

The ARC Centre of Excellence for the History of Emotions (Europe 1100-1800), UWA Centre for Medieval and Early Modern Studies, UWA Institute of Advanced Studies, and the Perth Medieval and Renaissance Group present:

# 'IN FORM OF WAR': EMOTIONS AND WARFARE IN WRITING, 1300-1820



Date: 27 - 28 June 2014  
Venue: Webb Lecture Theatre,  
Geography and Geology  
Building, The University  
of Western Australia  
Enquiries: [emotions@uwa.edu.au](mailto:emotions@uwa.edu.au)



THE UNIVERSITY OF  
WESTERN AUSTRALIA





## 'In Form of War': Emotions and Warfare in Writing, 1300-1820

The focus of this symposium is on the ways in which various expressive forms – including chronicle, romance, lyric, memoir and memorial, theatre, treatise, letter and journal – have responded to and shaped the emotional experience of war. In coming together to discuss writing in these diverse genres, we hope to trace important continuities and changes in the emotional register of war as it has been mediated to modernity by the pre-modern European imaginative record. We will consider how traditional and emergent forms of writing and theatre have shaped the emotional significance of war for readers in successive historical periods, and how emotions have been enlisted in the service of particular wartime agendas.

A further collective purpose of the symposium is to analyse the emotions of war from various viewpoints: representations of the

emotional experience of combatants, civilians and spectators; textual, literary and theatrical productions which adapt war themes for particular emotional effects, including propaganda; studies of generic, historiographical and performance traditions of the emotions involved in war; and studies that reflect on the historical, philosophical and thematic frameworks in which war writing is constructed emotionally.

Finally, we hope that the long-range view provided by our discussions will shed new light on the modern and contemporary emotional regimes constructed by continuing traditions and new modes of war writing. What and how has the written past taught us to feel about war? What else might it teach us to think and to feel on the subject?

**THURSDAY 26 JUNE 2014**

**VENUE: WEBB LECTURE THEATRE, GEOGRAPHY BUILDING, UWA**

<b>TIME:</b>	<b>PUBLIC LECTURE BY CRAIG TAYLOR (YORK, UK):</b>
<b>6.00 PM</b>	<b>'THE TRIALS OF JOAN OF ARC'</b>

**DAY 1: FRIDAY 27 JUNE 2014**

**VENUE: WEBB LECTURE THEATRE, GEOGRAPHY BUILDING, UWA**

TIME	SESSION:
9.00-9.30	Coffee and registration
9.30-10.45	CHAIR: CATHERINE NALL
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Andrew Lynch: "'blisse wes on londe": The Feeling of Peace in Layamon's <i>Brut</i>'</li> <li>Stephanie Downes: 'War and Peace in the English Poetry of Charles of Orléans'</li> </ul>
<b>10.45-11.15</b>	<b>MORNING TEA/ WELCOME</b>
11.15-12.30	CHAIR: ANDREW LYNCH
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Craig Taylor: 'Confessing the Emotions of War in the Late Middle Ages'</li> </ul>
<b>12.30-1.45</b>	<b>LUNCH</b>
1.45-2.45	CHAIR: TRACY ADAMS
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Catherine Nall: 'Pity, Rhetoric and War in England in the Late Middle Ages'</li> </ul>
2.45-3.30	CHAIR: STEPHANIE DOWNES
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Tracy Adams: 'The Armagnac-Burgundian Feud and the Language of Anger'</li> </ul>
<b>3.30-4.00</b>	<b>AFTERNOON TEA</b>
4.00-5.15	CHAIR: BOB WHITE
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Penelope Woods: 'Blood Sweat and Tears: Audience and the Invention of the Elizabethan History Play'</li> <li>Peter Sherlock: 'Grief and Glory: The Commemoration of War in England 1580-1680'</li> </ul>

**DINNER (TO BE ARRANGED AT A LOCAL RESTAURANT)**

**DAY 2: SATURDAY 28 JUNE 2014**

**VENUE: WEBB LECTURE THEATRE, GEOGRAPHY BUILDING, UWA**

TIME	SESSION:
9.30 -10.45	CHAIR: CRAIG TAYLOR
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Michael Ovens: 'How to Slay Your Giant: Resentment, Realism, and Romance in the <i>Alliterative Morte Arthure</i>'</li> <li>Rob Coughlan: 'Thomas Digges' <i>Four Paradoxes</i> and Claims of "Corruption" amongst English Captains in the Low Countries.'</li> </ul>
<b>10.45-11.15</b>	<b>MORNING TEA</b>
11.15-12.30	CHAIR: NEIL RAMSEY
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Katrina O'Loughlin: "'Unbury'd men": Lady Mary Wortley Montagu's Reflections on Histories of War'</li> <li>Robert White: 'The Poetry of Waterloo'</li> </ul>
<b>12.30-1.45</b>	<b>LUNCH</b>
1.45 - 3.00	CHAIR: ANDREW LYNCH
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Diana Barnes: 'Remembering Civil War in Andrew Marvell's "Upon Appleton House".'</li> <li>Gordon D. Raeburn: "'At Newburn foord, where brave Scots past the Tine": Emotions, Literature, and the Battle of Newburn'</li> </ul>
<b>3.00-3.30</b>	<b>AFTERNOON TEA</b>
3.30 - 4.15	CHAIR: KATRINA O'LOUGHLIN
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Neil Ramsey: 'Military Journals and the Remediation of War Writing'</li> </ul>
4.15-5.00	CHAIR: STEPHANIE DOWNES AND KATRINA O'LOUGHLIN
	Round-up of ideas and discussion of publication

## SPEAKERS

### Tracy Adams

(The University of Auckland, NZ)

#### 'THE ARMAGNAC-BURGUNDIAN FEUD AND THE LANGUAGE OF ANGER'

The conflict between the Orleanists, or Armagnacs, and Burgundians, in the words of Christine de Pizan, that "sickness that so tears through the land" brought on by mad King Charles VI's inability to reign, was the most significant feud of the fifteenth century. In this essay I focus on discourses on anger both as the instigator and result of the feud offered by the factions and contemporary writers as they sought to control and shape the conflict. Two distinct versions of the emotion emerge. The first is what we might think of as an Aristotelian construction of anger, which the philosopher outlined in the second book of the *Rhetoric*. For Aristotle, a person's emotional landscape depended to a large degree on his or her standing in society, with appropriate enactments of emotion tightly calibrated to one's position, such that the emotional lives of great lords were very different from those of slaves, who experienced little variation in emotion. Anger, appropriately experienced and expressed, was a noble emotion. This conception of anger, however, contrasts sharply with the unbridled and frenzied emotion attributed to the non-noble as they are depicted by contemporary chroniclers describing the conflict. This conception of anger is related to contemporary discussions of the humors. This dual conception of anger, I suggest, not only correlates with modern neuropsychological studies of the emotion, but sheds some light on the assumptions that continue to underlie modern political rhetoric of war.

TRACY ADAMS received a PhD in French from Johns Hopkins University in Baltimore, Maryland, in 1998. Associate Professor in French at The University of Auckland, she has also taught at the University of Maryland, the University of Miami, and the University of Lyon III. She is the author of *Violent Passions: Managing Love in the Old French Verse Romance* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2005) and *The Life and Afterlife of Isabeau of Bavaria* (Johns Hopkins University Press, 2010). *Christine de Pizan and the Fight for France* will appear in 2014 with The Penn State University Press.

### Diana Barnes

(The University of Queensland)

#### 'REMEMBERING CIVIL WAR IN ANDREW MARVELL'S "UPON APPLETON HOUSE"'

War is rife with emotion, but civil war is particularly so. In civil war there are no inhuman, uncivil, foreign invaders; rather brothers slay brothers, and neighbours slay neighbours, and their blood seeps into a familiar landscape of estates, cities, parishes and village commons. Affective communities are rent apart in a conflict played out on home ground.

The emotional residue of war is memorialised in 'Upon Appleton House', the country house poem Andrew Marvell wrote for Sir Thomas Fairfax the brilliant and victorious commander-in-chief of the New Model Army. By the early 1650s when Marvell wrote this poem, Fairfax had retired from his military post due to deep ambivalence about the execution of Charles I, Parliament's use of war, and the

political processes taking shape. Fairfax was living at his family estate Appleton House, redesigning the gardens, writing and collecting. Marvell was employed to tutor Fairfax's daughter Anne.

Self-imposed rustication was a standard non-confrontational stoical response to political disharmony; Virgil's *Georgics* and countless contemporary imitations provided individuals on both sides of the conflict the rhetoric to dignify such a retreat from the public world. The landscape and familiars to which Fairfax retreats provide no escape, however. The house itself can barely contain the giant frame of the battle-weary hero; the greatest oak in the woods has been felled; scenes of war are replayed perpetually in the surrounding gardens; and its architectural structure traces another violent narrative, that of Fairfax's forebear who wrested the property and his wife from the control of the nuns or 'Virgin Amazons', and shunned their 'Relicks False'.

Appleton House contains neither the man nor his family history, and neither does poetic form bring order to these narratives. Disrupted syntax, disjunctive similes and disharmonious imagery make for difficult reading. Although in the main T.S. Eliot admired the intellectual rigour of Marvell's poetry, in 'Upon Appleton House' he detected emotional dysfunction, or 'dissociated sensibility'. For compelling political reasons, revisionist historicist critics, particularly David Norbrook, have discredited this elision of the radical politics of the civil war. Eliot's blindness to history left him incomprehending of the 'intentionally ridiculous' 'over-developed or distracting' imagery in 'Upon Appleton House'. The poem's intelligibility depends upon recognizing the historicity of an emotional topography that charts histories of civil war, Protestantism and family in order to identify 'Paradises only map', the key to national spiritual revival, in Fairfax's daughter.

DIANA BARNES is a University of Queensland postdoctoral fellow. She is the author of *Epistolary Community in Print, 1580-1664* (Ashgate, 2013), and articles on Margaret Cavendish, Dorothy Osborne and Mary Wortley Montagu. Her current research includes a book provisionally entitled *The Politics of Civility: Historicising Early Modern Genres of Community* and a co-authored book on the history of women's letters.

### Rob Coughlan

(The University of Western Australia)

#### 'THOMAS DIGGES' FOURE PARADOXES AND CLAIMS OF "CORRUPTION" AMONGST ENGLISH CAPTAINS IN THE LOW COUNTRIES'

Among writings on military topics during the Elizabethan period, the *Foure Paradoxes or Politique Discourses* by Thomas Digges stands out for its harsh attacks on English captains. Published posthumously in 1604, with additions by Digges's son Dudley, this work was based on suggestions which Thomas had written a decade earlier for Elizabeth I but never acted upon. His criticisms of military practice, particularly the fraudulent activities of English officers in the Low Countries, are strident. So powerful have been his claims and the evidence presented for them that these criticisms have been accepted to this day. Yet further examination of the works of Thomas Digges in their contemporary context raises questions about whether apparently corrupt behaviour amongst officers would better be understood in terms of broader political and structural deficiencies in the military system. It also highlights an emotional agenda. Digges was vindicating his own actions in conspicuously seeking to curb behaviour he considered shamefully dishonourable. He was also attempting to justify his opinion that the structure of military discipline and practice would be enhanced through modelling on classical principles. His stated aim was to maintain the dignity of officers as gentlemen, and to save the reputation of both the Prince and the State, but the *Politique Discourses* also serves to defend his own honour, specifically his actions as Muster Master in Leicester's army in the Low Countries. This raises some questions: does his personal agenda and his presentation of the issues in emotional terms over-simplify or distort the real picture? Does the emotional discourse of his work misleadingly represent as moral corruption behaviour which has better explanations?

ROB COUGHLAN is currently half way through his dissertation for the Masters in Medieval and Early Modern Studies at UWA. His dissertation topic is 'Honour and the concept of professionalism amongst English officers in Caroline England: 1620-1645'. Rob holds a Bachelor of Business in Strategic Management, a Bachelor of Arts in History and a Masters of Teaching, Years K-7. He considers his enjoyment of political and cultural history in the Early Modern period was influenced by studying with Dr Paul Hammer at the University of New England. Rob's major area of interest is in military history. When not researching, he works as a primary school teacher with students from Kindy to Year 6 teaching History, Geography and Creative Thinking Skills.

## Stephanie Downes

(ARC Centre of Excellence for the History of Emotions, The University of Melbourne)

### 'WAR AND PEACE IN THE ENGLISH POETRY OF CHARLES OF ORLÉANS'

In the later stages of the Hundred Years War and its aftermath, Charles of Orléans styled himself, and was styled by others, as an 'author of the peace'. This paper explores the range of negative feeling Charles attaches to 'war' in his English lyrics. It focuses on poetry produced ostensibly in relation to three key historical moments in the diplomatic negotiations between France and England: the Anglo-French treaty of 1433; the renewed negotiations of 1430; and 1440, when Charles finally returned to France. Interrogating a critical tendency to interpret Charles' poetic and political identities affectively from the late fifteenth century forwards, it demonstrates the historical persistence of literary expressions of love as metaphor for pacifism and conflict resolution in the later Middle Ages and modernity.

STEPHANIE DOWNES is a Postdoctoral Research Fellow at The University of Melbourne. A graduate of The University of Sydney, in 2010-11, she was a British Academy Visiting Scholar at Queen Mary, University of London, and a Mayers Fellow at the Huntington Library, San Marino. In 2014 she was the Bloomfield Fellow in Medieval Studies at Harvard University. The subject of her first monograph, nearing completion, is the reception of Christine de Pizan in England. She has published on manuscripts and translations of Christine's works in England, and has forthcoming articles on the reception of Chaucer in France, and on the History of Emotions and Middle English verse for *Literature Compass*. Her current research fellowship is funded by CHE.

## Andrew Lynch

(ARC Centre of Excellence for the History of Emotions, UWA)

### “BLISSE WES ON LONDE”: THE FEELING OF PEACE IN LAYAMON'S *BRUT*'

Layamon's *Brut*, a Worcestershire poem in English of about 16,000 lines, written around 1300, is an energetic adaptation of Wace's mid-twelfth-century *Roman de Brut*, which in turn drew its material from a version of Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia Regum Britanniae* (c.1136). Much of the poem's material is about civil war, enemy invasion, foreign conquest and violent breakdown of the social order, but Layamon, more than Geoffrey or Wace, is also interested in peace for its own sake. My object of study in this paper is the poetic

construction of the feeling of peace in his work, treated as a matter of 'representation', and with political, social and religious associations given further potential meaning by the varied narrative positioning of its occurrences. The happiness of peace in Layamon is a poetic topic of generality and continuance, made up of a shifting cluster of motifs and effects in various combinations, occurring intermittently, and sometimes unpredictably, throughout the course of the poem in ways not necessarily determined by military success or driven by the seasonal cycle of war established in its source text. In offering an analysis of this topic, I shall suggest that the persistent desire to re-establish the happiness of a peace in which 'nothing happens' gives Layamon's poem a distinctive resistance to the go-getting, event-driven linear drive of the narrative tradition he adapted. I shall also suggest that Layamon's poetic creation of peace can be read as a closely matching response to the feeling of war so often and so powerfully registered in his text.

ANDREW LYNCH is a Professor in English and Cultural Studies at UWA, and a Chief Investigator/Deputy Director in the ARC Centre of Excellence for the History of Emotions. His publications on war and peace in medieval literature and its modern afterlives include *Malory's Book of Arms* (D. S. Brewer, 1997) and numerous articles and chapters. With Louise D'Arcens he has recently co-edited *International Medievalism and Popular Culture* (Cambria, 2014). With Stephanie Downes and Katrina O'Loughlin he is co-editing *Emotions and War: Medieval to Romantic Literature* for Palgrave Macmillan.

## Catherine Nall

(Royal Holloway, The University of London)

### 'PITY, RHETORIC AND WAR IN ENGLAND IN THE LATE MIDDLE AGES'

This paper examines the importance of pity to the rhetorical strategies of a number of late medieval texts. In particular, it draws attention to the way that pity is used in a range of narratives of war as either a retrospective justification for violence, or in order to move audiences towards committing violence. It argues that writers relate the ability to feel pity to the wider identities that readers might claim for themselves. Pity is rarely presented, then, simply as an affective response to the suffering of others, but rather as a crucial component in the construction and performance of identity and status.

CATHERINE NALL is Senior Lecturer in Medieval Literature at Royal Holloway, The University of London. She is the author of *Reading and War in Fifteenth-Century England: From Lydgate to Malory* (D.S. Brewer, 2012), and articles on book history and the English reception of Alain Chartier. She is currently completing an edition (with Daniel Wakelin) of William Worcester's *The Boke of Noblesse*.

## Katrina O'Loughlin

(ARC Centre of Excellence for the History of Emotions, UWA)

### “UNBURY'D MEN”: LADY MARY WORTLEY MONTAGU'S REFLECTIONS ON HISTORIES OF WAR'

In 1717 at the symbolic midpoint in their journey between Vienna and Constantinople, Lady Mary Wortley Montagu and her husband crossed the battlefield of Carlowitz 'where the last great victory was obtained by Prince Eugene over the Turks'. Six months after this clash, in which some 15,000 Turkish and Austrians had died, Montagu records the terrible signs of violence in a letter addressed to Alexander Pope. "The marks of that Glorious bloody day are yet recent," she writes, "the field being strew'd with the Skulls and Carcases of unbury'd Men, Horses and Camels. I could not look without horror on such numbers of mangled human bodys, and reflect on the Injustice of War, that makes Murther not only necessary but meritorious" (*Turkish Embassy Letters*).

This paper explores Montagu's emotional and philosophical response to the conflict between Austria and the Turks, in which her husband, Edward Wortley, had been appointed to mediate. It details Montagu's representation of war as a form of atavism or barbarity to which all human communities are susceptible. In this Montagu apparently diverges from the pastoral and epic modes developed by her friend and correspondent Alexander Pope in his contemporary poem 'Windsor Forest' (1713) and translation of Homer's *Iliad* (1715-20). In Montagu's hands, the bitter imperial struggle becomes decidedly in-'Glorious': "Nothing seems to me a plainer proofe of the irrationality of Mankind (whatever fine claims we pretend to Reason) than the rage with which they contest for a small spot of Ground when such vast parts of fruitful Earthe lye quite uninhabited," she concludes.

The paper invokes the central question of form in two connected ways. In the first instance I will consider Montagu's careful use of epistolary and poetic form in her responses to the histories of conflict between 'West' and 'East' by comparing the *Turkish Embassy Letters* with her lesser-known poem 'Constantinople' (written at Pera in 1718). I suggest that Montagu's choice to circulate her writing in manuscript is, at least in part, an instantiation of the intimate, rational and relative ideal she invokes in her remediation of war violence. This mode of personal correspondence contributes to the second 'form' I wish to explore: politeness as a civil and conciliatory ideal, or an important early eighteenth-century cultural response to the recent history of British civil conflict. Montagu's elite and conscious cosmopolitanism - with its practices of politeness, hospitality, relativism and 'Reason' - represent, I would suggest, a powerful emotional response to the horrors of war.

KATRINA O'LOUGHLIN is a Postdoctoral Research Fellow at the ARC Centre for the History of Emotions (CHE), based at UWA. Her research interests are in English literature, particularly eighteenth-century writing, travel, cultural history, gender and cultural exchange. With colleagues she is currently editing two volumes on separate aspects of the History of Emotions, and her monograph *Women's Travel Writing of the Eighteenth Century: 'The Paper Globe'* will be published by Cambridge University Press in 2014. Her current project for CHE explores the forging of international intellectual and emotional bonds among women in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Drawing on letters, travel writing and memoir, this research investigates women's participation in the Enlightenment Republic of Letters and considers the emotional structures of intellectual sociability.

## Michael Ovens

(The University of Western Australia)

### 'HOW TO SLAY YOUR GIANT: RESENTMENT, REALISM, AND ROMANCE IN THE ALLITERATIVE MORTE ARTHURE'

The Middle English word '*geant*' encompassed several different types of monstrous humanoid, from the Spanish *gigans* of the *Historia Regum Britanniae*, to the monstrous Irish *bachlach* of the *Fled Bricrenn*, to the antediluvian *nephilim* of the Bible. Uniting these disparate monsters under the singular category of 'giant' was their savagery and excessive masculinity. Hirsute, rapacious, and wild, the giant embodied the fear of the 'Other' which dwelt outside of the moral and geographical bounds of civilised society.

One breed of giant which interests me in particular is the monstrous peasant, or 'churl'. The monstrous churl's signature characteristic is his mighty and emasculating strength, which reflects aristocratic anxieties about the tremendous bodily strength of the labouring peasantry. The methods through which the protagonists of Chrétien de Troyes' *Yvain*, Wace's *Roman de Brut*, and Layamon's *Brut* overcome these monsters - dexterously avoiding the giant's blows, chasing the giant around a tree, striking the giant's unarmoured body - serve to belittle and neutralise their emasculating potential.

In this paper, I will explore the extreme defence of masculinity found in the battle with the giant in the *Alliterative Morte Arthure* (c.1400), where Arthur savagely and graphically castrates his opponent. This battle, despite drawing upon Wace and Layamon for source material, departs dramatically in its treatment of the combat itself - the giant here is preternaturally resilient and threatening, apparently untroubled by Arthur's sword blows, yet is finally slain with a series of blows from a small and unremarkable dagger.

In addition to offering a reading of this particular scene from the *Alliterative Morte Arthure*, this paper will explore an alternative methodology for interpreting literary combative sequences from the medieval period. Rather than mere concessions to an unsophisticated martial audience, combative sequences can be read as encoding sophisticated social and moral commentary within the blows and wounds of the combatants themselves.

MICHAEL OVENS is an apprentice intellectual historian and literary critic currently based at the University of Western Australia, where he is writing his doctoral dissertation for the Centre for Medieval and Early Modern Studies. Fascinated by the relationship between 'ivory tower' philosophy and 'grass roots' culture, his research explores the connections between these two intellectual poles in subjects as diverse as alchemy, literary theory, masculinity, medical theory, emotional theory, and interpersonal martial theory.

## Gordon D. Raeburn

(ARC Centre of Excellence for the History of Emotions, The University of Melbourne)

### "AT NEWBURN FOORD, WHERE BRAVE SCOTS PAST THE TINE": EMOTIONS, LITERATURE, AND THE BATTLE OF NEWBURN'

On 28 August 1640 a Scottish Covenanter army defeated an English royalist force at Newburn Ford, Northumberland, and subsequently occupied Newcastle, forcing Charles I to a truce and an agreement to pay the expenses of the Scottish army. This battle, the only battle of the Second Bishops' War, resulted in the publication of works such as Zachary Boyd's *The Battell of Newbvrne*, and others on both sides of the conflict, that presented the emotional responses to the battle and its result. Written accounts of the emotional responses to this conflict, however, were not restricted to the aftermath of the battle, and at least one work of propaganda was circulated prior to 28 August 1640. This paper will examine these various works, both published and unpublished, in order to determine the emotions present and presented, as well as the scope of emotional response to this one conflict. What were the emotions of the two sides prior to the battle and how had they changed afterwards? Were the emotional responses consistent within each of the opposing sides, or were there a variety of emotions present on both sides? Was there a difference in official or personal emotional responses both before and after the battle? Finally, what was the purpose, both stated and unstated, of these works, and did this explicitly or implicitly involve the manipulation of emotions? This paper aims to answer these questions.

GORDON D. RAEBURN completed his PhD at the University of Durham, UK, in 2013. His thesis, *The Long Reformation of the Dead in Scotland*, investigated the changing nature of Scottish burial practices between 1542 and 1856. He is currently a postdoctoral fellow with CHE at The University of Melbourne, and is working on the emotional responses to Early Modern Scottish disasters, and how these emotional responses shaped personal, communal, and national identities.

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## Neil Ramsey

*(The University of New South Wales):*

### ‘MILITARY JOURNALS AND THE REMEDIATION OF WAR WRITING’

Journals were one of the most important and pervasive literary forms to have emerged by the end of the eighteenth century, playing a key role in the formation of modern print culture. Given their prominence, it is unsurprising, therefore, that we should find the appearance in these years of military periodicals. In this paper, I consider the proliferation of military periodicals in Britain around 1800 and the ways in which war came to be linked with the rapid expansion of print culture at this time. Periodicals such as *The Monthly Military Companion*, *The Soldier's Pocket Magazine*, *The British Military Journal* and *The Naval Chronicle* represent forms of writing that were instrumental in the development of a European military enlightenment that consolidated modern, scientific approaches to war. Yet although primarily concerned with military science, the journals coincided with widespread attempts in Britain to mobilise the nation against threatened invasion from France. Thus, while military journals mark the appearance of a more clearly defined disciplinary identity for the military, they nonetheless appealed to both military and civilian audiences and utilised a range of emotional strategies that could facilitate national mobilisation for war. To borrow a term which J. David Bolter and Richard Grusin employ to describe how new media forms adapt content from earlier forms, I argue that military journals ‘remediated’ the forms by which war was represented in Britain. They featured material often taken from earlier military books, but they condensed, recombined, and accentuated this material, shaping it to conform with their own formal concerns with providing daily information of war and with the need to reach a broad readership through extensive reading practices. Military journals provided one way in which an intrinsically theatrical early modern military culture, still largely composed of regimental traditions and government-sponsored publications, came to recirculate within a national print culture.

DR NEIL RAMSEY is a Lecturer in English Literature at The University of New South Wales, Canberra. He is currently preparing a book manuscript, *Vital War: Writing, Romanticism and the British Military Enlightenment, 1766-1839*, that examines the formative role played by Romantic period military writing in the development of a modern culture of war. He has published widely on the literary and culture responses to warfare during the eighteenth century and Romantic eras. His first book, *The Military Memoir and Romantic Literary Culture, 1780-1835*, was published by Ashgate in 2011.

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## Peter Sherlock

*(The University of Divinity)*

### ‘GRIEF AND GLORY: THE COMMEMORATION OF WAR IN ENGLAND 1580-1680’

This paper explores the emotional language used in texts commemorating five famous English soldiers and military leaders: the soldier-poet Philip Sidney (d 1586); the Duke of Buckingham (d1628), favourite of James VI and I; the Parliamentary leader the Earl of Essex (d 1645); the revolutionary Oliver Cromwell (d 1659); and General Monck (d 1670), architect of the restoration of monarch in 1660. It seeks to identify the emotional responses sought from readers of these text, and how emotions were a force in both commemorating and justifying participation in armed conflict.

The paper argues that the two dominant emotions were grief and glory. Glory, seen by Hobbes as the greatest of the passions of the mind, was the dominant frame in which emotions of war were depicted in seventeenth-century England. For Protestants, glory took on new meaning and new urgency in the wake of the Reformation and a new understanding of salvation and the afterlife where the ancient concept of fame and a renewed expectation of the resurrection replaced fear and Purgatory. This new promotion of glory cast the pursuit of victory on the mortal battlefield as a parallel to the victory of the elect in heaven. While grief, especially weeping, was used more widely in the seventeenth century than in previous generations as a motif in the commemoration of war in prose and poetry, it was consistently deployed to emphasise the glory of sacrifice in war. These commemorative texts therefore sought to draw forth wonder at the glorious fate of England's warriors, and, through wonder, imitation by those who pondered them.

PROFESSOR PETER SHERLOCK is Vice-Chancellor of the University of Divinity, and is based in Melbourne, Australia. His major research interest is the commemoration of the dead in early modern European societies. He is author of *Monuments and Memory in Early Modern England* (Ashgate, 2008). His current project is a history of the monuments of Westminster Abbey from the thirteenth to the twentieth centuries.

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## Craig Taylor

*(The University of York, UK)*

### ‘CONFESSING THE EMOTIONS OF WAR IN THE LATE MIDDLE AGES’

This paper will explore the ways in which late medieval French writers addressed the emotions inspired by battle and martial conflict during the Hundred Years War (1337-1453). In recent publications, the military historian Noah Yuval Harari has argued there was a conspiracy of silence amongst writers of autobiographical accounts of warfare and martial memoirs during this period, and furthermore that this inability to express emotions such as fear in the face of violent conflict itself represented a cultural barrier to the kinds of emotional responses available to soldiers. In this paper, I will be re-examining the evidence offered by such texts as Jean de Bueil's *Le Jouvencel*, and also considering such narratives against other genres written by authors like Geoffroi de Charny and Christine de Pizan.

CRAIG TAYLOR is a Senior Lecturer in Medieval History at the University of York (UK), and will become Director of the Centre for Medieval Studies at York in October 2014. He is the author of *Joan of Arc, La Pucelle* (Manchester University Press, 2006), *Debating the Hundred Years War* (Camden Series, 2007) and *Chivalry and the Ideals of Knighthood in France during the Hundred Years War* (Cambridge University Press, 2013).

## Robert White

(ARC Centre of Excellence for the History of Emotions, UWA)

### 'THE POETRY OF WATERLOO'

The Battle of Waterloo in 1815, like that of Agincourt exactly four hundred years earlier, was an occasion ready made for transformation into legendary status through poetry which sometimes glorifies heroism while at other times lamenting suffering. Some poets, such as Sir Walter Scott, were eye-witnesses to Waterloo, others came to the site in following months, including Byron and Southey. Specifically, the various almost theatrical juxtapositions in the chronology of events provided a structure for the experience as a whole: first, the glittering ball at Brussels before the day of battle (central to Thackeray's semi-historical account in *Vanity Fair* [1848]), then the battle itself with its violence and heroism, and then the aftermath of horrendous sights of suffering on a battlefield where medical attention was not comprehensive or systematic. This paper explores how the sequence was turned into different poetic forms, depending on relative perspectives, in Scott's 'the Field of Waterloo', Byron's 'The Eve of Waterloo' and Southey's 'the Poet's Pilgrimage to Waterloo'.

ROBERT (BOB) WHITE is a Winthrop Professor in English and Cultural Studies at UWA and a Chief Investigator in CHE. He has recently held an ARC Professorial Fellowship for a project on Shakespeare and film. His publications are mainly in the field of early modern literature, especially Shakespeare, and Romantic literature. They include *John Keats: A Literary Life* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2010); *Pacifism in English Literature: Minstrels of Peace* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2008); *Natural Rights and the Birth of Romanticism in the 1790s* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2005); and *Natural Law in English Renaissance Literature* (Cambridge University Press, 1996).

## Penelope Woods

(ARC Centre of Excellence for the History of Emotions, UWA)

### 'BLOOD SWEAT AND TEARS: AUDIENCE AND THE INVENTION OF THE ELIZABETHAN HISTORY PLAY'

The first description of mass weeping amongst a playhouse audience in London is given by Thomas Nashe in his pamphlet *Pierce Pennilesse* (London, 1592). It details the audience response to the dramatic presentation of the medieval national hero Lord Talbot in Shakespeare's *The First Part of King Henry the Sixth*, who dies fighting the French. This play, performed by Lord Strange's Men on at least fourteen occasions between 1592 and 1593 at the Rose Theatre, met with extraordinary popularity and success. Attempts to define the emergent genre of the 'history play' in the sixteenth century in terms of formal generic markers have been fraught. Here I want to consider the distinguishing features of this genre from the perspective of audience response. Rather than asking 'what was the history play?', I shall ask 'what did the history play do?'. I suggest that the staging of the imagery of wounded and dying heroes, the battle skirmishes and duels, that prompted the disdain and frustration of critics such as Philip Sidney and Ben Jonson, served a particular theatrical and affective purpose in this moment. The plays are steeped in blood, both of the material stage kind as well as the rhetorical discursive blood imagery of lineage and honor. This material and symbolic ostension of blood is directly linked to the tears wrung from audience eyes by these performances. This paper's consideration of the Elizabethan history play examines the effects it sought and produced amongst its audiences.

PENELOPE WOODS is a Post-Doctoral Research Associate at CHE at UWA. She has a co-authored chapter on young audiences today in *Shakespeare in Practice: The Audience* by Stephen Purcell (Palgrave Macmillan, 2013) and a chapter on seventeenth-century audiences, 'The audience of the indoor theatre', in *Moving Shakespeare Indoors*, edited by Andrew Gurr and Farah Karim-Cooper (Cambridge University Press, 2014).

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