

War's Affects: Mediating Conflict & Emotion, 1700–1900

A Symposium, 5 – 7 October 2011

Programme and Abstracts



Matthew Dubourg (after John Heaviside Clark), *The Battle of Waterloo*, 1816 © Trustees of the British Museum.

Keynote Speakers

Mary Favret – Indiana University

Philip Shaw – University of Leicester

Robert White – University of Western Australia

Jonathan Lamb – Vanderbilt University

Daniel O'Quinn – University of Guelph

Simon Bainbridge – Lancaster University

<http://hrc.anu.edu.au/2011-conferences>

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Sir Roland Wilson Building, McCoy Ct
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Wednesday 5 October 2011

- 09.30-10.45 **Registrations and Coffee**
- 10.45-11.00 Welcome and Introduction
- 11.00-12.00 **Keynote Lecture I: Mary A. Favret**
The General Fast and Humiliation
- 12.00-13.00 Lunch Break
- 13.00-14.30 **Session I: War Wounds** (Chair: Neil Ramsey)
Catherine Kelly, *The Militarization of British Army Medicine 1793-1830*
Peter Stanley, *The Wounded: Casualties and Surgeons; Representation and Reality*
Frances M. Clarke, *Experiences of Suffering: Comparing Victorian and Modern Soldiers*
- 14.30-15.30 **Keynote Lecture II: Robert White**
Literary Responses to Battlefield Suffering from Erasmus to Dunant
- 15.30-16.00 Tea/Coffee Break
- 16.00-17.30 **Session II: War and the Inner Psyche** (Chair: Jonathan Lamb)
Neil Ramsey, *Henry Crabb Robinson and Romantic War Correspondence*
Zoe Antony, *"There is a Very Life in our Despair/Vitality of Poison:." The Byronic Hero's Melancholic Mediation of Napoleonic Europe*
- 18.00 Drinks Reception – Sir Roland Wilson Building

Thursday 6 October 2011

- 09.00-10.30 **Session III: War and Display** (Chair: Gillian Russell)
Sharon Peoples, *From the Shadows: Dress, War and Gender*
Deirdre Coleman, *Toussaint Louverture in the Johnston Collection*
Derek Allan, *Goya and the Disasters of War*
- 10.30-11.00 Tea/Coffee Break
- 11.00-12.00 **Keynote Lecture III: Philip Shaw**
Embodied Violence: Art, War and the Transmission of Affect
- 12.00-13.00 Lunch Break
- 13.00-14.30 **Session IV: Aesthetics of Modern Warfare** (Chair: Simon Bainbridge)
Bruce Buchan, *Civilised Soldiers and Savage Warriors: Ossian's Footnote in the History of Enlightenment Political Thought*
Nick Mansfield, *"I am the Destroyer of Worlds": The Aesthetic Doubleness of War*
- 14.30-15.30 **Keynote Lecture IV: Jonathan Lamb**
Shandeism and the Shame of War
- 15.30-16.00 Tea/Coffee Break
- 16.00-17.30 **Session V: Victorian Emotion** (Chair: Robert White)
Eleanor Morecroft, *William Napier, War and Feeling: Themes in the Life and Work of a Romantic Soldier-Historian*
Jan Lloyd Jones, *A Miles Gloriosus in Wessex: The figure of the comic soldier in Thomas Hardy's The Trumpet-Major*
Peter Putnis, *The Excitements of War at a Distance: Sydney and the Sudan, 1885*
- 19.00 Symposium Dinner

Friday 7 October 2011

- 09.30-10.30 **Keynote Lecture V: Daniel O'Quinn (Via Video Link)**
Lady Mary Wortley Montagu's Cosmopolitan Melancholia: War, Hospitality and Refugee Enlightenment
- 10.30-11.00 Tea/Coffee Break
- 11.00-12.00 **Session VI: Memories of War** (Chair: Bruce Buchan)
Philip Dwyer, *War Stories: French Veteran Narratives and the "Experience of War" in the Nineteenth-Century*
Craig Wilcox, *Inheriting Waterloo*
- 12.00-13.00 Lunch Break
- 13.00-14.30 **Session VII: The Art of War** (Chair: Philip Shaw)
Tom Ford, *Mists of Peace, Fogs of War*
Tom McLean, *Marketing Heroes in Robert Ker Porter's Panoramas*
Jennifer Kalionis, *The "Reasoned Crisis of the Soul": Viewing Images of War*
- 14.30-15.30 **Keynote Lecture VI: Simon Bainbridge**
"War by other means": Battling Boney After Waterloo
- 15.30-16.00 Tea/Coffee Break
- 16.00-17.30 **Session VIII: War's Ephemera** (Chair: Mary Favret)
Ellen Gill, Letters, *Love & Duty*
Gillian Russell, *Ephemeral War and Peace: the Peace Celebrations of 1814*
Katrina O'Loughlin, *"A Habitation to Wolves and Bears": Janet Schaw's Uncivil Landscapes of North Carolina, 1775*
- 17.30-18.00 Closing Discussion

Derek Allan

‘Goya and the Disasters of War’

If Goya had died in his early forties, writes André Malraux, ‘he would have been one decorative baroque artist among others’, and one, moreover, that ‘counts for relatively little beside Fragonard or Watteau’. But at age forty-four, following a severe illness that left him deaf for life, Goya developed an art of a very different kind – an art that rejected the notions of beauty, aesthetic delectation, and cultivated taste that baroque art and the founders of Enlightenment aesthetics had taken for granted. Often favouring the austere medium of engraving, this new Goya invented a visual world radically at odds with the temper of his times, a domain of irremediable suffering lying like a dark underworld beneath the civilized surface of the Age of Reason.

One of the principal subjects of Goya’s sinister netherworld is the anguish and cruelty of war, something that the Spain of his times came to know well in its vicious struggles with occupying French forces in the early years of the nineteenth century. A world away from the *fêtes galantes* of Watteau or Fragonard, Goya’s series of etchings entitled the *Disasters of War* is an unrelenting catalogue of barbarity suggesting an assessment of the human condition very different from that of many Enlightenment thinkers, and a vision of war contrasting sharply with the scenes of military glory depicted in the paintings of some of his nineteenth century successors.

This paper will explore the affects of war as interpreted by Goya in his *Disasters of War* and in certain other works such as his celebrated *3 May 1808*. The discussion will be accompanied by PowerPoint images of works by Goya and other relevant artists of the period.

Derek Allan’s principal interests are the theory of art and literature. His book *Art and the Human Adventure: André Malraux’s Theory of Art* was published in 2009. Current interests include the eighteenth century French novelist, Laclos (*Les Liaisons dangereuses*) and the art of Francisco Goya. Derek is a School Visitor in the School of Cultural Inquiry at the Australian National University.

Zoe Antony

“There is a Very Life in our Despair/Vitality of Poison:” The Byronic Hero’s Melancholic Mediation of Napoleonic Europe’

In 1818 Keats wrote “Axioms ... are not axioms until they are proved upon our pulses: We read fine things but never feel them to the full until we have gone the same steps as the Author.” George Gordon Byron (1788 – 1824) achieves this coupling of ideology and affect in his representation of, and response to, the Napoleonic Wars. He indeed prompts his readers to follow the erring, yet empathetic steps of the eponymous Byronic hero in “Childe Harold’s Pilgrimage: a Romaunt” (1812, 1816, 1818). “Childe Harold,” which has an affective response to warfare at its center, was an instantaneous critical and popular success. Thus it is vital for examining the development of affective dimensions of warfare during the long eighteenth century. As the reader follows Harold’s journey across freshly bleeding and scarred Europe, Byron creates a sense of emotional immediacy and yet also estrangement and intellectual distance. I propose that this affective force is melancholy.

The very mutivalency of melancholy allows Byron’s nuanced and affective polemic on War. Byron draws on a long and evolving European discourse of melancholy including its debilitating emotional pain and feeling of helplessness coupled with compensatory indications of genius - including insight, meditation and creativity. He channels these forces to lament war’s tragic grotesquery and to venerate ‘enlightened’ war and civilised peace. Byron explores both a sense of collective melancholy as a resultant ‘weltschmerz’ (‘world-weariness’) from war-scarred Europe and a more subjective and visionary melancholy.

I will be specifically focusing on Byron’s representations of the Peninsular War in Spain and the Battle of Waterloo. I will also draw on connections to the Ottoman Empire’s occupation of Greece and broader meditations on different forms of war.

Zoe Antony is currently undertaking a PhD in English Literature at the University of Melbourne, under the supervision of Dr Clara Tuite and Professor Deirdre Coleman. Her research area is Romantic Orientalism, specifically the readaptation of romance for radical political ends via ‘Oriental Tales.’ She will be focussing on selected and interlinked works by Clara Reeve, Walter Savage Landor and George Gordon Byron. Political allegory is a key focus but she is also considering the representation of internal British politics, particularly gender politics. She is interested in the multivalent discourse of Orientalism and its latent anxieties within the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century. This current talk connects to earlier research work for her Honour’s thesis, on the melancholic core of the Byronic Hero, its multivalent significance and appeal.

Simon Bainbridge

“‘War by other means’: Battling Boney After Waterloo’

This lecture takes Foucault's suggestive argument that war occupies a key function even in peace-time society as a way into considering some of the many forms in which British culture continued its conflict with Napoleon Bonaparte throughout the nineteenth century. After a brief summary of some of the many media through which the Battle of Waterloo was represented and re-enacted in Britain, the lecture focuses on one performance, which it sees as characteristic in its ambivalent treatment of the French Emperor, making him at once sublime and ridiculous. In the second half, the lecture argues that the contest with Napoleon became internalised in British society, moving from the public sphere of the performance space to the private space of the home. It makes this argument through an examination of the proliferation of icons of Napoleon within the British home, concluding with a reading of a literary text from 1904 which offers remarkable insights into the extraordinary popularity of these icon while itself restaging the battle with Bonaparte.

Simon Bainbridge is Professor of Romantic Studies at Lancaster University. He is the author of the monographs *Napoleon and English Romanticism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995) and *British Poetry and the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars: Visions of Conflict* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), the editor of *Romanticism: A Sourcebook* (Houndmills: Palgrave 2008), and has written many essays and articles on the writing of the Romantic period, particularly in relation to its historical context. He is co-director of the Wordsworth Centre at Lancaster University and is a past president of the British Society for Romantic Studies. His current research projects include the representation of Napoleon in Britain after Waterloo and the literature of mountaineering in the Romantic period.

Bruce Buchan

'Civilised Soldiers and Savage Warriors: Ossian's Footnote in the History of Enlightenment Political Thought'

In the 1768 edition of Adam Ferguson's (1723-1816) *Essay on the History of Civil Society*, a brief footnote alerted his readers that the author's depiction of so-called 'savages' in America was based not only on published accounts of them by European travellers, but even more on the 'concurring representations of living witnesses' who had dealt with Indigenous Americans 'in the course of trade, of war, and of treaties'. I want to explore the implications of this unassuming footnote to help explain Ferguson's seemingly paradoxical military reflections; his positive appraisal of archaic 'savage' martial virtue, but condemnation of 'savage' war; his antipathy toward modern professional soldiers, yet an abiding enthusiasm for modern civilised warfare. Whoever the source(s) referred to in Ferguson's footnote may have been, I want to suggest that a likely possibility was that one of them was James Macpherson (1736-1796), the driving force behind the publication of the celebrated poems of Ossian between 1760 and 1763, and arguably the perpetrator of one of the greatest literary hoaxes of all time. Macpherson had served briefly as secretary to Ferguson's friend, George Johnstone, then Governor of West Florida, in 1764-66. Ferguson's friendship with Macpherson originated in the 1750's when he, among others of the Edinburgh literati, warmly welcomed the young Macpherson's detection and compilation of the poems purportedly still extant in the Highlands of Scotland, of the supposed third century (CE) warrior-bard, Ossian. Whatever the pedigree of these poems, and of Ferguson's personal involvement in helping to perpetrate the 'hoax' – over both of which debate has continued – the poems unmistakably celebrate an ancient Gaelic and 'savage' martial virtue. This paper will therefore serve as an investigation of the Ossianic context for Ferguson's paradoxical military reflections. This context encompassed disparate elements, a nostalgia for the archaic martial virtue of the 'savage' Highlands, a condemnation of modern professional soldiers, a celebration of the civilised laws of modern warfare, and the colonial deprecation of the 'savage' warfare waged by and against Indigenous Americans.

Bruce Buchan is an inaugural winner of an ARC Future Fellowship. He is a political theorist with an interest in the historical articulation of key concepts in Western traditions of thought. His research has focussed on tracing the role of concepts such as security, civilisation, savagery, and corruption in political discourse on war, empire, Australia's colonisation, and international relations. His recent publications include a series of papers on the conceptual history of security, on the 'subject' of war, on political violence and the concept of the body politic, a jointly edited collection of essays on human mortality in *Cultural Studies Review* (17.1, 2011), and a monograph: *The Empire of Political Thought: Indigenous Australians and the Language of Colonial Government* (Pickering and Chatto, 2008). He is currently working on a joint monograph (with Prof Lisa Hill) on the conceptual history of corruption. His Future Fellowship research investigates the conceptual history of asymmetric warfare and security.

Frances Clarke

'Experiences of Suffering: Comparing Victorian and Modern Soldiers'

Experiences of wartime pain are always unique. All wars produce physical devastation and recurrent trauma. Yet the way these impacts are felt and understood necessarily change over time, for suffering exists at once in the body and the mind. Nowhere is the cultural mediation of suffering more obvious than in soldiers' experiences of amputation in different wartime contexts. In order to explore the historical specificity of wartime suffering, my paper compares the private writings of men who lost limbs in America's Civil War (1861-1865) and the First World War (1914-1918)—two conflicts that produced unprecedented numbers of amputees. In general, scholars have analyzed the shared suffering of such men, examining, for instance, the similar challenges they faced in adjusting to post-war society, or the way they were forced to confront masculine ideals that privileged healthy bodies. I aim instead to contrast the way these men experienced their injuries by focusing on the emotional texture and culture of the wars in which they fought.

Frances Clarke is a senior lecturer in the Department of History at the University of Sydney. She works on the American Civil War, with an emphasis on gender and race relations in nineteenth-century America and the politics of remembering war. She has published *War Stories: Suffering and Sacrifice in the Civil War North* (University of Chicago Press, 2011), and is currently working on a two volume edited collection on the shifting memory of the American Revolution.

Deirdre Coleman

'Toussaint Louverture in the Johnston Collection, East Melbourne'

Until recently there has been a general silencing of the Haitian Revolution by Western historiography, a silence attributed by Michel-Rolph Trouillot to the fact that the revolution was 'unthinkable even as it happened'. This paper returns to the blood-soaked wars between France and Saint Domingue/Haiti via an early nineteenth-century French automaton clock, supposedly of the revolutionary slave leader, Toussaint Louverture. This clock, made by the leading craftsman Jean David Maillardet (1768-1834), was acquired in the 1980s by the antiques dealer, William Johnston, and is now on display in Johnston's house museum in East Melbourne. Splendidly sartorial and expensively decorated in gilt-bronze (ormolu), the automaton answers to Napoleon's dismissive epithet for Toussaint—'this gilded African'. Online searching reveals many more of these exotically 'blinged-up', Falstaffian automata, all named 'Toussaint Louverture'. Was this France's way of forgetting its defeat by the black Jacobins? More precisely, what is the relationship between the Johnston automaton and the heroic black Spartacus and 'Avenger of the New World' prophesied by Mercier and Raynal in the mid-eighteenth century?

Deirdre Coleman holds the Robert Wallace Chair of English at the University of Melbourne. She has recently edited a collection of essays with Hilary Fraser, *Minds Bodies Machines 1770-1920* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2011).

Philip Dwyer

‘War Stories: French Veteran Narratives and the “Experience of War” in the Nineteenth-Century’

The Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars were the first in history to be written about in great numbers by the common soldier. The first half of the nineteenth century was, moreover, a seminal period in the evolution of war memoirs. During this time we see a different approach to war and how it was recalled and remembered, more personal, more experiential than ever before. It is the beginning of what we now recognize as the modern war memoir. This paper examines a variety of memoirs, almost all French, published from the late eighteenth through to the twentieth century. It argues that the historical accuracy of these veteran narratives is unimportant. Instead, they reveal much more about how the wars were portrayed, and how they were remembered. In that sense, these narratives also reveal what veterans in hindsight thought and felt about particular events. Here too the reality of the ‘experience of war’ is not as important as the cultural construct that is presented. As such, war narratives are an important source for the ways in which veterans and French society preferred to remember and process the past.

Philip Dwyer is Associate Professor in European History at the University of Newcastle, Australia. His primary research interest is eighteenth-century Europe with a particular emphasis on the Napoleonic Empire. He is the author of *Napoleon: The Path to Power* (Bloomsbury, 2007 and Yale University Press, 2008), which won the National Biography Award in 2008, and was shortlisted for the inaugural Prime Minister’s Literary Awards. He is currently working on the sequel as well as a number of related projects that include the war memoir, and the massacre in history, both funded by the Australia Research Council. He currently heads the Violence and Social Order research program in the Humanities Research Institute at the University of Newcastle.

Mary A. Favret

'The General Fast and Humiliation'

For every year of the French and Napoleonic Wars and sometimes twice a year, the monarch of Great Britain appointed a given day for the General Fast and Humiliation of himself and all his subjects. Though the practice dates to Elizabethan times, its great frequency in the Romantic period had no precedent. This talk will examine the structure and politics of general fasting and humiliation, with special emphasis on the changing meaning of humiliation.

What work might general, not individual, humiliation perform? And what ties it specifically to wartime and the domestic population? With help from the work of Sylvan Tompkins, the talk will track this particular history of humiliation as it offers what Tompkins might call an "affect theory."

Mary A. Favret is currently a Plumer Fellow at St. Anne's College, Oxford University. Professor of English and Affiliate Professor of Gender Studies at Indiana University-Bloomington, she has written extensively on British Romantic literature, issues of gender and genre, representations of violence, and the novels and reception of Jane Austen. Her most recent book is *War at a Distance: Romanticism and the Making of Modern Wartime* (Princeton UP 2010).

Tom Ford

'Mists of Peace, Fogs of War'

Language is 'like the *Medium* through which visible objects pass,' Locke comments in 1700: it 'does not seldom cast a Mist before our Eyes.' If we could remedy the imperfections of words, knowledge would be much easier to attain—and, Locke adds, 'perhaps, Peace too.' Locke's comment could simply express the Enlightenment norm of clarity: both uncertainty and conflict would ideally be dispelled by a perfectly transparent medium. But Locke might also be taken to suggest that peace could arise via a new attention to mediation. For a medium can also be a mediator—an intermediary between adversaries as well as a means of transmission.

For the best-known military theorist of the Napoleonic wars, war is famously a quasi-aesthetic condition of uncertainty, contradiction, contingency, grotesquerie, moonlight and fog. War thickens the media of perception and communication. But this thickening can also be undertaken as a deliberate artistic project. Much canonical Romanticism is just such an art of the medium (which is why Clausewitzian war is a recognisably Romantic affective syndrome). Hazlitt formulates the point negatively when he attacks Turner's paintings as 'pictures of nothing': the object of representation has been eclipsed by the pure means of painting. Mediality has displaced mimesis. But once both war and peace are understood as partly medial conditions, then aesthetic mediality can paradoxically become mimetic—a way of allegorising militarised experience. This paper considers Turner's diptych of 1842, *Peace—Burial at Sea* and *War. The Exile and the Rock Limpet*, as one such allegory

Tom Ford is an Australian Research Council Postdoctoral Fellow at the Humanities Research Centre, The Australian National University

Ellen Gill

'Letters, Love & Duty'

Philip Broke was an eighteenth-century naval officer who sought to balance his domestic and public duty. His letters to his wife, Loo, reveal the pain and anguish that separation during war caused. Although he was loyal to the navy, he also greatly valued his domestic life and responsibilities. Through his correspondence Broke expressed his love for his wife and his family and tried to maintain his role within the home. This paper considers the importance of correspondence in the lives of British naval families in the late Georgian period. Through the correspondence of married couples, in particular Broke and his wife, Loo, this paper explores the wartime experiences of eighteenth-century families. It looks at the point where domestic life and public duty intersected. Eighteenth-century constructions of masculinity, femininity, loyalty, duty and family are also explored alongside the correspondence to come to an understanding of individuals and their families. The emotional affects of conflict will be examined throughout the paper, particularly the strain that conflict placed on eighteenth-century couples and inturn their families.

Ellen Gill is a PhD candidate at the University of Sydney. Her PhD thesis "Devoting the Pen to your service': Naval Families, War and Duty in Britain, c.1740-1820', through an exploration of personal correspondence, considers the way individuals understood and balanced the competing demands of family and the nation.

Jan Lloyd Jones

‘A *Miles Gloriosus* in Wessex: The figure of the comic soldier in Thomas Hardy’s *The Trumpet-Major*’

In *The Trumpet-Major* (published 1880) Thomas Hardy presented a picture of rural life in the south of England at a time when Napoleon’s troops were imminently expected to land. He drew upon stories told to him by those who remembered the Napoleonic Wars and he augmented these with his own extensive research. Hardy’s background allowed him unique access to these two sources of historical knowledge and he combined them in *The Trumpet-Major* in a way that amply demonstrated what he called his “idiosyncratic mode of regard”.

As well as combining oral and written versions of history, *The Trumpet-Major* also blends together the literary forms of romantic comedy and historical chronicle. This mingling of forms results in a novel that is tonally ambiguous. After presenting a substantially comic story-line featuring a variety of stock comic characters such as the braggart soldier, the miser and the fool, the book ends on an undeniably elegiac note: the trumpet-major does not win his lady love, but goes back to the wars in Europe, “to blow his trumpet till silenced for ever upon one of the bloody battle-fields of Spain”.

This paper examines the way comedy is counterpointed against history in *The Trumpet-Major*. It looks at how Hardy juxtaposes the eternal stock characters of literature with ephemeral historical characters to create a sense of longing and nostalgia for the ever-receding past. In particular it looks at the figure of the cowardly braggart soldier presented in the novel – Festus Derriman, a stock character in the long tradition of the *miles gloriosus*. It asks how this comic soldier fares in Hardy’s novel, where he comes from, and to what extent laughter in general has been associated with the literature of war.

J. K. Lloyd Jones is a Visiting Fellow in English in the School of Cultural Inquiry at the Australian National University. She has published on comedy, Thomas Hardy, and Oscar Wilde and is the co-editor of five collections of essays — *Words For their Own Sake* (2004), *An ABC of Lying* (2004), *Renaissance Perspectives* (2006), *Art and Time* (2007), and *Art and Authenticity* (2010) — published by Australian Scholarly Publishing, Melbourne. These collections have arisen out of a series of conferences on aesthetics she has convened at the ANU. Her monograph, *Thomas Hardy and the Comic Muse*, was published by Cambridge Scholars Publishing in 2009. Dr Lloyd Jones has also edited a collection of essays by medievalist and philologist Professor Ralph W. V. Elliott, *Chaucer’s Landscapes* (2010). She is convening a conference for the Australasian Humour Studies Network entitled “Varieties of Humour and Laughter”, to be held at the ANU in February 2012.

Jennifer Kalionis

‘The “Reasoned Crisis of the Soul”¹: Viewing Images of War’

The emotional burden of war lives on in the work of artists who create arresting and affecting images in response to conflict. These artworks frequently depict the horrors of war, in protestation of the shocking violence of conflict and as a record of the affective experience of combatants and witnesses, survivors and the fallen. This is particularly true of the Romantic period, an era in modern history shaped by warfare. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries depictions of war were still commemorations of the courage and nobility of service, but also increasingly introspective mediations on the true costs of war.

This paper will examine the slow shift away from classical depictions of battle in British art of the period, towards emotive representations of war and its affects and the reception of images. Through an art historical examination of powerful images of conflict, such as J.M.W. Turner’s painting *The Field of Waterloo* (1818), this paper will consider artworks that are recollections of the experience of war, which have found several audiences since their creation and continue to ensnare the viewer in an affective moral experience or panic. This paper will show that the psychological discomfort that these artworks rouse in the viewer has a longevity that outlasts the initial antagonism of the first viewing, which accesses the emotional terror of war and deliberately elicits an affecting response from audiences.

Jennifer Kalionis is a PhD candidate and art history tutor at the University of Adelaide.

¹ From the Wilfred Owen’s poem, *S.I.W.*, (1917-1918).

Catherine Kelly

'The Militarization of British Army Medicine 1793-1830'

During the French Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars, British doctors travelled in unprecedented numbers to foreign locations where they were confronted with battlefield injuries, virulent and mysterious diseases, and complex military politics that few had encountered before. Nearly twenty-five years of sustained warfare affected the professional identity embraced by those doctors and thoroughly militarized their approach to medicine. The general features of this new professional identity were: a belief in the superiority of 'on-the-field training' over academic study (although not to its exclusion); a preference for empirical approaches to medicine; a challenge to the division between surgery and physic; an incorporation of the practical needs of military operations into schemes for the preservation of health; and the adoption of the military norms and values that prevailed at the time. This identity came to be expressed by military practitioners in opposition to the professional claims of their civilian colleagues. It was also asserted against practitioners within the army perceived as being too civilian in their approach.

In this paper I will demonstrate how the experience of war, particularly for medical officers attached to regiments, contributed to the production of this new professional identity. The effects of service can be seen in the in the development of their medical theories as they internalised military values and incorporated them into their definition of 'good' medicine. Another important aspect of their professional development during this period was their aspiration to officer status within the military. Many attempted to claim this status by writing on military and cultural matters unrelated to the practice of medicine. By the end of the Wars, those military medical officers who had cultivated the approbation of their superiors in both these ways enjoyed greater professional success than those who clung to a traditional civilian medical identity. The consequent articulation of a 'military medical specialty' had important consequences for British medicine in the years after the Wars.

Catherine Kelly has recently published 'War and the Militarization of British Army Medicine 1793-1830' (Pickering and Chatto, 2011)

Jonathan Lamb

'Shandeism and the Shame of War.'

Edmund Blunden and Ernst Junger are two of no doubt many combatants who found Tristram Shandy good company in the trenches of the First World War. It is after all a novel based on the experiences of someone who fought in the same place and in the same way: uncle Toby, who goes home after he is wounded in Flanders to turn his garden into a model of his last siege. Were Blunden and Junger seduced by this amusing horticultural parallel to the grim constraints of warfare, or are they (and Sterne) digging a bit deeper? In the great garden poems of Marvell there is a sinister side to the way in which the landscape and the field of war relate. There is no easy irony or comfort available when on the one hand Marvell compares a chest-wound to a blazon of flowers, or gleaners to pillagers. As for Toby he is fated to travel by war-metaphors and garden ornaments all the way from a blow that silences him to a shock that makes him forever modest. I want to set out by assuming that Toby's is a case of affect as defined by Kant: 'a surprise through sensation, by means of which the mind's composure . . . is suspended, [making] reflection impossible' (Anthropology from a pragmatic point of view, 2011, 354). The challenges incident to coping with such a surprise are equaled by the difficulties of representing it. This is because it is fertile feelings and images which, like Marvell's, have nothing in common with each other. In Blunden's *Undertones of War* and Juenger's *Copse 125* and *Storm of Steel* there is frequent mention of the ghostly pathos of ruined things, as if they were in some spectral way almost coincident with their unspoilt originals, their very traces of violence an invitation to serenity:

It was curious and touching . . . to walk among their white shutters and painted garden railings in the thick mists of morning, with that compelled spirit of reverence which those village ruins awoke in me, more vividly perhaps than a Wren masterpiece can to-day. To visit such relics of a yesterday whose luckless situation almost denied them the imagined piety of contemplation and pity, was a part of my war. (Blunden 2000: 54)

From what angle, in whose eye, and at what time would these ruins be denied the contemplative piety that shields them from—what? Is it shame? When Hector asks Achilles to respect his corpse, his unrelenting foe replies, 'The dogs and fowles in foulest use/ Shall teare thee up, thy corse exposed to all the Greeks' abuse' (Chapman 22.289-90). Ruin seems caught between this sort of ruthless vision and the gentler glance of pity; and the shame of its dilemma, in needing so badly from the latter what the former violently strips away, seems to organize in one way or another all the affects of war.

Jonathan Lamb is the Andrew W. Mellon Professor of the Humanities at Vanderbilt University. His book *The Things Things Say* has just been published by Princeton University Press. Currently he is a visiting fellow at the National Maritime Museum in Greenwich, where he is researching a book on the affective aspects of scurvy, called 'Scurvy: The Disease of Discovery.'

Nick Mansfield

“I am the Destroyer of Worlds”: The Aesthetic Doubleness of War’

War is often evoked as a catastrophe that we need art to make sense of. Yet, in the modern period, war has been commonly experienced as meaning-making, or as the essence and a high form of art. This conundrum captures the doubleness of war, as that which both threatens and promises meaning, at one and the same time. This paper will investigate the problem of the aesthetic double-ness of war as it emerges in conjunction with Romanticism, in Kantian aesthetic philosophy, in the work of perhaps the most influential Kantian, Carl von Clausewitz, and as it can be traced through Freud to Levinas and Derrida.

Nick Mansfield is Professor of Critical and Cultural Studies and Dean, Higher Degree Research at Macquarie University in Sydney. His most recent books are *Theorizing War: From Hobbes to Badiou* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2008) and *The God Who Deconstructs Himself: Subjectivity and Sovereignty Between Freud, Bataille and Derrida* (Fordham UP, 2010). He is one of the founding co-editors of the journal *Derrida Today*, published by Edinburgh University Press.

Thomas McLean

'Marketing Heroes in Robert Ker Porter's Panoramas'

The emergence of the panorama in late eighteenth-century Britain has inspired a wealth of new work on Romantic-era spectacle. Much of this work focuses on the panorama as site of metropolitan identity, absorptive spectatorship, ephemeral empowerment, or precinematic experience. Far less work has focused on individual panoramas or artists. This paper examines the early career of Robert Ker Porter to suggest what might be gained by focusing on the panoramic artist and specific works rather than the general experience. Drawing on unpublished correspondence, I will examine Porter's six panoramas, produced yearly between 1800 and 1805, his methods of marketing them, and their varied fates. Porter first transferred historical painting to the epic scale of the panorama in his *Storming of Seringapatam*, which was seen by large crowds at the London Lyceum for nine months in 1800. Five works of similar scale followed, four showing battles of the Napoleonic wars and a fifth on the Battle of Agincourt. These works traveled all over the United Kingdom, and several toured the United States and Europe. At each exhibition, visitors could purchase a pamphlet that gave a detailed description of the battle and identified important figures in the painting. Key scenes from the panoramas were reproduced in engravings, which allowed these scenes of war to transfer from public to private spectacle. Porter's images presented the sweep of contemporary war but also isolated individual heroes like Sir Sydney Smith and Ralph Abercrombie. His sisters Jane and Anna Maria Porter successfully transferred both of these aspects of their brother's paintings to their own innovative historical romances.

Thomas McLean is Senior Lecturer in English at the University of Otago. He is the editor of *Further Letters of Joanna Baillie* (2010) and author of *The Other East and Nineteenth-Century British Literature: Imagining Poland and the Russian Empire* (forthcoming December 2011).

Eleanor Morecroft

‘William Napier, War and Feeling: Themes in the Life and Work of a Romantic Soldier-Historian’

William Napier (1785-1860) was an Anglo-Irish officer who fought in the 1807-14 war in the Iberian Peninsula. After retiring from active service, he became famous for his *History of the War in the Peninsula* (pub.1828-1840), the most influential military text published in nineteenth-century Britain. It was a work inspired and driven by personal feeling. Napier designed it as a monument to the bravery of British soldiers, hoping to inspire patriotic responses to military achievement, immortalise the names of officers he admired, and inspire charity for ordinary soldiers who languished on meagre pensions. The *History* was highly successful, being popular with general as well as military readers. Napier’s dramatic, evocative writing style, enhanced by the fact that he was an eyewitness to many of the events he narrated, meant that his work had a wide public appeal, and its political and patriotic symbolisms gave the Peninsular War a broader cultural relevance. The *History* was calculated to produce a fundamentally emotional response in its readers. It did, although these feelings were sometimes violently negative, and responded to in kind. Napier was a highly-strung man who experienced and gave vent to extremes of emotion on a regular basis, often in public. After his death, writers used personal correspondence and anecdotal evidence to construct an idealised image of Napier as a man of both action and feeling. This responded to widespread cultural precedents that Napier himself had helped to set.

Eleanor Morecroft is an early career academic who recently completed her PhD at the University of Queensland. Her dissertation was on the life and work of Sir William Napier, the nineteenth-century British military historian. Her research interests include war, politics and society in the Napoleonic and Victorian periods, Romantic and Victorian literature, and early British historiography of the European witch hunts.

Katrina O'Loughlin

'A habitation to wolves and bears': Janet Schaw's uncivil landscapes of North Carolina, 1775'

In late 1774, the Scotswoman Janet Schaw set out with members of her family for the Caribbean and the American Colonies. One brother, Alexander, was to be delivered to his new administrative post at St Kitts; a second, absent from home since a young man, was to be visited at his plantation Schawfield; and three children were to be reunited with their father John Rutherford in North Carolina. Janet shepherded the group, recording all her observations and feelings in a series of frank journal letters addressed to a close friend. The romantic familial sociability of the 'little wooden kingdom' of the Jamaica Packet is soon riven however, with the realities of economic desperation and commercial greed. An encounter with the King's ship *The Boyn* in difficult circumstances at sea introduces the realities of a larger and no less intense conflict: the movement for independence in the American Colonies.

From Schaw's contrast between the idealized commercial sociability of Antigua and St Kitts, and the blighted, unpeopled, and antisocial landscapes of North Carolina, emerges a vivid emotional vocabulary of civil conflict. Although largely free of actual soldiers or the marks of military conflict, the topography, agriculture and cultural practices of the American colonies are all tainted, in Schaw's account, by the Revolutionaries' indolence and spite. This paper explores that affective power of landscape as a theatre of civil and ideological conflict in Schaw's *Journal* (first published 1921), where the War for Independence is represented as a series of irreconcilable differences in feeling and practice inscribed directly on the contested terrain.

Katrina O'Loughlin completed her doctorate at the University of Melbourne (2009), and has now joined the University of Western Australia as an Honorary Research Fellow. Her research interests include eighteenth-century English literary and material cultures with a focus on women's writing, travel, and the representation of subjectivity and cultural difference. She has published on women's travel, writing, gender and identity, and taught in the School of Culture and Communication at the University of Melbourne. Current projects include the development of her doctoral research for publication, and a proposed edition of two female-authored Russian travel narratives of the 1730's. She is also pursuing new research in the area of eighteenth-century cosmopolitanisms, with a focus on correspondence, cultural exchange and intellectual sociability in the second half of the century.

Daniel O'Quinn

Lady Mary Wortley Montagu's Cosmopolitan Melancholia: War, Hospitality and Refugee Enlightenment

Perhaps the most moving—and under-discussed—moment in Lady Mary Wortley Montagu's Embassy Letters is the gap between Letter 38 from Belgrade Village dated 17 June 1717 and Letter 39 from Pera dated 4 January 1718. During this silent interlude Edward Wortley was endeavouring to secure a peace between the Austrians and Ottoman Porte sometime in the fall of 1717. However, his ambassadorial actions were undermined by English rivals at the Viennese court. As Wortley was bringing both sides together into an agreement, Prince Eugene besieged Belgrade in the summer and utterly razed the city in late August. As Isobel Grundy notes, the fate of Lady Mary's friend Achmet-Beg, the effendi whom she learns so much from during her stay in Belgrade, is unknown thus this gap in the letters carries a powerful affective weight. After the fall of Belgrade, the terms on which Wortley had previously negotiated peace between the Austrians and the Turks were eventually adopted and he had the humiliating experience of being excluded from the congress in which the Treaty of Passarowitz was signed.

When one recognizes that the gap in the letters relegates personal loss and failed diplomacy to the condition of silence, then one can discern that it marks a crucial structural bridge in a larger argument about war, diplomacy and empire in the text. The gap lies between Montagu's explicit attack on the war in Letter 24, where her horrified observations of the dead bodies from the carnage inflicted by Prince Eugene at Karlowitz and Peterwardein escalate into a full fledged declaration of man's irrationality, and her allegorical attack on the glorification of war in Letter 45, in which she recounts her journey from Constantinople to Tunis. In the latter letter to the Abbé Conti, she parodies this section of Sandys's *Journey* by replacing his allusions to the *Iliad* with subtle references to the horrors suffered by the Trojan women after the fall of Troy. In the process she aligns her return from Ottoman lands with Aeneas's journey from Troy to Carthage. Bracketed between these two meditations on war, the silence regarding the subversion of Wortley's diplomacy and the death of her closest Ottoman interlocutor Achmet-Beg becomes the traumatic core of the Embassy Letters. Silence is the representational mode most suited to stand not only for the death of intimate enlightened conversation, but also for the collapse of diplomatic and cultural exchange which had defined British relations—not just Lady Mary's—with the Ottomans under the capitulations granted with the formation of the Levant company. In short, that silence marks a crucial melancholy beginning.

After establishing the importance of this silence in the Letters, this essay pays special attention to Montagu's rehearsal of the Aeneid and to specific allusions to Aeneas's journey to the underworld with the Cumaean Sybil. Immediately prior to the gap in the letters, Montagu describes the scene of writing as akin to that of the shades trapped in underworld in a continual state of longing. My argument is that this metaphorical link between writing and traveling among the Virgilian shades has extensive implications for Montagu's representation of war and cosmopolitan exchange, because the letters are themselves a counter-epic that emphasize the cost of conquest. In this sense, the essay addresses the specific theme of the conference because her critique of war is intimately tied to vital scenes of affective exchange.

Daniel O'Quinn Daniel O'Quinn is a Professor in the School of English and Theatre Studies at the University of Guelph. He is the author of *Staging Governance: Theatrical Imperialism in London, 1770-1800* (The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2005), which received Honorable Mention for the Bernard Hewitt Prize for Excellence in Theatre History from the American Society for Theatre Research. He has co-edited the *Cambridge Companion to British Theatre, 1730-1830* (2007) with Jane Moody, and has edited the *Travels of Mirza Abu Taleb Khan* for Broadview Press (2008).

Sharon Peoples

'From the Shadows: Dress, War and Gender'

Military uniforms are imbued with emotion. Before the 20th century the role of military dress had little to do with the protection of the body. Their role was and continues to be a vehicle for the presentation of the ideal or intended heroic masculinity, as well they are a social mechanism which marks the distinction between the military body and the civilian body, between enemies and allies, and between males and females. The relationship between women and military uniforms is often viewed as simply as patriotism. This paper will argue that there is a more complex emotional arrangement, particularly in the 18th century. Some women overtly rallied for and against wars, while others conspired to prevent their men from impressments. Others dressed in military inspired fashions. Some like the female cross-dressers or 'amazons' such as Hannah Snell, took on direct roles covertly in the military, or as spies and messengers. The focus of the paper is on women who played out these various roles using military uniforms to facilitate their actions and the anxieties of warfare that their actions caused.

According to James Scott, power relationships are divided into the subordinate and the dominant. Both groups operate under a 'public transcript', that is understood and familiar to both (Scott 1990). Dressing in a military uniform is an excellent vehicle for communicating this concept. Military officers must give a credible performance, speaking the right lines and producing the right gestures, or in Maussian terms the correct technique of the body. The haughtiness, the facial expression, the tilt of the head, and standing with hands interlocked behind one's back are associated with the bearing of power. Those dressed in military uniforms have to give a credible performance aligning with the military norm of masculinity

Sharon Peoples was appointed convener on Museum Education and Heritage Interpretation in 2011 and as lecturer in the Internship Program of the Liberal Arts at the Research School of Humanities in 2008. She completed her PhD in 2009 in Fashion Theory within the Art History Department at the ANU. Her thesis investigated the issue of appearance and power in military uniforms in the eighteenth century. While this project began by examining cross-dressing in the military, the research turned to the formation of the 'normative' masculine body and examined how a female body might inhabit, not only such an institutional masculine dress, but also what Marcel Mauss termed 'techniques of the body'. Sharon maintains a profile as an exhibiting artist, lecturing in textiles at the ANU School of Art, curating textile exhibitions and writing in the crafts.

Peter Putnis

'The Excitements of War at a Distance: Sydney and the Sudan, 1885'

News of the death of the much-admired British general, Charles Gordon, in Khartoum in late January 1885 was first published in the London *Times* of the 11 February. A cable announcing the dramatic news and suggesting that Gordon had been betrayed by his own Egyptian forces was rushed to Sydney in time for publication in afternoon newspapers of the same date. Thus the people of London and Sydney learnt of and reacted to this event, as mediated by cabled news, almost at the same time. They could also monitor each other's reactions to it (at least as reported in the press) thus enabling a sense of shared concern. Newspapers at the time spoke of the "correspondence of feeling" in Sydney and London. The *Times*' Sydney correspondent told British readers that the news of Gordon's death led to "a widespread feeling of gloom [in Sydney] as if everyone had suffered a personal calamity." The reporting of such impressions was usually not disinterested. The press of both Britain and Australia led public outrage at the death of Gordon stirring up feelings amongst the public that they pretended to be merely portraying. There is no doubt, however, that the death of Gordon sparked off three extraordinary, emotionally-charged weeks in Sydney.

The bare facts are that, on receipt of the news and after only minimal consultation, the New South Wales Acting Premier, William Bede Dalley, cabled the British Government offering troops to join the British in a military campaign against the Sudanese. To the surprise of many, the offer was accepted. Just three weeks later, on 3 March on a holiday declared for the occasion, a force of some seven hundred and fifty men was dispatched from Sydney for Sudan's Red Sea port of Suakin to fight the Sudanese. This was the first time that an Australian government had sent troops overseas to fight in an imperial war.

This paper examines this troubling episode within its historical communication and media context. It explores how, following the decision to send troops, public opinion in support of the war was mobilized in Sydney, building on the initial emotional impact of the news of the death of Gordon. The sending of troops, though of little significance in military terms, was a powerful demonstration of the way unity of feeling and purpose across the British Empire could operate in times of war in this age of telegraphy. The episode also, however, demonstrated how rapidly community enthusiasm for war (the "martial spirit") could dissipate after the departure of troops for overseas, particularly when it became evident to the people at home that their excited expectation of "heroic action" abroad would go unrealized.

Peter Putnis is Professor of Communication at the University of Canberra. The focus of his research is on international communication and media history, especially the political economy of international news production. He is currently undertaking the Australian Research Council funded project, 'Shaping the National Outlook: Overseas news in the Australian press 1900-1950.' He has recently edited, with Chandrika Kaul of St Andrews University and Jürgen Wilke of the University of Mainz, the volume *International Communication and Global News Networks: Historical Perspectives* (Hampton Press, 2011).

Neil Ramsey

'Henry Crabb Robinson and Romantic War Correspondence'

Although it is common in studies of war and the media to identify Henry Crabb Robinson as the first war correspondent, particularly via his reporting of the Peninsula War from 1808 to 09 for the London Times, there has to date been almost no commentary on the nature of his correspondence. Rather, Robinson serves as a minor footnote in the history of war reporting, which is seen to begin properly with William Howard Russell's coverage of the Crimean War in the 1850s. Yet in various ways private correspondence was coming to prominence in the British reportage of the Napoleonic Wars, a development that was pivotal to establishing the centrality of the newspapers, particularly the London Times, to the control of information on war. In this paper, I examine Robinson's correspondence to reflect on the significance of this development in war reporting. In the style and facticity of his correspondence, Robinson's reporting was little different from other private correspondence appearing in the papers, which was largely subordinate to official government despatches and the editorial overview of the wars provided by the newspaper editor. Yet the consistency of Robinson's reporting, that his reports formed a separate series within the broader context of the daily serialization of war in the papers, was unique. I argue that Robinson's reporting inserted a private, interiorized writing subject into the overall process of reporting the wars as a national event. Although his reporting did not achieve prominence, it did coincide more broadly with a new role for private correspondence as a medium for reporting and debating the wars and drawing individuals into the national experience of events.

Neil Ramsey is an Australian Research Council Postdoctoral Fellow in the School of Humanities and Languages, the University of Western Sydney. He has a forthcoming monograph, *The Military Memoir and Romantic Literary Culture, 1780-1835* (Ashgate, 2012), and is currently undertaking a three year postdoctoral fellowship, *War, Literary Culture and Masculinity in Romantic Period Britain, 1750-1850*, which examines the broad field of Romantic period military and naval war writing.

Gillian Russell,

‘Ephemeral War and Peace: the Peace Celebrations of 1814’

In the summer of 1814 the defeat of Napoleon was celebrated by a number of public events throughout the British Isles. Beginning with numerous peace festivals in towns and villages in the provinces, the celebrations culminated in early August with the Prince Regent’s ‘Jubilee’ in the royal parks of Westminster. Crowds flocked to witness a sham naval battle on the Serpentine and shows of fireworks centred around elaborate temporary edifices, including a Chinese pagoda and a ‘Temple of Concord’. In *The Theatres of War* (1995), I discussed these events in terms of the history of war and theatricality. In this paper I revisit the peace celebrations as occasions of wartime sociability, mediated through the extensive use of ephemeral forms of print. Two important collectors of printed ephemera, Sarah Sophia Banks and Francis Place, made the peace celebrations a particular object of interest and the material they collected represents alternative archives of the occasion, from differing political perspectives. This paper explores this literature to suggest ways in which ephemerality can be identified as one of Romantic wartime’s constitutive affects.

Gillian Russell is an Australian Research Council Professorial Fellow in the School of Cultural Inquiry, The Australian National University. She is author of *The Theatres of War: Performance, Politics and Society 1793-1815* (1995) and has published essays on Romantic period war writing in *The Cambridge Companion to War Writing*, ed. Kate McLoughlin (2009) and *A Companion to Jane Austen*, ed. Clara Tuite and Claudia Johnson (2009).

Philip Shaw

'Embodied Violence: Art, War and the Transmission of Affect'

In this paper I look at how military paintings and visual displays in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries affected the moods and behaviour of individuals and groups. The works I focus on, Turner's *Army of the Medes* (1801), the illuminations constructed for the peace celebrations of 1801 and 1802, and Wilkie's *Chelsea Pensioners* (1822), provoked extraordinary reactions in audiences ranging, in the case of Turner's painting, from shared sensations of suffocation and stupefaction in the face of the Sublime, through outbreaks of violence and aggression among the crowds admiring the illuminations in Portland Square, to the riotous behaviour of visitors seeking a glimpse of Wilkie's celebrated painting at the Royal Academy. That works intended to cement social, cognitive and emotional distinctions in the wake of war should become the occasions for disorderly breakdowns raises some interesting questions about the relations between art, war and the communication of affect. In *The Transmission of Affect* (2004), Teresa Brennan has argued that 'visual images, like auditory traces [...] have a direct physical impact' and that these 'constitute transmissions breaching the bounds between individual and environment'. In this paper I extend the implications of this claim to explore the ways in which military art runs the risk of restoring an affective response to war denied by processes of political, historical and scientific abstraction.

Philip Shaw is Professor of Romantic Studies at the University of Leicester. He maintains research interests in Romantic poetry and prose and the visual arts. His most recent publications include: *The Sublime* (2006), *Waterloo and the Romantic Imagination* (2002), as editor, *Romantic Wars: Studies in Culture and Conflict, 1789-1822* (2000) and, as co-editor with Vincent Newey, *Mortal Pages, Literary Lives: Studies in Nineteenth-Century Autobiography* (1996). From 2008-2010 he was a co-investigator for the AHRC/Tate Major Research project *The Sublime Object*. He is Reviews Editor of *The Byron Journal* and in 2008 he was elected a Fellow of the English Association. His current project, which is due for publication by Ashgate in 2013, is called *Suffering and Sentiment in Romantic Military Art*.

Peter Stanley

'The wounded: casualties and surgeons; representation and reality'

The experience of the wounded of the Revolutionary and Napoleonic wars surely exemplifies 'pain, pity, and grief', emotions evident among both the casualties and the surgeons called upon to treat them. Understanding this experience, in the cockpits of ships of the line or in barns or churches after battle on land, presents many difficulties: of circumstance, evidence, language, imagination and indeed of human and historical comprehension. Analysis must entail an awareness of what actually happened when men wounded by musket, cannon, bayonet and swords reached operating tables. But it must also involve an historiographical dimension: the way in which this medical experience has been represented. Traditionally, understanding the experience of surgery of this period is bedeviled by misrepresentation – especially that it was unavoidably crude, brutal and anyway liable to end in death. To contemporary surgeons, however, war operated as a gigantic laboratory that accelerated the development of a 'scientific' or 'modern' surgery. We therefore see a fundamental disjunction between the ways in which they saw surgery and how we have tended to regard it. Understanding the perspective of British military and naval surgeons in the Revolutionary and Napoleonic wars offers a means to reconsider them as self-conscious precursors and carriers of ideas of modernity, an interpretation severely at odds with the traditional view. This paper is based upon my *For Fear of Pain: British Surgery 1790-1850* (Editions Rodopi/Wellcome Institute for Medical History, Amsterdam/London, 2003).

Peter Stanley heads the Centre for Historical Research at the National Museum of Australia. He has published 23 books, mainly in Australian military social history, but including *White Mutiny: British Military Culture in India 1825-75*. His most recent books include *Men of Mont St Quentin, Commando to Colditz, Bad Characters: Sex, Crime, Mutiny, Murder and the Australian Imperial Force*, and, in 2011 *Simpson's Donkey* (a novel for children) and *Digger Smith and Australia's Great War*.

Craig Wilcox

'Inheriting Waterloo'

News of Waterloo reached British enclaves in Australia in 1816, prompting much the same celebrations, donations and patriotic verse that had been seen in England shortly after the battle. Official pride in the British contribution to the final struggle against Napoleon was stamped onto the landscape as the enclaves expanded and Waterloo and Wellington became common names applied to hills and creeks, streets and subdivisions. Popular prints and books gradually built and reinforced in easily traceable ways a public memory of the battle, but the importance of private memories, diffused less obviously with the temporary or permanent migration of hundreds of Waterloo veterans, is usually forgotten. By 1900 Waterloo seemed almost as much an Australian victory as an English one. It was a significant spectre in the collective Australian colonial imagination, something between dream and nightmare, frequently conjured up in paint, prose and song as a yardstick of what a titanic, testing battle was really like, and a source of a pride that would—or should—bind Australians together forever as inheritors of British heroism.

Craig Wilcox is a military historian who lives and writes in Sydney. He's worked at the Australian War Memorial and had fellowships at the National Museum of Australia and the Menzies Centre for Australian Studies in London. His most recent book is *Red Coat Dreaming* (Cambridge University Press 2009), an essay in colonial Australia's relationship with the British army.

Robert White,

‘Literary Responses to Battlefield Suffering from Erasmus to Dunant’

This paper had its seed set in my book *Pacifism and English Literature: Minstrels of Peace* (2008), where I suggest that one impulse leading eventually to the setting up of the International Red Cross and Red Crescent movement came through English literary responses to the Napoleonic wars. For example, Leigh Hunt’s antiwar poem ‘Doctor Sword and Doctor Pen’ was published alongside Robert Southey’s eyewitness account in prose, ‘The Horrors of War’, and both describe the wounded and dying on the battlefield. This conflict was one of the most visible and public of wars, at a time when mass newspapers were becoming influential, since it came long before governments would or could ‘embed’ reporters in military ranks to shield them from direct observation and control what they reported. Among other works, Thackeray’s historical novel *Vanity Fair* set in the earlier period shows that war could be something of a spectator sport at the time, and that English officers went to France with their whole families who stayed nearby while battles raged. A similar impression is gleaned from many of the poems published daily in British newspapers, collected in the invaluable work by Betty Bennett, *British War Poetry In the Age of Romanticism 1793 – 1815*. The period was also significant since it saw the Apothecaries Act of 1815 passed, to avoid the emerging public scandal that unqualified quacks were profiting from the gory work to be done after battles. So this period does seem to be crucial in awakening public knowledge, emotional responses, and political action, in response to the terrible carnage, and it suggests that literary figures were amongst those who provided an eloquent vehicle for the kinds of outraged social recognition that eventually led to the founding of the Red Cross in 1863. However, having now focused on the particular issue, I can see that in fact the history stretched much further into the past – back to Erasmus in 1500 – and into the future after 1815 to Henri Dunant’s remarkable *A Memory of Solferino*, and needs to be considered in multiple contexts requiring a longer perspective.

Robert White is Winthrop Professor of English at the University of Western Australia, and Programme Leader (Meanings) for the ARC Centre of Excellence in the History of Emotions. He has published books and articles on Shakespeare and also on Keats and Hazlitt, most recently *John Keats: A Literary Life* (Palgrave 2010). His book *Pacifism and English Literature: Minstrels of Peace* (Palgrave, 2008) was ‘Book of the Week’ in *Times Higher Education* when it appeared. It deals with poetry which is pacifist in perspective, from Anglo Saxon to the present day. Bob has also published articles and chapters arguing that since the existence of Humanities is perennially threatened by war, teachers are justified in teaching their subjects from a polemically pacifist stance.