,

> . . . In the crowd
> They could not deem me one of such; I stood
> Among them, but not of them; in a shroud
> Of thoughts which were not their thoughts.
> (*CPW* II:118, lines 1053–56)

This "shroud of thoughts" that others cannot penetrate partakes of a Coriolanus-like contempt for the "rank breath" (line 1050) of the world, well-nourished by Byron's class-consciousness and sense of betrayal by his English audiences. "I have not loved the world, nor the world me" (line 1049), he writes, implying an underlying antipathy in his communications with that world, and placing anger at the heart of his poetic characters. The paradoxical result is a kind of back-channel sympathy for the Byronic hero, a hesitant fraternity or identification with this unapologetically individual character whose repellent anger is mixed with compelling pride.

As a poet seeking an audience, Byron must involve the alienating effects of his anger with such sympathogenic strategies. When he neglects to do this, he writes a poem like "A Sketch from Private Life," an attack on Lady

Byron's maid, Jane Clermont. "It was this poem," writes McGann, "that brought down the general public attack" on Byron in 1816, and led to his departure from England (*CPW* III:495). Reading the poem is still unpleasant:

> If like a snake she steal within your walls,
> Till the black slime betray her as she crawls;
> If like a viper to the heart she wind,
> And leave the venom there she did not find; –
> What marvel that this hag of hatred works
> Eternal evil latent as she lurks
> To make a Pandemonium where she dwells,
> And reign the Hecate of domestic Hells. (*CPW* III:384, lines 47–54)

By foregrounding his "Private Life" and "domestic Hells," Byron draws the reader into a realm of personal anger where the subject of poetry is Byron's enemy and the object is revenge. "A Sketch" is a disturbingly intimate poem, whose problem is not theatricality but its relentless sincerity. By bringing his anger and hatred to the lyric, Byron reveals the dark side of the "true voice of feeling" and the "spontaneous overflow" of emotion that characterize Wordsworthian Romanticism. In other words, some emotions are hellish, and Byron's poetry based in those emotions can be malevolent indeed, particularly for the Romantic reader accustomed to engaging sympathetically with the speaker of the poem. Byron's angry curses rebuff sympathy and introduce a set of agonistic relations amongst himself, his poetry, his readers, and his victims. The resulting spectacle invites judgment, criticism, and uneasy voyeurism.

In a *Rambler* essay entitled "The Folly of Anger" (1750), Samuel Johnson remarks that a man who feels himself slighted or powerless may turn to anger as a "kind of supplemental dignity," hoping "to add weight, by the violence of his temper, to the lightness of his other powers."[17] Yet, like any Derridean supplement that both aids and destroys that which it serves, anger remedies indignities and in so doing turns men into fools.[18] Johnson says that angry men "endeavour, by their fury, to fright away contempt from before them, when they know it must follow them behind" ("The Folly of Anger," 68). At the storm center of anger, then, is a moment of deferral, an eye of indeterminacy in which dignity is being simultaneously supplied and evacuated. The Byronic curse constitutes a similar space as an uncanny supplement, deferring the vengeance it expresses. The result is an interminable vindictiveness, a longing for the revenge that the curse performs and yet postpones. Like Romantic desire, the infinitudes of which Shelley signifies by the desire of the moth for the

star, Romantic anger could be described as a wish for the stars to fall and crush one's insectile enemies, if Byron's curses are any guide. But the reductive physical consummations that such Romantic poems adumbrate – sex or murder – are in fact anathema to their imaginative processes and energies. Byron's angry curses depend on their supplemental function in the economy of revenge, as they imagine debtors still paying, still to owe.

Johnson's conception of anger as a means of "supplemental dignity" assumes an audience, and the supplemental revenge of a Byronic curse also involves a cluster of negotiations with its readers. In fact, Byron's unique style emerges under direct pressure from his anger, as he develops ways to engage readers despite his spite. One favorite method is to portray himself as one who has patiently suffered many betrayals, who endures despite having been unreasonably provoked. McGann calls this role "the figure of the suffering poet, whose (audience) reciprocal is the sympathetic reader" ("Byron and the Anonymous Lyric," 31). Yet the angry Byron frequently lets this mask slip, as he plays the role of *poète maudit* with strong overtones of vindictiveness. To this his audience typically responds not with sympathy, but with a disturbed fascination; by means of its angry moods, the Byronic personality compels attention. A mysterious, deliberately provocative blend of confession and accusation fairly defines the Byronic curse. Perhaps the most famous example of this occurs in canto 4 of *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage*, during the scene in the Roman Coliseum where Byron addresses "Time, the avenger!" (*CPW* II : 167–68, line 1169). He first asserts his patience, even as he hopes for revenge:

> . . . but if calmly I have bourne
> Good, and reserved my pride against the hate
> Which shall not whelm me, let me not have worn
> This iron in my soul in vain – shall *they* not mourn? (lines 1176–79)

"*Thou* shalt take / The vengeance" (lines 1194–95), Byron declares to "great Nemesis" (line 1181); "I sleep, but thou shalt yet awake" (line 1197); the poet's emotional equivocation and displacement do not mask his outrage. As Peter Manning puts it, we can perceive "the vindictive impulses surviving beneath the proclamation of sincerity";[19] one might say "thriving" and be closer to the poem's spirit.

Vindication (that is, revenge and its justification) remains central to Byron's poetry. By fusing anger and patience, or outburst and deferral, Byron creates a seductive mode of intense expression that opens up a space for readers' sympathy, even as it alienates them. We keep reading Byron in expectation of either catching him in outright evil or finding him to be a

saint – in a moment of unalloyed judgment or sympathy. His curse of forgiveness exemplifies this mode:

> . . . a far hour shall wreak
> The deep prophetic fulness of this verse,
> And pile on human heads the mountain of my curse!
>
> That curse shall be Forgiveness. – Have I not –
> Hear me, my mother Earth! behold it, Heaven! –
> Have I not had to wrestle with my lot?
> Have I not suffered things to be forgiven?
> Have I not had my brain seared, my heart riven,
> Hopes sapp'd, name blighted, Life's life lied away?
> And only not to desperation driven,
> Because not altogether of such clay
> As rots into the souls of those whom I survey.
> (*CPW* II:19, lines 1204–15)

By "Forgiveness," Byron means the infliction of remorse, hoping in a cancelled stanza that "to forgive be 'heaping coals of fire'/ . . . on the heads of foes" (*CPW* II:169n). Byron wants to "pile on human heads the mountain" of his forgiveness-curse, taking revenge by renouncing it. Furthermore, his litany of suffering, a bid for sympathy (if not martyrdom), concludes with another claim of his superhuman patience: "not to desperation driven, / Because not altogether of . . . clay." Simultaneously alienating and justifying himself, cursing and forgiving, Byron creates poetry so grounded in contradiction that our response can be neither wholly sympathetic nor judgmental.

The resulting deferral of conclusions on the reader's part feels like curiosity, just as Byron's own deferral of both violence and forgiveness results in a kind of mystification; this reciprocal relation lies at the heart of Byron's appeal. The conclusion to the forgiveness-curse, one of his best-known stanzas, shows this dynamic operating to its fullest:

> But I have lived, and have not lived in vain:
> My mind may lose its force, my blood its fire,
> And my frame perish even in conquering pain,
> But there is that within me which shall tire
> Torture and Time, and breathe when I expire;
> Something unearthly, which they deem not of,
> Like the remembered tone of a mute lyre,
> Shall on their softened spirits sink, and move
> In hearts all rocky now the late remorse of love.
> (*CPW* II:170, lines 1225–33)

Here the "something unearthly" that represents Byron's alienating embrace of conflict is imagined as a force for sympathy, one that will sink on the "softened spirits" of his formerly rock-hearted enemies. By leaving this powerful force unspecified and postponing its arrival, Byron masks its foundation in his desire for revenge; and by ending the stanza with "love," he conceals its basis in hatred. The indeterminacy of Byron's anger – here the emotion that dare not speak its name – invites the reader to sympathize with alienation.

However, in a letter to his sister Augusta, written around the same time as this passage from *Childe Harold*, Byron lifts the veil of conciliatory emotions to frightening effect:

> they had no business with anything previous to my marriage with that infernal fiend—whose destruction I shall yet see.—Do you suppose that I will rest—while any of their branch is unwithered? do you suppose that I will turn aside till they are trodden under foot?—do you suppose that I can breathe until they are uprooted?—Do you believe that time will alter them or me?—that I have suffered in vain—that I have been disgraced in vain—that I am reconciled to the sting of the scorpion—& the venom of the serpent? which stung me in my slumber?——If I did not believe—that Time & Nemesis—& circumstances would requite me for the delay—I would ere this have righted myself.—But "let them look to their bond"— (*BLJ*, v:243)

The repeated rhetorical questions, the idea that "time will [not] alter" the poet, and the belief that "Time & Nemesis" will "requite" him all find echoes in the *Childe Harold* passage, but here the emphasis is openly placed on destructive revenge. Clearly these two documents have sprung from the same bitterness and anger regarding Byron's broken marriage. As the more spontaneous and less public of the two, we could regard the letter to Augusta as the truer, more sincere record of Byron's feelings. Armed with the scholarship of Lovell, Marchand, and McGann, the modern reader of Byron confronts the poet at an unprecedented and sometimes disturbing level of intimacy; the poet's private letters, his manuscript fragments and revisions, and various detailed accounts of his life are all before us. It may not be quite fair to read Byron's letters into his poetry. On the other hand, the "Nemesis" passage from *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage* strongly implies what the "Time & Nemesis" letter to Augusta confirms: that Byron wants his wife and her allies to suffer for what he has convinced himself was treachery. As might be expected, Byron's angriest writing can be found in cancelled lines, fragments, personal letters, and private notations. However, these outbursts merely illuminate the larger patterns of anger and revenge that structure his

more public works of art. In his communications to others, poetic and otherwise, Byron makes a spectacle of the conflicts of his intimate life.

In his letters, Byron expresses his anger as a sign of intimacy. It may be that the record has been skewed by the destruction of letters Byron sent to his enemies, but the evidence shows Byron venting his outrage most powerfully in a confessional or conspiratorial mode. For example, in June of 1814, out of patience with Caroline Lamb's importunities, he wrote to Lady Melborne:

> I have no hesitation in saying—that I have made up my mind as to the alternative and would sooner—much sooner be with the dead in purgatory—than with her—Caroline (I put down the name at length as I am not jesting) upon earth.——She may hunt me down—it is in the power of any mad or bad woman to do so by any man—but *snare* me she shall not—torment me she may—how am I to bar myself from her!—I am already almost a prisoner—she has no shame—no feeling—no one estimable or redeemable quality.—These are strong words—but I know what I am writing. . . . If there is one human being whom I do utterly *detest & abhor*—it is she—& all things considered—I feel to myself justified in so doing—she has been an adder in my path ever since my return to this country—she has often belied—& sometimes betrayed me—she has crossed me every where—she has watched—& worried & *guessed*—& been a curse to me and mine.——You may shew *her* this if you please—or to anyone you please—if these were the last words I were to write upon earth—I would not revoke one letter—except to make it more legible.—ever yours most sincerely, Byron (*BLJ*, IV:132–33)

Despite the wonderful anger of this letter, the exaggeration and comedy of the last sentence amount to a disarming playfulness that displaces confrontation and cultivates a sympathetic response. Byron writes to friends about enemies, and his epistolary communications of anger serve as models for his poetic ones. For Byron, the turn to savagery is a privileged moment of revelation, indicating trust in his audience; only when not in the presence of his enemy can he really let go. The tone of collusion and intrigue draws the reader towards further fascination; anger, an alienating emotion, looks like an invitation to intimacy in Byron's hands.

Take, as another example, the letter that should be paired with "A Sketch from Private Life." Soon after composing that poem of abuse directed at Jane Clermont, Byron wrote of her to his wife:

> she came as a guest—she remained as a spy—she departed as an informer—& reappeared as an evidence—if false—she belied—if true—she betrayed me——the worst of treacheries—a "bread and salt traitress" she ate & drank & slept & awoke to sting me.——The curse of my Soul light upon her & hers forever!—

may my Spirit be deep upon her in her life &—in her death—may her thirst be unquenchable—& her wretchedness irrevocable—may she see *herself* only & eternally—may the fulfillment of her wishes become the destruction of her hopes—may she dwell in the darkness of her own heart & shudder—now & for existence——Her last food will be the bread of her enemies.——I have said it. (*BLJ*, v:64).

Byron presented a poetic version of this curse at least twice, once as "A Sketch from Private Life," and again as an "Incantation" or "Chorus in an unfinished Witch Drama" that later found its way into *Manfred*. As Daniel McVeigh observes, the two poems resemble one another so that "it seems reasonable to suspect with Marchand that the Incantation's vitriol came originally from the same reservoir of hate as this heartfelt curse against Clermont"; Daniel McVeigh also cites the letter to Lady Byron.[20] Furthermore, McGann has exposed the wicked double-meaning of "unfinished Witch Drama" as a reference to Byron's tormenting marriage.[21] It seems that a recurring accompaniment of Byronic anger is the transgression of boundaries between the public and the private: while this personal letter performs its anger self-consciously as a curse, the public poems (one, a drama) encode personal conflicts and outbursts at their foundations.

Byron's transformation of satire, then, involves a play of personal outrage variously concealed and revealed. He was working in this mode as early as 1808. Following the death of his favorite dog Boatswain, Byron composed an epitaph that used this wholly private event as an occasion for a misanthropic poem that begins as a satire in the Augustan mode, and ends as something else altogether. In the epitaph, Byron praises the dog and his virtues, as opposed to man,

> . . . thou feeble tenant of an hour,
> Debas'd by slavery, or corrupt by power,
> Who knows thee well, must quit thee with disgust,
> Degraded mass of animated dust!
> Thy love is lust, thy friendship all a cheat,
> Thy tongue hypocrisy, thy heart deceit.[22]

This Swiftian catalogue of man's vices places the poem squarely within the satiric tradition. Yet Byron turns suddenly at the poem's conclusion to confront the reader in a Baudelairean accusatory posture, rejecting the role of public reformer and embracing a private storehouse of bitterness: "Ye! who behold this simple urn, / Pass on, it honours none you wish to mourn. / To mark a friend's remains these stones arise / I never knew but one – and here he lies" (lines 23–26). Satire has merged with

self-dramatized mourning, evoking a decidedly conflicted response from the reader. Close thy Byron, the poem seems to say in a gesture of aversion and rejection of sympathy; yet the note of solicitation struck in the poem's final line lingers. Byron steps between the satire and the reader, disrupting the poem and reclaiming his subject (and his anger) for himself. "Pass on," he says, there's nothing more to be seen here – and suddenly the entire poem shifts in retrospect, becoming a performance of the poet's personal anger and not a public sermon motivated by traditional satiric enthusiasm. The poem shifts our attention from the lost one (Boatswain) to the evils of man (that "degraded mass") to the mourner himself (Byron), even as it tells us to "Pass on." That is, the poem moves from elegy to satire to the peculiarly Byronic gesture that courts our sympathy while spurning it.

In a variety of ostensible genres, Byron's poetry often makes this lyrical shift: Childe Harold, Manfred, Cain, – even Pallas in "The Curse of Minerva" – all become incarnations of the Byronic personality. Yet the curious result of these conversions of satire is their pervasive theatricality. The more Byron turns to his personal anger, the more his poetry approaches the dramatic monologue, a genre defined by the willful and idiosyncratic characters who give such poems voice. Despite its framing as a dramatic exchange, Pope's "Epistle to Dr. Arbuthnot" maintains its satiric abstraction from the character; one never loses the sense of Pope's attack as a literary game, played by strict formal and metrical rules. But often Byronic satire will abandon witty detachment for a headlong rush that establishes an angry persona at the poem's center. Because of anger's obstruction of sympathy, we see that persona as a dramatic character rather than identifying with it as a lyric perspective. Byron's dramas complicate these generic effects involving anger, particularly by focusing on enraged doppelgängers of the poet. Their words and actions make for spectacles of violence meant as both metaphor and metonymy, representing and inflicting revenge upon the poet's enemies. The incantation or "curse" in *Manfred*, as we have seen, shows this double effect operating in its paradigm mode: the cursing scene provides for a metaphorical spectacle of Byron's rage while simultaneously carrying out vengeance on Byron's wife and her maid, Jane Clermont, by exhibiting their supposed evil natures. The presence of the Manfred/Byron–Astarte/Augusta pairing invites further crossing of lines between the personal and the dramatic. *Manfred* provokes its audience to engage in such speculations, as it conveys the sense of a complex substructure of passion controlling its external manifestations.

Critics have elaborated biographical parallels in Byron's dramatic works, such as *Manfred*, *Cain*, and *Marino Faliero*, and there is nothing new about the observation that the protagonists of these plays have in common a core of recognizably Byronic outrage. Like Byron in his "Epistle to Augusta", Manfred, Cain and Faliero can say at their plays' conclusions: "I have been cunning in my overthrow / The careful pilot of my proper woe" (*CPW* IV: 203, lines 23–24). Each has destroyed the thing he most wanted to preserve, to the accompaniment of bitter anger and claustrophobic self-regard. "I loved her, and destroyed her," Manfred says of Astarte (*CPW* IV:74, line 117), just as Cain realizes, "I . . . who abhor / The name of Death . . . / . . . have led him here, and giv'n / My brother to his cold and still embrace" (*CPW* VI: 289, lines 371–75), and Faliero commits treason against his own kingdom of Venice, grimly recognizing that "there are things / Which make revenge a virtue by reflection, / And not the impulse of mere anger" (*CPW* IV:403, lines 102–03). What lies beyond "mere anger" is the special province of the Byronic heroes, all of whom stand in line with Byron's lyric figures as vehicles of wrath at once intimate and spectacular.

By combining the satirist's enthusiasm for punishment, the dramatist's sense of anger as spectacle, and the lyricist's confessional mode and matter, Byron creates a wickedly personal poetry wherein he stages his revenge. Unlike drama, where vengeance can be enacted, the lyric has to imagine both its enemy and the spectacle of violence which satisfies anger; Blake's "A Poison Tree" comes immediately to mind as paradigmatic of the genre. Philip Fisher has discussed revenge as a "grand public drama," "which has always had an almost operatic public character."[23] Because anger requires dialogue and revenge requires exchange, angry soliloquies always threaten to become scenes of frustration; witness Browning's "Soliloquy of the Spanish Cloister." To avoid this state of affairs (when he is not reveling in it), Byron remembers and evokes specific audiences, attempting to involve his enemies in the world of his poetry through private, pointed references and provocative acts of publication. He wants his poetry to escape the curse of powerless self-referentiality that hangs over the satiric tradition in particular, driving satirists to fantasies of potent malediction as compensation. Indeed, Byron's poetic curses have real effects, not as magical spells but by means of biographical applications that his readers cannot fail to make from within the conspiratorial precincts of his poetry. Byron had the public's ear, and recognized the power of that position in waging battles with his private enemies.[24]

"Fools are my theme, let satire be my song" (*CPW* I:229, line 6), Byron declares at the outset of *English Bards* and *Scotch Reviewers*, indicating that something more powerful than satire will be necessary when he confronts enemies who are not so foolish. As with Southey in *Don Juan*, there are cases where Byron cannot be witty because of anger's opposition to the playful ironies of satire. For example, near the beginning of *Don Juan*, Byron inserts a wicked simile which goes beyond wit into purely vengeful expression. Regarding things that really make him angry, Byron loses his sense of humor:

> An all-in-all-sufficient self director,
> Like the late lamented Sir Samuel Romilly,
> The Law's expounder, and the State's corrector,
> Whose suicide was almost an anomaly –
> One sad example more, that "all is vanity" –
> (The Jury brought their verdict in "Insanity").
> (*CPW* V:13, lines 115–20.)

A cheap shot, we may say – and a perfect example of the tenacity of Byron's anger. No hint of forgiveness leavens his view of Romilly, who remains an enemy to be disgraced, alive or dead. This stanza was added belatedly to the poem, following Byron's receipt of the news of Romilly's suicide, of which he wrote to Murray in June of 1819:

> I have at least seen Romilly shivered—who was one of the assassins.— —When that felon, or Lunatic—(take your choice—he must be one and might be both) was doing his worst to uproot my whole family tree, branch, and blossoms; when after taking my retainer he went over to them—when he was bringing desolation on my hearth—and destruction on my household Gods—did he think that in less than three years a natural event—a severe domestic—but an expected and common domestic Calamity—would lay his Carcase in a Cross road or stamp his name in a Verdict of Lunacy?—Did he (who in his drivelling sexagenery dotage had not the courage to survive his Nurse—for what else was a wife to him at his time of life?–) reflect or consider what my feeling must have been—when wife—and child—and Sister—and name—and fame—and Country were to be my sacrifice on his legal altar—and this at a moment when my health was declining—my fortune embarrassed—and my mind had been shaken by many kinds of disappointment—while I was yet young and might have reformed what might be wrong in my conduct, and retrieved what was perplexing in my affairs. But the wretch is in his grave.—I detested him living, and I will not affect to pity him dead—I still loathe him as much as we can hate dust—but that is nothing. (*BLJ*, VI:150)

G. Wilson Knight calls this "perhaps the most frightening letter in existence."[25] Its mingling of wrath and self-justification is characteristic of

Byron's outbursts, and like his letters about his wife and Jane Clermont, it suffuses the poetry in question (here, the *Don Juan* simile) with uncomfortable immanence.[26] For a moment, the poem becomes the vehicle of a wholly private and wholly other set of concerns, driven by Byron's desire for revenge.

In her *Journal of Conversations with Lord Byron*, Countess Blessington records one of Byron's telling remarks about his anger when he speaks of Robert Southey:

> I have vowed eternal vengeance against him, and all who uphold him; which vengeance has been poured forth, in phials of wrath, in the shape of epigrams and lampoons, some of which you shall see. When any one attacks me, on the spur of the moment I sit down and write all the *mechanceté* that comes into my head . . . All my malice evaporates in the effusions of my pen; but I dare say that those that excite it would prefer any other mode of vengeance.[27]

In his eager synthesis of personal revenge and poetic utterance, Byron puts a spin of malice on Wordsworth's definition of poetry, describing inspiration as a spontaneous (though here bottled) overflow of powerfully malicious feeling: "all my malice evaporates in the effusions of my pen." Put another way, Byron uses writing as the primary outlet for his anger. Countess Blessington herself observed, "All the malice of his nature has lodged itself on his lips and the fingers of his right hand" (*Journal of Conversations*, 204), and Theresa Guiccioli confirmed this, saying "the anger expressed by his pen [was] the sole kind that was real with him."[28] In our own time, Frederick Beaty has echoed this view: "In many instances satire served Byron therapeutically as catharsis. Anger tended to come quickly, as with a lightning flash, and to depart with equal celerity . . . Satiric outbursts . . . served to vent splenetic irritation" (*Byron the Satirist*, 7–8). Evaporation, lightning, and venting, are the recurrent natural metaphors for Byronic rage, implying a sudden movement from a charged to a relaxed state. Such characterizations are meant to exonerate the poet, but Byron himself knew differently, knew that his enemies "would prefer any other mode of vengeance" than his angry compositions which were calculated to hurt and to endure. Like Blake who saw his poetry as part of a "mental fight" with real consequences for the world, Byron pursued writing to its literal end.

Byron wants to make use of his anger as a weapon of punishment, a scourge that would enable him to cross the line between imagining and actually inflicting revenge via poetry. In one of his earliest poems, published in *Hours of Idleness* as "To Caroline ["Oh! when shall the grave hide forever my sorrow?"]" he articulates this wish:

> Was my eye, 'stead of tears, with red fury flakes bright'ning,
> Would my lips breathe a flame, which no stream could assuage,
> On our foes should my glance launch in vengeance its lightning,
> With transport my tongue give a loose to its rage.
> (*CPW* 1:135, lines 9–12)

Here the imagery of lightning and eruption reveals the poet's wish to inflict pain on his "foes," rather than merely returning to equilibrium; this angry lightning is imagined as vengeance, not catharsis. As a poetic strategy, such threats have a venerable history. Ben Jonson's conclusion to the *Poetaster*, for example, depicts the author threatening his critics with the imagined power of angry poetry to harm its targets physically:

> They know, I dare
> To spurn or baffle 'em; or squirt their eyes
> With ink, or urine; I could do worse,
> Armed with Archilochus' fury, write iambics
> Should make the desperate lashers hang themselves.
> Rime 'em to death, as they do Irish rats
> In drumming tunes. Or, living, I could stamp
> Their foreheads with those deep and public brands
> That the whole company of barber-surgeons
> Should not take off, with all their art, and plasters.[29]

As Ian Donaldson says of this passage, "Writing is conceived of here as an act of aggression, and poetry itself as a potent weapon, a force that has the power to kill."[30] Jonson confidently proclaims the potency of his verse to do harm, while Byron makes conditional, despairing threats; yet both look forward to a desired-but-deferred moment of physical revenge inflicted by means of poetry.

Because Byron's outrage intended to inflict harm on his enemies, expressing it on paper was only half of the process; sharing that writing was also crucial to satisfying his anger. His composition and publication histories are often tales of anger felt and revenge taken, from *English Bards and Scotch Reviewers* through "A Sketch from Private Life" to sections of *Don Juan*. Frederick Beaty puts it mildly when he says that "Byron's nature was never adverse to justifiable vengeance" (*Byron the Satirist*, 4). Byron makes it his business to escape from the isolation of lyric anger while avoiding the equally confining public role of the satirist. Byron learned quickly to circulate and publicize his anger as an act of revenge. Unlike Pope, who also attacked his enemies in his satires, Byron brings the details of his personal and intimate relations to his acts of poetic wrath.

Women, in particular, are the targets of much of Byron's anger, and we have already seen, in "A Sketch from Private Life", what kind of poetry this produces when the woman is Byron's enemy. Even more characteristic are his poems of anger over lost love, tapping as they do the deepest wells of resentment; "Heav'n hath no rage like love to hatred turn'd," as Congreve has put it.[31] Rejecting the Keatsian equivalence of beauty and truth, Byron often presents beautiful women as Juvenalian demons of treachery and deceit. For Byron, beauty and betrayal go hand in hand; "Woman's false as fair," he writes in the early lyric, "To Romance" (1807; *CPW* 1:104–06), asserting a negative relation between beauty and truth (line 23). In "To Romance," Byron continues by exclaiming to himself, "Fond fool! to love a sparkling eye, / And think that eye to Truth was dear" (lines 29–30), and by promising to abandon the "mystic round" (line 6) and "fancied pinions" (line 28) of romance for "realms . . . of Truth" (line 7). This pledge places Byron against the idealizations of Keatsian Romanticism, even as it records Byron's ongoing struggle with the temptations of the beautiful. Five years later, he quotes Macbeth's statement about doubting "the equivocation of the fiend that lies like truth" as the epigraph of the untitled lyric that begins, "Again deceived! Again betrayed! / In manhood as in youth, / The dupe of every smiling maid / That ever 'lied like truth'" (*CPW* III:3, lines 1–4). In Byron's imagination, these fiendishly beautiful smiling maids – Byron's own version of Keats's *belle dame sans merci* – repeatedly turn the poet into a fond fool by uttering "I love thee true" and then revealing themselves as false. McGann discusses these women as manifestations of "the *figura* of the repeated deceiver whose name only changes . . . The terms are familiar: like Susan Vaughan and so many others, Annabella is a fiend of equivocations, a woman – *the* woman – who knows how to lie like truth" ("'My Brain,'" 37). The atmosphere of betrayal that surrounds the Byronic hero begins in these early lyrics, in which Byron explores the emotions attendant on the unmasking of false fiends.

Anger is certainly one of these emotions, as Byron demonstrates in a poem like the occasional lyric known as "Remember thee," addressed to Caroline Lamb. The poem was written in response to Caroline's inscribing the words "Remember me!" in Byron's copy of *Vathek*. Although we no longer have the manuscript that was the stage of this angry dialogue, we can be fairly certain that Byron wrote something like the following in response:

"Remember thee," nay – doubt it not –
Thy husband too may *"think"* of thee!
By neither canst thou be forgot,
Thou false to him – thou fiend to me!

"Remember thee"? Yes – yes – till Fate
In Lethe quench the guilty dream.
Yet then – e'en then – Remorse and Hate
Shall vainly quaff the vanquished stream.[32]

Here Byron's antipathy towards memory and his mistrust of feminine sexual beauty combine as an angry curse that undoes the conventions of the love lyric. It is a cruel poem, as Byron blames Caroline for the very infidelities he enjoyed, the memory of which he calls a "guilty dream." Worse, Byron related the poem and its circumstances to his friend, Thomas Medwin, who published it after Byron's death but before Caroline's. She wrote to Medwin himself, "you have left to one who adored him a bitter legacy . . . I feel secure the lines, 'remember thee – thou false to him thou fiend to me' – were his."[33] Later in life, she wrote to Lady Morgan that Byron "left that dreadful legacy on me – my memory. Remember thee – and well."[34] Byron's poem seems to have had its intended effect, reversing Caroline's abjuration to remember her with its own angry inscription in her memory. Inflicting pain and humiliation on Caroline by way of Medwin's book, Byron's poem becomes a messenger of revenge.

"Remember thee" embodies in miniature the intimate relations among anger, memory, and revenge that are crucial to Byron's work. Like Wordsworth, Byron was possessed of a particularly strong memory that was central to his imaginative life. Blake and Shelley are poets of desire, whose artistic strength lies in their ability to envision futurities wherein memory is obsolete; but for Wordsworth and Byron, the most fruitful source and subject of poetry is the painful act of remembering: fruitful, because it is through memory that these poets comprehend their imagination's strength, and yet painful, because memory entails disjunctive comparisons between past and present. The radical difference between Wordsworth and Byron can be measured by examining the ways they turn their experiences of memory to poetic utterance: Wordsworth looks to his imagination for recompense while Byron looks back in anger and forward to revenge.

In a typical Wordsworthian moment, the emotional trajectory triggered by memory runs from bereavement to consolation. The idyllic past impinges upon a diminished present: "nothing can bring back the hour / Of splendour in the grass, of glory in the flower."[35] Yet the abundant

recompense for the loss noted by memory is precisely the sword that inflicted the wound:

> O joy! that in our embers
> Is something that doth live,
> That nature yet remembers
> What was so fugitive!
> The thought of our past years in me doth breed
> Perpetual benediction . . .
> ("Intimations of Immortality," lines 130–35)

In overcoming the memory of his lost paradise of youthful imagination, Wordsworth turns to the consolations of a memory so intense that it becomes indistinguishable from that "serene and blessed mood" of imaginative power – the source of intimations of immortality.[36] This same tactic structures Wordsworth's "Lines written a few miles above Tintern Abbey," where the poet remembers remembering as a spiritually salutary, even salvific, enterprise:

> . . . how oft –
> In darkness and amid the many shapes
> Of joyless daylight; when the fretful stir
> Unprofitable, and the fever of the world,
> Have hung upon the beatings of my heart –
> How oft, in spirit, have I turned to thee,
> O sylvan Wye! thou wanderer thro' the woods,
> How often has my spirit turned to thee! (lines 50–57)

Wordsworth makes much of this repeated turning of his spirit: "how oft – . . . How oft . . . How often has my spirit turned to thee." Fretfully stuttering his way to the euphonic "O sylvan Wye!," he reenacts the mental phenomonology of memory as harmonizer and healer. Turning to memories of nature, Wordsworth overcomes the negative emotions of the feverish human world that surrounds him.

Byron reverses this paradigm precisely in a series of poetic articulations that spring from his animosity towards Francis Jeffrey and the *Edinburgh Review*. It was thanks to the *Edinburgh Review's* abuse of *Hours of Idleness* that Byron learned to write poetry with a vengeance. As he said to Thomas Medwin, "When I first saw the review of my 'Hours of Idleness,' I was furious, in such a rage as I have never been since."[37] Francis Jeffrey was singled out for special punishment, because Byron believed he had penned the negative review. In a canceled section of his early satire, *Hints from Horace* (1811), Byron describes the recurring memory of his anger towards Jeffrey, in an ironic recall of Gray's "Elegy":

Again, my Jeffrey – as that sound inspires,
How wakes my bosom to its wonted fires!
. . .
Is it for this on Ilion I have stood,
And thought less of Homer than of Holyrood?
On shore of Euxine or Aegean sea,
My hate, untravelled, fondly turned to thee. (*CPW* 1:318–19)

Byron's memory of his anger disrupts his perception of the natural scenes before him. During his travels in the Mediterranean, he experiences a powerful unwillingness to forgive or forget. His abiding anger makes a hell of heaven, an Edinburgh of the Levant; this is the truly Satanic aspect of Byron's imagination.

Byron's spirited hate turns to Jeffrey with the fondness of a lover, just as Wordsworth's spirit, as a "lover of the meadows and the woods, / And mountains," turns to the Wye ("Tintern Abbey," lines 103–04). Yet Byron's hate feeds on the treachery he sees in Jeffrey, while Wordsworth knows "that Nature never did betray / The heart that loved her" (lines 122–23). For Wordsworth, the memory of nature serves as precisely the antidote to the world of anger:

. . . neither evil tongues,
Rash judgements, nor the sneers of selfish men,
Nor greetings where no kindness is, nor all
The dreary intercourse of daily life,
Shall e'er prevail against us, or disturb
Our cheerful faith, that all which we behold
Is full of blessings. (lines 128–34)

Byron holds with equal and opposite conviction that the influence of nature cannot prevail against the evil tongues of men, and knows that once his anger is aroused, all he beholds will be full of curses. He turns to memories of hatred as he stands overlooking the Aegean Sea; and as Yeats puts it memorably in "The Tower," "if that memory recur, the sun's / Under eclipse and the day blotted out."[38] For Byron, memory was no restorative; he told Lady Blessington:

I have often doubted my own sanity, and, what is more, wished for insanity – anything – to quell memory, the never-dying worm that feeds on the heart, and only calls up the past to make the present more insupportable. Memory has for me

The vulture's ravenous tooth,
The raven's funereal song. (*Journal of Conversations*, 297)

Apparently Byron was incapable of attending to the common directives for palliating anger: "don't take it personally" and "forgive and forget." His poetry shows itself constantly permeable to the memory of personal affronts that give rise to outbursts of rage.

Byron recreated his anger towards Jeffrey in other poetic circumstances; in another fragment, "Il Diavolo Inamorato" (1812), he describes a proto-Byronic hero in terms that surely recall his own experience of remembered anger in the midst of the natural beauty of the Mediterranean:[39]

> His garb was that of godly Eremite,
> Such as on lonely Athos I have seen,
> Watching at Even on the giant height
> That looks o'er waves so blue, skies so serene,
> That he who there at such an hour hath been,
> Will wistful linger on that hallowed spot,
> Then slowly tear him from the witching scene,
> Sigh forth one wish that such had been his lot,
> Then turn to hate a world he had almost forgot.
> (*CPW* III:16, lines 82–90)

Almost forgot – but not quite. Again, the "turn" to hatred and anger depends upon the memory of betrayals and evil tongues of men, and the fever of the world. It is a turning that characterizes the Byronic mode of memory. The scene found a more permanent home in canto 2 of *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage* (stanza 27), as Byron inserts a near-duplicate of the "Il Diavolo Inamorato" passage to describe the emotions of his autobiographical protagonist. Considering this scene in regard to Wordsworthian patterns, McGann calls it "a shocking inversion of the conventional topos of nature": "In simplest terms, Byron's passage through a Romantic meditation on nature does not conclude in a Wordsworthian 'tranquil restoration' but in a characteristically Byronic turn to passion and savagery" ("Byron and the Anonymous Lyric," 37). Unlike the Wordsworthian turning of the spirit, the Byronic turn leads the poet back to the world of men, not with a restored sense of sympathy enjoining "acts / Of kindness and of love" (Wordsworth, "Tintern Abbey," lines 34–35), but with a refreshed commitment to revenge.

In the "Il Diavolo Inamorato" fragment, the description of the Byronic figure shows that his vengefulness mixes memory and desire, breeding poison trees out of the dead land: "His front was veiled, all saw that eye, when change / Flashed as with long-desired – but still-deferred Revenge!" (lines 80–81). Revenge feeds on the deferral of anger, turning the memory of suffering into the desire for retribution in a

truly vicious cycle. From the beginning, the dynamics of this cycle are central to the Byronic persona. His appearances in this early fragment of a tale and in *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage* are followed by his reincarnation as the Giaour, another figure of long-desired but still-deferred vengeance who finds himself remembering hatred on the shores of Greece:

> He stood – some dread was on his face –
> Soon Hatred settled in its place –
> It rose not with the reddening flush
> Of transient Anger's hasty blush,
> But pale as marble o'er the tomb,
> Whose ghastly whiteness aids its gloom.
> . . .
> 'Twas but a moment that he stood,
> Then sped as if by death pursued;
> But in that instant, o'er his soul
> Winters of Memory seemed to roll,
> And gather in that drop of time
> A life of pain, an age of crime. (*CPW* III:47–48, lines 234–64)

Those anti-Wordsworthian "Winters of Memory" turn volatile anger to a hatred that is founded upon a rock. Byron's tales are devoted in a large part to dramatizing the torturous satisfactions of revenge, what Nietzsche calls "the will's antipathy towards time and time's 'It was'": in other words, a lie against memory.[40]

Philip Fisher observes that the angry man, protesting the thwarting of his will, focuses on the agent of his bereavement, rather than the facts of loss:

> The passive suffering of diminution is thrown aside in the new active phase of revenge. Because revenge can be taken, the suffering does not have to be endured as something that simply happened to one. The revenge ethic is the single most powerful rejection of the most damaging emotional conclusion of mourning, its helpless and inactive waiting. Revenge could be called, to alter Clausewitz's phrase about war, the continuation of mourning by other means. ("Thinking about Killing," 62)

In Fisher's view, the turn from acts of mourning to acts of vengeance transforms memory by way of willful desire. In such an economy, the truncated will forgets its past powers and focuses on future exercise; paradoxically, anger enables the will in response to a disabling or disempowering event. Thus Milton's Satan quickly turns from the mournful lament, "how fallen! how changed" to the resolution of

his "unconquerable will, / And study of revenge, immortal hate, / And courage never to submit or yield."[41] Yet memory is not so easily dismissed, particularly when vengeful thoughts supplant actual reprisals. Casting himself as the Satan of various lost paradises, Byron demonstrates the integrity of remembering and revenge. Desired-but-deferred punishment amounts to hatred, itself a continuation of anger by other means; for Byron (and for Satan), those means have their center in memory.

Cursing is the negative form of apocalyptic discourse, at least as far as memory is concerned. Both kinds of utterances imagine the sympathy of the natural world, but whereas the apocalypse puts an end to memory, the curse demands that the future remember the past. As Byron recognized, the curse of Cain was invoked by the reminding voice of Abel's blood, which cried from the ground unto God. In the Biblical text, the earth is the essential mediator between the two brothers, one dead and cursing, the other living and accursed. Hearing Abel's blood, God reports, "Listen: your brother's blood is crying out to me from the ground! And now art thou cursed from the earth, which hath opened her mouth to receive thy brother's blood from thy hand. When thou tillest the ground, it shall not henceforth yield unto thee her strength; a fugitive and a vagabond shalt thou be in the earth" (Gen. 4:10–12). The cry of Abel's blood has produced a sympathetic response in the earth, which has literally hardened itself against Cain. Here the blood curse operates by way of nature's sympathy with the anger of the injured; hearing a vengeful voice, the world is moved, not to apocalyptic self-destruction, but to memory, and a fruitless future.

Virtually every curse seeks to command nature's cooperation with its angry purposes, and in this sense, demands sympathy from everything it touches. In Byron's *Cain*, Eve's curse on her murderous son becomes just such an urgent catalogue meant to leave no stone unturned against Cain:

> . . . May all the curses
> Of life be on him! and his agonies
> Drive him forth o'er the wilderness, like us
> From Eden, till his children do by him
> As he did by his brother! May the swords
> And wings of fiery cherubim pursue him
> By day and night – snakes spring up in his path –
> Earth's fruits be ashes in his mouth – the leaves
> On which he lays his head to sleep be strew'd

With scorpions! May his dreams be of his victim!
His waking a continual dread of death!
May clear rivers turn to blood as he
Stoops down to stain them with his raging lip!
May every element shun or change to him!
May he live in the pangs which others die with!
And death itself wax something worse than death
To him who first acquainted him with man!
Hence, fratricide! henceforth that word is Cain,
Through all the coming myriads of mankind,
Who shall abhor thee, though thou wert their sire!
May the grass wither from thy feet! the woods
Deny thee shelter! earth a home! the dust
A grave! the sun his light! and heaven her God!
(act 3, scene 1, lines 421–43; *CPW* VI:290–91)

After this, the angel's enunciation of God's curse on Cain seems quite pale, as does Adam's laconic addendum: "Get thee forth; we dwell no more together" (lines 444–45). Eve gives voice to a sublime and vengeful curse that knows no bounds, detailing the implications of the exile that has been called for by the cry of Abel's blood and that will be ordained by the angel of the Lord. Thus Eve's voice, the voice of Abel's blood, and the voice of Jehovah come together to demand that the universe torment Cain with reminders of the murder. He must dream of his victim, his name must be abhorred as equivalent to "fratricide," and rivers must "turn to blood as he / Stoops down to stain them with his raging lip" (lines 432–33). Like the bloody moon of Revelation, these rivers will metamorphose in accordance with the voice of blood that compels their sympathy. Yet the rivers perform their tasks of memorialization and punishment within history rather than beyond it; they do not herald an apocalyptic conclusion to Cain's living hell.

Blake's late work *The Ghost of Abel* (1822), written in response to Byron's *Cain*, makes explicit the voice of Abel's blood as a vengeful spirit.[42] Abel's ghost appears to Adam and Eve, saying, "My Soul in fumes of Blood / Cries for Vengeance: Sacrifice on Sacrifice, Blood on Blood!" (lines 32–33). In this demonic version of the Resurrection, Abel's gore sinks into the ground and arises as the spirit of revenge. It seems that, in the gothic imagination, spilled blood brings forth ghosts, or monsters. Like the phantasm of Jupiter in Shelley's *Prometheus Unbound*, the ghost of Abel is an angry byproduct of injury that gives voice to a curse of retribution. Yet unlike Shelley's scornful phantasm, it demands purely equivalent vengeance: "Life for Life! . . . I will have Human Blood" (lines 14, 37).

Such ratios horrified both Blake and Shelley, for whom retributive justice was the prime mover of the violent cycles of history they wanted to transcend. In Byron's darker perspective, however, blood must be redeemed within history, through the payback called revenge. In fact, as the French Revolution and the Napoleonic Wars violently played themselves out, it was only natural that the imaginations of Byron, Shelley, and Blake turned to the issue of spilled blood. So much of it had flowed in the streets of Paris, on the battlefields of Europe, and even onto English soil (at Peterloo, for example), that it seemed to cry from the ground for meaning, if not for vengeance. If blood can speak, it usually expresses outrage, protesting the unjust state of affairs that caused it to spill. In particular, the blood of the dead pleads strongly for retributive emotions that it can no longer inspire in its former owner. Blood with such vocal powers has been transformed by a sympathetic imagination into a memorial device, a magic mouth that encourages revenge.

In *The Mask of Anarchy*, as we have seen, Shelley renders the accents of blood quite thoroughly as the "words of joy and fear" that arise

> As if their own indignant earth,
> Which gave the sons of England birth,
> Had felt their blood upon her brow,
> And shuddering with a mother's throe
>
> Had turned every drop of blood,
> By which her face had been bedewed,
> To an accent unwithstood.[43]

Maternal anger here becomes the philosopher's stone, transmuting blood to prophetic words which recommend further bloodshed, specifically as a vehicle of communication. Here the words of blood predict the imminence of even more powerfully vocal gore:

> And that slaughter to the Nation
> Shall steam up like inspiration,
> Eloquent, oracular;
> A volcano heard afar. (lines 360–63)

Shelley attempts to skirt vengeance by recommending only non-violent protest and assertions of freedom. Yet the eloquent voice of spilled blood, in commanding auditors to "Rise like lions" knowing "Ye are many, they are few," seems to speak of reprisals (lines 368, 372). Shelley's masque is threatened by the anarchy of bloody massacres and the cries for revenge they engender.

Shelley's *Mask of Anarchy* clearly draws upon Byron's "Ode from the French" (1816), which also considers the apocalyptic power of spilled blood. In substituting Peterloo for Waterloo, Shelley has reinforced the idea that the same pawns of a repressive system spilled the blood of freedom at both places. Byron's poem begins

> We do not curse thee, Waterloo!
> Though Freedom's blood thy plain bedew;
> There 't was shed, but is not sunk –
> Rising from each gory trunk,
> Like the water-spout from ocean,
> With a strong and growing motion –
> . . .
> A crimson cloud it spreads and glows,
> But shall return to whence it rose;
> When 't is full 't will burst asunder –
> Never yet was heard such thunder
> As then shall shake the world with wonder,
> Never yet was seen such lightning
> As o'er heaven shall then be bright'ning!
> Like the Wormwood Star foretold –
> By the sainted seer of old,
> Show'ring down a fiery flood,
> Turning rivers into blood. (*CPW* III: 375–76, lines 1–21)

Byron's promise that the blood on the fields of Waterloo "is not sunk" and Shelley's assurance that the blood spilled at Peterloo "shall steam up like inspiration" both amount to a promise to remember and thus feed a growing spirit of retribution. In the midst of his trials, Job cries out, "O earth cover not thou my blood" (16:18), for if blood sinks into the ground and disappears, presumably the wounds from which it flowed have been ignored, forgotten. Blood that rises upward, on the other hand, signifies a gathering storm. Like Shelley's "volcano heard afar" whose voice protests unjust "slaughter," here natural phenomena represent the threatening "strong and growing" power of the dead; a water-spout, a crimson cloud, thunder, lightning, and showers of fire all indicate the irresistible force of "Freedom's blood," which will compel an apocalyptic day of reckoning.[44]

That "Freedom's blood" was shed reminds us that both Byron and Shelley use personification to emphasize the unnatural, unjust quality of the bloodshed. Byron's "Triumph" "Weeps . . . o'er each leveled arch" ("Ode from the French," line 72), and Shelley's "Hope . . . / . . . looked more like Despair" as she "lay down in the street, / Right before the horses' feet" (*The Mask of Anarchy*, lines 87–88, 98–99). By inverting the personifications' expected

behavior, Byron and Shelley prepare the way for an apocalyptic counter-turn. Swollen to bursting, Byron's "crimson cloud" and Shelley's "volcano heard afar" will erupt to restore natural equilibrium to a world of perverted ideals. In fact, Byron's poem is uncharacteristic in its nakedly prophetic tones, and he distances himself from it by ascribing it to a fictional French original. Yet the poem's confidence in retribution shows that Byron's answer to the recurring post-Revolutionary question – "what happens to spilled blood?" – comes down firmly on the side of memory and vengeance.

Byron more typically renders the satisfactions of blood as tragic, and even gothic, rather than apocalyptic. In Byron's unfinished drama, *The Deformed Transformed*, the alienated hunchback Arnold, wounding his hand while chopping wood, exclaims:

> Accursed be this blood that flows so fast;
> For double curses will be my meed now
> At home. – What home? I have no home, no kin,
> No kind – not made like other creatures, or
> To share their sports or pleasures. Must I bleed too
> Like them? Oh that each drop which falls to earth
> Would rise like a snake to sting them, as they have stung me!
> (*CPW* v1:520, lines 33–39)

Like Cain at his play's conclusion, Arnold at the beginning of *The Deformed Transformed* is already a victim of his mother's curse, and thus an exile on the earth. Like Frankenstein's monster, he imagines vengeance on the species as the only way to respond to such exile. Here Arnold imagines his spilled blood rising, but not as part of any global transformation like the ones in *The Mask of Anarchy* and "Ode from the French." Rather, he desires a different kind of natural sympathy with his curse: a nest of serpents that will inflict reciprocal pain on his enemies. Like the vengeful Loredano in *The Two Foscari*, who demands "life for life" (act 4, scene 1, line 22), Arnold doesn't imagine a way out of the mere requital of suffering, and thus commits himself to the tragic contours of revenge. That he chooses Achilles as his ideal form soon thereafter underscores this commitment.

Fixated on their own suffering, unable to forgive or forget, Byron's angry personae surround themselves with curses and ghosts. Blake's ghost of Abel and Shelley's phantasm of Jupiter verge upon this gothic mode, but both are negative figures soon to be expelled by an apocalyptic conversion. Byron's ghosts haunt more assiduously, being the operatives of the angry curses and patterns of deferral that structure his poetry. Examples from his poetry are frequent: another version of the short lyric, "Remember Thee!" has Byron proclaiming to Caroline Lamb, "Remorse

and shame shall cling to thee, / And haunt thee like a feverish dream" (*CPW* III:84, lines 3–4). Here the oblique curse depends on the ghosts of memory (remorse and shame, vaguely personified) to punish Caroline. Similarly, we remember his letter about Jane Clermont, where he exclaims: "The curse of my Soul light upon her & hers forever! – may my Spirit be deep upon her in her life." That "Spirit" is the same one that appears to haunt Manfred and threatens darkly:

> In the shadow of the hill,
> Shall my soul be upon thine,
> With a power and with a sign.
>
> Though thy slumber may be deep,
> Yet thy spirit shall not sleep
> There are shades which will not vanish,
> There are thoughts thou canst not banish;
> By a power to thee unknown,
> Thou canst never be alone . . .
>
> (act I, scene I, lines 199–207; *CPW* IV: 60).

This disquieting spirit makes a veiled appearance after the all-important forgiveness-curse in *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage* canto 4, when Byron claims "there is that within me which shall tire / Torture and time, and breathe when I expire; / Something unearthly, which they deem not of" (lines 1228–30). This ghostly power will "move" the poet's enemies to "remorse" by means of memory (lines 1232–33). Like Eve's wish that Cain's "dreams be of his victim," these curses promise to brand the memories of, and thus haunt, their targets. The curses of all these angry figures emerge from memories of suffering, and aim to inflict fearful guilt. For Byron, for whom memory was "the never-dying worm that feeds upon the heart," such were the satisfactions of vengeance: this fundamentally elegiac desire to continue mourning by means of anger.

Epilogue

Romanticism was shaped by its struggles with anger, particularly as that emotion emerged in legacy from the French Revolution and the English reaction. During this period, the angry passions were associated with volatile political change and destructive violence – things for which, on the domestic scene anyway, the majority of Englishmen had little taste during the Napoleonic Wars. The result was a general demonization of anger in Romantic-period thought, a wave of influence that affected political, moral, medical, legal, and literary discourse. In the work of the imaginative writers examined here, we find cases representative of these effects and yet unique in their authors' personal and creative efforts to find a productive role for anger in this time of trouble. Typically, this involves defining an "anger-that-is-not-mine," a scapegoat emotion to be cast out in favor of an indignation or a wrath – even a vengefulness – that the author uses to perform a certain kind of work (be it moral, political, or aesthetic). As we saw in chapter 2, this mode of operation defined the Revolution debates as they were carried on in the 1790s, and it became one of the most lasting bequests from that period to the Romantics that followed.

After Waterloo, however, we do see a shift in overall emphasis, as the specific tensions and sharper conflicts of the Revolutionary and Napoleonic eras began to recede, and with them, the contestation over anger in the political sphere. The Queen Caroline affair and the suicide of Castlereagh in the early part of the 1820s provided for an increasingly Whiggish government, a trend marked by the repeal, in 1825, of the notorious and paranoid Six Acts that had clamped down hard on radicalism and free speech in the wake of the Peterloo Massacre in 1819. Choosing a path towards slow reform, England could afford to relax its attitude towards anger and its Revolutionary associations. The death of George III in 1820 put a kind of period to the years of turmoil that would soon be gathered by the Victorians under the heading "Romantic"; and indeed, it must

have seemed to Englishmen as they began their third decade of the century that a corner had been turned.

In literary works after 1819, anger appears in increasingly stylized and aestheticized forms, suggesting a new level of comfort with angry spectacles, along with a codified uncoupling of this unruly passion from politics. From a certain angle, Shelley's *Prometheus Unbound* seems to dramatize this transition in the angry ghost dances of Jupiter, which call forth a world wherein anger is no longer operative as a political force. One might also look to Keats's "Hyperion" poems as centered upon a similar changing of the guard, from anger as a consequential mode of public engagement (Hyperion) to anger as an essentially private aesthetic experience (Apollo). Written between 1818 and 1819, this pair of fragments imagines a transition that the nation was about to enact, but only after a final period of convulsion that concluded approximately with Keats's poetic career. He was working on "The Fall of Hyperion" in the late summer of 1819, trying to map out the role of the poet in the world, at the time of Peterloo and the conviction of Henry Hunt, just before the passage of the Six Acts.[1] Yet the poem dreams its way beyond the angry present. As Michael O'Neill writes of "Hyperion," it is "a poem that withdraws from the contemporary but is responsive to Napoleon's dubious bequest, his legacy of paralysed aftermath"("'When this warm scribe,'"153). As is the case with so much of Keats's great work, a kind of proleptic twilight hangs over the "Hyperion" poems, as they bid farewell to the Romantic modes of thought and action from which they draw their force.

In "Hyperion," Keats tells us that the cloudy curtains of Hyperion's palace "Flush'd angerly," anticipating the arrival of the god who "enter'd full of wrath: / His flaming robes stream'd out beyond his heels, / And gave a roar, as if of earthly fire, / That scar'd away the meek ethereal Hours / And made their dove-wings tremble. On he flared."[2] Anger has energized this wrathful scene almost beyond what the verse can accommodate: the unexpected "angerly" suggests that the emotion is an implacable noun, like a color, a red light flashing (as the text does) while the flaming, roaring robes and their wearer both flare on. Enraged at the "Insult" offered by shadows foreboding his fall, Hyperion "stampt his foot" and "His voice leapt out": "'Over the fiery frontier of my realms / I will advance a terrible right arm / Shall scare that infant thunderer, rebel Jove, / And bid old Saturn take his throne again'"(1:222–50). His commitment to heroic anger as a political engine, expressed in a superannuated rhetoric of the restoration of powers, places the inflamed Hyperion under an older dispensation: he represents the epic possibilities of rage that Keats can imagine but no longer wishes to trace.

Indeed, in producing the revised "Fall of Hyperion," Keats abandoned his poem precisely at the moment of the god's fiery entrance, after having already edited out his anger and the enraged clouds: "Anon rush'd by the bright Hyperion; / His flaming robes stream'd out beyond his heels, / And gave a roar, as if of earthly fire, / That scar'd away the meek ethereal hours / And made their dove-wings tremble: on he flared – "(2:57–61). All that remains is the imagery of inflammation and the startling roar of Hyperion's garment, the pyrotechnics of the sun god without their emotional analogue. It is as if Keats falls silent in perplexity while trying to write an epic not dependent upon consequential anger (e.g., the wrath of Achilles, the furor of Aeneas, Satan's rage), as he works toward an aesthetics of anger more comfortably at home in the lyric. A similar moment comes at the end of the "Hyperion" fragment, when Apollo is shaken and "made flush" "with wild commotions"(1:124), physiological signs of emotional arousal that accompany his deification. As the vaguely feckless Apollo turns to read the silent face of Memory, he sees therein a "wondrous lesson" that evokes the fierce contendings of the revolutionary and Napoleonic years, now become a "blithe wine / Or bright peerless elixir" for his delectation: "Names, deeds, gray legends, dire events, rebellions, / Majesties, sovran voices, agonies, / Creations and destroyings, all at once / Pour into the wide hollows of my brain, / And deify me"(3:113–18). The verbal echoes of "Ode to a Nightingale" and "Ode on Melancholy" signal Apollo's alignment with the lyric imagination, and the transfer of anger's energy from political history to aesthetic experience, from the revolutionary substrate to the late-Romantic work of art.

In a journal-letter written at about this same time, Keats develops a layered analogy that again involves anger with poetry in a way that reveals his distance from the concerns of earlier decades. He has been measuring himself as a poet and thinker against a "standard of disinterestedness," and concludes that he has been "writing at random, straining at particles of light in the midst of a great darkness":

> I go among the Fields and catch a glimpse of a stoat or a field mouse peeping out of the withered grass. The creature hath a purpose and its eyes are bright with it. I go amongst the buildings of a city and I see a Man hurrying along – to what? The Creature has a purpose and his eyes are bright with it . . . May there not be superior beings amused with any graceful, though instinctive attitude my mind may fall into, as I am entertained with the alertness of a Stoat or the anxiety of a Deer? Though a quarrel in the streets is a thing to be hated, the energies displayed in it are fine; the commonest Man shows a grace in his quarrel. By a superior being our reasonings may take the same tone; though erroneous, they may be fine. This is the very thing in which consists poetry . . .[3]

The bright-eyed stoat, the hurrying man, the quarrelers in the street, and the poet are all emphatically (if momentarily) interested parties, sharing what Keats praises here as access to "graceful, though instinctive attitude[s]" that can be admired by "a superior being," apart from considerations of error. Like the nightingale to which Shelley compares the poet in "A Defence of Poetry" (1821), the stoat and his kin are totally focused on their own purposes and passions, with no regard for the figures they are cutting in the eyes of an audience.[4] They achieve grace by instinct, not design – and indeed despite apparent faults or narrowness of vision. Furthermore, in this formulation, superiority amounts to disinterestedness; such a reader or observer occupies a vantage outside the precincts of concern, from which he can safely admire the "energies displayed."[5] "The commonest Man shows a grace in his quarrel": Peterloo is still a few months away, and yet one can feel the distance between these sentiments and those familiar in the 1790s, when the rage of the common man was being depicted on both sides as an awful energy, dangerous to the status quo. Rather than a cause for alarm, the "quarrel in the streets" – a public outburst of anger, the ghost of the angry mobs of the revolutionary years – becomes abstract street theater to the Keatsian passerby.

Yet even as he appreciates the fine energies of the quarrel, Keats recognizes that such conflicts are "to be hated"; unlike the bright eyes of the stoat, the angry words of the quarrelers do reveal some deplorable error or accident. However, the "superior being" looking onto the scene postpones such judgments – Keats does it here with the future-tense verb – in order to preserve his state of abstracted immersion, wherein the subject of the quarrel and the terms of its engagement remain inaudible. A similar dynamic governs the display of anger in Keats's "Ode on Melancholy," written within a month or so of this letter. In that poem, following a series of prescriptions associated with the ephemeral beauty of the natural world (e.g., "the morning rose"[290, line 15] "the rainbow of the salt sand-wave"[line 16]), Keats makes one more recommendation to the melancholic male epicure:

> And if thy mistress some rich anger shows,
> Emprison her soft hand, and let her rave,
> And feed deep, deep upon her peerless eyes. (lines 18–20)

As he does with the "quarrel in the streets," Keats imagines the display or "show" of anger as a type of temporary beautiful arousal to be enjoyed by an observer. Yet here the case is different: she is "thy mistress," rather than a common stranger. That is, the attitude of disinterested superiority

has to be willed, since her anger presumably involves the auditor quite directly. Indeed, he is likely its cause. Meanwhile, his aesthetic consumption of her "rich anger" effaces that emotion's urgent demand for penitence and redress; you're beautiful when you're angry, he tells her, and leaves it at that. Recognizing, however, the dangers of this disinterested attitude when facing an enraged enemy, and perhaps remembering Collins's "*Vengeance*, in the lurid Air," who "Lifts her red Arm, expos'd and bare," Keats suggests we "Emprison her soft hand" before settling in for an appreciation session.[6] Having done so, he then turns to what he calls her "peerless eyes," redirecting the potentially explosive aggression of the mistress from its male target to female ones, implicitly urging the substitution of competition among the mistress's peers for violence toward men. In Keats's presentation, her anger becomes one more fair attitude, one more aesthetic category in which she will be judged and compared.

Like the bright eyes of the stoat, the peerless eyes of the angry mistress serve as windows onto states of passionate activity that Keats finds admirable because they are instinctive and unselfconscious – unfeigned and irrational, yet purposeful. These are the kinds of things that were being said about people's anger in the 1790s in order to condemn it as destructive rage – but Keats associates them instead with "grace," a natural mode of expression in which beauty kisses truth, "the very thing in which consists poetry." In letter and poem, we can see that he imagines his own writing as having relatively untroubled commerce with the fine energies of anger (both involve "the same tone"), even as he champions the reading of others' anger as a source of deep aesthetic pleasure. Both the "commonest Man . . . in his quarrel" and the "mistress" showing "rich anger" compel the Keatsian imagination to various attitudes of appreciation.

Of course, much of this is enabled by the complete absence of context in the scenes of anger he presents. Ethical judgment of the specific cases would interrupt aesthetic absorption, so Keats brackets the question of error. Yet the turn to anger as a source of unmediated beauty and grace (thus resembling poetry) marks a significant change from the anxious Senecan attitudes of earlier decades, when the angry man was more typically seen as "an ugly and horrible picture of distorted and swollen frenzy."[7] We remember, for example, from the *Reflections*, Burke's *tableau* of the enraged vaunting of the French women who led the royal family back to Paris, with "horrid yells, and shrilling screams, and frantic dances, and infamous contumelies, and all the unutterable abominations of the furies of hell, in the abused shape of the vilest of women."[8] Sexual revulsion is very near the surface in Burke's reaction to these women's

political rage, while Keats presents the decontextualized angry mistress in language charged with eroticism; indeed, in "Ode on Melancholy," he depicts a generalized state of feminine arousal. We have seen that Keats's readmission of anger into a poetics of beauty depends on disengaging that emotion from the political and historical moment, something that would come more easily to authors in the decade after Peterloo. Furthermore, Keats downplays the threat of anger by mixing it with sexuality, attributing aggressive passion to a soft-handed mistress with deep and peerless eyes, an old trick perhaps learned from Propertius in his elegies to Cynthia.[9]

Byron engages in a similar strategy in *Don Juan*, where he finds a comic-aesthetic role for anger by placing it in a beautiful (and in this case, exotic) female body. In canto 5, the proud and powerful Gulbeyaz throws herself at Juan, only to be rebuffed; he "coldly" informs her that he will not "Serve a Sultana's sensual phantasy" (*CPW*, v:281). Byron lingers delightedly at this moment, allowing for Gulbeyaz's slow burn:

> If I said fire flashed from Gulbeyaz' eyes,
> 'Twere nothing, for her eyes flashed always fire;
> Or said her cheeks assumed the deepest dyes,
> I should but bring disgrace upon the dyer,
> So supernatural was her passion's rise,
> For ne'er till now she knew a checked desire.
> Even ye who know what a checked woman is
> (Enough, God knows!) would much fall short of this.
>
> Her rage was but a minute's, and 'twas well –
> A moment's more had slain her; but the while
> It lasted 'twas like a short glimpse of hell.
> Nought's more sublime than energetic bile,
> Though horrible to see, yet grand to tell,
> Like ocean warring 'gainst a rocky isle;
> And the deep passions flashing through her form
> Made her a beautiful embodied storm. (*CPW* v:284, stanzas 134–35)

Like Keats, Byron fixes upon the physical manifestations of the woman's rage, observing closely the visible "deep passions flashing through her form," which become an occasion for aesthetic meditation. In addition, the fine energies of the Keatsian quarrel find an echo in Byron's assertion that "Nought's more sublime than energetic bile," where again anger's manifestations are enjoyed as abstract effusions – like stormy weather or the "salt sand-wave." In both poems, the naturalization of the woman's anger discounts rational agency in order to assimilate that emotion to a familiar set of Romantic poetic materials.

An accomplished salesman of fantasy, Byron takes pains to assert the "supernatural" and "sublime" character of the sultana's anger, claiming that our attempts to imagine it will "much fall short." Yet, in the course of the scene, Gulbeyaz's sublime anger, "Like ocean warring 'gainst a rocky isle," becomes "a beautiful embodied storm." The containment of that natural-supernatural storm within a beautiful body marks the falling-off point, and soon "her thirst of blood was quenched in tears" (136.8). Interestingly then, Byron concludes his series of attempts to describe Gulbeyaz's anger by resorting to the categories of both the sublime and the beautiful. Beautiful because it produces the signs of arousal on her body (an "embodied storm"), her anger is sublime because it carries a royal imprimatur indicating incommensurability; as Byron puts it, "A vulgar tempest 'twere to a typhoon / To match a common fury with her rage" (136.1–2). For Lord Byron, aristocratic rage trumps the common quarrel in the streets. Yet Gulbeyaz achieves only a mock-sublime because the narrator presents the whole episode from an amused and knowing perspective, never allowing her to verbalize her emotion. Of her wrath, he writes, "A storm it raged, and like the storm it passed, / Passed without words; in fact she could not speak" (137.1–2). Finally, seeing her anger transformed to "humiliation" (137.7), Juan finds the Sultana irresistible; his "virtue ebb'd" and "he wonder'd why he had refused" her advances in the first place (142.2–3). The scene thus ends where it began, with Gulbeyaz smiling languidly in Juan's arms (143.6).

The essentially comic trajectory of anger in this scene, brought home by the narrator's tone, depends upon the atmosphere of sexual farce, something also true of Donna Julia's "angry" denunciation of her rightly suspicious husband in canto I, where we see "her dark eyes flashing through their tears, / Like skies that rain and lighten" (*CPW* V :59) Unlike the troubling, raging weather that we encountered in the work of Coleridge, these storms of anger are meant merely to be delicious spectacles, part of a narrative of harmless beauty. Thomas Moore's *Lalla Rookh* (1817) contains a similar moment, in which the poet describes the anger of another sultana, Nourmahal, the "Light of the Haram": "when angry, – for ev'n in the tranquillest climes / Light breezes will ruffle the blossoms sometimes – / The short, passing anger but seem'd to awaken / New beauty, like flow'rs that are sweetest when shaken."[10] For these male poets (Keats, Byron, Moore) writing under the sign of the aesthetic and erotic, a woman's anger – "short, passing" – becomes an energetic and instinctual performance bringing a flush to the cheek and a sparkle to the eye, mere gusts of words and rain of tears.

In turning to the work of Felicia Hemans, we notice immediately that there are angry women everywhere and few of them are harmless.[11] Paula Feldman calls the heroines of *Records of Woman* (1828) "determined, proud, and gutsy" – and (one might add, in a number of cases) enraged to vengeance.[12] Rather than the helplessly beautiful angry mistresses of Keats and Byron, Hemans gives us women devoted to sublime destruction and fired by aggression. Gary Kelly contrasts the sentimental imagery of "death and the maiden" ("prominently eroticized in the work of…Letitia Landon" and the male Romantics) with Hemans's presentations of "death and the matron," which are "decidedly not eroticized," and which allow her to present a feminine perspective on traditional masculine history.[13] In poems like "The Wife of Asdrubal" and "The Indian City," we see that this perspective can be a prompting to violent reprisals, rendered in the language of tragic sublimity. As Hemans imagines it, women's anger is anything but a "short, passing" emotion; rather, it is a rage-unto-death that inspires serious domestic and political interventions within an historical, fictional frame. The popularity of Hemans's poetry in these early decades of the century implies a renewed enthusiasm for such spectacles of anger as the threat of real Revolutionary outbursts faded from memory.

"The Wife of Asdrubal," from *Tales, and Historic Scenes* (1819), centers on a Medea-like figure who kills her children and herself as a curse upon her husband, the faithless King Hasdrubal of Carthage. Here is the heroine's first appearance in the poem, atop a burning temple, with her children beside her:

> What towering form bursts wildly on the sight,
> All regal in magnificent attire,
> And sternly beauteous in terrific ire?
> She might be deem'd a Pythia in the hour
> Of dread communion and delirious power;
> A being more than earthly, in whose eye
> There dwells a strange and fierce ascendancy.
> The flames are gathering round – intensely bright,
> Full on her features glares their meteor-light,
> But a wild courage sits triumphant there,
> The stormy grandeur of a proud despair;
> A daring spirit, in its woes elate,
> Mightier than death, untameable by fate.
> The dark profusion of her locks unbound,
> Waves like a warrior's floating plumage round;
> Flush'd is her cheek, inspired her haughty mien,
> She seems th'avenging goddess of the scene.[14]

Published in the same year as Keats's "Ode on Melancholy," these lines present an angry woman as an awful revelation, a figure of power: she is compared to a dreadful, inspired prophetess, "a being more than earthly," a "daring spirit," a "warrior," and an "avenging goddess." Such metaphors suggest that she will not, like Keats's angry mistress, submit to have her hand "emprison[ed]," and indeed she stabs her children soon thereafter; and rather than have her lover gaze "deep, deep upon her peerless eyes," she "fix[es]…her eye on Asdrubal" (line 39), transfixing him with her words and deeds of horror. Like Gulbeyaz, she is an Eastern queen, but her "thirst of blood" is pointedly not "quenched in tears" but rather in the flames that engulf her. Unlike the beautifully enraged mistresses of Keats, Byron, and Moore, this angry women curses (she delivers a sixteen-line imprecation against Asdrubal) and kills, suggesting Hemans's commitment to the contours of domestic tragedy and the sublimity of feminine wrath.

The signs of arousal still play a key role in Hemans's description, and she focuses on the countenance of Asdrubal's wife in her state of "terrific ire": her cheek is flushed, her eye reveals a "strange and fierce ascendancy," and "The dark profusion of her locks unbound, / Waves like a warrior's floating plumage round," this last simile a heartbreaking allusion (given the infanticidal sequel) to Hector's plumage that frightens his infant son Astyanax in the *Iliad*; these children have every reason to beware her flashing eyes, her floating hair. The connection to Coleridge's "Kubla Khan" suggests, however, that Hemans also intends to evoke the figure of the inspired poet here, aligning (like Keats) her own vocation with energetic outbursts of anger. Mixing the language of transcendence, prophecy, and power with the rhetoric of wrath, she rehabilitates the ancient trope of rage-as-inspiration, the one that gave Coleridge trouble in the anxious 1790s. Put another way, Hemans's bold description of the wife of Asdrubal goes beyond a tragic tableau: it repeatedly asserts the angry wife's sublime power in language that evokes the Romantic rhetoric of inspiration.

Hemans presents a similar moment in "The Indian City," from *Records of Woman*. "Struck down by sorrow's might" following the murder of her son, the heroine Maimuna finds a means to rise in anger:

> And what deep change, what work of power,
> Was wrought on her secret soul that hour?
> How rose the lonely one? – She rose
> Like a prophetess from dark repose!
> And proudly flung from her face the veil,
> And shook the hair from her forehead pale,

And 'midst her wondering handmaids stood,
With the sudden glance of a dauntless mood.
Ay, lifting up to the midnight sky
A brow in its regal passion high,
With a close and rigid grasp she press'd
The blood-stain'd robe to her heaving breast,
And said – "Not yet – not yet I weep,
Not yet my spirit shall sink or sleep,
Not till yon city, in ruins rent,
Be piled for its victim's monument."[15]

Like the wife of Asdrubal, Maimuna becomes a proud, regal prophetess under the influence of anger, and Hemans's focus on her "sudden glance of a dauntless mood" and her unbound, shaken hair aligns her with the inspired-poet figure of Romantic tradition. Indeed, she stands "'midst her wondering handmaids," like Keats' eagle-eyed Cortez on his peak in Darien, when "all his men / Stared at each other with a wild surmise," the node of a magic circle of attention compelled by the presence of one in a state of visionary intensity – one who has drunk the milk of paradise.[16] But the emotional register is utterly different: rather than building a dome in the air, she will tear down a city, reversing the creative force of Coleridge's poem with a commitment to vengeance and destruction.

In her turn to the domestic tragedies of history, Hemans presents women's anger in ways that counter the work of male poets like Keats, Byron, and Moore. The argument is centered in aesthetics – is the angry woman a figure of safely erotic beauty or of dangerously vengeful sublimity? – and involves the political consequences of that aesthetic choice. In addition, Hemans links states of passionate rage to poetic inspiration, depicting forthrightly and repeatedly a connection that the Romantics before her often circled nervously. Part of the difference has to do with the changing historical frame, in which anger became a less violently contested emotion; another part concerns the genre in which Hemans presents such figures, in which dramatic distance is preserved between poet and the angry character. Furthermore, by narrating stories of distant places and times, Hemans apparently keeps anger at a safe remove from the precincts of English womanhood, except for those with eyes to see the parallels she means to draw to England's own domestic situations. Ultimately, her work suggests that the post-Romantic representation of anger will involve a turn away from the confessional lyric mode and towards the dramatic and the melodramatic, towards spectacles of wrath that do not directly implicate the poet. In the 1820s and 1830s, the imagery of Romantic

rage migrates from the lyric to the verse narrative, the three-volume novel, and the drama and dramatic monologue, finding more comfortable Victorian homes therein.

Yet the legacies of the years of Revolution and reaction did not end here; the angry ghosts of the 1790s were not immediately given rest. The Victorian poets remained wary of that emotion for the most part, typically choosing to put their angry rhetoric in the mouths of madmen (e.g., the speaker of Tennyson's *Maud*), comic characters (e.g., the speaker of Browning's "Soliloquy of the Spanish Cloister"), or tragic figures *in extremis* (e.g., the speaker of Barrett Browning's "The Runaway Slave at Pilgrim's Point"). Indeed, only in the twentieth century, with the rise of Modernism, would anger move decidedly back into lyric forms of expression; one thinks first of Yeats, perhaps, or the Vorticist invective of *Blast!* – and then of all the protest lyrics that came out of the wars and struggles of that dark century. In addition, the sharply polarized positions that emerged from the Revolution debates were an ongoing function of the new media of anger – the popular press – which, in times of crisis, continues to make a monster of dissent. With us or against us, indignant or enraged, loyalist or terrorist: the end of moderation signaled by the rhetoric of the Revolution debates may be the most troubling of the legacies of the 1790s, and the one the Romantics struggled with most vehemently.

Anger is generally thought of as a painful emotion, born of affliction, and yet it wonderfully concentrates the mind, forging scattered portions into a weapon of retaliation. In a time of terror, many cling to it to avoid falling into the total disorganization of shock, grief, and confusion otherwise enjoined upon them. Furthermore, because anger is typically a prelude to action, nursing it temporarily assuages some of the awful, passive helplessness and fear that loss inflicts as collateral damage on those who can only watch the destruction unfold. Indeed, there are many sound psychological reasons for the anger so many felt during the Terror of the 1790s and our own century's September massacres, and during the sequels to both. But the writing of Romantic-period England makes clear the importance of allowing both vehemence and thoughtfulness to determine our reactions to upheaval and loss; rather than shutting down debate, anger best energizes it, bringing to the table urgency and strength without precluding an ultimate flexibility. Reading Romantic anger, we find ourselves engaged by a complex history of such negotiations regarding power, justice, and the creative self, carried out in their best moments in what Keats recognized as states of grace: spirited conversations, passionate quarrels.

Notes

INTRODUCTION: FITS OF RAGE

1 For an introduction to the effects of revolutionary violence on the development of Romanticism, see Robert Maniquis, "Holy Savagery and Wild Justice: English Romanticism and the Terror," *Studies in Romanticism* 28 (Fall 1989), 365–95. As Maniquis puts it, "nineteenth-century writers never forgot the French Revolution – both its hope and the challenge its violence posed to the imagination" (394). Alan Liu's *Wordsworth: The Sense of History* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1989) also engages this theme, as does John Kerrigan's "Revolution, Revenge, and Romantic Tragedy," *Romanticism* 1 (1995), 121–40.

2 Martha Nussbaum, *Upheavals of Thought* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001); Philip Fisher, *The Vehement Passions* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002); William Reddy, *The Navigation of Feeling: A Framework for the History of Emotions* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001); David Punter, *Writing the Passions* (New York: Longman, 2001); and Robert C. Solomon, *Not Passion's Slave: Emotions and Choice* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003).

3 Barbara H. Rosenswein, ed., *Anger's Past: The Social Uses of an Emotion in the Middle Ages* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1998).

4 Gwynne Kennedy, *Just Anger: Representing Women's Anger in Early Modern England* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 2000).

5 Peter Gay, *The Cultivation of Hatred: The Bourgeois Experience, Victoria to Freud*, vol. III (New York: Norton, 1993). See also Christopher Lane, *Hatred and Civility: The Antisocial Life in Victorian England* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2003); and Daniel Karlin, *Browning's Hatreds* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1993). In *Keats and Embarrassment* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1974), Christopher Ricks states that "Indignation is a feeling particularly strongly incited and thought about in nineteenth-century literature" (2), but his interests lie elsewhere. Gesa Stedman's *Stemming the Torrent: Expression and Control in the Victorian Discourses on Emotions, 1830–1872* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002) provides a synoptic overview but says nothing particular about anger.

6 Recent works in this vein include Esther H. Schor, *Bearing the Dead: The British Culture of Mourning from the Enlightenment to Victoria*

(Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994); Guinn Batten, *The Orphaned Imagination: Melancholy and Commodity Culture in English Romanticism* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1998); and David Punter, *Gothic Pathologies: The Text, the Body and the Law* (London: Macmillan, 1998).

7 John Mee, *Romanticism, Enthusiasm, and Regulation: Poetics and the Policing of Culture in the Romantic Period* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 5. See also his earlier book on Blake, *Dangerous Enthusiasm: William Blake and the Culture of Radicalism in the 1790s* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1992). On this theme in the eighteenth century, with its different cultural ramifications, see Clement Hawes, *Mania and Literary Style: The Rhetoric of Enthusiasm from the Ranters to Christopher Smart* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996); and Shaun Irlam, *Elations: The Poetics of Enthusiasm in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1999).

8 Three books essentially brought New Historicist methodologies to the Romanticists: Marilyn Butler's *Romantics, Rebels, and Reactionaries* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1981), Jerome McGann's *The Romantic Ideology* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983), and Marjorie Levinson's *Wordsworth's Great Period Poems* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986). See also Alan Liu's *Wordsworth* and James Chandler's *England in 1819: The Politics of Literary Culture and the Case of Romantic Historicism* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998). These critics are themselves following trails blazed by prior historically minded scholars of the period, particularly E. P. Thompson in *The Making of the English Working Class* (New York: Pantheon, 1963), and David Erdman in *Blake: Prophet against Empire* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1954).

9 One might place Olivia Smith's *The Politics of Language, 1791–1819* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1984) at the headwaters of such a current. Also important have been Iain McCalman's *Radical Underworld: Prophets, Revolutionaries and Pornographers in London, 1795–1840* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), and James Epstein's *Radical Expression: Political Language, Ritual and Symbol in England, 1790–1850* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994).

10 François Furet, *Interpreting the French Revolution*, trans. Elborg Foster (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981). In this still-dominant line of studies are Mona Ozouf, *Festivals and the French Revolution*, trans. Alan Sheridan (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1989); Lynn Hunt, *Politics, Culture, and Class in the French Revolution* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984); Keith Michael Baker, *Inventing the French Revolution* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990); Maurice Agulhon, *Marianne into Battle: Republican Imagery and Symbolism in France*, trans. Janet Lloyd (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981); Simon Schama, *Citizens: A Chronicle of the French Revolution* (New York: Knopf, 1989); Colin Lucas, ed., *The French Revolution and the Creation of Modern Political Culture*, 4 vols. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987–89); and Laura Mason, *Singing the French Revolution: Popular Culture and Politics, 1787–1799*. (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1996).

11 Simon Bainbridge, *British Poetry and the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars: Visions of Conflict* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002); Philip Shaw,

Waterloo and the Romantic Imagination (New York: Palgrave, 2002); Gillian Russell, *The Theatres of War: Performance, Politics, and Society 1793–1815* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1995).

12 Some of the more important recent studies of English literature and culture of the 1790s (not already cited) include Saree Makdisi, *William Blake and the Impossible History of the 1790s* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003); Angela Keane, *Women Writers and the English Nation in the 1790s* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000); Paul Keen, *The Crisis of Literature in the 1790s: Print Culture and the Public Sphere* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999); Kevin Gilmartin, *Print Politics: The Press and Radical Opposition in Early Nineteenth-Century England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996); Marcus Wood, *Radical Satire and Print Culture, 1790–1822* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1994); and David Worrall, *Radical Culture: Discourse, Resistance, and Surveillance, 1790–1820* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1992).

13 In other words, anger seems to have effectively *shut down* the public sphere that Jürgen Habermas describes as evoked by the popular press in *The Structural Transformation of the Pubic Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society*, trans. T. Berger and F. Lawrence (Cambridge, MA: Massachusetts Institute of Technology Press, 1989). Geoff Eley's critique is apt: "[Habermas] misses the extent to which the public sphere was always constituted by conflict." See Eley's "Nations, Publics, and Political Cultures: Placing Habermas in the Nineteenth Century," in *Habermas and the Public Sphere*, ed. Craig Calhoun (Cambridge, MA: Massachusetts Institute of Technology Press, 1992), 306.

14 Useful studies of the intersections between Romanticism and the popular press include Jon Klancher's *The Making of English Reading Audiences, 1790–1832* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1987); and Michael Scrivener's *Poetry and Reform: Periodical Verse from the English Democratic Press, 1792–1824* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1992). Also relevant in this context is Kim Wheatley's *Shelley and His Readers: Beyond Paranoid Politics* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1999), which takes as its starting point "the language of defensiveness and persecution" (1) that characterized the reception of Shelley's work in the journals of the day.

15 Particularly important anthologies of satiric poetry of the Romantic period are John Strachan and Steven E. Jones, eds., *British Satire, 1785–1840*, 5 vols. (London: Pickering and Chatto, 2003); Betty T. Bennett, ed., *British War Poetry in the Age of Romanticism: 1793–1815* (New York: Garland, 1976), and Michael Scrivener's *Poetry and Reform*. Critical studies of satire of the period include Thomas Lockwood's *Post-Augustan Satire: Charles Churchill and Satirical Poetry, 1750–1800* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1979), Frederick Beaty's *Byron the Satirist* (Dekalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 1985), Steven Jones's *Shelley's Satire* (Dekalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 1994) and *Satire and Romanticism* (New York: St. Martins, 2000), Marcus Wood's *Radical Satire and Print Culture 1790–1822* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994), and Gary Dyer's *British Satire and the Politics of Style* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997).

16 Steven Jones, "Reconstructing Romantic Satire," *American Notes and Queries* (April, July 1993), 130–34.
17 Juvenal, "First Satire," *The Satires*, trans. Niall Rudd, ed. William Barr (Oxford: Clarendon, 1991), 3–8; lines 77–80.
18 R. Wiesen, "Juvenal's Moral Character: An Introduction," *Latomus* 22:3 (1963), 440–71; 440.
19 E. J. Kenney, "Juvenal: Satirist or Rhetorician?" *Latomus* 22:4 (1963), 704–20; 706.
20 William Kupersmith, "Juvenal as Sublime Satirist," *PMLA* 87 (1972), 508–11; 510.
21 Alvin Kernan, *The Cankered Muse: Satire of the English Renaissance* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1959), 248.
22 John Marston, "Proemium in Librum Tertium," *The Scourge of Satire*, ed. G. B. Harrison (New York: Barnes and Noble, 1966; facs. rpt. of the 1599 London edition), lines 3–12; qtd. in Kernan, *The Cankered Muse*, 96.
23 *The Poems of John Cleveland*, ed. Brian Morris and Eleanor Withington (Oxford: Clarendon, 1967), 72; lines 1–4 of "On the Pouder Plot."
24 Jonas Barish, "Exhibitionism and the Antitheatrical Prejudice," *ELH* 36:1 (1969), 1–29; 10.
25 William Wordsworth, *The Prelude 1799, 1805, 1850*, ed. Jonathan Wordsworth, M. H. Abrams, and Stephen Gill (New York: Norton, 1979), 10: 312–26.
26 William Wordsworth, *The Poems*, ed. John O. Hayden, 2 vols. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1981), 11:739–40.
27 *Ibid.*, 11: 881. This poem was written in 1842, in response to Carlyle's *The French Revolution* (1837).
28 Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *Emile*, trans. Barbara Foxley (London: J. M. Dent, 1993), 37–38.
29 See also Chris Jones, *Radical Sensibility: Literature and Ideas in the 1790s* (London: Routledge, 1993), which demonstrates how "The debates of the 1790s were characterized by a politicizing of issues raised within the school of sensibility to the extent that one's stand on matters such as the conduct of the private affections…became political statements, aligned with conservative or radical ideologies" (13).
30 Unless otherwise noted, all citations to Coleridge's poetry refer to the *Poetical Works*, edited by J. C. C. Mays as volume XVI of *The Collected Works of Samuel Taylor Coleridge* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001).
31 S. T. Coleridge, *Shorter Works and Fragments*, ed. H. J. Jackson and J. R. de J. Jackson, 2 vols. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995), 11: 1500; Coleridge is alluding to Ephesians 2.3.

1 TOWARDS ROMANTIC ANGER

1 William Harris, *Restraining Rage: The Ideology of Anger Control in Classical Antiquity* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2002).

2 Plato, *The Republic*, trans. Paul Shorey, 2 vols. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1953), vol. 1, book 2, section 15.
3 Aristotle, *The Nicomachean Ethics*, trans. H. Rackham, (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1945), book 4, section 5, paragraph 3.
4 Plato, *Republic*, vol. 11, book 10, section 7; Aristotle, *The Poetics*, trans. W. Hamilton Fyfe (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1965), book 4, section 12.
5 W. Hamilton Fyfe, "Introduction," *Aristotle: The Poetics*, xiii.
6 For a modern challenge to this "hydraulic" metaphor, and its implications of passivity, see Robert C. Solomon, *Not Passion's Slave*, 76–91.
7 Seneca, *De Ira* (*On Anger*), *Seneca: Moral Essays*, trans. John W. Basore (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1970), book 1, section 1.1.
8 Gordon Braden, *Renaissance Tragedy and the Senecan Tradition: Anger's Privilege* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985), 23.
9 See Braden for an excellent survey of Seneca's influence on Renaissance drama.
10 See *De Ira*, 3.4.1–3 for a similar description of one possessed by anger.
11 This is the translation of Wentworth Dillon, Earl of Roscommon, as reprinted in *Selected Poems of Horace* (New York: Walter Black, 1947), lines 119–27.
12 For more on the rhetoric of anger, see W. S. Anderson, "Juvenal and Quintilian," *Essays on Roman Satire* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1982), 396–486, esp. 423ff.; and S. H. Braund, *Beyond Anger: A Study of Juvenal's Third Book of Satires* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 1–23.
13 Seneca, *Tragedies*, trans. Frank J. Miller (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1917), lines 406–25.
14 Longinus, *On the Sublime*, trans. W. Rhys Roberts, 2nd ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1907), section 1, paragraph 4.
15 Neil Hertz, *The End of the Line: Essays on Psychoanalysis and the Sublime* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1985), 1.
16 Thomas Weiskel, *The Romantic Sublime: Studies in the Structure and Psychology of Transcendence* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1976), 3.
17 E. R. Dodds, *The Greeks and the Irrational* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1951), 8–10.
18 W. H. Auden, *The Dyer's Hand, and Other Essays* (London: Faber and Faber, 1975), 383.
19 Suzanne Guerlac, "Longinus and the Subject of the Sublime," *New Literary History* 16: 2 (1985), 275–89; 285.
20 See Samuel Holt Monk, *The Sublime: A Study of Critical Theories in XVIII-Century England* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1960), 10–85, esp. 63; A. F. B. Clark, *Boileau and the Classical Critics in England* (Paris: E. Champion, 1925), 361–79; and Roberts, Longinus, *On the Sublime*, 247–51. Roberts notes: "It is a remarkable fact that the Treatise on the Sublime is not quoted or mentioned by any writer of antiquity" (2), and Longinus had no reputation at all in England until the eighteenth century.

21 "The Author's Apology for Heroic Poetry and Poetic Licence," *Essays of John Dryden*, ed. W. P. Ker, 2 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon, 1926), 1: 179.

22 See also Thomas R. Preston's *Not in Timon's Manner: Feeling, Misanthropy, and Satire in Eighteenth-Century England* (University, AL: University of Alabama Press, 1975) for a survey of the importance of the Juvenalian "benevolent misanthrope" to the satire of the period.

23 Neill Rudd and W. B. Carnochan have both pointed out that such a view of Juvenal's scabrous persona involves some selective perception; see Niall Rudd, "Dryden on Horace and Juvenal," *University of Toronto Quarterly* 32 (1963), 155–69; and W. B. Carnochan, "Satire, Sublimity, and Sentiment: Theory and Practice in Post-Augustan Satire," *PMLA* 85 (1970), 260–67, on the selective perception of Juvenal's persona. Furthermore, William Anderson, who has written several valuable studies on anger in Juvenal, holds that, for his Roman audience, the Juvenalian satirist was "an essentially comic dramatic type," a purposefully exaggerated and inconsistent caricature (*Essays on Roman Satire*, xiii).

24 Inez G. Scott, *The Grand Style in the Satires of Juvenal* (Northampton, MA: [s.n.], 1927), 48.

25 Rudd agrees that Juvenal's "object is to provoke the same rage, indignation, and disgust as he feels himself" ("Dryden on Horace and Juvenal," 160). E. J. Kenney is even more convinced that Juvenal intends "to induce his own feelings of indignation, horror, disgust, contempt, pity, amusement, sympathy. He has survived and been read . . . because of his success in communicating emotion." See E. J. Kenney, ed., *Latin Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), 718.

26 Quoted in Howard Weinbrot, *Alexander Pope and the Traditions of Formal Verse Satire* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1982), 323.

27 This argument has a metrical basis as well. Methodical, regular verse of the kind Pope and Horace championed, was deemed by followers of Juvenal from the Renaissance onward (such as Marston and Cleveland) incompatible with the angry passions of satire.

28 X. J. Kennedy, ed., *The Tigers of Wrath: Poems of Hate, Anger, and Invective* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1981), 11.

29 Donald Davie, *Trying to Explain* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1979), 61–2.

30 On comic and tragic satire, see Harold Weber, "'Comic Humour and Tragic Spirit': The Augustan Distinction between Horace and Juvenal," *Classical and Modern Literature: A Quarterly* 1:4 (1981), 275–89; and "'The Jester and the Orator': A Re-Examination of the Comic and Tragic Satirist," *Genre* 13 (1980), 171–85.

31 "To Matthew Prior, Esq.: Upon the Roman Satirists (1721)," in *The Critical Works of John Dennis*, ed. Edward Niles Hooker, 2 vols. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1943), 11:219.

32 John Milton, *Paradise Lost*, ed. Alastair Fowler (New York: Longman, 1971), v. 860.

33 Harold Bloom, *Poets of Sensibility and the Sublime* (New York: Chelsea House, 1986), 8. On sensibility and its relation to Romanticism, both in terms of literature and politics, see Jerome J. McGann, *The Poetics of Sensibility: A Revolution in Poetic Style* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1996); Chris Jones, *Radical Sensibility*; and Janet Todd, *Sensibility: An Introduction* (New York: Methuen, 1986).

34 Quoted in David Morris, *The Religious Sublime: Christian Poetry and Critical Tradition in 18th-Century England* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1972), 108–09.

35 See Monk, *The Sublime*, 44–54; and Morris, *The Religious Sublime*, 47–78 on Dennis.

36 *The Works of William Collins*, ed. Richard Wendorf and Charles Ryskamp (Oxford: Clarendon, 1979), 27–29. Future citations to Collins's poetry will refer to page and line numbers in this edition.

37 Steven Knapp, *Personification and the Sublime* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1985), 4.

38 Adam Smith, *Theory of Moral Sentiments*, ed. D. D. Raphael and A. L. Macfie (Oxford: Clarendon, 1976), 48.

39 Lord Kames, *Elements of Criticism*, 3 vols. (London, 1762; reprint: New York: Johnson Reprint Corp., 1967), 1: 221.

40 Edmund Spenser, *The Faerie Queene*, ed. Thomas P. Roche, Jr. (New York: Penguin, 1978). Future citations to this text will be by book, canto, and stanza from this edition.

41 *Armstrong: Miscellanies (1770): A Machine-Readable Transcript* (Chadwyck-Healey English Poetry Full-Text Database, 1992), lines 414–28. Coleridge owned a copy of this work.

42 *Gray and Collins: Poetical Works*, ed. Austin Lane Poole (New York: Oxford University Press, 1937), 1:1:1–8.

43 That this speech is one made more in bitter sorrow than anger is supported by James Macpherson's appropriation of it in his Ossianic *Comala*, in which Comala, mourning the apparent death of her beloved Fingal at the hands of "the king of the world," exclaims: "Confusion pursue thee over thy plains! Ruin overtake thee, thou king of the world! Few be thy steps to the grave; and let one virgin mourn thee! Let her be like Comala, tearful in the days of her youth." See *The Poems of Ossian*, ed. Malcolm Laing, 2 vols. (Edinburgh: Archibald Constable, 1805; rpt. AMS Press, 1974), 1: 221.

44 Patricia Meyer Spacks, *The Poetry of Vision: Five Eighteenth-Century Poets* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1967), 218.

45 *Cowper: Verse and Letters*, ed. Brian Spiller (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1968), book 3, 443, lines 58–70.

2 BURKE, COLERIDGE, AND THE RAGE FOR INDIGNATION

1 Edmund Burke, *Letters . . . on the Proposals for Peace with the Regicide Directory of France* (London: F. & C. Rivington, 1796); 123–24.

2 Juvenal, "First Satire," *The Satires*, 3–8; lines 30–31.
3 John Milton, *Paradise Lost*, IV.I; Homer, *Odyssey*, trans. Alexander Pope (London, 1802), 12: 436.
4 "Introduction," Gregory Claeys, ed., *Political Writings of the 1790s*, 8 vols. (London: Pickering and Chatto, 1995), 1: xviii. This valuable edition reprints 128 titles from the 1790s, focusing on the years 1791–95. As Claeys notes, G. T. Pendleton estimates that approximately 4,000 publications appeared in Britain during these few years on questions related to the Revolution. See "Towards a Bibliography of the Reflections and Rights of Man Controversy," *Bulletin of Research in the Humanities* 85 (1982), 65–103.
5 Mark Philp, "The Fragmented Ideology of Reform," in *The French Revolution and British Popular Politics*, ed. Philp (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 50–77; 72.
6 As John Barrell writes, "Virtually without exception, those who reply to the *Reflections* in the early years of the decade, even if they admire Burke's imagination, represent it as inappropriately exercised" – that is, overheated and intemperate; see "'Fire, Famine, and Slaughter,'" *Huntington Library Quarterly* 63:3 (2000), 277–98; 277, incorporated in *Imagining the Death of the King: Figurative Treason, Fantasies of Regicide, 1793–1796* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000).
7 *Reflections on the Revolution in France* (1790), in *The Writings and Speeches of Edmund Burke*, gen. ed., Paul Langford, 9 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon, 1989–96), 1:117, 1:122. Burke uses the term "indignation" frequently in the *Reflections* to describe the emotions of right-thinking men in the face of the events in France.
8 "Satire 1," *The Satires*, lines 11, 15.
9 On Seneca's reputation amongst the Romantics, see Evelyn A. Hanley, *Stoicism in Major English Poets of the Nineteenth Century* (New York: Haskell House, 1964).
10 Seneca, *De Ira*, book 1, section 1.1
11 William S. Anderson, *Anger in Juvenal and Seneca* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1964), 160; 170.
12 Gary Dyer, *British Satire and the Politics of Style*, 42ff. (for a survey of Juvenal's reputation in this period, see p. 2); W. B. Carnochan, "Satire, Sublimity, and Sentiment," 260–67; and William Kupersmith, "Juvenal as Sublime Satirist," 508–11.
13 Robert Whitford, "Juvenal in England 1750–1802," *Philological Quarterly* 7:1 (1928), 9–16; 9.
14 Gilbert Highet, *Juvenal the Satirist* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1954), 219–20.
15 Mary Wollstonecraft, *A Vindication of the Rights of Men* (2nd ed., 1790), in *Political Writings of the 1790s*, ed. Claeys, 1: 11; 1: 14.
16 Weinbrot, *Alexander Pope and the Traditious of Formal Verse Satire*, xiv–xv.
17 For more on Paine's rhetorical use of *indignatio*, see Jeffrey Walker, "Enthymemes of Anger in Cicero and Thomas Paine," in *Constructing*

Rhetorical Education, ed. Marie Secor and Davida Charney (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1992), 357–81.

18 Quoted in the "Introduction" to Tom Paine's *Rights of Man*, ed. Gregory Claeys (Indianapolis: Hackett, 1992), xvii.

19 Edmund Burke, *A Discourse on the Love of our Country* (5th ed., 1790), in *Political Writings of the 1790s*, ed. Claeys, III: 3–22; 21.

20 Isaac Kramnick, *The Rage of Edmund Burke: Portrait of an Ambivalent Conservative* (New York: Basic Books, 1977), 3, 26.

21 M. Dorothy George *et al.*, *Catalogue of Political and Personal Satires . . . in the British Museum*, 11 vols. (London: Trustees of the British Museum, 1870–1954), VI: 792–93.

22 Tom Furniss, *Edmund Burke's Aesthetic Ideology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 129.

23 In a similar vein, David Williams (1737–1816) describes Burke's method of writing in the *Reflections*: "He has taken large draughts of the fiery spirit produced by his own infernal alembic – and in the paroxysms of holy fury, applied every infamous and horrible epithet of the English language, to . . . the Philosophers and Economistes of France"; *Lessons to a Young Prince, By an Old Statesman* (1791), in *Political Writings of the 1790s*, ed. Claeys, III: 23–110; 97.

24 Thomas Christie, *Letters on the Revolution in France* (1790), in *Political Writings of the 1790s*, ed. Claeys, I: 154–269; 276. Paine objects to Burke in similar terms in *Rights of Man* I: "There is scarcely an epithet of abuse to be found in the English language, with which Mr. Burke has not loaded the French Nation . . . The pen is let loose in a frenzy of passion" (12).

25 *Strictures on the Letters of the Right Hon. Mr. Burke* . . . (1791), in *Political Writings of the 1790s*, ed. Claeys, II: 183–257; 257.

26 In another anonymous pamphlet from the period, *Moderate Politics, Devoted to Britons* (London, 1791), we find the author adopting this metaphor precisely: "I take my stand between the two hostile bands, who have each sounded the trumpet of defiance" (viii).

27 François Furet, *Interpreting the French Revolution*, 61.

28 See "Introduction," note 10, for critics and historians who have traced the discursive and cultural forms of the French Revolution.

29 Liu, *Wordsworth*, 159.

30 See also Jacques Guilhaumou, "Fragments of a Discourse of Denunciation (1789–1794)," in *The French Revolution and the Creation of Modern Political Culture. Volume 4: The Terror*, ed. Keith Michael Baker (Oxford: Elsevier Science, 1994), 139–55. Guilhaumou finds that "denunciation and censure constituted the privileged and permanent domain of pamphlet literature from 1789 on. A glance at newspaper titles – the *Dénonciateur National*, the *Censeur Patriote*, the *Furet Parisien*, etc. – makes this clear" (140).

31 Mark Philp, "Introduction," *The French Revolution and British Popular Politics*, 1–17; 13.

32 Yet see Colin Lucas, "Revolutionary Violence, the People, and the Terror," in *The French Revolution and the Creation of Modern Political Culture. Volume 4: The Terror*, ed. Baker, 57–79, in which Lucas describes the ways that the revolutionaries tried to separate "good" violence from "bad" through the use of rhetoric, in an attempt to avoid the extremities of the Terror.

33 Benjamin Bousfield, *Observations on the Right Hon. Edmund Burke's Pamphlet . . . (1791)*, in *Political Writings of the 1790s*, ed. Claeys, 11: 92–117; 93.

34 Joseph Priestly, *Letters to the Right Honourable Edmund Burke . . .* (3rd ed., 1792), in *Political Writings of the 1790s*, ed. Claeys, 11: 316–85; 321.

35 *Short Observations on the Right Honourable Edmund Burke's Reflections* (1790), in *Political Writings of the 1790s*, ed. Claeys, 1: 59–120; 63, 71.

36 "Drunk with choler" is the Shakespearean formulation, applied to Hotspur in *I Henry IV* (1.iii.129). It is interesting that anger can be ascribed to three of the "humors," perhaps indicating a deep-rooted association of that emotion with bodily imbalances.

37 Catharine MaCaulay, *Observations on the Reflections of the Right Hon. Edmund Burke . . .* (1790), in *Political Writings of the 1790s*, ed. Claeys, 1:121–53; 121.

38 Charles Piggot, *Strictures on the new Political Tenets of the Rt. Honourable Edmund Burke* (1791), in *Political Writings of the 1790s*, ed. Claeys, 11: 118–53; 134–5.

39 *Desultory Thoughts on the Atrocious Cruelties of the French Nation* (London, 1794), vii.

40 *The Beauties of the Anti-Jacobin; or Weekly Examiner* (London, 1799), 100.

41 *The Argus; or General Observer*, ed. Sampson Perry (London, 1789–91; 1795–96), November 1795, 44.

42 Ronald Paulson, *Representations of Revolution 1789–1820* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1983), 97–99.

43 See Liu, *Wordsworth*, 140ff, on the depiction of the French Revolutionaries as "savage" and "bestial."

44 William Wordsworth, "The 1805 *Prelude*," in *The Prelude 1799, 1805, 1850*, ed. Wordsworth, Abrams, Stephen Gill, 10: 80–02.

45 Edward Young, *A Vindication of Providence: or, A True Estimate of Human Life*, ed. and intro. David R. Anderson, reprint of the 2nd ed., 1728 (Los Angeles: Wm. Andrews Clark Memorial Library, 1984), 28.

46 Sir Walter Scott, *The Life of Napoleon Buonaparte, Emperor of the French*, 3 vols. (New York: Collins, Keese, 1839; orig. pub. London, 1827), 1: 49.

47 *The Tomahawk! or Censor General* (London, 1795–96), 84 (1796), 336.

48 John Bowles, *Reflections at the Conclusion of the War . . .* (2nd ed., 1801), in *Political Writings of the 1790s*, ed. Claeys, VIII: 369–416; 400.

49 Paine is also associated with the diabolic; see *Intercepted Correspondence from Satan to Citizen Paine* (1792), in *Political Writings of the 1790s*, ed. Claeys, V: 412–13.

50 "The Warning," *The True Briton* (London, 1793–1803), no. 112 (May 21, 1793).

51 T. Moore, *Address to the Inhabitants of Great Britain on the Dangerous and Destructive Tendency of the French System of Liberty and Equality* (1793), in *Political Writings of the 1790s*, ed. Claeys, VIII: 28–48; 48.
52 Michael Scrivener, "John Thelwall's Political Ambivalence," in *Radicalism and Revolution in Britain, 1775–1848*, ed. Michael T. Davis (London: Macmillan, 2000), 69–83; 78.
53 "Sober Reflections on the Seditious and Inflammatory Letter of . . . Burke, to a Noble Lord (1796)," in *The Politics of English Jacobinism: Writings of John Thelwall*, ed. Gregory Claeys (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1995), 329–87; 332.
54 James Nohraberg, *The Analogy of the Faerie Queene*, 301.
55 These lines are from a 1792 satire by W. Roscoe, quoted in *The Writings and Speeches of Edmund Burke*, VIII: 26.
56 For this speech by Thelwall, see *Political Writings of the 1790s*, ed. Claeys, IV: 383–402.
57 Simon Bainbridge, *British Poetry and the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars*, 79.
58 *Notebooks of Samuel Taylor Coleridge*, ed. Kathleen Coburn and Merton Christensen, 4 vols. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1957–1990), I: 1577.
59 Unless otherwise noted, all citations to Coleridge's poetry refer to the *Poetical Works*, edited by J. C. C. Mays as volume XVI of *The Collected Works of Samuel Taylor Coleridge* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001).
60 *Collected Letters*, ed. E. L. Griggs, 6 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon, 1959–71), II: 483.
61 Richard Holmes, for example, calls the poem "a ghastly outpouring of suppressed guilt and fears," in *Coleridge: Early Visions, 1772–1804* (New York: Pantheon, 1989), 355.
62 *The Prose Works of William Wordsworth*, ed. W. J. B. Owen and J. W. Smyser (Oxford: Clarendon, 1974), III: 81–82; my emphasis. The poem quoted here is Waller's "Of Love" (1645).
63 *Oxford English Dictionary*, 2nd ed., ed. J. P. Simpson and E. S. C. Weiner, 20 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon, 1989), XIII: 117.
64 One exception involves a new use of the term "rage" that began in the late eighteenth century: the phrase "all the rage" enters the English language in 1785. Coleridge uses the term in this sense in an early poem, "The Taste of the Times," and we find the young Byron, for example, writing to a friend in 1811 that Coleridge himself "is a kind of rage at present" (*BLJ*, 2:149). The new usage reveals further links in English consciousness between rage and the violent passions of crowds, and thus falls in line with newly emergent conceptions regarding anger in the Revolutionary and Napoleonic eras.
65 Coleridge, *Shorter Works and Fragments*, II: 1419–53; 1431–32; 1440.
66 Coleridge might also have noted that Gabriel and his "angelic squadron bright / Turned fiery red" with the increase of their level of anger against Satan (*Paradise Lost* 4: 977–8). See also Seneca, *De Ira*, I: 20:1–3.

67 Coleridge, *Biographia Literaria*, ed. James Engell and W. Jackson Bate, 2 vols. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983), I: 38; I: 31.
68 On this episode, see Richard Holmes, *Coleridge: Darker Reflections, 1804–1834* (New York: Pantheon, 1998), 83ff.

3 INFLAMMATORY REACTIONS

1 *The Parliamentary History of England, from the earliest period to the year 1803* (London: Hansard, 1814), IXX: 523.
2 On the rhetoric of "contagion, plague, disease, intoxication, pollution, poison, venom, [and] conflagration" in the discourse of the Revolution debates, see Don Herzog, *Poisoning the Minds of the Lower Orders* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998), 97ff.
3 "Address to the King [January 1777]," *The Writings and Speeches of Edmund Burke*, III: 264–65.
4 *Parliamentary History of England*, XVIII: 695–96.
5 L. J. Rather, *Addison and the White Corpuscles: An Aspect of Nineteenth-Century Biology* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1972), 5; John Hunter, *Treatise on the Blood, Inflammation, and Gun-shot Wounds* (London, 1794).
6 Peter H. Niebyl, "The English Bloodletting Revolution, or Modern Medicine Before 1850," *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 51 (1977), 464–83.
7 W. F. Bynum, "Cullen and the State of Fevers in Britain, 1760–1820," *Medical History, Supplement 9* (1981), 135–47; 145.
8 For more on the ways in which political attiudes affected medical concepts and practice during this period, see Ian A. Burney, "Medicine in the Age of Reform," *Rethinking the Age of Reform: Britain 1780–1850* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 163–81.
9 "Letter to William Elliot (1795)," *Writings and Speeches of Edmund Burke*, IX: 40–41.
10 On Burke and medical metaphors for the French Revolution, see Tom Furniss, *Edmund Burke's Aesthetic Ideology*, 122–37.
11 Richard Price, *A Discourse on the Love of our Country* (5th ed., 1790), in *Political Writings of the 1790s*, ed. Claeys, III: 3–22; 22.
12 Quoting the 1850 *Prelude* from *The Prelude 1799, 1805, 1850*, ed. Wordsworth, Abrams, and Gill, 6: 445–7.
13 Alan Liu, *Wordsworth*, 178.
14 Wordsworth, *Descriptive Sketches (1793)*, in *Wordsworth: Poetical Works*, ed. Thomas Hutchinson (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1981), 481; lines 774–77.
15 *The Early Letters of William and Dorothy Wordsworth*, ed. Ernest De Selincourt (Oxford: Clarendon, 1935), 121.
16 Seneca, *De Ira*, 1.1.3–5.
17 *The Argus,* October 1795, 4.
18 *Ibid.*, February 13, 1796; 346.

19 *Sherwin's Political Register* (London, 1817–19), April 1, 1817; 12.
20 *Hone's Reformist Register, and Weekly Commentary* (London, 1817), April 5, 1817; 326.
21 Robert Southey, "[Review of *Propositions for ameliorating the Condition of the Poor* . . . by P. Calquhoun]," *Quarterly Review* 8 (December 1812), 348–51.
22 S. T. Coleridge, *Collected Letters*, 1: 115; 1: 145. Coleridge would republish this address in *The Friend* (1818); see *The Friend*, 2 vols., ed. B. E. Rooke (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1969), 1: 337–8.
23 S. T. Coleridge, *Lectures 1795, On Politics and Religion*, ed. Lewis Patton and Peter Mann (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1969), 48–49.
24 *The Prose Works of William Wordsworth*, 1: 321.
25 During the Napoleonic wars, Coleridge wrote in terms that echo Wordsworth's, "Of the French Revolution I can give my thoughts most adequately in words of scripture: 'A great and strong wind rent the mountains, and brake in pieces the rocks before the Lord; but the Lord was not in the wind.'" *The Political Thought of Samuel Taylor Coleridge*, Part 2 (London: Jonathan Cape, 1938), 40.
26 Quoted in Joel Morkan, "Wrath and Laughter: Milton's Ideas of Satire," *Studies in Philology* 69 (1972), 475–95; 479.
27 Quoted in Jeanne Moskal, *Blake, Ethics, and Forgiveness* (Tucaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1994), 120.
28 A survey of Blake's uses of "revenge" and its cognates reveals its overwhelming association with things Blake abhors: secrecy, hypocrisy, cruelty, and self-destruction. In the fragment, "then she bore pale Desire," Revenge is the child of Strife and the grandchild of Envy (E, 446–48). In "The Grey Monk," the "hand of Vengeance" succeeds in crushing "the Tyrants Head," only to become "a Tyrant in his stead" (E, 489–90); see David Erdman, *Blake: Prophet Against Empire*, 416–20, for a discussion of this poem in relation to revolution and reaction in France. Finally, in Blake's late work, *The Ghost of Abel* (1822), the world rejoices at the banishment of a vengeful Abel, who calls himself "the Accuser & Avenger / Of blood" whose "soul in fumes of blood / Cries for vengeance (E, 270–72). Revenge seemed to Blake a development directly opposed to imaginative and creative action.
29 Ferdinand Brunot, *Histoire de la Langue Française des Origines à 1900*, 3rd ed., 13 vols. (Paris: A. Colin, 1924), IX: 843–44.
30 George Lefebvre, *The French Revolution*, trans. Elizabeth Moss Evanson, 2 vols. (London: Routledge, 1962–64), 1: 139.
31 J. M. Thompson, *The French Revolution* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1945), 517.
32 *Oxford English Dictionary*, XIII: 257.
33 Northrop Frye, *Fearful Symmetry: A Study of William Blake* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1972), 401.
34 Emanuel Swedenborg, *The Wisdom of the Angels Concerning Divine Love and Divine Wisdom* [trans. N. Tucker] (London, 1788), 55–56.

35 *Milton* also ends with a scene of apocalyptic wrath, as "Los listens to the Cry of the Poor Man: his Cloud / Over London in volume terrific, low bended in anger," as "All Animals upon the Earth are prepard in all their strength / To go forth to the Great Harvest & Vintage of the Nations" (E, 144).
36 Homer, *Iliad*, trans. Richmond Lattimore (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1951), Book 1, lines 44–49.
37 Compare Blake's notebook poem, "Day," which employs a similar image: "The Sun arises in the East, / Cloth'd in robes of blood & gold; / Swords & spears & wrath increast / All around his bosom roll'd, / Crown'd with warlike fires & raging desires" (E, 473).
38 François-René Chateaubriand, *The Genius of Christianity*, trans. and ed. Charles I. White (New York: H. Fertig, 1976), 357.
39 John Milton, *Paradise Lost*, Book 3, lines 80–87.
40 Morton Paley, *Energy and the Imagination: A Study of the Development of Blake's Thought* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1970), 45.
41 Vincent A. De Luca, *Words of Eternity: Blake and the Poetics of the Sublime* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991), 55.
42 Longinus, *On the Sublime*, 59.

4 PROVOCATION AND THE PLOT OF ANGER

1 Philip Fisher, "Thinking about Killing: *Hamlet* and the Paths among the Passions," *Raritan* (Summer 1991) 43–77; 57.
2 See chapter 2. On this aspect of medical history and its relation to revolutionary ideologies, see Peter H. Niebyl, "The English Bloodletting Revolution,"; and W. F. Bynum, "Cullen and the State of Fevers in Britain, 1760–1820."
3 Jeremy Horder, *Provocation and Responsibility* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1992), 86.
4 Peter Marshall, *William Godwin* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1984), 155; and Gary Kelly, *The English Jacobin Novel 1780–1805* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1976), 211.
5 See Ian Ousby, "'My Servant Caleb': Godwin's *Caleb Williams* and the Political Trials of the 1790s," *University of Toronto Quarterly* 44 (1974), 47–55; Marilyn Butler, "Godwin, Burke, and *Caleb Williams*," *Essays in Criticism* 32:3 (July 1982), 237–57; Kelvin Everest and Gavin Edwards, "William Godwin's *Caleb Williams*: Truth and 'Things as They Are'," in *1789: Reading Writing Revolution*, ed. Francis Barker *et al.* (Essex: University of Essex, 1982); Ronald Paulson, *Representations of Revolution*, 230–39; and Kenneth Graham, *The Politics of Narrative: Ideology and Social Change in William Godwin's "Caleb Williams"* (New York: AMS Press, 1990).
6 For the only other consideration of Alexander's function in Godwin's novel, see Nancy A. Mace, "Hercules and Alexander: Classical Allusion in *Caleb Williams*," *English Language Notes* 25:3 (1988), 39–44.
7 S. T. Coleridge, *Biographia Literaria*, 1: 10.

8 William Godwin, *The Adventures of Caleb Williams or Things as They Are*, ed. David McCracken (New York: Norton, 1977), 109.

9 The relevant passage is Prideaux's judgment that "in Reality, were all his actions duly estimated, [Alexander] could deserve no other Character, than that of the great Cut-throat of the age in which he liv'd"; Caleb paraphrases several other of Prideaux's comments in the conversation that follows. See Humphrey Prideaux, *The Old and New Testaments Connected in the History of the Jews and Neighbouring Nations*, 2 vols. (London: 1716–19), 1: 700ff.

10 Although Caleb mentions Jonathan Wild in this passage, he may also be referring to Fielding's "A Dialogue between Alexander the Great and Diogenes the Cynic," *Miscellanies by Henry Fielding, Esq.*, vol. 1, ed. Henry Knight Miller (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 1972), 226ff. *The Life of Mr. Jonathan Wild the Great* was published as volume III of the *Miscellanies,* and does begin with disparaging remarks on Alexander, whom Fielding despised.

11 William Godwin, *Enquiry Concerning Political Justice*, ed. F. E. L. Priestly, 3 vols. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1946), 1: 8.

12 Mace notes similarly that "The ambiguous reputation of Alexander is closely related to Caleb's confused attitude towards Falkland" ("Hercules and Alexander," 42). Furthermore, Caleb and Falkland here seem to present the two halves of Godwin's own view of Alexander. As Rudolf Storch says of Caleb and Falkland, "the two characters are not separate and interacting, but aspects of one and the same soul." Of course, this is true insofar as the "soul" is Godwin's. See "Metaphors of Private Guilt and Social Rebellion in Godwin's *Caleb Williams*," *ELH* 34:2 (1967), 188–207; 192.

13 Mace elides all of these distinctions regarding Tyrrel when she writes, "Like Alexander, Falkland is capable of turning on those most loyal to him and destroying them when they least expect it" ("Hercules and Alexander," 41). However, her point is well taken in regard to my identification of Caleb with Clitus.

14 Godwin owned Plutarch's *Lives of Noble Grecians and Romanes*, trans. Thomas North (1612), and Curtius' *Actes of the Great Alexander*, trans. John Brende (1561). See Seamus Deane, ed., "William Godwin," *Sale Catalogues of Libraries of Eminent Persons*, vol. VIII (London: Mansell, 1973), 296, 316. Godwin was admittedly reading Plutarch in the early 1790s (Marshall, *William Godwin*, 87). For the relevant passages in later editions, see Plutarch, "Alexander," *Plutarch's Lives*, trans. and ed. A. H. Clough and W. W. Goodwin, 5 vols. (New York: Centenary Co., 1905), IV: 226; and Quintus Curtius Rufus, *The History of Alexander the Great,* trans. Peter Pratt, 2 vols., rev. ed. (London: 1821), II: 217. Arrian is the other important historian of this episode of Alexander's life; see William Harris, *Restraining Rage*, 235–37.

15 Euripides, *Children of Heracles, Hippolytus, Andromache, Hecuba*, trans. and ed. David Kovacs (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1995), 337 (lines 693ff.).

16 Karen Weisman, "Provocation and Person-hood: Romanticism *In Extremis*," *European Romantic Review* 9:2 (Spring 1998),177–86; 182.
17 *A Complete Collection of State Trials…from the Earliest Period to the Present Time,* ed. T. B. Howell, vol. XI (London, 1813), 1224.
18 This was Thomas De Quincey's reading of the case, as he put it in an essay on Godwin written from a Victorian vantage: "no man could severely have blamed [Falkland], nor would our English law have severely punished him, if, in the frenzy of his agitation, he had seized a poker and laid his assailant dead upon the spot. Such allowance does the natural feeling of men…make for human infirmity when tried to extremity by devilish provocation." "William Godwin," in *The Collected Writings of Thomas De Quincey*, ed. David Masson, 21 vols. (New York: AMS Press, 1968), XI: 329.
19 Plutarch, "Concerning the Cure of Anger," *Essays and Miscellanies*, ed. A. H. Clough and W. W. Goodwin, 5 vols. (New York: Colonial Co., 1905), I: 43.
20 Samuel Johnson, in "The Folly of Anger," in *The Rambler*, ed. W. J. Bate and A. B. Strauss, 3 vols. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1969), I: 67.
21 S. T. Coleridge, *Notebooks*, I: 979; "Recantation, Illustrated in the Story of The Mad Ox," *Complete Poetical Works of Samuel Taylor Coleridge*, ed. E. H. Coleridge, 2 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon, 1912), I: 301.
22 Seneca, *De Ira*, 2.12.6; 3.5.4–5. It is worth noting that Seneca cites the Alexander–Clitus story in illustration of kings whose tyrannous anger corrupted their judgement (3.17.1).
23 Edward Young, *A Vindication of Providence*, 28–29.
24 It should be remembered that Alexander consciously adopted as a role model Homer's Achilles, the original of all reputation-conscious, angry men whose rage leads to tragic consequences.
25 S. T. Coleridge, *Collected Letters*, I: 145.
26 On Godwin's fear of the consequences of the "progressive polarization of political conflict" in England of the 1790s, see Mark Philp, "Thompson, Godwin, and the French Revolution," *History Workshop Journal* 39 (1995), 89–101; 93.
27 Coleridge, *Lectures 1795*, 283; 285.
28 *Senator* XIII (1795), 213.
29 Quoted in Coleridge, *Lectures 1795*, 286.
30 James Gillray's famous image entitled *French Liberty and British Slavery* (1792) illustrates this conservative fantasy, depicting a plump British subject dining on a mammoth slab of beef while exclaiming, "Oh! this cursed Ministry…They're making Slaves of us all, & starving us to Death!" His outrage at the government seems to be a mere echo of radical rhetoric (linked to French principles), bearing no relation to the physical world wherein insurrectionary violence takes place.
31 Coleridge is also at pains to identify the mob as "ignorant" and their indignation as "misplaced." In so doing, he reveals the conflicted attitude of the middle-class radicals towards popular anger, an energy they both courted and feared.

32 Paulson, *Representations of Revolution*, 49, 55.
33 A. J. Greimas, "On Anger: A Lexical Semantic Study," in *On Meaning: Selected Writings in Semiotic Theory*, trans. Paul J. Perron and Frank H. Collins (London: Frances Pinter, 1987), 148–64; 148–49.
34 For more on this episode, see Peter Marshall's biography of Godwin, *William Godwin*, 141ff.
35 William Godwin, *Considerations on Lord Grenville's and Mr. Pitt's Bills, concerning treasonable and seditious practicies, and unlawful assemblies* (London, 1794), 21.
36 See, for example, Maggie Kilgour, *The Rise of the Gothic Novel* (London: Routledge, 1995), 47ff.; and Devendra P. Varma, *The Gothic Flame* (London: Arthur Baker, 1957), 135ff.
37 Joanna Baillie, *A Series of Plays: 1798*, facsimile with an introduction by Jonathan Wordsworth (New York: Woodstock, 1990), 10.
38 A suggestive psychoanalytic reading of anger in Mary Shelley's life and her novel is U. C. Knoepflmacher's "Thoughts on the Aggression of Daughters," in *The Endurance of Frankenstein*, ed. George Levine and U. C. Knoepflmacher (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979), 88–119.
39 For a brief comparison of the novels, see A. D. Harvey, " *Frankenstein* and *Caleb Williams*," *Keats–Shelley Journal* 29 (1988), 21–27.
40 James O'Rourke, "'Nothing More Unnatural': Mary Shelley's Revision of Rousseau," *ELH* 56:3 (Fall 1989), 543–69; 550.
41 Lee Sterrenburg, "Mary Shelley's Monster: Politics and Psyche in *Frankenstein*," in *The Endurance of Frankenstein*, ed. Levine and, Knoepflmacher, 143–71; 152–53.
42 Jane Blumberg, *Mary Shelley's Early Novels* (London: Macmillan, 1993), 33.
43 Ronald Paulson, "Gothic Fiction and the French Revolution," *Journal of English Literary History* 48 (1981), 532–53; Anne Mellor, *Mary Shelley: Her Life, Her Fiction, Her Monsters* (New York: Routledge, 1988), 82–83.
44 On this theme, see David Marshall, *The Surprising Effects of Sympathy: Marivaux, Diderot, Rosseau, and Mary Shelley* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988).
45 Mary Shelley, *Frankenstein, or The Modern Prometheus: The 1818 Text*, ed. Marilyn Butler (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), 111.
46 Thomas Brown, *Lectures on the Philosophy of the Human Mind*, 20th ed. (London: Tegg, 1860), 435.
47 An exception is Roswitha Burwick, "Goethe's *Werther* and Mary Shelley's *Frankenstein*," *The Wordsworth Circle* 24:1 (Winter 1993), 47–52. On the importance of reading in the novel, see chapter 3 of Chris Baldick's *In Frankenstein's Shadow: Myth, Monstrosity, and Nineteenth-Century Writing* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1987), as well as Anne McWhir, "Teaching the Monster to Read: Mary Shelley, Education and *Frankenstein*," in *The Educational Legacy of Romanticism*, ed. John Willinsky (Waterloo: Calgary Institute for the Humanities, 1990), and Lee E. Heller, " *Frankenstein* and the Cultural Uses of the Gothic," in *Mary Shelley: Frankenstein*, Case Studies in

Contemporary Criticism, ed. Johanna M. Smith (Boston: Bedford, 1993), 325–43.

48 Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, *The Sufferings of Young Werther and Elective Affinities* (The German Library, vol. 19), ed. Victor Lange (New York: Continuum, 1990), 15.

5 SHELLEY AND THE MASKS OF ANGER

1 William Butler Yeats, *A Vision* (New York: Macmillan, 1965), 138–39.

2 Gerald McNeice, *Shelley and the Revolutionary Idea* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1969), 38.

3 Donald Reiman, "Shelley and the Human Condition," in *Shelley: Poet and Legislator of the World*, ed. Betty T. Bennett and Stuart Curran (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996), 3–13; 6. For more on this quality of Shelley's imagination, see Art Young, *Shelley and Nonviolence* (The Hague: Mouton, 1975).

4 Steven Jones, *Shelley's Satire: Violence, Exhortation, and Authority*, 5, 15.

5 As G. Kim Blank has remarked, the "new picturing of Shelley" in contemporary criticism often involves "dialectical constructs" such as this one, being a study of Shelley's attempts to "poetically and intellectually . . . negotiate . . . conflicting and contrary pulls"; see her "Introduction" to *The New Shelley* (New York: St. Martin's, 1991), 2. Similarly, William Keach, in "Shelley and the Revolutionary Left," in *Evaluating Shelley*, ed. Timothy Clark and Jerrold E. Hogle (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1996), 75–90, makes a case for the "indeterminacy" of Shelley's political poetry, which combines "powerful political protest" and "complications and contradictions and fears" (85–86).

6 The formulation is based on Jürgen Habermas's analysis of the changing role of discourse in the formation of the bourgeois public sphere. See *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere*.

7 On this theme in satire, see Howard Weinbrot, "Masked Men and Satire and Pope: Toward a Historical Basis for the Eighteenth-Century Persona," *Eighteenth Century Studies* 16:3 (1983), 265–89, esp. 279ff.

8 *Shelley's Prose, or The Trumpet of a Prophecy*, ed. David Lee Clark (New York: New Amsterdam Press, 1988), 350.

9 For more on Shelley's turn from Christianity to Grecian ideologies, see Timothy Webb, "Shelley's Religion of Joy," *Studies in Romanticism* 15 (1976), 357–82.

10 Horace, Book II, Satire I, *The Satires of Horace in Latin and English*, trans. Philip Francis, 8th ed. (London, 1778), 147.

11 See for example Jonson's "apologeticall Dialogue" to *The Poetaster*, ed. Herbert S. Mallory, Yale Studies in English 27 (New York: Henry Holt, 1905), lines 145ff.; and Pope's Horatian "Epilogue to the Satires. Dialogue 2," in *Pope: Poetical Works*, ed. Herbert Davis (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1966), lines 415ff.

12 *Letters of Percy Bysshe Shelley*, ed. Roger Ingpen, 2 vols. (New York: Scribner's, 1909), II: 383.

13 These lines survive only in an extremely rough–draft state. Quotations are from the diplomatic transcription in Steven Jones, "Shelley's Fragment of a 'Satire upon Satire': A Complete Transcription of the Text with Commentary," *Keats–Shelley Journal* 37 (1988), 136–63; 141. The "Parthian arrow": the ancient Parthians were known for shooting arrows from horseback while in flight from their targets (the "Parthian shot"), and Shelley uses this as a figure for Southey's cowardice. In a cancelled passage from the preface to *Adonais*, Shelley again speaks of Southey as a "Parthian" who "discharged . . . the shaft" at Keats and at Shelley himself. See *"Adonais": A Critical Edition*, ed. Anthony D. Knerr (New York: Columbia University Press, 1984), 187.

14 Jones, "Shelley's Fragment," 142.

15 In *The Fictions of Satire* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1967), Ronald Paulson makes the point that having a "task" or "job" is "a *sine qua non* of satire" (4). It must endeavor to instruct and blame, and "to the extent that satire attacks, it is rhetorical" (3).

16 For more on Shelley's recasting of the romance tradition, see David Duff, *Romance and Revolution: Shelley and the Politics of a Genre* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994); and Stuart Curran's *Poetic Form and British Romanticism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986).

17 Edmund Spenser, *The Faerie Queene*, 1.8.45.

18 John Milton, *Paradise Lost*, IV.800–19.

19 Whether Ithuriel's tolerance makes him an ineffectual angel is a nice question. His spear does unmask Satan, but it takes the "grave rebuke" and angry threats of Zephon and Gabriel to evict Satan from the garden (IV:844ff.). Like Ithuriel, Shelley wants to avoid anger while denouncing evil; yet like Gabriel, he can also relish the thought of (someone else's) "anger infinite provoked" against his enemies (IV:916). Both amount to a rhetorical deferral of personal rage.

20 See, for example, Earl R. Wasserman's *Shelley: A Critical Reading* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1971), 260. I take my text from *Shelley's Poetry and Prose*, ed. Donald H. Reiman and Neil Fraistat, 2nd ed. (New York: Norton, 2002), act I, line 53. All further quotations are from this edition, unless otherwise specified.

21 This notoriously difficult passage has been variously construed. Charles Vivian, in "The One 'Mont Blanc,'" in *Shelley's Poetry and Prose*, ed. Donald Reiman and Sharon Powers (New York: Norton, 1977), 575, and Donald Reiman read the pronouns in lines 47–48 ("till the breast / From which they fled recalls them") as referring to the "shadows" and "Ghosts" of lines 45–46. Closer to my interpretation is Wasserman, in *Shelley: A Critical Reading*, who sees that the pronouns refer to the "legion of wild thoughts," although he reads the "breast" of line 47 as belonging to the "One Mind," not the poet himself (227–28). In *Shelley's Mythmaking* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1969), 29–30, Harold Bloom recognizes that the "breast"

belongs to the poet, but asserts, like Vivian and Reiman, that the pronouns "they" and "them" refer to the "shadows" and "Ghosts."

22 For example, see his early poem, "To Death" (1810), which reads in part: "Tremble, ye Kings whose luxury mocks the woe / That props thy column of unnatural state, / Ye, the curses deep, tho' low, / From misery's tortured breast that flow, / Shall usher to your fate" (lines 39–43). My text is from Shelley's *Esdaile Notebook*, ed. K. N. Cameron (New York: Knopf, 1964), 74–76.

23 Quoted in N. I. White, *Shelley*, 2 vols. (New York: Knopf, 1940), 1: 38.

24 For the background of this aspect of satire, see Robert C. Elliott's *Power of Satire: Magic, Ritual, Art* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1960).

25 Matthew Arnold reports this oath as, "Here I swear, and as I break my oaths, may Infinity, Eternity, blast me – here I swear that never will I forgive intolerance"; see his essay "Shelley," from the *Essays in Criticism, Second Series*, in *The Works of Matthew Arnold*, 15 vols. (London: Macmillan, 1903), IV: 151–85; 159.

26 Thomas Medwin, *Conversations of Lord Byron*, ed. Ernest J. Lovell (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1966), 238.

27 Maynard Mack, "The Muse of Satire," *Yale Review* 41 (1951), 80–92; 91.

28 Jonathan Swift, *Gulliver's Travels*, ed. Peter Dixon and John Chalker (New York: Penguin, 1967), 325.

29 "To Sidmouth and Castlereagh: Similes for Two Political Characters of 1819," in *Shelley: Poetical Works*, ed. Thomas Hutchinson and G. M. Matthews (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), 573, lines 16–20.

30 Steven Behrendt calls this poem and others like it "battle cries" that exhibit "a savagery not ordinarily associated with Shelley"; *Shelley and his Audiences* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1989), 192.

31 Other Shelley poems that follow this trajectory are *Queen Mab*, "The Crisis," "Ode to Liberty," and *Hellas*.

32 Wasserman (*Shelley: A Critical Reading*), Stuart Curran (*Shelley's Annus Mirabilis: The Maturing of an Epic Vision* [San Marino: Huntington Library, 1975]), Michael Scrivener (*Radical Shelley: The Philosophical Anarchism and Utopian Thought of Percy Bysshe Shelley* [Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1982]), and Morton Paley ("Apocapolitics: Allusion and Structure in Shelley's *Mask of Anarchy*," *Huntington Library Quarterly* 54 [1991], 91–109) all consider Shelley's interest in masque and anti-masque. Other considerations of Shelley's use of the masque genre include Jerrold E. Hogle, *Shelley's Process* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988), 136–38; Richard Cronin, *Shelley's Poetic Thoughts* (New York: St. Martin's, 1981), 51–53; and Kenneth Neil Cameron, *Shelley: The Golden Years* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1974), 346–47.

33 Stephen Orgel, *The Illusion of Power: Political Theatre in the English Renaissance* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1975), 40.

34 "Pleasure Reconciled to Virtue," in *Ben Jonson's Plays and Masques*, ed. Robert M. Adams (New York: Norton, 1979), lines 105–12; my emphasis.

35 On Milton's transformation of the masque genre in this manner, see, most recently, Barbara K. Lewalski, "Milton's *Comus* and the Politics of Masquing," in *The Politics of the Stuart Court Masque*, ed. David Bevington and Peter Holbrook (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 296–320.

36 John Milton, "A Mask Presented at Ludlow Castle (Comus)," in *Poems: Selections*, ed. Jonathan Goldberg and Stephen Orgel (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994), 62, lines 696–98.

37 Curran observes that the poem accomplishes a "purposeful transcendence" of its satiric beginnings by presenting, as the second half of the poem, "the main masque, the codification of true authority and harmony through the stripping of the masks of power that conceal its abuse" (*Shelley's Annus Mirabilis*, 191). Lisa Vargo agrees, and would include the monarchical masque genre itself as one of those masks of power; she sees that Shelley's use of "the mask/masque pun subverts the pageantry and flattery of the masque" by revealing the deception and corruption at the heart of English rule ("Unmasking Shelley's *Mask of Anarchy*," *English Studies in Canada* 13:1 [1987], 49–64; 53). Jones sees this masque of unmasking as having analogues in popular forms of satiric entertainment, such as the pantomime, "in which dark grotesques are stopped, unmasked, and the scene transformed . . . sometimes from the dark into a sublime display of an illuminated apotheosis" (*Shelley's Satire*, 116). As Jones puts it, the "stripping away of masks" is an "inherently satiric" activity (115). Vargo and Jones also assert that Shelley wrote the poem "in a spirit of aggression" (Vargo, "Unmasking Shelley's *Mask of Anarchy*," 51) and indignation inspired by the Peterloo massacre (Jones, *Shelley's Satire*, 5; 99).

38 Carl Woodring, *Politics and English Romantic Poetry* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1970), 266.

39 As Reiman and Fraistat note, the "bloodhounds" accompanying Castlereagh recall "the pro-war advocates in Pitt's administration," who "had been popularly known as the 'bloodhounds'" (*Shelley's Poetry and Prose*, 316n.2).

40 Reprinted in R. Brimley Johnson, ed., *Shelley–Leigh Hunt: How Friendship Made History*, 2nd ed. (New York: Haskell House, 1972), 77.

41 W. B. Yeats, "The Philosophy of Shelley's Poetry," in *Ideas of Good and Evil* (London: A. H. Bullen, 1907), 140–41.

6 BYRON'S CURSE

1 See for example Claude M. Fuess, *Lord Byron as a Satirist in Verse* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1912); Frederick L. Beaty, *Byron the Satirist* ; Thomas Lockwood, *Post-Augustan Satire* and Jerome Christensen, "Marino Faliero and the Fault of Byron's Satire," *Studies in Romanticism* 24:3 (Fall 1985), 313–33. The title of Robert Gleckner's important essay, "From Selfish Spleen to Equanimity: Byron's Satires," *Studies in Romanticism* 18 (1979), 173–205, defines a trajectory of development towards the "equanimity and

poise of spirit" of *Don Juan* and away from Byron's angry poetry. Steven Jones, in *Satire and Romanticism*, focuses on Byron's "The Blues" and *Don Juan* (which he connects to the pantomime), and Jane Stabler, in *Byron, Poetics, and History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), concentrates on digression in the satires, especially Don Juan.

2 Jerome McGann, *Towards a Literature of Knowledge* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989), 39.

3 Jerome McGann "Hero with a Thousand Faces: The Rhetoric of Byronism," *Studies in Romanticism* 31 (1992), 295–313; 295.

4 Jerome Christensen, *Lord Byron's Strength: Romantic Writing and Commercial Society* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993), xviii.

5 Jerome McGann "Byron and the Anonymous Lyric," *Byron Journal* (1992), 27–45 ; "Byron and 'the Truth in Masquerade,'" in *Romantic Revisions*, ed. R. Brinkley and Keith Hanley, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 191–209; "Rethinking Romanticism," *ELH* 59:3 (1992), 735–54; "'My Brain is Feminine': Byron and the Poetry of Deception," in *Byron: Augustan and Romantic*, ed. Andrew Rutherford (New York: St. Martin's, 1990), 26–51; and the chapter of *Towards a Literature of Knowledge* entitled "Lord Byron's Twin Opposites of Truth." McGann's individual essays on Byron have been revised and collected in *Byron and Romanticism*, ed. James Soderholm (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002).

6 *Pope: Poetical Works*, 337, lines. 326–33.

7 See John Kerrigan *Revenge Tragedy: Aeschylus to Armageddon* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1996).

8 Charles Lamb, in Jonathan Bate, ed., *The Romantics on Shakespeare* (New York: Penguin, 1991), 114.

9 Robert Langbaum, *The Poetry of Experience: The Dramatic Monologue in the Modern Literary Tradition* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1957; rpt. 1985), 72; 52.

10 See Suzanne Guerlac's "Longinus and the Subject of the Sublime," 285.

11 John Fawcett, *An Essay on Anger*, 2nd ed. (Philadelphia: W. Duane, 1809), 45–46.

12 Thomas Brown, *Lectures on the Philosophy of the Human Mind*, 20th ed., 435.

13 Joanna Baillie, *A Series of Plays: 1798*, 10.

14 Thomas Carlyle, in"Burns (1828)," *Critical and Miscellaneous Essays*, 5 vols. Centenary Edition (London, 1899), 1: 269.

15 Thomas Carlyle, "Corn-Law Rhymes (1832)," in *Critical and Miscellaneous Essays*, 111: 153, 166.

16 Letter of April 28, 1832, quoted in Charles Richard Sanders, "The Byron Closed in *Sartor Resartus*," *Studies in Romanticism* 3 (1964), 77–108; 101.

17 Samuel Johnson, "The Folly of Anger," in *The Rambler*, 1: 59.

18 See, for example, Derrida's discussion of writing as a supplement to memory in "Plato's Pharmacy," in *Dissemination*, trans. Barbara Johnson (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981), 61–171. For specific application to the

Romantic scene of writing, see Tilottama Rajan, *The Supplement of Reading: Figures of Understanding in Romantic Theory and Practice* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1990), esp. chapter 1.

19 Peter Manning, *Byron and His Fictions* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1978), 93.

20 Daniel McVeigh, "Manfred's Curse," *Studies in English Literature* 22 (1982), 601–12; 603–4.

21 McGann "Byron and 'the Truth in Masquerade,'" 16–17.

22 My text is from the original stone tablet erected over the dog's grave at Newstead Abbey, as recorded in Andrew Stauffer, "Byron's Monumental Epitaph for His Dog Boatswain," *The Byron Journal* 26 (1998), 82–90. The quoted lines correspond to lines 15–20 in *CPW* (1:225).

23 Philip Fisher, "Thinking about Killing: *Hamlet* and the Paths Among the Passions," 43–77; 57, 66.

24 Like Stabler in *Byron, Poetics, and History*, but with darker overtones, I take it that one of Byron's great strengths is his ability to elaborate reciprocal relationships with specific contemporary audiences.

25 G. Wilson Knight, *Poets of Action* (London: Metheun, 1967), 280.

26 Byron also has the "Nemesis" passage from *Childe Harold* canto 3 on his mind; as he darkly gloated to Lady Byron regarding Romilly's suicide, "It was not in vain that I invoked Nemesis in the Midnight of Rome from the awfullest of her Ruins. – — Fare you well" (*BLJ*, VI: 80–1).

27 *Lady Blessington's Conversations with Lord Byron*, ed. Ernest J. Lovell, Jr. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1969), 156–57.

28 Theresa Guiccioli, *My Recollections of Lord Byron: and Those of Eye-Witnesses of His Life*, 2 vols. (London: R. Bentley, 1869), II: 131.

29 *The Complete Plays of Ben Jonson*, ed. G. A. Wilkes, 4 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon, 1981), II:226, lines 156–65.

30 Ian Donaldson, "Jonson and Anger," in *English Satire and the Satiric Tradition*, ed. Claude Rawson (Oxford: Blackwell, 1984), 56–71; 57.

31 "*The Mourning Bride* (1697)," in *The Complete Plays of William Congreve*, ed. Herbert Davis (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1967), 317-88; act 3, line 457.

32 *The Works of Lord Byron: Poetry*, ed. E. H. Coleridge, 7 vols. (London: John Murray, 1898-1904), III: 60. On the textual history of this poem, see Andrew Stauffer, "Byron, Medwin, and the False Fiend: Remembering 'Remember Thee,'" *Studies in Bibliography* 53 (2000), 265–76.

33 *The Works of Lord Byron: Letters and Journals*, ed. R. J. Prothero, 6 vols. (London: John Murray, 1898–1904), II: 451.

34 *Lady Morgan's Memoirs: Autobiography, Diaries, and Correspondence*, 2 vols. (New York: AMS Press, 1975), 2: 207.

35 William Wordsworth, "Ode: Intimations of Immortality," *The Poems*, 529, lines 178–79.

36 Wordsworth, "Lines Composed a Few Miles above Tintern Abbey," *The Poems*, 358, line 41.

37 Thomas Medwin, *Conversations of Lord Byron*, 142. Byron also remarked in his journal for 1813, "[I] was not easy till I had vented my wrath and my rhyme, in the same pages, against every thing and every body" (*BLJ*, III: 213).
38 W. B. Yeats, *The Poems*, ed. Richard J. Finneran (London: Macmillan, 1984), 197, lines 119–20.
39 On this poem, see Jerome McGann, "Byron's First Tale: An Unpublished Fragment," *Keats–Shelley Memorial Bulletin* 19 (1968), 18–23.
40 Friedrich Nietzsche, *Thus Spoke Zarathustra: A Book for Everyone and No One*, trans. and ed. R. J. Hollingdale (New York: Penguin, 1969), 162.
41 John Milton, *Paradise Lost*, I: 84ff.
42 Byron's fascination with exacting vengeance seems to have provoked Blake to write *The Ghost of Abel*. Blake dedicated the poem "To LORD BYRON in the Wilderness," and asked of Byron, "What doest thou here / Elijah?" See E, 270
43 *Shelley's Poetry and Prose*, lines 139–45.
44 This same dynamic can be found in Revelation, when the Christian martyrs exclaim, "How long, O lord . . . ? Dost thou not judge and avenge our blood?" and in response are given the natural-supernatural pyrotechnics of the *dies irae*:

> The sun became black as sackcloth of hair, and the moon became as blood . . . And the stars of heaven fell unto the earth, even as a fig tree casteth her untimely figs . . . And the heaven departed as a scroll when it is rolled together; and every mountain and island were moved out of their places. (6:12–14)

"The great day of [the Lord's] wrath" (6:17) arrives, with the created universe as the expressive vehicle of that emotion, catalyzed by the angry voice of the martyr's blood. Emphasizing this specific channel of sympathy, the moon assumes a sanguinary aspect.

EPILOGUE

1 On the relationship of the "Hyperion" poems to contemporary events, see Vincent Newey, "'Alternate uproar and sad peace': Keats, Politics, and the Idea of Revolution," *MHRA Yearbook of English Studies* 19 (1989), 265–89. On the general attitude of the poems towards history, see Michael O'Neill, "'When this warm scribe my hand': Writing and History in *Hyperion* and *The Fall of Hyperion*," in *Keats and History*, ed. Nicholas Roe (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 143–64.
2 "Hyperion: A Fragment," *John Keats: The Oxford Authors*, ed. Elizabeth Cook (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990), 1: 181–82, 213–17. Further quotations from Keats's poetry are from this edition.
3 *Selected Letters of John Keats*, ed. Grant F. Scott, rev. ed. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2002), 270–71.
4 Shelley writes, "A Poet is a nightingale who sits in darkness, and sings to cheer its own solitude with sweet sounds; his auditors are as men entranced

by the melody of an unseen musician, who feel that they are moved and softened, yet know not whence or why"; see "A Defence of Poetry," in *Shelley's Poetry and Prose*, ed. Reiman and Fraistat 509–35; 516.

5 On the importance of disinterestedness to the moral and aesthetic calculations of nineteenth-century England, see Amanda Anderson, *The Powers of Distance: Cosmopolitanism and the Cultivation of Detachment* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001).

6 "Ode to Fear," *The Works of William Collins*, ed. Wendorf and Ryskamp (Oxford: Clarendon, 1979), 27, lines 20–21.

7 Seneca, *De Ira*, 1.1.5.

8 "*Reflections on the Revolution in France* (1790)," in *The Writings and Speeches of Edmund Burke*, 1: 122.

9 See 111.8 ("Dulcis ad hesternas"), for example: "I loved our brawl last night, / Our brawl by the lamplight, / And all the curses of thy raving tongue"; *The Elegies of Propertius*, trans. E. H. W. Meyerstein (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1935), 108.

10 "Story of the Sultana Nourmahal," *The Poetical Works of Thomas Moore*, ed. A. D. Godley (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1910), 000, lines 144–47.

11 On this theme in the work of other female authors of the Romantic period, see Adriana Craciun, *Fatal Women of Romanticism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003).

12 Felicia Hemans, *Records of Woman, With Other Poems*, ed. Paula R. Feldman (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1999), xx. A short list of poems featuring inspired, outraged women would include, in addition to those discussed here, "The Bride of the Greek Isle," "The Switzer's Wife," "Joan of Arc, in Rheims," "The American Forest Girl," "The Sicilian Captive," "The Lady of Provence," and "Woman on the Field of Battle."

13 Gary Kelley, "Death and the Matron: Felicia Hemans, Romantic Death, and Founding of the Modern Liberal State," in *Felicia Hemans: Reimagining Poetry in the Nineteenth Century*, ed. Nanora Sweet and Julie Melnyk (New York: Palgrave, 2001), 196–211; 200.

14 "The Wife of Asdrubal," in *Felicia Hemans: Selected Poems, Prose, and Letters*, ed. Gary Kelley (Peterborough, Ontario: Broadview Press, 2002), 173–76; lines 16–32.

15 Hemans, "The Indian City," *Records of Woman*, ed. Feldman, 47–53; lines 121–36.

16 "On First Looking into Chapman's Homer," in *John Keats: The Oxford Authors*, 32, lines 12–13.

Bibliography

Agulhon, Maurice. *Marianne into Battle: Republican Imagery and Symbolism in France*, trans. Janet Lloyd. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981.

Anderson, Amanda. *The Powers of Distance: Cosmopolitanism and the Cultivation of Detachment*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001.

Anderson, William S. *Anger in Juvenal and Seneca*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1964.

Essays on Roman Satire. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1982.

The Argus; or General Observer. ed. Sampson Perry. Weekly. London: 1789–91; 1795–96.

Aristotle. *The Nicomachean Ethics*, trans. H. Rackham. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1945.

The Poetics, trans. W. Hamilton Fyfe. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1965.

Armstrong, James. *Armstrong: Miscellanies (1770): A Machine-Readable Transcript*. Chadwyck-Healey English Poetry Full-Text Database, 1992.

Arnold, Matthew. "Shelley." *The Works of Matthew Arnold*. 15 vols. London: Macmillan, 1903. IV: 151–85.

Auden, W. H. *The Dyer's Hand, and Other Essays*. London: Faber and Faber, 1975.

Baillie, Joanna. *A Series of Plays: 1798*. Facsimile with an introduction by Jonathan Wordsworth. New York: Woodstock, 1990.

Bainbridge, Simon. *British Poetry and the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars: Visions of Conflict*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002.

Baker, Keith Michael. *Inventing the French Revolution*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990.

Baldick, Chris. *In Frankenstein's Shadow: Myth, Monstrosity, and Nineteenth-Century Writing*. Oxford: Clarendon, 1987.

Barish, Jonas. "Exhibitionism and the Antitheatrical Prejudice." *ELH* 36:1 (1969), 1–29.

Barrell, John. *Imagining the Death of the King: Figurative Treason, Fantasies of Regicide, 1793–1796*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000.

"'Fire, Famine, and Slaughter.'" *Huntington Library Quarterly* 63:3 (2000), 277–98.

Bate, Jonathan, ed. *The Romantics on Shakespeare*. New York: Penguin, 1991.

Batten, Guinn. *The Orphaned Imagination: Melancholy and Commodity Culture in English Romanticism*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1998.
Beaty, L. Fredrick. *Byron the Satirist*. Dekalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 1985.
The Beauties of the Anti-Jacobin; or Weekly Examiner. London, 1799.
Behrendt, Stephen. *Shelley and his Audiences*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1989.
Bennett, Betty T., ed. *British War Poetry in the Age of Romanticism: 1793–1815*. New York: Garland, 1976.
Blake, William. *The Complete Poetry and Prose of William Blake*, ed. David Erdman. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982.
Blank, G. Kim, ed. *The New Shelley*. New York: St. Martin's, 1991.
Blessington, Margaret Power, Countess. *Lady Blessington's Conversations with Lord Byron*, ed. Ernest J. Lovell, Jr. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1969.
Bloom, Harold. *Shelley's Mythmaking*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1969.
Poets of Sensibility and the Sublime. New York: Chelsea House, 1986.
Blumberg, Jane. *Mary Shelley's Early Novels*. London: Macmillan, 1993.
Bowles, John. *Reflections at the Conclusion of the War: Being a Sequel to "Reflections on the Political and Moral State of Society, at the Close of the Eighteenth Century."* 2nd ed. London, 1801.
Braden, Gordon. *Renaissance Tragedy and the Senecan Tradition: Anger's Privilege*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985.
Braund, S. H. *Beyond Anger: A Study of Juvenal's Third Book of Satires*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988.
Brown, Thomas. *Lectures on the Philosophy of the Human Mind*. 20th ed. London: Tegg, 1860.
Brunot, Ferdinand. *Histoire de la Langue Française des Origines à 1900*. 3rd ed. 13 vols. Paris: A. Colin, 1924.
Burke, Edmund. *Letters . . . on the Proposals for Peace with the Regicide Directory of France*. London: F. & C. Rivington, 1796.
The Writings and Speeches of Edmund Burke, gen. ed. Paul Langford. 9 vols. Oxford: Clarendon, 1989–96.
Burney, Ian A. "Medicine in the Age of Reform." *Rethinking the Age of Reform: Britain 1780–1850*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003. 163–81.
Burwick, Roswitha. "Goethe's *Werther* and Mary Shelley's *Frankenstein*." *The Wordsworth Circle* 24:1 (Winter 1993), 47–52.
Butler, Marilyn. *Romantics, Rebels, and Reactionaries*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1981.
"Godwin, Burke, and *Caleb Williams*." *Essays in Criticism* 32:3 (July 1982), 237–57.
Bynum, W. F. "Cullen and the State of Fevers in Britain, 1760–1820." *Medical History, Supplement 9* (1981), 135–47.
Byron, George Gordon, Lord. *The Works of Lord Byron: Poetry*, ed. E. H. Coleridge. 7 vols. London: John Murray, 1898–1904.

The Works of Lord Byron: Letters and Journals, ed. R. J. Prothero, 6 vols. London: John Murray, 1898–1904.
Byron's Letters and Journals, ed. Leslie Marchand. 12 vols. and supplement. London: John Murray, 1973–94.
Lord Byron: The Complete Poetical Works, ed. Jerome J. McGann. 7 vols. Oxford: Clarendon, 1980–93.
Cameron, Kenneth Neil. *Shelley: The Golden Years*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1974.
Carlyle, Thomas. *Critical and Miscellaneous Essays*. 5 vols. Centenary Edition. London, 1899.
Carnochan, W. B. "Satire, Sublimity, and Sentiment: Theory and Practice in Post-Augustan Satire." *PMLA* 85 (1970), 260–67.
Chandler, James. *England in 1819: The Politics of Literary Culture and the Case of Romantic Historicism*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998.
Chateaubriand, François-René. *The Genius of Christianity*, trans. and ed. Charles I. White. New York: H. Fertig, 1976.
"Marino Faliero and the Fault of Byron's Satire." *Studies in Romanticism* 24:3 (Fall 1985), 313–33.
Lord Byron's Strength: Romantic Writing and Commercial Society. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993.
Claeys, Gregory, ed. *Political Writings of the 1790s*. 8 vols. London: Pickering and Chatto, 1995.
Clark, A. F. B. *Boileau and the Classical Critics in England*. Paris: E. Champion, 1925.
Cleveland, John. *The Poems of John Cleveland*, ed. Brian Morris and Eleanor Withington. Oxford: Clarendon, 1967.
Coleridge, Samuel Taylor. *Complete Poetical Works of Samuel Taylor Coleridge*, ed. E. H. Coleridge. 2 vols. Oxford: Clarendon, 1912.
The Political Thought of Samuel Taylor Coleridge. Part 2. London: Jonathan Cape, 1938.
Notebooks of Samuel Taylor Coleridge, ed. Kathleen Coburn and Merton Christensen. 4 vols. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1957–90.
Collected Letters, ed. E. L. Griggs. 6 vols. Oxford: Clarendon, 1959–71.
The Friend, ed. B. E. Rooke. 2 vols. *The Collected Works of Samuel Taylor Coleridge*, vol. IV. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1969.
Lectures 1795, On Politics and Religion, ed. Lewis Patton and Peter Mann. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1969.
Biographia Literaria, ed. James Engell and W. Jackson Bate. 2 vols. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983.
Shorter Works and Fragments, ed. H. J. Jackson and J. R. de J. Jackson. 2 vols. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995.
Poetical Works, ed. J. C. C. Mays. 2 vols. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001.
Collins, William. *The Works of William Collins*, ed. Richard Wendorf and Charles Ryskamp. Oxford: Clarendon, 1979.

Congreve, William. *The Complete Plays of William Congreve*, ed. Herbert Davis. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1967.
Cowper, William. *Cowper: Verse and Letters*, ed. Brian Spiller. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1968.
Craciun, Adriana. *Fatal Women of Romanticism*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003.
Cronin, Richard. *Shelley's Poetic Thoughts*. New York: St. Martin's, 1981.
Curran, Stuart. *Shelley's Annus Mirabilis: The Maturing of an Epic Vision*. San Marino: Huntington Library, 1975.
Poetic Form and British Romanticism. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986.
Davie, Donald. *Trying to Explain*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1979.
Deane, Seamus, ed. "William Godwin." *Sale Catalogues of Libraries of Eminent Persons*, vol. VIII. London: Mansell, 1973.
De Luca, Vincent A. *Words of Eternity: Blake and the Poetics of the Sublime*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991.
De Quincey, Thomas. "William Godwin." *The Collected Writings of Thomas De Quincey*, ed. David Masson. 21 vols. New York: AMS Press, 1968.
Derrida, Jacques. "Plato's Pharmacy." *Dissemination*, trans. Barbara Johnson. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981. 61–171.
Desultory Thoughts on the Atrocious Cruelties of the French Nation. London, 1794.
Dodds, E. R. *The Greeks and the Irrational*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1951.
Donaldson, Ian. "Jonson and Anger." *English Satire and the Satiric Tradition*, ed. Claude Rawson. Oxford: Blackwell, 1984. 56–71.
Dryden, John. *Essays of John Dryden*, ed. W. P. Ker. 2 vols. Oxford: Clarendon, 1926.
Duff, David. *Romance and Revolution: Shelley and the Politics of a Genre*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994.
Dyer, Gary. *British Satire and the Politics of Style*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997.
Eley, Geoff. "Nations, Publics, and Political Cultures: Placing Habermas in the Nineteenth Century." *Habermas and the Public Sphere*, ed. Craig Calhoun. Cambridge, MA: Massachusetts Institute of Technology Press, 1992.
Elliott, Robert C. *Power of Satire: Magic, Ritual, Art*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1960.
Epstein, James. *Radical Expression: Political Language, Ritual and Symbol in England, 1790–1850*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1994.
Erdman, David. *Blake: Prophet Against Empire*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1954.
Euripides. *Children of Heracles, Hippolytus, Andromache, Hecuba*, trans. and ed. David Kovacs. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1995.
Everest, Kelvin and Gavin Edwards. "William Godwin's *Caleb Williams*: Truth and 'Things as They Are,'" *1789: Reading Writing Revolution*, ed. Francis Barker *et al.* Essex: University of Essex Press, 1982.
Fawcett, John. *An Essay on Anger*. 2nd ed. Philadelphia: W. Duane, 1809.

Fielding, Henry. "A Dialogue between Alexander the Great and Diogenes the Cynic." *Miscellanies by Henry Fielding, Esq.*, ed. Henry Knight Miller. Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 1972.

Fisher, Philip. "Thinking about Killing: *Hamlet* and the Paths among the Passions." *Raritan* (Summer 1991), 43–77.

The Vehement Passions. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002.

Fuess, Claude M. *Lord Byron as a Satirist in Verse*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1912.

Furet, François. *Interpreting the French Revolution*, trans. Elborg Foster. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981.

Furniss, Tom. *Edmund Burke's Aesthetic Ideology*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993.

Gay, Peter. *The Cultivation of Hatred: The Bourgeois Experience, Victoria to Freud*, vol. III. New York: Norton, 1993.

George, M. Dorothy, *et al.*, *Catalogue of Political and Personal Satires . . . in the British Museum*. 11 vols. London: Trustees of the British Museum, 1870–1954.

Gilmartin, Kevin. *Print Politics: The Press and Radical Opposition in Early Nineteenth-Century England*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996.

Gleckner, Robert. "From Selfish Spleen to Equanimity: Byron's Satires." *Studies in Romanticism* 18 (1979), 173–205.

Godwin, William. *Considerations on Lord Grenville's and Mr. Pitt's Bills, concerning treasonable and seditious practicies, and unlawful assemblies*. London, 1794.

Enquiry Concerning Political Justice, ed. F. E. L. Priestly. 3 vols. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1946.

Caleb Williams, ed. David McCracken. New York: Norton, 1977.

Goethe, Johann Wolfgang von. *The Sufferings of Young Werther and Elective Affinities*. The German Library, vol. XIX, ed. Victor Lange. New York: Continuum, 1990.

Graham, Kenneth. *The Politics of Narrative: Ideology and Social Change in William Godwin's* "Caleb Williams." New York: AMS Press, 1990.

Gray, Thomas. *Gray and Collins: Poetical Works*, ed. Austin Lane Poole. New York: Oxford University Press, 1937.

Greimas, Algirdas J. "On Anger: A Lexical Semantic Study." *On Meaning: Selected Writings in Semiotic Theory*, trans. Paul J. Perron and Frank H. Collins. London: Frances Pinter, 1987. 148–64.

Guerlac, Suzanne. "Longinus and the Subject of the Sublime." *New Literary History* 16:2 (1985), 275–89.

Guiccioli, Theresa. *My Recollections of Lord Byron: and Those of Eye-Witnesses of His Life*. 2 vols. London: R. Bentley, 1869.

Guilhaumou, Jacques. "Fragments of a Discourse of Denunciation (1789–1794)." *The French Revolution and the Creation of Modern Political Culture. Volume 4: The Terror*, ed. Keith Michael Baker. Oxford: Elsevier Science, 1994. 139–55.

Habermas, Jürgen. *The Structural Transformation of the Pubic Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society*, trans. T. Berger and F. Lawrence. Cambridge, MA: Massachusetts Institute of Technology Press, 1989.

Hanley, Evelyn A. *Stoicism in Major English Poets of the Nineteenth Century*. New York: Haskell House, 1964.

Harris, William. *Restraining Rage: The Ideology of Anger Control in Classical Antiquity*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2002.

Harvey, A. D. "*Frankenstein* and *Caleb Williams*." *Keats–Shelley Journal* 29 (1988), 21–7.

Hawes, Clement. *Mania and Literary Style: The Rhetoric of Enthusiasm from the Ranters to Christopher Smart*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996.

Heller, Lee E. "*Frankenstein* and the Cultural Uses of the Gothic." *Mary Shelley: Frankenstein*, ed. Johanna M. Smith. Case Studies in Contemporary Criticism. Boston: Bedford, 1993. 325–43.

Hemans, Felicia. *Records of Woman, With Other Poems*, ed. Paula R. Feldman Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1999.

Felicia Hemans: Selected Poems, Prose, and Letters, ed. Gary Kelley. Peterborough, Ontario: Broadview Press, 2002.

Hertz, Neil. *The End of the Line: Essays on Psychoanalysis and the Sublime*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1985.

Herzog, Don. *Poisoning the Minds of the Lower Orders*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998.

Highet, Gilbert. *Juvenal the Satirist*. Oxford: Clarendon, 1954.

Hogle, Jerrold E. *Shelley's Process*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988.

Holmes, Richard. *Coleridge: Early Visions, 1772–1804*. New York: Pantheon, 1989.

Coleridge: Darker Reflections, 1804–1834. New York: Pantheon, 1998.

Homer. *Odyssey*, trans. Alexander Pope. London, 1802.

Iliad. trans. Richmond Lattimore. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1951.

Hone's Reformist Register, and Weekly Commentary. Weekly. London, 1817.

Horace. *The Satires of Horace in Latin and English*, trans. Philip Francis. 8th ed. London, 1778.

Selected Poems of Horace. New York: Walter Black, 1947.

Horder, Jeremy. *Provocation and Responsibility*. Oxford: Clarendon, 1992.

Hunt, Lynn. *Politics, Culture, and Class in the French Revolution*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984.

Irlam, Shaun. *Elations: The Poetics of Enthusiasm in Eighteenth-Century Britain*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1999.

Johnson, R. Brimley, ed. *Shelley–Leigh Hunt: How Friendship Made History*. 2nd ed. New York: Haskell House, 1972.

Johnson, Samuel. *The Rambler*, ed. W. J. Bate and A. B. Strauss. 3 vols. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1969.

Jones, Chris. *Radical Sensibility: Literature and Ideas in the 1790s*. London: Routledge, 1993.

Jones, Steven. "Shelley's Fragment of a 'Satire upon Satire': A Complete Transcription of the Text with Commentary." *Keats–Shelley Journal* 37 (1988), 136–63.

"Reconstructing Romantic Satire." *American Notes and Queries* (April, July 1993), 130–34.

Shelley's Satire: Violence, Exhortation, and Authority. Dekalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 1994.

Satire and Romanticism. New York: St. Martin's, 2000.

Jonson, Ben. *The Poetaster*, ed. Herbert S. Mallory. *Yale Studies in English* 27. New York: Henry Holt, 1905.

Ben Jonson's Plays and Masques, ed. Robert M. Adams. New York: Norton, 1979.

The Complete Plays of Ben Jonson, ed. G. A. Wilkes. 4 vols. Oxford: Clarendon, 1981.

Juvenal, *The Satires*, trans. Niall Rudd, ed. William Barr. Oxford: Clarendon, 1991.

Kames, Lord. *Elements of Criticism (1762)*. 3 vols. New York: Johnson Reprint Corp, 1967.

Karlin, Daniel. *Browning's Hatreds*. Oxford: Clarendon, 1993.

Keach, William. "Shelley and the Revolutionary Left." *Evaluating Shelley*, ed. Timothy Clark and Jerrold E. Hogle. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1996). 75-90.

Keane, Angela. *Women Writers and the English Nation in the 1790s*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000.

Keats, John. *John Keats: The Oxford Authors*, ed. Elizabeth Cook. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990.

Selected Letters of John Keats, ed. Grant F. Scott, rev. ed. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2002.

Keen, Paul. *The Crisis of Literature in the 1790s: Print Culture and the Public Sphere*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999.

Kelly, Gary. *The English Jacobin Novel 1780–1805*. Oxford: Clarendon, 1976.

"Death and the Matron: Felicia Hemans, Romantic Death, and Founding of the Modern Liberal State." *Felicia Hemans: Reimagining Poetry in the Nineteenth Century*, ed. Nanora Sweet and Julie Melnyk. New York: Palgrave, 2001. 196–211.

Kennedy, Gwynne. *Just Anger: Representing Women's Anger in Early Modern England*. Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 2000.

Kennedy, X. J., ed. *The Tigers of Wrath: Poems of Hate, Anger, and Invective*. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1981.

Kenney, E. J. "Juvenal: Satirist or Rhetorician?" *Latomus* 22:4 (1963), 704–20.

Kenney, E. J., ed. *Latin Literature*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982.

Kernan, Alvin. *The Cankered Muse: Satire of the English Renaissance*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1959.

Kerrigan, John. "Revolution, Revenge, and Romantic Tragedy." *Romanticism* 1 (1995), 121–40.

Revenge Tragedy: Aeschylus to Armageddon. Oxford: Clarendon, 1996.
Kilgour, Maggie. *The Rise of the Gothic Novel*. London: Routledge, 1995.
Klancher, Jon. *The Making of English Reading Audiences, 1790–1832*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1987.
Knapp, Steven. *Personification and the Sublime*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1985.
Knight, G. Wilson. *Poets of Action*. London: Metheun, 1967.
Knoepflmacher, U. C. "Thoughts on the Aggression of Daughters." *The Endurance of Frankenstein*, ed. Levine and Knoepflmacher. 88–119.
Kramnick, Isaac. *The Rage of Edmund Burke: Portrait of an Ambivalent Conservative*. New York: Basic Books, 1977.
Kupersmith, William. "Juvenal as Sublime Satirist." *PMLA* 87 (1972), 508–11.
Lane, Christopher. *Hatred and Civility: The Antisocial Life in Victorian England*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2003.
Langbaum, Robert. *The Poetry of Experience: The Dramatic Monologue in the Modern Literary Tradition*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1957; rpt. 1985.
Lefebvre, George. *The French Revolution*, trans. Elizabeth Moss Evanson. 2 vols. London: Routledge, 1962–4.
Levine, George and U. C. Knoepflmacher, eds. *The Endurance of Frankenstein*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979.
Levinson, Marjorie. *Wordsworth's Great Period Poems*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986.
Lewalski, Barbara K. "Milton's *Comus* and the Politics of Masquing." *The Politics of the Stuart Court Masque*, ed. David Bevington and Peter Holbrook. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998. 296–320.
Liu, Alan. *Wordsworth: The Sense of History*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1989.
Lockwood, Thomas. *Post-Augustan Satire: Charles Churchill and Satirical Poetry, 1750–1800*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1979.
Longinus. *On the Sublime*, trans. W. Rhys Roberts. 2nd ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1907.
Lucas, Colin. "Revolutionary Violence, the People, and the Terror." *The French Revolution and the Creation of Modern Political Culture. Volume 4: The Terror*, ed. Keith Michael Baker. Oxford: Elsevier Science, 1994. 57–79.
Mace, Nancy A. "Hercules and Alexander: Classical Allusion in *Caleb Williams*." *English Language Notes* 25:3 (1988), 39–44.
Mack, Maynard. "The Muse of Satire." *Yale Review* 41 (1951), 80–92.
MacPherson, James. *The Poems of Ossian (1805)*, ed. Malcolm Laing. 2 vols. New York: AMS Press, 1974.
Makdisi, Saree. *William Blake and the Impossible History of the 1790s*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003.
Maniquis, Robert. "Holy Savagery and Wild Justice: English Romanticism and the Terror." *Studies in Romanticism* 28 (Fall 1989), 365–95.

Manning, Peter. *Byron and His Fictions*. Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1978.
Marshall, David. *The Surprising Effects of Sympathy: Marivaux, Diderot, Rosseau, and Mary Shelley*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988.
Marshall, Peter. *William Godwin*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1984.
Marston, John. *The Scourge of Villanie (1599)*, ed. G. B. Harrison. New York: Barnes and Noble, 1966.
Mason, Laura. *Singing the French Revolution: Popular Culture and Politics, 1787–1799*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1996.
McCalman, Iain. *Radical Underworld: Prophets, Revolutionaries and Pornographers in London, 1795–1840*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988.
McGann, Jerome J. "Byron's First Tale: An Unpublished Fragment." *Keats–Shelley Memorial Bulletin* 19 (1968), 18–23.
The Romantic Ideology. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983.
Towards a Literature of Knowledge. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989.
"'My Brain is Feminine': Byron and the Poetry of Deception." *Byron: Augustan and Romantic*, ed. Andrew Rutherford. New York: St. Martin's, 1990. 26–51.
"Hero with a Thousand Faces: The Rhetoric of Byronism." *Studies in Romanticism* 31 (1992), 295–313.
"Rethinking Romanticism." *ELH* 59:3 (1992), 735–54.
"Byron and the Anonymous Lyric." *Byron Journal* (1992), 27–45.
"Byron and 'the Truth in Masquerade.'" *Romantic Revisions*, ed. R. Brinkley and Keith Hanley. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992. 191–209.
The Poetics of Sensibility: A Revolution in Poetic Style. Oxford: Clarendon, 1996.
Byron and Romanticism, ed. James Soderholm. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002.
McNeice, Gerald. *Shelley and the Revolutionary Idea*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1969.
McVeigh, Daniel. "Manfred's Curse." *Studies in English Literature* 22 (1982), 601–12.
McWhir, Anne. "Teaching the Monster to Read: Mary Shelley, Education and *Frankenstein*." *The Educational Legacy of Romanticism*, ed. John Willinsky. Waterloo: Calgary Institute for the Humanities, 1990.
Medwin, Thomas. *Conversations of Lord Byron*, ed. Ernest J. Lovell. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1966.
Mee, John. *Dangerous Enthusiasm: William Blake and the Culture of Radicalism in the 1790s*. Oxford: Clarendon, 1992.
Romanticism, Enthusiasm, and Regulation: Poetics and the Policing of Culture in the Romantic Period. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003.
Mellor, Anne. *Mary Shelley: Her Life, Her Fiction, Her Monsters*. New York: Routledge, 1988.
Milton, John. *Moderate Politics, Devoted to Britons*. London, 1791.

Paradise Lost, ed. Alastair Fowler. New York: Longman, 1971.
Poems: Selections, ed. Jonathan Goldberg and Stephen Orgel. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994.
Monk, Samuel Holt. *The Sublime: A Study of Critical Theories in XVIII-Century England*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1960.
Moore, Thomas. *The Poetical Works of Thomas Moore*, ed. A. D. Godley. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1910.
Morgan, Sydney Owenson, Lady. *Lady Morgan's Memoirs: Autobiography, Diaries, and Correspondence*. 2 vols. New York: AMS Press, 1975.
Morkan, Joel. "Wrath and Laughter: Milton's Ideas of Satire." *Studies in Philology* 69 (1972), 475–95.
Morris, David. *The Religious Sublime: Christian Poetry and Critical Tradition in 18th-Century England*. Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1972.
Moskal, Jeanne. *Blake, Ethics, and Forgiveness*. Tucaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1994.
Newey, Vincent. "'Alternate uproar and sad peace': Keats, Politics, and the Idea of Revolution." *MHRA Yearbook of English Studies* 19 (1989), 265–89.
Niebyl, Peter, H., "The English Bloodletting Revolution, or Modern Medicine Before 1850." *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 51 (1977), 464–83.
Nietzsche, Friedrich. *Thus Spoke Zarathustra: A Book for Everyone and No One*, trans. and ed. R. J. Hollingdale. New York: Penguin, 1969.
Nohrnberg, James. *The Analogy of the Faerie Queene*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1976.
Nussbaum, Martha. *Upheavals of Thought*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001.
Orgel, Stephen. *The Illusion of Power: Political Theatre in the English Renaissance*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1975.
O'Neill, Michael. "'When this warm scribe my hand': Writing and History in *Hyperion* and *The Fall of Hyperion*." *Keats and History*, ed. Nicholas Roe. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995. 143–64.
O'Rourke, James. "'Nothing More Unnatural': Mary Shelley's Revision of Rousseau." *ELH* 56:3 (Fall 1989), 543–69.
Ousby, Ian. "'My Servant Caleb': Godwin's *Caleb Williams* and the Political Trials of the 1790s." *University of Toronto Quarterly* 44 (1974), 47–55.
Ozouf, Mona. *Festivals and the French Revolution*, trans. Alan Sheridan. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1989.
Paine, Tom. *Rights of Man*, ed. Gregory Claeys. Indianapolis: Hackett, 1992.
Paley, Morton. "Apocapolitics: Allusion and Structure in Shelley's *Mask of Anarchy*." *Huntington Library Quarterly* 54 (1991), 91–109.
Energy and the Imagination: A Study of the Development of Blake's Thought. Oxford: Clarendon, 1970.
The Parliamentary History of England, from the earliest period to the year 1803. London: Hansard, 1814.
Paulson, Ronald. *The Fictions of Satire*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1967.

Representations of Revolution 1789–1820. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1983.

"Gothic Fiction and the French Revolution." *ELH* 48 (1981), 532–54.

Pendleton, G. T. "Towards a Bibliography of the Reflections and Rights of Man Controversy." *Bulletin of Research in the Humanities* 85 (1982), 65–103.

Philp, Mark. "The Fragmented Ideology of Reform." *The French Revolution and British Popular Politics*, ed. Philp. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991. 50–77.

"Thompson, Godwin, and the French Revolution." *History Workshop Journal* 39 (1995), 89–101.

Plato. *The Republic*, trans. Paul Shorey. 2 vols. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1953.

Plutarch. "Alexander." *Plutarch's Lives*, trans. and ed. A. H. Clough and W. W. Goodwin. 5 vols. New York: Centenary Co., 1905.

"Concerning the Cure of Anger." *Essays and Miscellanies*, trans. and ed. A. H. Clough and W. W. Goodwin. 5 vols. New York: Colonial Co., 1905.

Pope, Alexander. *Pope: Poetical Works*, ed. Herbert Davis. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1966.

Preston, Thomas R. *Not in Timon's Manner: Feeling, Misanthropy, and Satire in Eighteenth Century England*. University, AL: University of Alabama Press, 1975.

Prideaux, Humphrey. *The Old and New Testaments Connected in the History of the Jews and Neighbouring Nations*. 2 vols. London, 1716–19.

Propertius. *The Elegies of Propertius*, trans. E. H. W. Meyerstein. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1935.

Punter, David. *Gothic Pathologies: The Text, the Body and the Law*. London: Macmillan, 1998.

Writing the Passions. New York: Longman, 2001.

Quintus Curtius Rufus. *The History of Alexander the Great*, trans. Peter Pratt. 2 vols. London, 1821.

Rajan, Tilottama. *The Supplement of Reading: Figures of Understanding in Romantic Theory and Practice*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1990.

Rather, L. J. *Addison and the White Corpuscles: An Aspect of Nineteenth-Century Biology*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1972.

Reddy, William. *The Navigation of Feeling: A Framework for the History of Emotions*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001.

Reiman, Donald. "Shelley and the Human Condition." *Shelley: Poet and Legislator of the World*, ed. Betty T. Bennett and Stuart Curran. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996. 3–13.

Ricks, Christopher. *Keats and Embarrassment*. Oxford: Clarendon, 1974.

Rosenswein, Barbara H., ed. *Anger's Past: The Social Uses of an Emotion in the Middle Ages*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1998.

Rousseau, Jean-Jacques. *Emile*, trans. Barbara Foxley. London: J. M. Dent, 1993.

Rudd, Niall. "Dryden on Horace and Juvenal." *University of Toronto Quarterly* 32 (1963), 155–69.
Russell, Gillian. *The Theatres of War: Performance, Politics, and Society 1793–1815*. Oxford: Clarendon, 1995.
Sanders, Charles Richard. "The Byron Closed in *Sartor Resartus*." *Studies in Romanticism* 3 (1964), 77–108.
Schama, Simon. *Citizens: A Chronicle of the French Revolution*. New York: Knopf, 1989.
Schor, Esther H. *Bearing the Dead: The British Culture of Mourning from the Enlightenment to Victoria*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994.
Scott, Inez G. *The Grand Style in the Satires of Juvenal*. Northampton, MA: [s.n.], 1927.
Scott, Walter, Sir. *The Life of Napoleon Buonaparte, Emperor of the French*. 3 vols., orig. pub. London, 1827. New York: Collins, Keese, 1839.
Scrivener, Michael. *Radical Shelley: The Philosophical Anarchism and Utopian Thought of Percy Bysshe Shelley*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1982.
Poetry and Reform: Periodical Verse from the English Democratic Press, 1792–1824. Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1992.
"John Thelwall's Political Ambivalence." *Radicalism and Revolution in Britain, 1775–1848*, ed. Michael T. Davis. London: Macmillan, 2000. 69–83.
Seneca. *Tragedies*. trans. Frank J. Miller. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1917.
De Ira (On Anger). Seneca: Moral Essays, trans. John W. Basore. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1970.
Shaw, Philip. *Waterloo and the Romantic Imagination*. New York: Palgrave, 2002.
Shelley, Mary. *Frankenstein, or The Modern Prometheus: The 1818 Text*, ed. Marilyn Butler. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993.
Shelley, Percy Bysshe. *Letters of Percy Bysshe Shelley*, ed. Roger Ingpen. 2 vols. New York: Scribner's, 1909.
The Esdaile Notebook, ed. K. N. Cameron. New York: Knopf, 1964.
"Adonais"*: A Critical Edition*, ed. Anthony D. Knerr. New York: Columbia University Press, 1984.
Shelley's Prose, or The Trumpet of a Prophecy, ed. David Lee Clark. New York: New Amsterdam Press, 1988.
Poetical Works, ed. Thomas Hutchinson and G. M. Matthews. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991.
Shelley's Poetry and Prose, ed. Donald H. Reiman and Neil Fraistat. 2nd ed. New York: Norton, 2002.
Sherwin's Weekly Political Register. Weekly. London, 1817–1819.
Smith, Adam. *Theory of Moral Sentiments*, ed. D. D. Raphael and A. L. Macfie. Oxford: Clarendon, 1976.
Smith, Olivia. *The Politics of Language, 1791–1819*. Oxford: Clarendon, 1984.

Sober Reflections on the Seditious and Inflammatory Letter of . . . Burke, to a Noble Lord. 2nd ed. London, 1796.
Solomon, Robert C. *Not Passion's Slave: Emotions and Choice*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003.
Southey, Robert. "[Review of *Propositions for ameliorating the Condition of the Poor*. . . by P. Calquhoun]." *Quarterly Review* 8 (December 1812). 348–51.
Spacks, Patricia Meyer. *The Poetry of Vision: Five Eighteenth-Century Poets*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1967.
Spenser, Edmund. *The Faerie Queene*, ed. Thomas P. Roche, Jr. New York: Penguin, 1978.
Stabler, Jane. *Byron, Poetics, and History*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002.
[State trials]. *A Complete Collection of State Trials . . . from the Earliest Period to the Present Time*, ed. T. B. Howell. London, 1813.
Stauffer, Andrew M. "Byron's Monumental Epitaph for His Dog Boatswain." *The Byron Journal* 26 (1998), 82–90.
"Byron, Medwin, and the False Fiend: Remembering 'Remember Thee.'" *Studies in Bibliography* 53 (2000), 265–76.
Stedman, Gesa. *Stemming the Torrent: Expression and Control in the Victorian Discourses on Emotions, 1830–1872*. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002.
Sterrenburg, Lee. "Mary Shelley's Monster: Politics and Psyche in *Frankenstein*." *The Endurance of Frankenstein*, ed. Levine and Knoepflmacher. 143–71.
Storch, Rudolf. "Metaphors of Private Guilt and Social Rebellion in Godwin's *Caleb Williams*." *ELH* 34:2 (1967), 188–207.
Strachan, John and Steven E. Jones, eds. *British Satire, 1785–1840*. 5 vols. London: Pickering and Chatto, 2003.
Swedenborg, Emanuel. *The Wisdom of the Angels Concerning Divine Love and Divine Wisdom*. [trans. N. Tucker.] London, 1788.
Swift, Jonathan. *Gulliver's Travels*, ed. Peter Dixon and John Chalker. New York: Penguin, 1967.
Thelwall, John. *The Politics of English Jacobinism: Writings of John Thelwall*, ed. Gregory Claeys. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1995.
Thompson, E. P. *The Making of the English Working Class*. New York: Pantheon, 1963.
Thompson, J. M. *The French Revolution*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1945.
Todd, Janet. *Sensibility: An Introduction*. New York: Methuen, 1986.
The Tomahawk! or Censor General. Daily. London, 1795–96.
The True Briton. Daily. London, 1793–1803.
Vargo, Lisa. "Unmasking Shelley's *Mask of Anarchy*." *English Studies in Canada* 13:1 (1987), 49–64.
Varma, Devendra P. *The Gothic Flame*. London: Arthur Baker, 1957.
Vivian, Charles. "The One 'Mont Blanc.'" *Shelley's Poetry and Prose*, ed. Donald Reiman and Sharon Powers. New York: Norton, 1977. 569–79.

Walker, Jeffrey. "Enthymemes of Anger in Cicero and Thomas Paine." *Constructing Rhetorical Education*, ed. Marie Secor and Davida Charney. Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1992. 357–81.

Wasserman, Earl R. *Shelley: A Critical Reading*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1971.

Webb, Timothy. "Shelley's Religion of Joy." *Studies in Romanticism* 15 (1976), 357–82.

Weber, Harold. "'The Jester and the Orator': A Re-Examination of the Comic and Tragic Satirist." *Genre* 13 (1980), 171–85.

"'Comic Humour and Tragic Spirit': The Augustan Distinction between Horace and Juvenal." *Classical and Modern Literature: A Quarterly* 1:4 (1981), 275–89.

Weinbrot, Howard. *Alexander Pope and the Traditions of Formal Verse Satire*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1982.

"Masked Men and Satire and Pope: Toward a Historical Basis for the Eighteenth-Century Persona." *Eighteenth Century Studies* 16:3 (1983), 265–89.

Weiskel, Thomas. *The Romantic Sublime: Studies in the Structure and Psychology of Transcendence*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1976.

Weisman, Karen. "Provocation and Person-hood: Romanticism *In Extremis*." *European Romantic Review* 9:2 (Spring 1998), 177–86.

Wheatley, Kim. *Shelley and His Readers: Beyond Paranoid Politics*. Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1999.

White, N. I. *Shelley*. 2 vols. New York: Knopf, 1940.

Whitford, Robert. "Juvenal in England 1750–1802." *Philological Quarterly* 7:1 (1928), 9–16.

Wiesen, David S. "Juvenal's Moral Character: An Introduction." *Latomus* 22:3 (1963), 440–71.

Wood, Marcus. *Radical Satire and Print Culture 1790–1822*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994.

Woodring, Carl. *Politics and English Romantic Poetry*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1970.

Wordsworth, Dorothy and William Wordsworth. *The Early Letters of William and Dorothy Wordsworth*, ed. Ernest De Selincourt. Oxford: Clarendon, 1935.

Wordsworth, William. *The Prose Works of William Wordsworth*, ed. W. J. B. Owen and J. W. Smyser. 2 vols. Oxford: Clarendon, 1974.

The Prelude 1799, 1805, 1850, ed. Jonathan Wordsworth, M. H. Abrams, and Stephen Gill. New York: Norton, 1979.

The Poems, ed. John O. Hayden. 2 vols. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1981.

Wordsworth: Poetical Works, ed. Thomas Hutchinson. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1981.

Worrall, David. *Radical Culture: Discourse, Resistance, and Surveillance, 1790–1820*. Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1992.

Yeats, William Butler. *The Poems*, ed. Richard J. Finneran. London: Macmillan, 1984.

Ideas of Good and Evil. London: A. H. Bullen, 1907.

A Vision. New York: Macmillan, 1965.

Young, Art. *Shelley and Nonviolence*. The Hague: Mouton, 1975.

Young, Edward. *A Vindication of Providence: or, A True Estimate of Human Life (1728)*, ed. David R. Anderson. Los Angeles: Wm. Andrews Clark Memorial Library, 1984.

Index