English Romantic Theatre during the Peninsular War

Susan Valladares
Oriel College

Thesis submitted to the Board of the Faculty of English Language and Literature, University of Oxford, for the Degree of Philosophy.

Trinity Term, 2010

Word Count: 99,767

ABSTRACT

English Romantic Theatre during the Peninsular War

Susan Valladares
Oriel College, Oxford

Thesis submitted to the Board of the Faculty of English Language and Literature, University of Oxford for the Degree of Philosophy.
Trinity Term, 2010

Between 1808 and 1814 England was committed to an expensive and bloody campaign against the French invasion of the Iberian Peninsula. The Peninsular War, as it came to be known, was initially celebrated as a war of national independence that attracted widespread support. Soon after, it was characterised by political scandal and public controversy.

Literary scholars have devoted much attention to the political, social and cultural effects of the French Revolution, but have written surprisingly little about the later years of the campaign against Napoleonic France. The principle objective of this thesis is to offer the first in-depth study of English theatre during the Peninsular War. It considers the most popular plays in performance, and asks what their staging, publication, and reception history reveal about a nation's literary tastes and its political self-awareness.

Sheridan's *Pizarro*, a play about the Spanish conquest of Peru, was one of the most successful plays on the Romantic stage. A close analysis of this play considers its popularity between 1799 and 1815, and what it suggests about the flexibility of the contemporary repertoire system. Audiences' ability to ascribe topical inflections to old plays helps explain the demand for Shakespeare and the bard's political import to wartime audiences. This thesis explores the London patent stages and popular minor theatres, where programmes were restricted to song, dance, and spectacle. It also offers a case study of provincial theatre in Bristol, underscoring the significant limitations in assumptions that the metropolitan stage was representative of national trends.

Archival research on the London and Bristol stages has been crucial to this study, which is based on an examination of playbills, memoranda, letters, playtexts, and prints. The newsprint and cartoons discussed offer an important political and historical framework, suggestive of the cultural expectations likely to have influenced contemporary playgoers.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

I

List of Illustrations	*page*	iii
Acknowledgements		v
List of Abbreviations		vii

Introduction 1

Chapter One: *Pizarro*: Sheridan's 'Political Proteus' 23

Chapter Two: British Accounts of Spain and Portugal 74

Chapter Three: Performing Shakespeare during the Peninsular War 138

Chapter Four: 'Spectacular Spain': The Peninsular War at the Minor Theatres 198

Chapter Five: The Peninsular War and Theatre in the Provinces: Bristol, a case study 256

Conclusion 319

Bibliography
(List of Works Consulted) 332

II

APPENDICES

Appendix A: Covent Garden Playbills 1807-1815 1

Appendix B: Drury Lane Playbills 1807-1815 130

Appendix C: Bristol Theatre Royal Playbills 1807-1815 243

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

Frontispieces

1. Marcos Villar, 'Un Pasar de las Seguidillas Boleras', c.1790s. Photographed with kind permission of the Garrick Club.
2. 'Pizzaro [*sic*] a New Play or the Drury-Lane Masquerade', 1799. Published by S W Fores. Courtesy of the British Museum.
3. Charles Williams, 'John Bull amongst the Spaniards, or Boney decently provided for', 1808. Courtesy of the British Museum.
4. George Cruikshank, 'The Rehearsal or the Baron and the Elephant', 1812. Courtesy of the British Museum.
5. 'An Entire New Plan of the Cities of London and Westminster', 1805. Published by Edward Mogg. Courtesy of the British Museum.
6. Thomas Rowlandson, 'John Bull arming the Spaniards', 1808. Courtesy of the Curzon Collection.
7. Charles Williams, 'Extraordinary News', 1808. Courtesy of the British Museum.

Main illustrations

1. Thomas Rowlandson, 'King Joe and Co making the most of their time previous to quitting Madrid', September 1808. Courtesy of the British Museum. p. 16
2. James Gillray, 'Pizarro contemplating over the product of his new Peruvian Mine', 1799. Courtesy of the British Museum. p. 45
3. James Gillray, 'Pizzarro [*sic*]', 1799. Courtesy of the British Museum. p. 45
4. James Gillray, 'John Bull and the Alarmist', 1803. Courtesy of the British Museum. p. 48
5. William Holland, 'The Ghost of Queen Elizabeth!!', 1803. Courtesy of the British Museum. p. 54
6. James Gillray, 'Le Diable Boiteux; or, The Devil Upon Two Sticks', 1806. Courtesy of the British Museum. p. 77
7. Isaac Cruikshank, 'The Noble Spaniard; or, Britannia assisting the cause of freedom all over the world, whither friend or foe', 1808. Courtesy of the British Museum. p. 103
8. Isaac Cruikshank, 'Apollyon, the Devil's Generalissimo, addressing his legions!!', 1808. Courtesy of the British Museum. p. 105
9. George Cruikshank, 'Twelfth Night, or, what you will', 1815. Courtesy of the British Museum. p. 112
10. Thomas Phillips, 'Portrait of Lord Byron', 1814. p. 128
11. Kemble's annotations for the grand procession in *Coriolanus*. Covent Garden Promptbook, 1811. Reproduced in *John Philip Kemble Promptbooks*, ed. by Charles Shattuck (Charlottesville: Published for the Folger Shakespeare Library, 1974). p. 192
12. Robert Dodd, 'The Blood Red Knight, or The Fatal Bridge', 1810. p. 206

Courtesy of the British Museum.
13. Playbill advertising *The Honest Criminal* (Astley's Amphitheatre, 7 June 1808). Photographed with kind permission of the Victoria and Albert Theatre Museum Collection. p. 213
14. Playbill advertising *Richard III* (Royal Circus, 11 September 1815) Royal Circus. Photographed with kind permission of the Victoria and Albert Theatre Museum Collection. p. 247
15. Playbill advertising *The Battle Of Salamanca* (Bristol's Regency Theatre, 30 December 1812). Photographed with kind permission of the Bristol Central Reference Library. p. 314
16. Title- page for 'The Battle of Bussaco', 1810. Courtesy of the Centre for Anglo-Portuguese Studies, Lisbon. p. 326

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This thesis would not have been possible without the financial assistance of the AHRC. I feel very privileged to have also received the Paul Ries Collin Graduate Scholarship, Stephen Copley Postgraduate Research Award, Kathleen Barker Award, Abbey-Santander Travel Award, and continued support from the Meyerstein Fund and Oriel College travel bursaries. These funding bodies have provided financial peace of mind that has been greatly appreciated, and helped cover the costs of international conferences and research trips.

I would like to extend my heartfelt gratitude to my supervisor, Fiona Stafford, who has been a source of knowledge, inspiration, support, and gentle motivation throughout these three years. Her comments have always been insightful and constructive, and I thank her for all the kindness, warmth, and enthusiasm she has invested into this project.

At the Bodleian Library, I am particularly grateful to Julie Anne Lambert, for introducing me to the John Johnson Collection; Colin Harris, for being so caring, helpful and good natured; and Ernesto at URR, for his courteousness in dealing with my stack requests. I spent many happy hours at the Garrick Library, where I greatly benefited from Marcus Risdell's knowledge and geniality. I thank the staff at the British Library, V&A Theatre Collection, LMA, and Guildhall Library for welcoming me into their working environment. In Bristol, I owe special gratitude to the staff at the Central Reference Library, and University Theatre Collection, especially Heather Romaine. At the Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo, I am particularly grateful to Paulo Tremoceiro for his very polite attention to my visit. I would also like to thank the staff at OUCS; Shaun Darby, for his friendly help with my administrative enquiries; and Robert Malloy, for his expertise and kindness in printing and binding this thesis.

I had many happy memories of Oriel as my undergraduate college, and it has been a delight to return as a graduate student. I am especially grateful to Glenn Black, for his kind and thoughtful regard for my personal and academic welfare. Our chats, SCR lunches, and postcards gave added meaning to 'the master plan'. Marjory Szurko has been a good friend throughout my time in college. I am grateful for her lovely tour of the Senior Library, e-mails and, above all, the wonderful hugs.

This thesis has benefited from the input of several scholars, and I am particularly appreciative for the correspondence exchanged with Frederick Burwick, Fernando Cervantes and Peter Garside. I owe my passion for Romantic drama to Jane Moody, whose exciting theatre course at York opened my eyes to a fascinating world of performance and spectatorship. I am grateful to Joselyn Almeida for all her personal and professional kindness since Bologna; and Andrew McNeillie, for the inspiration of books and bossa nova. I would also like to thank Femi Oyebode, who has accompanied my studies with an interest and kindness that I value tremendously. In Portugal, it was a great pleasure to meet David Cranmer, who offered valuable guidance on the research archives in Libson; and Maria de Deus Duarte, whose congeniality made CEAP such a special study base.

My friends have kept me happy and grounded throughout my studies. I would particularly like to thank Kiran Hinds, whose laughter, creativity and encouragement I hold close to heart; Tomoe Kumojima, for her beautiful smile and love for literature; Hannah Hogben, for high-table Mondays and the imaginative

freedom of the J&F adventures; and Malihe Tabatabaie, for her friendship, near and far.

On an even more personal note, I would like to thank UB, who has been loving, patient and supportive throughout; his zen wisdom and classical guitar music have been invaluable. I am indebted to my godmother, Tia Gloria, for all her generosity and solidarity; her kindness is beyond measure. Hwasung Lee has given me incredible love and support. I thank him especially for the happiness of his company, and all the loving protection he gives me (*du sarang*).

My deepest and most personal gratitude goes to my mum and brother for their unconditional love and encouragement. I think especially of Leme beach and walks in the snow to FRH. Nothing in my life would be possible without them, and I love them with all my heart. In gratitude for all the strength, happiness, and peace their love brings me, I dedicate this thesis to them, with special *carinho* for Tia Jô.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

BCRL	Bristol Central Reference Library
BG	*Bristol Gazette*
BL	*Biographia Literaria; or, Biographical Sketches of my Literary Life & Opinions,* ed. by James Engell and W. Jackson Bate (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983), 2 vols
BM	*Bristol Mirror*
BTR	Bristol Theatre Royal
CC	*The Collected Works of Samuel Taylor Coleridge*, general editor Kathleen Coburn (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1969-2001), 16 vols
CG	Covent Garden
CHP	*Childe Harold's Pilgrimage*, in *The Complete Poetical Works*, ed. by Jerome J McGann, 7 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1980), Volume II
Cintra	*Concerning the Relations of Great Britain, Spain, and Portugal, to each other, and to the Common Enemy, at this Crisis; and Specifically as Affected by The Convention of Cintra: The Whole Brought to the test of those Principles, by which alone the Independence and Freedom of Nations can be Preserved or Recovered* (London: 1809), in *The Prose Works of William Wordsworth*, ed. by W J B Owen and Jane Worthington Smyser, 3 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1974), Volume I
DC	*Dramatic Censor*
DL	Drury Lane
EOT	*Essays On His Own Times in* The Morning Post *and* The Courier*,* ed. by David V Erdman (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1978), 3 vols
ER	*Edinburgh Review*
FFBJ	*Felix Farley's Bristol Journal*
GM	*Gentleman's Magazine*
Garrick	The Garrick Club, London
Grierson	*The Letters of Sir Walter Scott*, ed. by H J C Grierson, 12 vols (London: Constable, 1932-1937) Volumes II (1808-1811) and III (1811-1814)
Griggs	*Collected Letters of Samuel Taylor Coleridge*, ed. by Earl Leslie Griggs, 6 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1956-1971), Volume III
HM	*Harleian Miscellany*

JKP	*John Philip Kemble Promptbooks*, ed. by Charles H Shattuck, 11 volumes (Charlottesville: Published for the Folger Shakespeare Library, 1974)
KB/ 4/4	'Theatre Royal References (September 1805- August 1814)', Kathleen Barker Archive, University of Bristol Theatre Collection
KB/ 21/1	'Regency Theatre', Kathleen Barker Archive, University of Bristol Theatre
LMA	London Metropolitan Archives
MC	*Morning Chronicle*
MM	*Monthly Mirror*
MP	*Morning Post*
MR	*Monthly Review*
Moorman	*The Letters of William and Dorothy Wordsworth: The Middle Years*, ed. by the late Ernest de Selincourt, revised by Mary Moorman (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969), Part 1 (1806-1811).
Notebooks	*The Notebooks of Samuel Taylor Coleridge*, ed. by Kathleen Coburn, 5 vols (London: Routledge, 1957-2002), Volume III.
PH	*The Parliamentary History of England, from the Earliest Period to the Year 1803*, ed. by T C Hansard.
RS	Robert Southey
SP	Sans Pareil Theatre
STC	Samuel Taylor Coleridge
TB	*True Briton*
TE	*Theatrical Examiner*
V&A	Victoria & Albert Theatre Museum Collection
Warter	*Selections from the Letters of Robert Southey*, ed. by his son-in-law John Wood Warter, in 4 vols (London: 1856), Volume II
WS	Walter Scott
WW	William Wordsworth

Frontispiece1: Marcos Villar, ‘Un Pasar de las Seguidillas Boleras’, c.1790s. Prints purchased by J P Kemble during his visit to Spain (1802-3). Inscribed to Charles Farley, Covent Garden. The image originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA because of ‘copyright’. The image was sourced at the Garrick Club.

INTRODUCTION

On Saturday, 23 January 1813 London's two winter patents were both staging new plays. The Drury Lane playbills had been advertising Coleridge's *Remorse* for more than a week. On its opening night, audiences learnt that the cast was divided into 'Spaniards' and Moors', that there would be 'An Invocation by Mr Bland' in Act III, and that a prologue and epilogue would also be delivered, as was customary for new pieces.[1] Not to be outdone, Covent Garden announced that its new play, a comedy called *The Students of Salamanca*, would bring together the company's main comic talents (including Messrs. Jones, Fawcett, Abbott, and Matthews), and display new scenery, dresses and decorations.[2] The competition was fierce, and as it turned out, there could only be one winner. *The Students of Salamanca* failed, in spite of managerial efforts to revive it as *The Delusion*, a compressed piece in once act. *Remorse*, on the other hand, received mixed critical reviews but became one of the most successful new tragedies on the Romantic stage. While the plays clearly had very little in common when it came to genre, literariness, or characterization, they did share one important attribute: a Spanish theme.

Since 1808, England, Spain, and Portugal had been allied against Napoleon, who made his first attempt to control the Iberian Peninsula in 1807. Napoleon had hoped that with direct access to the Spanish and Portuguese markets, he could enforce the Continental Blockade and win the war against Britain by choking its economy. When matters came to a head, the Portuguese Royal family fled to Brazil, under a Royal Navy escort. At first, Spain remained an English enemy, and even colluded with Napoleon, who promised a partition of Portugal in exchange for

[1] DL Playbill, 23 January 1813 (Garrick).
[2] CG Playbill, 23 January 1813 (Garrick).

military assistance. But by May 1808, Napoleon's attempt to manoeuvre his own brother, Joseph Bonaparte, to the Spanish throne prompted a popular revolt against French rule. Madrileños, armed with only makeshift weapons and household furniture, took to the streets, determined to resist the invading army. Murat and his troops mercilessly suppressed the revolt, but the protests in Madrid had already sparked a series of similar uprisings across the country. In June, the British government agreed to an alliance with Spain; it would send aid, arms, and manpower to the Peninsula for the next six years.

The transformation of the Iberian Peninsula into Britain's new warzone led to an immediate and widespread demand for more information on Spain and Portugal. Almost overnight, a lucrative market developed for any literature on the Iberian nations and their peoples. This was still the case in 1813, when *Remorse* and *The Students of Salamanca* were first performed:

> Together with our victorious dispatches we have Spanish buttons, chocolates, mantles, fans, feathers, and bolderos [*sic*], was it then to be supposed that the zeal of managers, shouldering each other in the eager discharge of a new office, should forget to provide us with a new Spanish play?[3]

The critic from *The British Review* imagines that as soon as the Drury Lane committee received Coleridge's playtext, 'found that its scene was laid in Spain' and had 'Dons and Donnas for the chief agents', it was lauded as 'exactly what the managers wanted'.[4] The main effect of his listing is to underline that in early nineteenth-century England, traces of Spanish culture were everywhere. His reference to 'chocolates' and 'feathers' evinces that the public's interest in Spain extended to South America, resulting in a commodification of all things Spanish. In

---

[3] 'The British Review' (1813), in *The Romantics Reviewed: Contemporary Reviews of British Romantic Writers,* ed. Donald H Reiman, 9 vols (London: Garland Publishing, 1972), Part A, I, 221-6 (222).
[4] *Ibid*.

fact, many of the fashionable ladies who went to Drury Lane and Covent Garden in 1813 were likely to be wearing 'Anglo-Spanish dress'. The previous year, women had started to wear the 'Ciudad Rodrigo cap' of 'crimson velvet, trimmed with gold lace'.[5] Throughout the war, ladies' garments incorporated symbolic tokens of the 'victorious dispatches' alluded to by the *British Review*.

At the start of 1812, Wellington had launched a surprise attack on the French forces at Ciudad Rodrigo, enabling him to lay siege of Badajoz, and from there, to advance to Salamanca. In July, Drury Lane and Covent Garden were both closed for the summer vacation, but managers at London's minor theatres were quick to respond. Astley's Amphitheatre had a licence that extended from Easter to Michaelmas. The theatre, famous for its equestrian displays, announced in August 1812, that it would produce a 'grand Military Spectacle in two acts, called *The Battle of SALAMANCA! The Town Major and Spanish Heroine*':

> founded on the glorious and complete Defeat of General Marmont and the whole French Army, by the Allied Army, commanded by the Heroic and Gallant Field Marshal the Marquis of Wellington.[6]

During the Peninsular War, theatregoing had become a patriotic, celebratory activity.

Previous campaigns in the Peninsular War had, however, met with less success. When news of the Convention of Cintra reached England, the terms of agreement were considered a national embarrassment; the retreat at Corunna was a forceful blow to the military campaign; while Talavera cost thousands of lives, but yielded few advantages. The war may have started with a general consensus in its favour, but opinions were soon divided, and government Ministers subject to mounting criticism. Between 1807 and 1815, events in the Peninsula had a direct

---

[5] *MC*, 2 March 1812.
[6] *Ibid*., 31 August 1812.

effect on British culture. The *British Review*'s ironic depiction of theatre managers as military leaders, in fervent competition for box-office success, uses metaphor to depict an early nineteenth-century stage that not only recreated the literal theatres of war, but was itself a theatre for exploring the war's effects – political, social, and financial.

The past two decades have seen a growing interest in Romantic drama. Julie Carlson's *In the Theatre of Romanticism: Coleridge, Nationalism, Women* (1994), and Gillian Russell's *The Theatres of War: Performance, Politics and Society, 1793-1815* (1995) were groundbreaking publications in the mid-1990s, when a significant move was made to relate English theatre to the political controversies of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The Napoleonic Wars may have been fought on foreign soil, but in her study of the contemporary theatre, Russell shows that the wars were very much a part of popular British culture and society. More recently, Catherine Burroughs and Jane Moody have produced valuable work on the different kinds of theatre available during the period.[7] Their studies show that from closet drama to the illegitimate stage, there was a strong interrelationship between social and theatrical performances. I would like to add to this dynamic field of literary scholarship by investigating how the Peninsular War affected contemporary dramatic culture.

In his influential monograph, *Poetic Castles in Spain: British Romanticism and Figurations of Iberia* (2000), Diego Saglia identified Spain as one of the 'most neglected' of Romantic geographies.[8] His book offers the 'first survey and re-appraisal' of a country that attracted much interest in Romantic culture, but has been

[7] See Catherine Burroughs, *Closet Stages: Joanna Baillie and the Theater Theory of British Romantic Women Writers* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1997); and Jane Moody, *Illegitimate Theatre in London 1770-1840* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000).
[8] Diego Saglia, *Poetic Castles in Spain: British Romanticism and Figurations of Iberia* (Amsterdam-Atlanta: Rodopi, 2000), p. 11.

overlooked by literary historians. Saglia's comprehensive and detailed account of the various ways in which references to Spain featured in British literature between the 1810s and 1820s is foundational for anyone with an interest in the field.

Saglia's calls for more scholarship have received attention on both sides of the Atlantic. In the United States, Joselyn Almeida and Rebecca Cole Heinowitz are now exploring the literary connections between Spain, Britain, and South America; while Juan Sanchez, at Berkeley, has focused more specifically on poetic representations of Spain, especially in the works of Felicia Hemans. In Britain, Tim Fulford and Lynda Pratt have written several articles, and launched an ambitious digitization project that pays homage to the poet Robert Southey and his lifelong interest in the Iberian Peninsula. Simon Bainbridge has also made important contributions with *Napoleon and English Romanticism* (1995), and *British Poetry and the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars* (2003). Literary studies specific to the Peninsular War are, therefore, finally gaining the attention they deserve, but much remains to be done. Studies of the period continue to be overshadowed by work on the French Revolutionary Wars and their impact on British thinking. This thesis seeks to help redress the balance, by offering the first in-depth account of the English stage during the Peninsular War.

Theatrical representations of the war are an important area of study for understanding the Romantic period. In the early nineteenth century, the theatre was a popular, lively, and often boisterous public space, patronised by audiences of different sexes, social classes and age groups. Inside a typical Romantic theatre, the auditorium was divided into boxes, a pit, and two levels of galleries, with prices varying according to the seat's location. At the patent houses, the price of admission was six shillings for a box seat, three shillings and sixpence for admittance to the

pit, two shillings for the lower gallery, and one shilling for the upper gallery. Seats were less expensive at the minor theatres, where a view from the pit would typically cost two shillings. After 8:30 p.m., it was the custom for managers to charge 'half-price', taking into account that it was not infrequent for theatregoers to attend only selective parts of the advertised entertainments. Theatrical performances lasted several hours, and included musical overtures, spoken addresses, a mainpiece, an interlude of singing and dancing, and an afterpiece.

On 4 June 1810, the Covent Garden company played Shakespeare's *King Henry IV* (*1*), performed several songs during the interval, and to conclude, the popular pantomime of *Harlequin and Mother Goose*. The programme is exemplary of a repertoire system that mixed high and low genres; the lead actor from a serious mainpiece often assuming an entirely different role in the second half of the evening's entertainment. It was a system that thrived on stock plays, familiar to audiences who had developed strong expectations and opinions about how an actor should deliver a certain line or strike a climactic pose. In a theatre that made no distinction between the lighting onstage and in the auditorium, a night at the theatre demanded both participation and spectatorship. At the end of a new play, for instance, one of the actors would come forward to ask if it might be repeated. This was open for playgoers to decide, making their feelings known by loud expressions of approval or disaffect. Contemporary audiences are known to have sung hymns, cried, clapped, booed, talked back to performers and even engaged in active protest during a night at the theatre. Their responses to theatrical representations of the war offer a crucial indicator of political consciousness during the Romantic period.

To keep a lid on the political tensions played out in the nation's many theatres, British drama was subject to close censorship by the Lord Chamberlain's

Office. Until 1766, when letters patent were finally extended to theatres in the provinces, it was illegal for performers to act 'for hire, gain or reward' outside Westminster. The Licensing Act of 1737 also made it a requisite of statutory law that new playscripts had to be sent to the Examiner of Plays two weeks prior to performance at a 'legitimate' venue. The Examiner would then exercise his power of censorship and do away with any reference to political or religious matters. In the period 1807 to 1815, this post was filled by John Larpent, whose overall collection of more than two thousand and five hundred Manuscript plays has been preserved at the Huntington Library in California, and is available on microfiche at the British Library.[9] The collection includes several items with a Spanish or Portuguese theme, only one of which was denied a licence.[10] This was an application from Drury Lane, dated 11 February 1809, requesting permission to perform a 'Monody on the Death of Sir John Moore'.

Managers faced heavy fines and the threat of a revocation of their theatre licence if they failed to comply with the Examiner's decisions. Invariably, this meant they often exercised their own judgement before submitting plays for evaluation. Larpent's rejection of the 'Monody on the Death of Sir John Moore' is an interesting and curious example, explored in detail in Chapter One. The rejection suggests that by 1809, the Peninsular Campaign had become increasingly open to qualification and political hesitation. It helps explain why, for the remainder of the war, theatrical representations of the military campaign would be subject to close scrutiny, by audiences and managers, as well as the Examiner of Plays.

A rigid code of theatrical censorship did not mean that the Romantic stage was limited to a simplistic, or one-sided view of contemporary politics. In fact, far

[9] John Larpent was Examiner of Plays from 1778 until his death in 1824.
[10] N.B. Larpent seems to have deleted long passages from H B Code's *The Spanish Patriots 1000* [*sic*] *Years Ago*. Larpent Collection 1733. British Library Microfiche F254/490/1 and 2.

from reducing the theatre's capacity to engage in political commentary, legal restrictions on Romantic drama seem to have encouraged ever more innovative modes of delivering political appraisals and criticisms. Domestic concerns were often displaced to fictional, historicised settings, and/or re-imagined in foreign, exotic locales. The early nineteenth century also benefited from many technical advances in stage scenery and effect. While spectacular productions were often criticised for lacking real dramatic value, they permitted the visual aspect of performance to compensate for any restrictions on the spoken word. These strategies allowed managers to disguise the political message of their plays and taught audiences to develop sophisticated allegorical readings of performances.

Chapter One treats Sheridan's *Pizarro* (1799) as a case study for the early nineteenth-century repertoire. The play, which enjoyed a performance history spanning more than sixty years, is considered from three distinctive moments in British history. Changes in historical circumstances meant that during the Peninsular War, contemporary audiences approached *Pizarro* with new interests and expectations. Most of the plays staged at the patent houses were stock pieces from the eighteenth century. As a result, characterizations of the haughty Spaniard, imposing duennas, oppressive fathers, and indolent servants continued to be a familiar aspect of the early nineteenth-century dramatic repertoire.

England and Spain were hereditary enemies and, as Michael Duffy explains, the Spaniard was the foreigner most mistrusted by Englishmen.[11] With the alliance of 1808 there was, at least for a brief moment, an awareness of a diplomatic and political need to revise the stage's damning portrayals of the Spanish character.

---

[11] Michael Duffy, *The Englishman and the Foreigner* (Cambridge: Chadwyck-Healey, 1986), esp. pp. 23-7. In the eighteenth century alone, English and Spanish armies had been opposed in the War of the Spanish Succession (1702-1714), the War of the Quadruple Alliance (1718-1720), the War of Jenkins's Ear (1739-1748), and the American War of Independence (1775-1783). As late as 1807, Britain was preparing an expedition to claim Spanish land in South America.

Understanding, therefore, how a play like *Pizarro* could take on new meanings during the war helps tap into popular notions about identity, patriotic duty, and cultural sensitivity during the Romantic period.

To contextualise how playgoers' expectations may have shifted as a result of the Peninsular War, Chapter Two considers a range of texts with Spanish and Portuguese themes printed between 1808 and 1815. From popular history books to novels, poems, prints, and literary reviews, the publications testify to impressive generic variety. While there were various recurring interests such as the national character, the Moorish conquest, and Catholicism, method and effect could vary tremendously. Walter Scott and Robert Southey's very different treatment of the 'Count Julian' myth is a good example of this. Chapter Two also shows that despite the wide range of topical texts and images that flooded the British market during the war, the received image of Spain remained relatively unchanged.

Attempts to revise the Black Legend were fairly isolated, and confined to the early part of the campaign, when enthusiasm was already at its peak. Thereafter, accounts of contemporary Spain continued to be coloured by a mix of political caution and historical prejudice. After 1809, the stage Spaniard in sixteenth-century dress playing a comic or villainous role seemed, in fact, an entirely apt representation of the national mood. For many disillusioned Britons, ideas about Spanish politics remained predicated upon impressions of the Spaniards' excessive pride, inner cowardice, quixotic ambitions, religious fervour, and inherent laziness.

Britain's political relationship with Portugal was, nevertheless, very different from that enforced by the Anglo-Spanish alliance. Portugal was Britain's oldest ally, the Royal Navy played a crucial role in assisting the Braganzas' emigration to Brazil, the new Regency government had agreed to favourable trading terms for

British merchants and by 1810, almost half the recruits in the Allied army were Portuguese. Indeed, after the Convention of Cintra, all eyes had been on Portugal, and the outrage committed against its people.

The Convention was signed on 30 August 1808, after the French defeat at the Battle of Vimeiro. The British Generals, Wellesley, Burrard, and Dalrymple, had failed to recognise the decisiveness of their victory and agreed to remarkably generous terms. On 15 September, when news of the Convention first reached Britain, it was greeted with government-sponsored festivities, including cannon-fire from the Tower of London. The following day, when the terms of agreement were printed in the newspapers, the Convention received a very different response. Among several surprising concessions, were guarantees of a British escort for the safe evacuation of French troops and a clause permitting the French to depart with all their stolen booty.

Writing to Daniel Stuart, editor of the *Courier*, Wordsworth claimed that 'Never did any public event cause in my mind so much sorrow as the Convention of Cintra, both on account of the Spaniards and Portuguese, and on our own'.[12] Angry letters were published in newspapers, with editors of varying political persuasions agreeing that the Convention was a 'disgraceful compact'.[13] The Convention also featured in several satiric prints, including Charles Williams's 'Extraordinary News' (1808), which used two frames to contrast John Bull's enthusiastic celebration of Cintra, when the Tower guns were fired, with his shock the following day, when the treaty's terms were first made public. In 1809 and 1810, Portugal would be subject to another two French invasions.

---

[12] WW to Daniel Stuart (9 February 1809), in Moorman, p. 288.
[13] *MC*, 17 September 1808.

References to Portugal are, however, generally eclipsed by a much more pronounced interest in Spain. This meant that generalisations about Spain were often extended to Portugal, with observations about poor hygiene and strict religious codes common to both countries. Modern scholars of Romantic Hispanicism have also tended to overlook Portugal. Saglia acknowledges that in his study of nineteenth-century Spain, 'importantly related cultural geographies such as Portugal or Gibraltar have been only touched upon in passing'.[14] I include a section on Gibraltar in Chapter Two, which considers the symbolic value of 'the rock' to Anglo-Spanish political relations and the Romantic imagination. Portugal receives much more in-depth treatment. Chapter Four shows that one of the earliest theatrical responses to the Peninsular War occurred after the Braganzas' relocation from Lisbon to Brazil. Astley's topical spectacle, *The Honest Criminal* (1808) included, for example, a representation of the Prince Regent's landing at the Rio de Janeiro Bay. In the Conclusion, I then consider how the war affected Lisbon's theatres, and what government records suggest about the perceived value of theatrical performance to a city under direct military threat.

The Teatro São Carlos, Lisbon's main theatre, remained open during most of the war. It was, more precisely, an opera house, which, like the British theatre, functioned as a space where display and performativity could take on socially and politically symbolic significance. In *Fashionable Acts: Opera and Elite Culture in London, 1780-1880* (2007) Jennifer Hall-Whit offers a captivating overview of British aristocratic patronage and opera in the late Romantic and early Victorian periods. London's fourth patent house, the King's Theatre, was specifically licensed for the performance of opera.

---

[14] Saglia, p. 18.

Until 1820, English opera was, however, recognized as a socially exclusive venue, making it of less interest to this thesis. It is worth noting, nevertheless, that during the war, the King's Theatre added several obviously topical choices to its repertoire, including a performance of *La Climene* with Angelica Catalani.[15] The Conclusion explains that before Catalani came to London, she had been a star performer in Lisbon. Interestingly, as a consequence of the exodus of Catalani and other notable singers from the Teatro São Carlos, Lisbon's opera house was given permission to stage more 'popular' pieces, including patriotic ballets about the war and Portuguese musical comedies and farces.

The Haymarket, London's summer patent theatre, was something of an institutional anomaly, and features only briefly in this thesis. Since 1805, it had been increasingly reliant on music, meaning that any analysis of its repertoire, like that of the King's Theatre, would require a much stronger musicology-based approach. With its royal license confined to the summer season, the theatre operated only after the closure of Drury Lane and Covent Garden. Several actors from the winter patents would then be hired at the Haymarket, where they made up a new theatrical company.

This thesis considers, instead, the interplay between legitimate theatre at the winter patents, and summer entertainments on the illegitimate stage. In September 1808 the theatre at Covent Garden burnt down. Less than half a year later, Drury Lane suffered the same fate. Although the process of reconstruction was fraught with financial difficulties for the Drury Lane Committee, Covent Garden's reconstruction started almost straight away. While the building work was taking place, the company was relocated to the Haymarket, where the Christmas

[15] *DC* (May 1811), p. 261.

pantomime, *Harlequin and Mother Goose*, whetted the public appetite for a new theatre. According to the playbills, in the second scene, audiences would see 'an exact representation of the laying of the FOUNDATION STONE [...] which changes to a New Theatre'.[16] On 18 September 1809, as theatregoers rushed to the magnificent new playhouse, they were disappointed to discover that the price of admission to the boxes had been raised to seven shillings and those in the pit to four. There had also been a significant increase in the number of private boxes, at the expense of seating normally available in the pit.

Covent Garden's first audiences were quick to insist on a return to the 'old prices' (OP). For sixty-seven nights thereafter, the theatre became the site of loud and contentious disagreements between the OPs and the management and its supporters, known as advocates of the NP (new prices). In his seminal study, *Theatre and Disorder in Late Georgian London* (1992), Marc Baer notes that only the war with France received more media coverage than the theatre riots.[17] The OP riots had transformed the auditorium into a performance space in its own right. Theatre audiences were not just spectators; they were well-informed, self-aware, and assertive political participants. The riots, and their related media coverage, capture audience activism as an enabling but also dangerous aspect of Romantic theatregoing. Occurring at the same time as the Cintra furore, the OP crowds would have seemed particularly dangerous, adding to fears of mass action associated with the French Revolution.

In April 1809, Wordsworth confided to Francis Wrangham that his *Cintra* pamphlet would be likely to 'create me a world of enemies, and call forth the old

[16] CG Playbill, 7 January 1809 (Garrick).
[17] Marc Baer, *Theatre and Disorder in Late Georgian London* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), p. 45.

yell of Jacobinism'.[18] In fact, Wordsworth was so conscious that he had written against the grain of government policy, that as late as May 1809, he was frantically entreating Stuart and De Quincey to purge his prose of any potentially libellous content. Wordsworth had signed his name on the pamphlet's title page, and was acutely aware that his authorial stance and political views would be at risk of government censorship and attack. His letters reveal that the war in the Peninsula had brought back, but also refigured, the personal and political urgencies of the French Revolution. By recovering the importance of the Peninsular War to the culture of the period, this thesis helps revise traditional assumptions about political ideology in the first quarter of the nineteenth century.

The Peninsular War was a problematic, partisan struggle. Continual fluxes in political consciousness between 1807 and 1815 complicate any straightforward representation of ideological allegiances during this period. Chapter Three questions if, as a result of this, the nation's theatrical heritage acquired new political inflections. During the Peninsular War years, the politicisation of Shakespeare was ever-present. The *Morning Chronicle*, for example, printed a parody of *Coriolanus* in order to comment on the OP riots. During the riots, Covent Garden's actor-manager, John Philip Kemble, often made appearances before angry theatrical audiences. He was desperate to quell disturbances but reluctant to make any concessions. As an actor, Kemble was well known for his interpretation of the proud roman general in Shakespeare's play, which, significantly, had not been performed since the start of the riots. The *Morning Chronicle* underscored the play's new relevance by parodying Kemble's treatment of the OPs with

[18] WW to Francis Wrangham (end March 1809), in Moorman, p. 312

Coriolanus's contemptuous address to the plebeians of Rome.[19] During the war, Shakespeare's plays offered a valuable means of political address, both onstage and off.

In the summer of 1808, *The Examiner* suggested: 'The words of SHAKESPEARE may be most appropriately applied to King JOSEPH: — "That *from* the shelf the precious diadem stole, | And put it in his pocket".[20] The quotation became the basis for Rowlandson's print 'King Joe and Co. Making the Most of their Time Previous to Quitting Madrid' (Figure 1), printed only a few weeks later. The transposition of Shakespeare from the theatre to political journalism and visual culture, suggests all sorts of fascinating connections between the Romantic stage and these related media. Affairs of the Peninsula and ideas about Shakespeare were very much part of the cultural consciousness in the period. The bard's centrality to early nineteenth-century print culture proves that there was a high level of literary knowledge among print viewers, readers – and theatregoers. Although political cartoons were expensive items, bought by select social circles, their display in print shop windows meant they were viewed by any number of passers by. Satirical prints are reproduced at various points in this thesis, and used as evidence of the visual intelligence of early nineteenth-century audiences.

[19] *MC*, 23 November 1809.
[20] *Examiner*, 21 August 1808.

1: Thomas Rowlandson, 'King Joe and Co. making the most of their time previous to quitting Madrid', (September 1808).

Most of the plays discussed in this thesis invested heavily in new scenes and stage machinery, with some of the greatest hits of the period, such as *Timour the Tartar* and *Blue Beard,* introducing live horses to the stage. The expansion of London's patent houses in the 1790s had made theatregoing a much less intimate experience. After Covent Garden and Drury Lane were rebuilt in 1809 and 1812, their audience capacity amounted to three thousand, and two thousand and six hundred spectators respectively. In *Biographia Literaria*, Coleridge pointedly notes that as a result of these changes, the greater part of the Drury Lane audience had 'small chance of *hearing* a word'.[21] To compensate for poor acoustics, London's legitimate stages became increasingly reliant upon spectacular effects and declamatory, melodramatic, acting styles.

Whereas most studies of the stage tend to be segregated on the lines of literary

[21] *BL*, II, 232.

and non-literary drama, in the chapters that follow I work my way through the traditional dramatic hierarchy to the minors' meticulously well-planned, but seemingly bombastic re-enactments of the sieges and battles of the Peninsular War. Although dealing with very different forms of theatre, Chapters Three (on Shakespeare) and Four (on 'illegitimate theatre') belong to a larger picture of Romantic drama that allows for an appreciation of the stage's multifaceted responses to changing contexts and political ideas.

Chapter Five also represents a revisionist approach to traditional theatre history. Arguing for the need to move away from exclusively metropolitan studies of the Romantic stage, it considers theatrical life in Bristol, and examines how, in an age of civic improvements, provincial culture informed local audiences about the poetics and politics of British identity. Bristol was chosen because of its importance as a port, bringing together the discourses of war, trade, and politics.

Coleridge's Bristol connections should be appended to his importance to this thesis as playwright, journalist, and commentator of Shakespeare and British culture. During the 1790s, Southey and Coleridge had lectured in Bristol, one of the nation's main hubs of radical thought. In the 1810s, Coleridge returned there to deliver his lectures on Shakespeare and oversee a performance of *Remorse* at the Theatre Royal. In contrast to London, however, *Remorse* was not popular with Bristol audiences, and is exemplary of the caution needed when making generalisations about British theatre based on the London stage.

This thesis shows that provincial theatre promoted a new sense of urban consciousness, significant at both local and national levels. The different chapters bring together the gusto of performance with the dynamism of audience response to explore the spirited, fast-paced and almost journalistic quality of early nineteenth-

century theatrical culture. Performances onstage triggered an explosion of contemporary fears and fantasies about foreign and domestic politics, including the rewards or retributions that would result from Britain's military campaign in the Peninsula. This thesis shows that during the war, theatre practitioners were experimenting with new advances in stage technique and effect, while audiences enjoyed a new sense of participatory politics that, critically, was not confined to the auditorium.

Sources

It is important to consider how Romantic drama engaged with other forms of literary and visual cultures. The British Museum's online catalogue offers an invaluable resource for contemporary prints, sketches, portraits, and objects. Most of the prints, maps and other visual representations of the Peninsula included in this thesis have come from this source. The Curzon Collection has also been very helpful, containing more than eight hundred cartoons focused specifically on the period of the Napoleonic Wars. Other prints have been found through perusals of scrapbooks and production folders collected by theatre historians and curators of the John Johnson Collection (University of Oxford), and Victoria and Albert Theatre Museum.

Archival work has been an integral part of this thesis. The duration of the Peninsular War coincides with the first quarter of the nineteenth century as a period particularly under-represented in theatre history. Some theatre historians have tellingly nicknamed the first decades of the century as a 'black hole'. *The London Stage 1660-1800*, which contains a catalogue of all plays performed in the city's

main theatres, has no equivalent until the volumes compiled by J P Wearing for 1837-1901.[22] Regular visits to the Garrick Club, which has a virtually complete run of playbills for Covent Garden and Drury Lane, enabled me to compile calendars for the patent houses between 1807-1815, included as Appendices A and B.

Playbills offer a fascinating glimpse of how managers and audiences collaborated on the choice of a wartime repertoire. Throughout the period, playbills are scattered with reference to 'audience approbation' and the 'disappointed Ladies and Gentlemen' for whom additional performances would be staged. As contemporary newspapers were quick to remark, these observations of popular response could be grossly misleading, with managers exploiting the printed word as a means of 'puffing' damned or indifferently received plays. They are, however, immensely useful for the literary historian. Advertisement strategies, such as typographical differentiation, help draw attention to the perceived highlights of the evening's entertainment.

The Covent Garden playbills for 1810-1811 reveal a commitment to bringing the sights and sounds of modern Spain to London audiences. That season, *Harlequin and Asmodeus; or, Cupid on Crutches* was performed forty-six times. Playbills listed the pantomime's main scenes, which included views of the Grand Prado at Madrid, the Prado by night, an amphitheatre at Cadiz, a Spanish Bull Fight, the Cadiz Harbour (which had been under siege since 1810), and a Spanish Hotel and Lodging House. This thesis reproduces a selection of playbills to help showcase the Iberian Peninsula's commercial benefits to the theatric economy.

For many plays, and especially pantomimes, the listing of different scenes

[22] J P Wearing, *American and British Theatrical Biography* (New Jersey: Scarecrow Press, 1979). See also Allardyce Nicoll, *A History of English Drama, 1660-1900* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1955), 6 vols. This includes a 'Hand-List of Plays, 1800-1850'. By contrast, a daily calendar permits us to take into account the success of a play, its casting, how it was advertised, and the other entertainments with which it was performed.

provides a useful description of the entertainments on offer. On occasion, playbills included an outline of the main plot, invaluable for the recovery of entertainments for which no playtext is available. The Larpent Manuscripts, which can be consulted at the British Library, offer a complete record of the scripts sent to the Examiner of Plays. Since this only applied to playhouses within Westminster, surviving playbills shed much needed light on the experience of attending one of London's many minor theatres. For these venues, where managers were restricted to repertoires based on song and spectacle, the playbills' descriptions of sets and special effects offer a more complete picture than the songbooks alone.

In the Appendices, I have highlighted the legitimate entertainments that offer a direct representation of the Iberian Peninsula or its people. This should help contextualise how topical pieces fit within the larger repertoire of legitimate drama. It is important to remember, however, that this system of identification is likely to overlook plays where a Spanish or Portuguese character plays just a minor role, or where only a passing reference is made. Addison's *Cato* was revived at Covent Garden in 1811. Appendix A shows that in January of that year, it was played alongside *Harlequin and Asmodeus*. In the final act of the play, Cato, the Roman Senator and defender of the Republic, commits suicide rather than surrendering to Caesar. Shortly after, Porcius arrives with news that Spain has risen against Caesar:

> PORCIUS […] a sail arriv'd
> From Pompey's son, who through the realms of Spain
> Calls out for vengeance on his father's death,
> And rouses the whole nation up to arms.
> Were Cato at their hand, once more might Rome
> Assert her rights and claim her liberty. – [23]

[23] *Addison's Cato, A tragedy*, adapted to the stage by J P Kemble (London: 1811), in *JKP*, (v. 1), x, 52.

This dramatic representation of the Spanish nation at arms would have had obvious patriotic import to a British wartime audience. Addison's play already enjoyed a rich history of political appropriation, and was invariably seen to possess deeper meanings. It is not, however, highlighted in the Appendix. The justification for this is that although the reference to Spain would have been significant, Spain is not directly represented in the play itself. *Cato* serves as a useful reminder that there were many other plays, some lacking even indirect references to the Peninsula, which acquired topical inflection during the war.

In preparation for Chapter Five, I consulted government archives and libraries throughout the country to establish the kinds of theatrical culture that existed in the provinces. An enquiry to the North Devon Record Office about theatre in Bideford revealed, for instance, that there was a large collection of playbills for the Barnstaple theatre. The existing records show that this illegitimate venue took advantage of the public interest in the Peninsular War to advertise an entertainment of 'mind-reading and magic' by the 'the little Scientific Spanish poney' (14 April 1809).[24] The Theatre Royal in Cheltenham was also very active during the war, and many documents relating to the theatre and its early nineteenth-century performances still exist.

Chapter Five's detailed consideration of Bristol's theatrical culture illustrates the importance of aiming for a more inclusive view of English theatre. Appendix C is based on the 'Theatre Royal Calendar of Productions' compiled by Kathleen Barker, and available at the University of Bristol Theatre Collection. I supplemented this with my own notes, taken after careful study of the playbills available in Bristol's Central Reference Library. They reveal that theatrical life in

[24] Barnstaple Playbill, 14 April 1809 (Ref. B238/16).

the provinces made contributions to the local economy and helped broaden audiences' geopolitical horizons. Bristol was not, however, characteristic of provincial culture at large, and its theatres enjoyed a strong sense of local pride that resists easy comparison.

The overriding concern of this thesis has been to use archival research to explore what the nation's dramatic tastes tell us about political opinions and self-awareness during the Peninsular War. Plays and entertainments staged during this period caricatured, idealised or even demonised the performance of Spanish and Portuguese people and places. The Appendices offer recurrent examples of the colourful stereotypes and grandiloquent political gestures historically associated with Spain and Portugal. The calendars also show that through the medium of performance, theatre managers, actors, and playwrights used the stage as a platform to keep the public up to date on the war, as it was played out on the battlefields and contemporary culture at large. The chapters that follow investigate the entertainments staged at the patent houses and minor theatres in London and the provinces, spotlighting the dynamic relationship that existed nationally between the Romantic stage and auditorium in the (re)making of political and social expression during the Peninsular War.

Frontispiece 2: ‘Pizzaro a New Play or the Drury-Lane Masquerade’, 1799. Published by S W Fores.

CHAPTER ONE

Pizarro: *Sheridan's 'Political Proteus'*

In the spring of 1799, 'expectation was on tip-toe' for Sheridan's new play.[1] *Pizarro*, a spectacular five-act tragedy adapted from Kotzebue's *Die Spanier in Peru* (1796), boasted an all-star cast including John Philip Kemble, Sarah Siddons, William Barrymore and Dorothy Jordan, a musical score with accompanying vocal parts especially composed by Michael Kelly, and 'entirely new Scenes, Dresses and Decorations'.[2] In anticipation of 'overflowing' audiences, Drury Lane unbolted its doors as early as three o'clock in the afternoon. Managers correctly predicted that the already well-advertised play, celebrating 'the joint reputation of Sheridan and Kotzebue, and the first dramatic attempt of the former, after an interval of twenty years', would be certain to excite the eager curiosity of metropolitan audiences.[3] While *Pizarro*'s first reviewers agreed that 'judicious' alterations and curtailments would be needed to cut down the play's excessive running time, they were quick to praise its 'purity of moral sentiment' and 'genuine and enthusiastic bursts of heroic patriotism' as 'indisputable claims to the patronage of the Public'.[4] *Pizarro* was played consecutively for the remainder of the season, bringing in the revenue needed to replenish Drury Lane's depleted coffers.[5] By 1815, the text had already been issued in thirty different editions and *Pizarro* was secure in its status as a recognizable 'favourite' of the patent theatres. It would be frequently staged at

---

[1] Michael Kelly, *Reminiscences*, ed. by Roger Fiske (London: Oxford University Press, 1975), p. 253.
[2] DL Playbill, 24 May 1799.
[3] *Times,* 25 May 1799.
[4] *Ibid*., 29 May 1799.
[5] In its first season alone, *Pizarro* brought in £13, 624 9s. 6d. See *The London Stage 1660-1800*, ed. by C B Hogan, 5 vols (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1960-8), Part 5: 1776-1800, p. 2097.

Drury Lane, Covent Garden, and the provincial Theatres Royal until the mid-nineteenth century.

This chapter investigates how and why Sheridan's tragedy about the Spanish conquest of Peru became one the defining narratives of early nineteenth-century Britain. Unsurprisingly, *Pizarro*'s remarkable stage history has attracted considerable scholarly attention. Studies of the play encompass a range of critical approaches investigative of its political currency in contemporary British culture. The play's first reviewers had been quick to recognize that Sheridan recycled many of his parliamentary speeches for *Pizarro*'s dramatic oratory. William Pitt is reported to have dismissed the play's exalted declamations with the claim 'I heard it long ago in his speeches at the Hastings trial'.[6] In *The Rhetoric of English India* (1992), Sara Suleri takes this as her cue to explore the play's debts to Sheridan's highly publicised involvement in the impeachment of Warren Hastings, examining how Sheridan's management of theatrical sympathies helped re-condition the imperial and humanist concerns expressed in his parliamentary speeches.[7] Julie Carlson profitably expands the play's political horizons by identifying at least five alarms of invasion in the focal speech delivered by the Peruvian hero, Rolla.[8] I would like to contribute to this exciting body of work on Sheridan's politics and dramaturgy. Current scholarship, although nuanced, has tended to approach the play on an allegorical level that is prone to overlook *Pizarro*'s specifically Spanish inflections and, what is perhaps one of the play's most fascinating features, its

[6] As quoted by John Loftis, 'Whig Oratory on Stage: Sheridan's *Pizarro*', *Eighteenth Century Studies*, 8.4, (summer 1975), 454-472, (p. 457).
[7] In 1786 Edmund Burke produced charges against Warren Hastings, who was formally impeached on 10 May 1787. The House of Commons heard accusations that Hastings had robbed the Oudh begums of their treasure and allowed the seizure of their lands. Sheridan was actively involved in Hastings's indictment, delivering a five-and-a-half hour speech. In 1795, Hastings was found 'not guilty' by a large majority.
[8] Carlson lists these threats as Peru and Spain, India and England, England and France, 'the 'literary' invasion of England by Germany in the 1790s, and an imminent invasion by Ireland. See 'Trying Sheridan's *Pizarro*', *Texas Studies in Literature and Language* 38 (3/4), (fall/winter 1996), 359-78.

phenomenal stage success for over sixty years.[9] This chapter argues that *Pizarro* needs to be contextualised both synchronically and diachronically if we are truly to understand its evolution as a 'national' dramatic mainpiece.

Set in sixteenth-century Peru, Sheridan's play offers a particularly interesting example of how stage geographies interacted with the geography of production tied to London's patent playhouses. In eighteenth-century Britain, the Spaniard was the bugbear of the national imagination. Lingering hostilities associated with Mary Tudor's marriage to Philip II, the Protestant purges, Spanish Armada, and Spain's 'Black Legend' (with its attendant narratives of colonial rapine, superstition, and bigotry) weighed down Spanish otherness with strong feelings of political and cultural revulsion.[10] It is no coincidence that within Sheridan's own dramatic corpus, the plots of his comedies *The Duenna* (1775) and *The Critic* (1779) were predicated upon anti-Spanish feeling. In *The Critic*, Puff's play 'The Spanish Armada' ends unforgettably with a flourish of drums and an orchestra playing *Britons Strike Home* and *Rule Britannia* as the English fleet advance and fire-ships destroy the Spanish squadron.[11] When Sheridan's *Pizarro* premiered in 1799, hostility to Spain made it easy to imagine the eponymous villain of the play as the increasingly despotic Napoleon Buonaparte. For most contemporary critics, the play's Gothic scenery and dramatisation of the Black Legend functioned as

---

[9] See Myron Matlaw, 'This is Tragedy!!! The History of *Pizarro*', *The Quarterly Journal of Speech*, 43, (1957), 288-294. Although Matlaw provides a broad overview of the play's reception in Britain and the United States between 1779 and its last performances in 1866 and 1874 respectively, his essay is somewhat lacking in political nuance. Notably, he neglects to look at the effect of the Peninsular War on the play's popularity – the event most likely to change British perceptions of Spain.

[10] *Pizarro* is replete with references to the Black Legend. In the first scene, Pizarro tries to prevent Davilla from killing the Peruvian cacique, Orozembo, whom, he claims, should undergo the pain of torture (I. 1. 129-38, p. 664). Another allusion to the Inquisition occurs when Pizarro orders Elvira's imprisonment and torture (IV. 3. 16, p. 693). See Richard B Sheridan, *Pizarro*, in *The Dramatic Works of Richard Brinsley Sheridan*, ed. by Cecil Price. 2 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1973), II. All references to Sheridan's plays are based on this edition.

[11] Sheridan, *The Critic*, in *Dramatic Works*, II (III. 1, p. 550).

metaphors for the sublime and destructive figurations of a Europe beset by revolutionary anxieties. Literary scholars today continue to offer insightful readings of Sheridan's tragedy as a play that registers the terrors associated with the French Revolution. This chapter emphasises how other political circumstances, most notably the Anglo-Spanish alliance of 1808, radically influenced *Pizarro*'s public valence during the early nineteenth century.

In 1804, William Cobbett published a series of ten letters to Sheridan, *The Political Proteus*. In his fourth letter, Cobbett showcases the changing significance of Sheridan's Spanish drama, interpreting *Pizarro's* extended play-run as a counterpoint to what he considers the playwright's all-too slippery reputation as a Member of Parliament. In his letter, Cobbett deconstructs the 'true English feeling' attached to Sheridan and his putatively patriotic drama, juxtaposing his early and well-known opposition to the war with his seemingly contradictory speeches in response to the 1797 Naval Mutinies, and support for the Volunteer Movement after the collapse of the Peace of Amiens. [12] Cobbett's acerbic attack on Sheridan's politics and dramaturgy underscores how, during the course of the Napoleonic Wars, changing social, economic, political, and cultural factors were critical in conditioning the British experience of Sheridan's Spanish fantasy.

The first part of this chapter considers the dangers ascribed to *Pizarro'*s phenomenal popularity and what this might suggest about the relationship between British tastes and contemporary international politics. As the best-known 'Spanish' play of the period, Sheridan's *Pizarro* testifies to the effectiveness of spectacle on a large-scale, the cult of celebrity actors, and the theatre's interest in the affective possibilities of history. Its success was not, however, confined to the stage. The

[12] William Cobbett, *The Political Proteus: A View of the Public Character and Conduct of R B Sheridan Esq.* (London: 1804), Letter IV, pp. 68-94.

play's popularity spurned various generically broad re-workings of its historical theme. These adaptations were available for mass consumption as competing translations, histories, chapbooks, songs, and juvenile dramas. Before the end of its first year of performance, critics had already begun to complain of a *Pizarro* surfeit, expressing anxiety about the play's ideological migration from the boards of the patent playhouses to contemporary culture at large.

The second part of this chapter examines Sheridan's controversial decision in 1803 to issue Rolla's exhortation against foreign invasion as a stand-alone broadsheet. On the heels of Emmet's failed Irish rebellion, and as Britain resumed its war preparations after Amiens, Sheridan's broadsheet was simply re-entitled: 'Sheridan's Address to the People: Our King! Our Country! And our God!'. This publication helped reinvigorate the topicality of his playtext. At the same time, however, by extracting Rolla's impassioned speech from its dramatic frame, Sheridan carved out an entirely new context in which to interpret the political ideology encoded in his play. Ever suspicious, Cobbett contemptuously derided the broadsheet as 'typographical harlotry', 'stuck up on every dead wall, rotten post, and dirty corner in the metropolis'.[13] Ironically, his comments echo those of many conservative reviewers of the period, who described the play's popularity as a 'contagion'. The fear that the play's message of popular resistance and liberation could, like any disease, spread indiscriminately, was only exacerbated by its newfound textual autonomy from the patent theatres. In the second, crucial phase of the war against Napoleon, the relationship between Sheridan's Spanish drama and the Romantic society in which it was performed remained troublesomely problematic.

[13] Cobbett, p. 80.

Between 1808 and 1814, as explored in the final part of this chapter, *Pizarro* was once again invested with fresh political resonance. Napoleon's attempted invasion of Spain, the heroic resistance put up by the Madrileños, the spread of revolution across the Spanish provinces, and the consequent cementing of an Anglo-Spanish alliance meant that by June 1808, Iberian politics had taken a strong hold of British sympathies. Sheridan himself played a key role in advocating the Peninsular cause by introducing the affairs of Spain to the House of Commons.[14] The Foreign Secretary, George Canning, responded favourably, recognizing that 'no interest could be so purely British as Spanish success', and elaborating upon the need to conquer 'from France the complete integrity of the dominion of Spain in every quarter of the world'.[15] While *Pizarro*'s historicism meant it was still possible to conflate French aggression with the ambition of the Spanish conquistadores, contemporary political turnings had made it a political imperative to revise the play's damning representation of Spanish imperial malevolence. Hitherto a French ally and rival imperial power, Spain was now regarded as a nation in its own right, actively resisting French expansionism and leading the crusade against Napoleonic tyranny. As Sheridan's theatrical success once again overlapped with his political commitments, it is essential to understand how his superficially anti-Spanish play was used to accommodate the nation's new political sympathies.

By virtue of its status as a dramatic stock piece on the Romantic stage, Sheridan's *Pizarro* offers a valuable opportunity to trace contemporary audiences' critical responses to political change, and to tap into the process by which theatre contributed to the formation of national, collective identities during the Napoleonic Wars. *Pizarro*'s openness to interpretation permits it to be read as a palimpsestic

[14] Hansard (House of Commons, HC), 'Parliamentary debates: Affairs of Spain', (15 June 1808), in *The Parliamentary Debates from the Year 1803 to the Present time* (London: 1812), XI, 886.
[15] *Ibid*., p. 892.

play, whose meanings were constantly being negotiated and contested within the complex network of performance, society and political discourse that tied together the Romantic-period stage and state. Using a range of sources including playbills, periodicals, newspapers, popular prints, songs, biographies, and literary anecdotes to supplement Sheridan's playtext, this chapter situates *Pizarro* within the broader sociological and cultural interests that helped define Britain during the Napoleonic Wars. In accounting for the play's initial reception, its history in 1801-1803, and 1808-1815, this chapter addresses the thesis's overriding concern with the fluxes of political consciousness resulting from Britain's arduous, protracted war against Napoleon. Questions of nationhood, the processes of history, and the link between agency and patriotic action, all came under intense scrutiny and revision during this period. Sheridan's *Pizarro* embodies fascinating evidence of how these issues were variously defined and reflected by the contemporary stage.

Pizarro *in 1799-1800, the initial reception*

Pizarro's frenzied reception was expeditiously attributed to its political appeal. Setting aside the play's merits on 'a dramatic point of view', the *True Briton* placed emphasis on the techniques by which Sheridan had 'applied the text to the duties of this Country'.[16] The play's Spanish theme was interpreted as a transparent, allegorical rendering of the war against France, which had begun in 1793. As the *True Briton* explained:

> [...] Though the struggle is between SPANIARDS and the PERUVIANS, the author has been impelled by a true sense of the important contest in which we are engaged.[17]

[16] *TB*, 30 May 1799.
[17] *Ibid*.

The *Morning Post* similarly claimed that in *Pizarro* Sheridan was 'pleading at once the Peruvian and the British cause'.[18] The charges of cruelty levelled against Bonaparte for his Egyptian and Syrian campaigns made it easy to imagine him as the upstart tyrant Pizarro. As a result, despite audiences' fascination with stage design, Sheridan's fame as a playwright, or the vogue for German dramas, the contemporary press agreed that the interest excited by Sheridan's play was, above all, political and patriotic. War, the national character, and the resolution to fight for political ideals came to define the logic of *Pizarro*, both onstage and off.

The very first performances of Sheridan's Spanish tragedy made it clear that the play's relation to (and command of) public space would be controversial. Since its renovation in 1794, Drury Lane had been able to accommodate over three thousand spectators. The stampede on the opening night of *Pizarro* was, nevertheless, quite exceptional, even by contemporary standards. Thousands of expectant theatregoers were disappointed. The *Morning Post* described 'the conflict' between those who had secured seats and those turned away, as 'extremely distressing':

> Ladies of the first fashion, in full dress, were fainting; some lost a shoe, others a hat; the stair-case windows were broken; the door-keepers could not resist the torrent, and many went in without paying; the outside of the doors were surrounded by hundreds who dared not enter, and many went away who had places rather than encounter the crowd.[19]

The socially heterogeneous crowd creates its own villains and victims, defining the effort to enter Drury Lane a theatrical event in its own right. Yet, the scene, however animated, is ultimately pathetic rather than bathetic. The decidedly unembarrassed, who opportunistically make their entrance without paying, and the consequently dishevelled ladies of fashion, constitute nothing less than a microcosm

[18] *MP*, 27 May 1799.
[19] *Ibid*., 25 May 1799.

of social chaos. With panicked crowds rendering the check of theatrical tickets wholly redundant, managers' traditional attempts at social segregation in terms of the theatre's physical space were woefully ineffectual. On its opening night, *Pizarro'*s uncontainable popularity was tinged with a *frisson* as frightening as it was exciting.

Unsurprisingly, the popular agitation surrounding *Pizarro* resulted in several attempts to control the play's public meaning(s). Contemporary newspapers made it their cultural duty to remark on the public figures that lent their patronage to Sheridan's play. Readers were informed that the radical Horne Tooke attended an early performance on 20 June 1799; Lord Nelson watched the play in early December the following year; and even Wilberforce, who had not been to the theatre for twenty years, showed himself to be very satisfied with it. Most illustrious of all *Pizarro*'s patrons were the Royal Family, who watched the play on 5 June 1799 during its first season, and in 1804 ordered a command performance. Reporting on the Royal Family's first attendance at Drury Lane after an absence of four years, the *Morning Post* established a recognisable link between the crowds for the royal visit and the play's opening night:

> The difficulties of entering the galleries and pit were…excessive; the crowd was dreadful; several Ladies fainted and one falling down near the door, was much bruised. On opening the box doors…the railing was burst off; and the windows, which had been repaired, were again broken.[20]

Concern for the fashionable ladies injured by the crowd and the theatre's broken windows was used to describe both nights. The crucial difference was that on the evening of the royal performance, audiences' impatience to secure the theatrical terrain could be figured as patriotic enthusiasm for George III, as much as their voyeuristic curiosity for *Pizarro*. In its report of the royal visit the *True Briton*

[20] *MP*, 6 June 1799.

placed emphasis on the king's obvious satisfaction with audiences' zealous response to the play, interpreted as proof 'that our excellent monarch rules in the hearts of the people'.[21]

Sheridan, who personally escorted the Royal Family to their richly adorned boxes, exploited the patriotism ascribed to *Pizarro* by the contemporary press.[22] Even the spring flowers and shrubs decorating the royal box seemed to evoke the Peruvian kingdom's aromatic fruits and plants. Such attention to detail was significant because it helped relate George III to ideological investment in the patriotic spectacle and emotions ascribed to Sheridan's *Pizarro* by its first reviewers.

Before the play and after its conclusion, the Drury Lane chorus and Duke of York's band performed enthusiastic renditions of *God Save the King*, encored by an ebullient, patriotically excited audience. Once the play was underway, the actor John Philip Kemble, who played the part of Rolla, delivered a morale-boosting speech to the Peruvian soldiers. The newspapers seized this as the affective climax to both the drama and the Royal Family's response:

> His Majesty appeared peculiarly gratified with the noble and animated address of Rolla to the Peruvians, in support of their just rights as an independent and happy people, against the lawless encroachment and savage ambition of foreign invaders.[23]

According to *The London Packet,* audiences had applauded Kemble's first delivery of this stirring speech for a full five minutes.[24] It is likely that it was at this point in the royal performance that 'the King wept in the second Act', as noted by *The*

---

[21] *TB*, 6 June 1799.
[22] Sheridan's ceremonious escort of the Royal Family was depicted in many contemporary prints. E.g. Isaac Cruikshank's 'The Return from Pizarro' (1799), 'Pizarro a New Play, or the Drury Lane Masquerade', publ. by S W Fores (1799), and William Holland's 'Returning from Pizarro!!' (1799).
[23] *Lloyd's Evening Post and Packet*, 5- 7 June 1799.
[24] *London Packet; or, New Lloyd's Evening Post*, 24- 27 May 1799.

Morning Post.[25] This observation underscored the king's sympathetic attachment to the stage narrative. It also effectively positioned George III within the play's framework of heroic action, allowing the monarch to be identified with Rolla, 'the first and best of heroes', as much as Ataliba, the Peruvian king.[26]

At the end of Act II scene 2, Ataliba draws his sword and leads his soldiers into battle. With paternal care, he addresses them as 'my brethren, my sons, my friends', orders Alonzo and Rolla to assume their strategic positions, and takes responsibility to lead the main assault: 'straight forwards will I march to meet them, and fight until I see my people saved, or they behold their Monarch fall' (II. 2. pp. 670-1). In the lead up to this war cry, Ataliba had deferred his main address to the Peruvian warriors in favour of allowing Rolla to 'animate' their spirits (II. 2. 3, p. 669). Rolla's speech (recognised as one of Sheridan's original contributions to Kotzebue's text) was a celebrated 'point' in the play, provoking wild bursts of applause and sentimental tears in the auditorium night after night.[27] Cecil Price has observed that the speech is indebted to not only Sheridan's oratory during the Hastings Trial, but also his response to 'The King's Message relative to the Preparations for Invasion' (1798).[28] This suggests that George III is likely to have been predisposed to identify in Rolla's speech Sheridan's support for his own address to the nation at a time of possible invasion. Although the *Morning Post* may have exaggerated in its claims that 'the King wept in the second Act', manly tears would not have been out of place in contemporary political culture – it was, in fact,

---

[25] *MP*, 6 June 1799.
[26] *Pizarro*, II.1.26, p. 667. Further references to *Pizarro* are given after quotations in the text.
[27] Sheridan's claims to originality were often seen to rest on Rolla's harangue. E.g. Moncrieff Thriepland, *Letters Respecting the Performances at the Theatre Royal, Edinburgh* (Edinburgh: 1800), p. 246.
[28] Quoted by Cecil Price, 'Introduction to *Pizarro*', in *Dramatic Works*, II, 639.

a parliamentary commonplace when the vindication of personal character was at stake.[29]

Pizarro's main speech was likely to make George III relate more closely to the inspirational Rolla, than the benevolent, but at this stage sedate, Ataliba. This patterning of heroic action centred on Rolla is repeated throughout the play. After Ataliba's injury, it is Rolla who leads the charge against the Spanish armies and wins the advantage. In Act IV, Rolla saves Alonzo from Spanish imprisonment; and finally, while Ataliba expresses his frustration at being unable to soothe Cora's despair, he is cut short by Rolla's arrival with her missing child (V. 2. 32, p. 700). Rolla's heroism is reinforced by Sheridan's stage directions, and a new ending that dramatises his escape with the child and assassination by Pizarro's soldiers.[30] Narration also plays a crucial role – most notably at the end of the second act, when a young boy excitedly relates Rolla's victory against the Spaniards to his blind grandfather:

> BOY […] [*Ascends a rock, and from thence into the tree*] O – now I see them – now –yes – and the Spaniards turning by the steep.
>
> O.MAN Rolla follows them?
>
> BOY He does – he does – he moves like an arrow! – now he waves his arm to our soldiers – [*Report of cannon heard.*] Now there is fire and smoke.
>
> […]
>
> O.MAN Seest thou the King?
>
> BOY Yes – Rolla is near him! His sword sheds fire as he strikes![31]

[29] Christopher Reid, 'Debating Robert Clive: eloquence and identification in the eighteenth-century House of Commons', paper presented at *Romantic Realignments* seminar, (University of Oxford, 25 February 2010).
[30] Kotzebue's original play ends with Rolla's death. His escape and the mortal wound he receives occur offstage, narrated by a soldier's report to Pizarro. See *Pizarro; the Spaniards in Peru; or, the Death of Rolla. A Tragedy in Five Acts: by Augustus von Kotzebue*, transl. by Anne Plumptre (London: 1799), 2nd edn., V. 6. p. 89.
[31] *Pizarro*, II. 4, pp. 674-5.

Ataliba may be present, but it is Rolla who saves the day. Even Pizarro admires Rolla's actions. In Act V, as he orders his soldiers to pursue him, Pizarro watches Rolla's escape with fascination: 'With what fury he defends himself! – Ha! – he fells them to the ground – and now –' (V. 2, p. 698). In both instances, punctuation by dashes imparts the excitement inspired by Rolla's activity, and suggests the difficulty of narrating his fast-paced and spirited exertions. Throughout the play, the Peruvian is depicted as energetic, spontaneous and triumphant. His very first line, which occurs half offstage, represents him as the leader par excellence. Trumpets announce Rolla's entrance as he commands his soldiers to assume their positions (II. 1. 29-30, p. 667). The play's characterization and action mutually suggest, therefore, that *Pizarro*'s loyalism rested not so much on its depiction of kingship, but on the heroic agency inspired by the nation's leaders (not necessarily royal). In the words of the *True Briton*, Drury Lane that night delivered 'a triumph of loyalty'.

Strong ideological investment in the mobilising power of heroic agency defined *Pizarro* as, first and foremost, a performative text. The play's readers and spectators were bound by different perceptual and temporal limitations. The anonymous 1799 publication, *A Critique of the Tragedy of Pizarro* exemplifies how the play's meanings in the closet were markedly different from those fostered by its Drury Lane stagings. 'Stripping it of the pomp of procession, the glittering of scenery and the noise of music', 'unprejudiced by the voice of the multitude' and 'unawed by the authority of the name', the author of the *Critique* deconstructs the play's performative agency in an attempt to underline *Pizarro'*s numerous inconsistencies.[32] In so doing, he underscores the precise aspects of theatrical

[32] Anon., *A Critique of the Tragedy of 'Pizarro'* (London: 1799), p. 1.

performance that made him most fearful of the political and institutional uses to which Sheridan's text could be put.

The contemporary interest in performativity was not exclusive to *Pizarro*. In *The Monthly Mirror* for January 1801, the theatre was lauded as 'one great source of public instruction' that could reach audiences who would probably be found asleep in comparably large congregations, such as that of a church.[33] In the very same issue of the *Mirror*, a reviewer of Baillie's *Plays on the Passions* claimed, nevertheless, that attendance at the theatre was unsuited to 'minute discriminations of character'. Instead, he described the auditorium as 'a large assembly of people, indiscriminately collected'.[34] The author of the *Critique*, alarmed by *Pizarro*'s extreme popularity, audiences' predilection for spectacle and Sheridan's public renown, feared the theatre was a dangerous public domain. Many of Sheridan's political detractors similarly dreaded the statesman's capacity to influence the crowds at Drury Lane. It is not surprising that conservative critics should have felt disturbed, apprehensive that Sheridan's national fantasy of liberation could all too easily morph into a nightmarish image of radical interference. As the *Critique* acknowledged, inherent to every performance is the potential to dabble in deceit and mislead audiences.

The Spirit of the Public Journals for 1799 reprinted a letter in which its author (self-styled as 'A Lover of Variety') deals with *Pizarro* as a double-edged threat. He acknowledges that the play could inflame the passions of its audiences and, in his complaints of being 'Pizarroed', understands that the play had become a phenomenon in its own right. As a mobile text, *Pizarro* was popular to a ludicrous extent and, according to the letter, now threatened the permanence of the nation's

---

[33] *MM*, January 1801, XI, 45.
[34] *Ibid.*, p. 112.

greatest institutions (such as the Royal Society and Houses of Parliament).[35] Frustrated with 'the reign of the monopolizing Pizarro', the author vents his despair at the social ubiquitousness of Sheridan's playtext, nervously tracing the play's transgression across the private and public spheres, the metropolis and provinces, and different social classes. [36] This anxiety finds its most dramatic expression through an arresting personification of the play:

> I shall make no objection to Pizarro at Drury Lane, or in the booksellers' shops; but I do not like to meet him at the corner of every street, to see him lurking among the dishes of the table, disputing or causing disputes among the quidnuncs of the coffee-house, and following us not only to the doors, but half up the aisles of the churches.[37]

Earlier, the writer invested the name of Sheridan's play with verbal force, describing a culture that had been 'Pizarroed'. Here, rather than referring to the eponymous villain of Sheridan's piece, 'Pizarro' is used to signify the abstract idea of the play itself. The technique allows the writer to extend the dangers associated with the play's villain into a diatribe against the play's pervasive ideology and, more specifically, its infiltration into the public domain. Locating 'himself' within the radical fringes of the city's geography, *Pizarro* is described as 'lurking', 'disputing' and 'following' the city dwellers. In a fit of conservative paranoia, the 'Lover of Variety' dressed *Pizarro* in the garb of a dangerous revolutionary.

Memories of the French Terror and England's own movements for domestic reform were highly topical in the late 1790s, invigorating the surveillance culture that monitored the play's circulation. In 1794, Sheridan had been questioned by the Home Office as a political suspect. That year, Habeas Corpus was partly suspended, and between 1798 and 1801 the bill was again applied. During this period, Sheridan

---

[35] Anon., 'Pizarro the Universal Topic!' in *The Spirit of the Public Journals for 1799* (London: 1800), 314-8 (p. 315).
[36] *Spirit [...] 1799,* p. 317.
[37] *Ibid.*, p. 315.

was active in the Commons, defining the Habeas Corpus bill as 'the greatest insult that could be offered to the nation'.[38] When 'the Lover of Variety' relegates *Pizarro* to the geographical fringes of the city, he insinuates that the radical Whig politics, used for much of the rhetoric in Sheridan's play, had exceeded the limits of constitutional and social propriety. The letter, which describes the popularity of *Pizarro* as a 'general contagion', functions as an appeal to authority against a public menace which needed to be contained.[39]

The public's fascination for Sheridan's *Pizarro* helped promote a host of derivative texts, including a radical re-working of the play's romance to conclude with a happy ending for Cora and Rolla.[40] As the *Monthly Review* would succinctly put it, *Pizarro* became 'a hackneyed subject', but this did not mean that the offshoots of Sheridan's commercial success were uncritical of their source narrative.[41] Thomas Dutton, who marketed his translation of *Die Spanier in Peru* as the 'ORIGINAL of the NEW TRAGEDY, now performing at Drury-Lane Theatre', repeatedly claimed that *Pizarro*'s historical setting had been invalidated by Sheridan's pandering to the public predilection for spectacle.[42] Claiming that Alonzo's dress is 'better suited for a ball, or some grand festivity than for scenes of blood and carnage', Dutton's edition exposed a series of historical gaps and inconsistencies in Sheridan's drama.[43]

---

[38] Hansard (HC), 'Debate in the Commons on the Habeas Corpus Suspension Bill' (13 February 1800), in *PH* (London: 1812), XXXIV, 1466. See also: 'Debate in the Commons on the Habeas Corpus Suspension Bill', *PH*, 1798, XXXIII, 1429.
[39] *Spirit [...] 1799*, p. 316.
[40] See *Pizarro: A Tragedy in Five Acts [...] by a North Briton* (London: 1799).
[41] 'Article XXXVIII', in *MR* (February 1800), XXXI, 211.
[42] Thomas Dutton, *Pizarro in Peru, or the death of Rolla; being the original of the new tragedy now performing at the Theatre-Royal, Drury-Lane. Translated from the last German edition of Augustus von Kotzebue, with notes, &c. by Thomas Dutton* (London: 1799).
[43] Dutton, p. 65.

Peru itself, though exotic, was not entirely foreign to the public eye.[44] 'The mines of Mexico and Peru' often featured in newspaper reports as shorthand for the imperial economy. Following the loss of the American colonies, reports of native unrest in South America had been prominent in the contemporary press. In June 1790, *The Times* relayed news of Peru's 'insurgent state', speculating that it 'would require but little address in a British Commander to excite a general revolt'.[45] The emotive power kindled by Spain's Black Legend was explicitly recognised:

> The cruelty of the first settlers from the Old World, will perhaps be never forgotten, but be handed down in traditionary remembrance from one generation to another, till the end of time.[46]

Sheridan's dramatisation of sixteenth-century Spanish designs for the New World drew upon his audiences' larger understanding of the Black Legend's continued, oppressive hold in contemporary South America. In *Pizarro,* the priest Las Casas, the voice of 'reason and religion' (I. 1, p. 662), actuates this humanitarian appeal by infusing it with the philosophy of the Noble Savage:

> LAS-C Do not, I implore you, Chieftains – Countrymen – Do not, I implore you, renew the foul barbarities which your insatiate avarice has inflicted on this wretched, unoffending race! But hush, my sighs – fall not, drops of useless sorrow! – heart-breaking anguish, choke not my utterance – All I entreat is, send me once more to those you *call* your enemies.[47]

This supplication for diplomatic intercession can be read as dramatising the real potential, acknowledged by the contemporary press, for Britain to step in as a substitute for Spain's colonial government. In contrast to representations of Spanish imperialism as rule by usurpation and localized tyranny, the English took pride in a

---

[44] In 1795, the impromptu gold-rush experienced in County Wicklow, Ireland, caused reporters to dub the area 'Little Peru' (*Times,* 20 October 1795). Helen Maria Williams's poem *Peru* (1784) was well-known by the time of *Pizarro*'s premiere, and had excited an interest in Peru, both fictional and real.
[45] *Times*, 3 June 1790.
[46] *Ibid*., 27 August 1790.
[47] *Pizarro*, I.1, p. 661.

model of 'good governance', exchanging conquest for commerce and styling themselves as benevolent settlers.

If British colonialism was put forward as an alternative to Spanish oppression, its substitutionalist qualities were, however, implicitly destabilising. A political essay that appeared in *The Times* in 1787 specifically cited the conquest of Peru in order to declaim against the 'evils' of commerce, especially slavery:

> Have not the original tracts of the natives of Montezuma's empire, Peru, and the other extended countries of South America, felt severely the dreadful effects arising from the same source? and if fresh instances should be wanting, let us look to the conduct of a *Clive* and a *Hastings*, where, to borrow from the words of a celebrated oration of *Mr. Sheridan*'s in the British House of Commons "we may see the genius of empire wielding the bloody sceptre in one hand, and picking pockets with the other".[48]

The essay brings together the exploitation of native peoples, Spanish colonialism, the Warren Hastings trial, and Sheridan's celebrated speech, in one narratorial frame. Significantly, it distinctly identifies Sheridan in the attempt to remedy these prime examples of imperial moral degeneracy. Reverberations of Sheridan's speeches in the Hastings trial continued, of course, to be felt in the patriotic rhetoric of *Pizarro*. The charges of corruption and oppression levelled against the East India Company hovered below the play's emotive oratory, exposing the British interest in the subcontinent as no less sanguinary than that of the Spanish conquistadores. The parallel drawn between the Spanish introduction of slavery to the New World and Britain's own investment in human trafficking in the late eighteenth century, may also explain why William Wilberforce broke his twenty years of abstinence from the theatre to watch *Pizarro*.[49]

Sheridan's ideological centrality in both playhouse and Parliament provided competing sites for the social redemption promised by *Pizarro*. Pitt's accusations

---

[48] *Times*, 14 September 1787.
[49] *MP*, 31 May 1799.

against *Pizarro*'s originality suggest that, in his opinion, Sheridan was guilty of both manipulating the theatre for political ends and conducting politics as role-play. In Romantic Britain, the playhouse provided an ancillary means of experiencing politics. It was a space in which political ideas were disseminated and consumed, but without necessarily challenging audiences' critical discernment. The newspapers' initial response to *Pizarro* had been to laud the play's patriotic and loyalist narrative, promoting and ensuring its celebrity status as a national mainpiece. The play's broad appeal was, however, soon regarded with decided mistrust, and by the end of its first season, conservative anxiety was particularly acute. While to some, *Pizarro* provided evidence of Sheridan's radical sympathies, others feared that the mass appeal of spectacle would reduce audiences to senseless hysteria, causing them to confuse reality with theatrical illusion.[50] With *Pizarro* having established itself as a phenomenon both onstage and off, its meanings were available for circulation, negotiation, and exchange beyond institutional control.

'Equivocal patriotism' – Rolla's speech and Pizarro*'s political meanings in 1801-1803*

Between March 1802 and May 1803, Britain and France enjoyed a brief respite from war. To celebrate, the Union Club held a grand masquerade at its headquarters, Cumberland House. No expense had been spared and tickets sold out fast, with an additional six hundred unexpected revellers raising the total count to approximately two thousand guests. In the area surrounding the house, guests were invited to stroll through an avenue illuminated by a large transparency that represented '*War* subdued by Peace'. Inside, distant views of London and Paris framed the Club's

[50] See V&A DL 1799 box, unidentified clipping dated 18 December 1799 about a tar's impassioned response to the play: 'Whenever *Pizarro* appeared the honest Tar grumbled forth his indignation, till his feelings were fully gratified in the fall of the Tyrant.'.

'sumptuous' ballroom, while the billiard room, with its various allegorical representations of 'the return of *Commerce* through *Peace*', was reserved for the exclusive use of that evening's guest of honour, the Prince of Wales.[51] In this highly symbolic and carefully demarcated social space, Sheridan's *Pizarro* was unmistakably present. Among the socialites' choice costumes, the *Morning Chronicle* reported 'above a dozen *Priestesses* and *Virgins* of the Sun, chiefly copied from the dresses of Pizarro [*sic*]'.[52] These fashionable ladies would undoubtedly have been admired for their beautiful, costly dresses, and the noble and dignified air their costumes imparted.[53] But was there any political innuendo underlying their costume choice?

The Priestesses and Virgins of the Sun first appear in Act II scene 2 of *Pizarro*, famous for its magnificent setting in 'The Temple of the Sun' and Rolla's speech to the Peruvians preparatory to war. The scene's well-orchestrated mood of thanksgiving was, however, problematically evocative of *Pizarro*'s most politically defensive moment, concluding with a passionate call to arms:

> Then be the conquering sword unsheath'd,
> And victory sit on Rolla's brow,
> Our foes to crush – to overthrow![54]

Although the Peruvians might in more general terms be seen as representatives of liberty, in this particular scene, they are at their most war-like, and their religious superstitions furthest from the British Protestant norm. It is significant, therefore, that none of the gentlemen who attended the ball chose to dress as Rolla or Alonzo. Yet, while the play's aggressive male heroics were likely to have been deemed incompatible with the festivities of the night, the ladies' costume choices were not

---

[51] *MC,* 2 June 1802.
[52] *Ibid*.
[53] See *Times*, 1 January 1801, Ladies' Fashions and the trend for 'Pizarro feathers'.
[54] *Pizarro,* II. 2, p. 670.

necessarily so. In *Pizarro*, the Peruvians' private and public spheres are very carefully differentiated. When the men go to battle, the women and children retreat among the rocks to safety (III. 1, p. 676). Consequently, the men might be said to fight in order to protect the sanctity of the private sphere, while the Virgins and Priestesses of the Sun symbolize female moral influence and the virtues of domesticity. By donning the robes of the Peruvian nobility and aligning themselves with this favourite scene of *Pizarro,* the ladies at the Union Club imparted a symbolic message of social reconciliation and regeneration. They engaged with the play's complex visual register (rich in topicality and contingency) to express their political sympathies, affirming that the Peace they celebrated had been sanctioned as noble, ethical and principled. Reinventing the interplay between theatrical and political realities, the ladies' '*Pizarro* masquerading' testifies to the perceived centrality Sheridan's play had acquired in contemporary society.

When the fragile Peace of Amiens collapsed in May 1803, bringing renewed fears of an imminent French invasion, Sheridan responded to political events by also turning to Act II scene 2 of *Pizarro.* It is characteristic of the play's 'protean' nature that the same scene that had been used by aristocratic ladies to celebrate the Peace of Amiens could, less than a year later, represent the urgent need of a return to arms. In 1803, the playwright extracted Rolla's speech in the Temple of the Sun and re-titled it 'Sheridan's Address to the People: Our King! Our Country! And our God!'. Published as a broadsheet in London and Dublin, it was widely disseminated.

Sheridan's decision to divorce Rolla's speech from its original dramatic context was, nevertheless, loaded with political implication. 'Sheridan's Address', as it came to be known more colloquially, was among countless publications intended to equip the nation for the war effort. This pitch of loyalist sentiment was

variously (re)figured in satirical prints by Isaac Cruikshank, James Gillray, and William Holland, whose cartoons, like theatre, excited the interests of a broad urban audience, sensitive to political nuance. In this section, their prints are used to help make sense of *Pizarro*'s complex relation to the transformations that affected British politics in the early nineteenth century.

Romantic-period cartoonists often sharpened the force of their attacks by making their prints acutely personal. In many prints published on the subject of *Pizarro*, Sheridan was caricatured as the villain of his play. Gillray's 'Pizarro contemplating over the product of his new Peruvian mine' (1799, Figure 2), for example, depicts Sheridan, in full Spanish costume, greedily handling *Pizarro*'s box-office takings. With brilliant metonymy, Gillray uses the play's narrative of colonial adventure to denounce Sheridan's exploitation of patriotic sentiment. In the print, the neoclassical columns that support the Drury Lane playhouse are decorated with cherubim blowing the trumpet of Fame and holding out scrolls that read: 'Morning Chronicle – Puff Puff Puff', 'Morning Herald – Puff Puff Puff', 'Courier – Puff Puff', and 'Times – Puff Puff'.[55] In 1804, Cobbett's strictures on Sheridan would similarly declaim against the newspapers' eulogistic reviews of *Pizarro* as 'a natural alliance, a sort of family compact, between the press and the theatre'.[56] In the early nineteenth century, Drury Lane's conflation of political and financial cultures continued to destabilize *Pizarro*'s claims to patriotism, making the loyalism of 'Sheridan's Address' highly questionable.

[55]These can also be read as allusions to Sheridan's *The Critic.* See especially I. 2 and Puff's definition of the various forms of the art, including 'THE PUFF DIRECT – the PUFF PRELIMINARY – the PUFF COLLATERAL – the PUFF COLLUIVE, and the PUFF OBLIQUE, or PUFF by Implication – ', in *Dramatic Works*, II, 514.
[56] Cobbett, p. 206.

2: James Gillray, 'Pizarro contemplating over the product of his new Peruvian Mine' (1799).

3: James Gillray, 'Pizzarro' (1799).

Gillray's misspelt 'Pizzarro' print for the *Anti-Jacobin Review* of 1799 also denounces Sheridan's claim to the laurels of patriotism (Figure 3).[57] Here, Gillray draws Sheridan mounted on Kemble's head. He holds a scroll 'Spoken before a Select group of Friends':

> This season true my Principles I've sold
> To fool the world & pocket George's gold
> Prolific mine! – anglo-peruvian food
> Provok'd my taste – and Candidate I stood –
> While Kemble my support with LOYAL face
> Declares THE PEOPLE'S CHOICE with stage-trick grace.

His typographical enhancements elide Sheridan's scroll with Rolla's address to the Peruvian warriors:

> ROLLA Be our plain answer this: The throne WE honour is the PEOPLE'S CHOICE – the laws we reverence are our brave Fathers' legacy – the faith we follow teaches us to live in bonds of charity with all mankind, and die with hope of bliss beyond the grave. Tell your invaders this, and tell them too, we seek no change; and, least of all, such change as they would bring us.[58]

In the popularly perceived metaphorical exchange that equated Pizarro and his troops with Napoleon and his invading armies, Rolla's speech was seen to rebuke the revolutionary threat by upholding instead the constitutional foundation of the British monarchy. Gillray, however, rejects and reverses Rolla's supposedly 'plain answer'. Sheridan, dressed in Elizabethan costume (as Pizarro) and holding the scroll in his right hand, is portrayed as the consummate actor.[59] The 'select group of friends' whom he addresses is suggestive of the playwright's involvement with the 'Society of the Friends of the People', a radical group formed in 1792 to advocate parliamentary reform in the wake of the French Revolution. Despite appearances,

---

[57] The print appeared in *The Anti-Jacobin* (October 1799, IV, 318), alongside a review of *A Critique of the Tragedy of 'Pizarro'*. The author of *The* Critique also used *The Critic* to undermine *Pizarro*'s spectacular appeal.
[58] *Pizarro*, II. 2, p. 669.
[59] This could be interpreted as an attack on the play's 'legitimacy'. The scroll was associated with illegitimate productions, which often circumvented the ban on spoken dialogue by inscribing key lines onto scrolls and banners.

Gillray insists that Sheridan retained a firm hold on his earlier, putatively dangerous, political beliefs.

The playwright's outspoken career as an opposition Member of Parliament infused jarring political insinuations into *Pizarro*'s outwardly hegemonic appeal. In 'Pizzarro', Sheridan is depicted as if 'riding' Kemble because, according to Gillray, it was Kemble's conservative reputation that directed the play's patriotic success. As Shearer West carefully points out, in contradistinction to damning portrayals of Sheridan, *Pizarro* prints tended to emphasise Kemble as the play's dignified and justly celebrated star performer.[60] The perceived difference between Sheridan's excited opportunism and Kemble's refined 'classical' acting finds powerful expression in Gillray's print, where the artist comes short of actually caricaturing Kemble who is, in fact, quite flatteringly depicted with Romanized features.

In 1803, Gillray remained suspicious of Sheridan's perceived political turn. In 'John Bull and the Alarmist' (Figure 4), he caricatures Sheridan as a dishevelled, self-serving bill-sticker who carries 'Loyal Bills' and the 'Sherry Andrew Address' under his arm.[61] Gillray accuses Sheridan of exploiting the 'pro bono publico' claim of his 'Loyal Bill' to disguise his true intention of aiming for profit through the staging of apparently patriotic dramas. His shrewd detailing implies that troubling contiguities persisted between Sheridan's politics after Amiens and the radical 1790s. A Jacobin cap, hanging from Sheridan's coat pocket, suggests persistent revolutionary loyalties. Gillray exposes Sheridan as nothing more than a political 'double-dealer' in poor disguise.

---

[60] Shearer West, *The Image of the Actor: Verbal and Visual Representations in the Age of Garrick and Kemble* (New York: St Martin's Press, 1991), p. 84.
[61] Cf. to Gillray's 'Pizzarro' print, where Sheridan also holds a potentially radical scroll in his hand.

4: James Gillray, 'John Bull and the Alarmist' (1803).

In 1803, when extracting Rolla's speech, Sheridan was also drawing attention to the defining moments of his political career. *Pizarro*'s humanitarian appeal and Rolla's choice simile, comparing the protection offered by the Spaniards to that of vultures to lambs, ' – covering and devouring them' (II. 2. 22-23, p. 669), reverberated with Sheridan's declamation against colonial exploitation in India:

> This was British justice! this was British humanity! Mr. Hastings ensures to the allies of the company, in the strongest terms, their prosperity and protection; the former he secures by sending an army to plunder them of their wealth and to desolate their soil. His protection is fraught with a similar security, like that of a vulture to a lamb; grappling in its vitals! thirsting for its blood! scaring off each petty kite that hovers round; and then, with an insulting perversion of terms, calling sacrifice, protection![62]

Rolla's address, like Sheridan's apostrophe on British justice and humanity, is also pinned upon an ironic turn: ' – Yes – THEY will give enlightened freedom to *our* minds, who are themselves the slaves of passion, avarice, and pride' (II. 2. 20-22, p.

[62] 'The Trial of Warren Hastings' (13 June 1788), in *The Speeches of the Right Honourable Richard Brinsley Sheridan. With a Sketch of his Life*, ed. by a Constitutional Friend 3 vols (London: 1842), I, 413.

669). The verbal parallels equate the conquistador with the nabob, denouncing both types of colonisers as correspondingly villainous, corrupt and dehumanised by their greed. By the early nineteenth century, the focal point of Sheridan's play had become characterised by a political and aesthetic currency inextricably tied to the playwright's well-publicised political career.

There is evidence to suggest, however, that after the opening night, when Sheridan reworked the play into a more manageable performance piece, significant changes were made to Rolla's harangue. The Garrick Club's 1799 and 1807 Drury Lane promptbooks for *Pizarro* significantly excise the famous vulture and lamb imagery.[63] Memories of the Warren Hastings Trial may have helped coalesce humanitarian sympathies but the play's colonial nuances were not limited to the subcontinent.

In a study that investigates Romantic representations of American Indians, Astrid Wind notes that in 1781, a year after Sheridan's election to the Commons, there was an indigenous uprising in Peru.[64] Tupac Amaru II led the revolt, claiming to be the descendant of the last indigenous leader of the nation. His rebellion, although unsuccessful, was the first uprising against the Spanish colonists in nearly two centuries, drawing a direct line between *Pizarro* and the international news bulletins of 1781. If Amaru's revolt provided an exemplary moment of the empire 'writing back' by asserting itself against the mother country, then Sheridan's play was equally concerned with offering an alternative insight into human consciousness. *Pizarro*'s narrative of invasion, although most immediately concerned with the French wars and British imperialism in India, cultivated the

[63] The Newberry Library houses Kemble's acting copy of *Pizarro* (1807 edition). In II. 2, Kemble also cuts out the reference to 'vultures and lambs', though emendations by another hand suggest it was recovered for later nineteenth century productions.
[64] Astrid Wind, 'American Indians in National Contexts: The Politics of Literary Encounter', (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Oxford, 2002), p. 102.

nation's historical mindset on a much more general level than has often been recognised.

Pizarro was quite simply, a play that set out to make Britain seem less familiar. In Rolla's speech the use of the signifiers 'they' and 'we' becomes increasingly mobile. While rhetorical coherence requires Rolla's points of comparison between the Spanish 'they' and Peruvian 'we/our' to draw upon points of dissimilarity between Peruvian honour and Spanish criminality, this linguistic distinction proves decidedly unstable:

> ROLLA Your generous spirit has compared as mine has, the motives, which, in a war like this, can animate *their* minds, and OURS.[65]

The fluctuation between second, third, and first person pronouns threatens the speech's all-important ironic turn, which demands that the stress is placed on a rigidly differential us/them dynamic. While the speech inspires audiences to 'feel' its truth, as a written text it requires a degree of labour from the 'thinking' reader. The published playtext implicitly concedes this, relying upon typographical emphasis to avoid any ambiguities. The 1803 broadsheet also made distinctive use of italicization or, as Cobbett deridingly called it, 'typographical harlotry'. Particular and determinate, the use of 'we' needed to reinforce a sense of community that excludes the distant 'they' from the space shared by the addressee and his intended audience. Sheridan's broadsheet sought to capture the performative, interactive elements of Rolla's speech and its power to induce social co-operation at a time of national stress and uncertainty.

The notorious difficulty of attempting to define the political other points to *Pizarro*'s socio-cultural framing during a time of constitutional indeterminacy. Fiona Stafford neatly describes how the 1802 political debates exposed 'a new sense

[65] *Pizarro*, II. 2. 11-13, p. 669.

of Britain', forged through the war with France but 'wrought into an unfamiliar form by the Union with Ireland'.[66] In the context of the historically tense Anglo-Irish rapport and a new sense of British identity in the making, Sheridan's play found a pertinent outlet in the political climate of 1801-1803. In London, 'Sheridan's Address' was printed by the loyalist publisher, J Asperne, who priced the speech at six shillings for one hundred copies. In Dublin, the broadsheet was available at half this price, costing 'Three Shilling and Three Pence per Hundred'.[67] The higher cost of living in London most probably accounts for this pricing disparity, but the cheaper (and potentially more dangerous) Irish 'version' of Sheridan's broadsheet should not go unnoticed.

The broadsheet's parallel geographies of production and dissemination open up constructive new readings of *Pizarro*'s infamous rhetorical set-piece. Sheridan's Irish politics offered an alternative dimension to the play's definitions of treachery, which would continue to condition audience response to the play during the Peninsular War. In the opening scene, Pizarro introduces Alonzo's deflection to the Peruvian way of life as an act of betrayal both to Spain and more personally, to Pizarro himself:

> PIZARRO Alonzo! the traitor! How I once loved that man! His noble mother entrusted him, a boy, to my protection. At my table did he feast – in my tent did he repose. I had marked his early genius, and the valorous spirit that grew with it.[68]

The intimacy implied by the emotional and physical enclosures of 'protection', 'table' and 'tent' testify to Pizarro's private affections for his one-time friend. By no coincidence, Alonzo's first appearance in the play is also associated with domestic

---

[66] Fiona Stafford, '*The Edinburgh Review* and the Representation of Scotland', in *British Romanticism and the Edinburgh Review: Bicentenary Essays*, edited by Massimiliano Demata and Duncan Wu (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002), p. 38.
[67] 'Sheridan's Address to the People: Our King! our Country! And our God!' (London; Dublin, 1803). Cf. Bodleian copies, Shuttleworth 145 (1) and (2).
[68] *Pizarro*, I. 1. 15-17, p. 659.

attachments. Audiences are first introduced to Alonzo in Act II as a proud father and devoted husband to Cora. Many of the play's early reviewers commented on the profound ways in which contemporary playgoers were affected by Cora's maternal affections in this scene.[69] Cora, aware that Alonzo had recently been sleepless, nervous, and overcome with 'struggling sighs', anxiously inquires after his happiness. In response to her queries, Alonzo poignantly asks: 'Must not I fight against my country, against my brethren?' (II. 1. 38, p.666). It is left to Cora to assuage his restlessness by arguing against the arbitrariness of national ties: 'Do they not seek our destruction, and are not all men brethren?' (II. 1. 39, p. 666).[70]

When confronted by Pizarro, it is, therefore, all the more impressive that the hitherto self-tormented Alonzo should succeed in passionately defending his Spanish identity:

> ALONZO No! Deserter I am none! I was not born among robbers! pirates! murderers! – When those legions, lured by the abhorred lust of gold, and by thy foul ambition urged, forgot the honour of Castilians, and forsook the duties of humanity, THEY deserted ME. I have not warred against my native land, but against those who have usurped its power.[71]

Alonzo's speech portrays the Spanish conquest of Peru as the enterprise of a selfish minority with corrupt claims of bringing a national project to fruition. It is tempting to construe *Pizarro*'s retelling of sixteenth-century Spanish imperialism as Sheridan's way of re-imagining his own, very personal stake in Anglo-Irish political tensions. While dramatising important reasons for the Irish rebellion, Sheridan could feel secure enough to stand his own ground against charges of treason. In July 1803, Sheridan spoke on 'The King's Message Relative to the Rebellion in Ireland',

---

[69] E.g. *Star*, 25 May 1799.
[70] Cora's speech echoes 'Am I not a Man and a Brother?', the motto adopted by the Abolition of Slavery Movement in the eighteenth century.
[71] *Pizarro*, III. 3. 33-37, p. 681.

with 'sincere and heartfelt love of my country'.[72] His use of the possessive 'my' originated from the same attachment that in *Pizarro* allows Alonzo to continue to refer to Spain as 'my native land', despite his naturalization into Peruvian society.

Alonzo's speech on identity highlights the anarchic ways by which nationhood might impinge on the concepts of history and agency. During the Peninsular War, this would make the distance between the deictic markers 'we' and 'they' (clearly italicized in 'Sheridan's Address') irreducibly vexed and problematic. By removing it from both the playhouse and its originally English metropolitan audiences, the Irish publication of 'Sheridan's Address' effected a double-displacement of Rolla's set speech. In Dublin, this allowed the British spirit to become implicated with the same political aggression that English audiences identified in *Pizarro* as French enmity.[73]

In England, by contrast, 'Sheridan's Address' had all the visible signs of promoting the strength of the home guard. William Holland's 'The Ghost of Queen Elizabeth!!' (1803, Figure 5) parodies the frequency with which sixteenth-century Spain featured in the propaganda efforts of 1803. The print depicts the spectre of the great Tudor queen threatening Napoleon with a picture of the defeat of the Spanish Armada. [74] Elizabeth's reign, credited with successful overseas expansion and relative internal stability, provided a favourable reference point for nineteenth-century Britain.[75] This meant that *Pizarro*'s Spanish inflection coincided fortuitously with the renewed war effort, enabling 'Sheridan's Address' to retain its

[72] Hansard (HC), 'The King's Message Relative to the Rebellion in Ireland' (28 July 1803), in *PH,* XXXVI, 1677.
[73] Pizarro was popular in Dublin. The *MM* emphasized it had been performed so often that the actors' costumes were 'threadbare'. 'Provincial Drama', *MM* (February 1801), XI, 135.
[74] N.B. Queen Elizabeth's speech to the troops at Tilsbury was also published as a broadsheet in 1803: 'The Royal standard of our country (with) Queen Elizabeth's speech to her people, when threatened by the Spanish Armada', 1803. Curzon b.12 (6).
[75] See Chapter Three, pp. 195-7.

original dramatic purpose of inciting Peruvian resistance against the Spanish invaders.

5: William Holland, 'The Ghost of Queen Elizabeth!!' (1803).

While Sheridan's broadsheet was on display across the metropolis, in Drury Lane *Pizarro* played to audiences packed with Volunteers. Profits from the play's performance at the end of the season were used to help raise money for Lloyd's Patriotic Fund, established in July 1803 to provide charitable support and reward for those wounded or killed in action.[76] Sheridan's decision to re-title Rolla's polemic 'Sheridan's Address' and publish the speech outside its original dramatic context, had, however, proved costly. Although the 1803 broadsheet found a ready market in the loyalist press and propaganda efforts to rally Volunteers, its patriotic fervour remained attached to a long and recriminatory history. The Address's potentially radical meanings in Ireland, and the suspicious loyalist turn taken in Sheridan's

[76] This was a source of anxiety for Cobbett. See Cobbett, p. 76.

English politics, showed up *Pizarro*'s porous discourse. In the first years of the nineteenth century, the instability associated with the play's central speech remained an important indicator that Sheridan's *Pizarro* was, in effect, more a process than an event per se. The play's authority, which had been continually questioned and pointedly re-invented since its first run, continued to generate inflammatory dialogue and potentially dangerous political awareness.

1808-1815 'Historical contiguities'

During the summer of 1807 Napoleon was at the apex of his political fortunes. Having conquered or secured alliances with virtually all of the European powers, only Sweden, Britain and Portugal remained opposed to the French regime.[77] Determined to subdue Britain, 'this nation of shopkeepers', by interfering in the Iberian economy and exploiting unrest in the Spanish government, Napoleon's actions triggered a brutal war in the Peninsula. Locally known as 'La Guerra de la Independencia' (the War of Independence) the Spanish conflict was characterised by guerilla movements and staunch local resistance. In turn, the British were quick to espouse the cause of their Spanish compatriots. Almost any news (and even absence of news) from the Peninsula attracted headline notice in the national press. Topical addresses and plays were staged in the theatres, and a series of satirical prints published on the subject of the Anglo-Spanish alliance. As the Peninsula became Britain's new focal point for military and social interventions, *Pizarro*'s narrative of imperial encroachment and patriotic agency acquired renewed relevance.

[77] Gregory Fremont-Barnes, *The Napoleonic Wars: The Peninsular Wars 1807-1814* (Oxford: Osprey Publishing, 2002), p. 25.

The Spaniards' fight for what Whitbread termed 'their liberty as a people, and the assertion of their independence as a nation' seemed well represented by the Peruvians in Sheridan's drama.[78] With the British nation united in support of Spain, the Peninsular campaign was seen to offer a chance for 'persons who, at the beginning, blamed the principle of resisting the French revolution; to wish well to the cause of the Spaniards […] and to modify their desires of peace, in order to make it subservient to the cause of Spain'.[79] This section explores how Sheridan's *Pizarro* participated in this re-writing of history, at once personal and public.

British support for the Spanish revolution meant that in 1808, the sensationalist tendency to associate Spain with the horrors of the Black Legend was no longer viable. In the wake of the new political alliance between the two nations, it was much more convenient for British writers to evoke Spain's spirit of ancient chivalry, than to propagate the grotesque narratives associated with Spanish imperial history. Sheridan's characterisation of Alonzo, and his equivocal 'Spanishness', reveals an interesting dimension to *Pizarro*'s revisionist potential. Since 1799, playbills had consistently listed Alonzo as one of the 'Spaniards', despite his attachment to Peruvian society. In Act III scene 3, Alonzo distinguishes himself from Pizarro and his army by insisting on a polarised demarcation between 'THEY' and 'ME'. His speech forcefully recalls Rolla's earlier patriotic address to the Peruvian army, which had also made enabling use of an 'us/them' distinction. Pizarro and Alonzo, as markedly different Spaniards, suggested that internal differences could be as important a call to action as external threats. In 1808, this helped reaffirm that the Spaniards of Sheridan's play were not all villains.

---

[78] Hansard (HC), 'Affairs of Spain' (4 July 1808), in *Parliamentary Debates from the Year 1803 to the Present Time* (London: 1812), XI, 1142.
[79] 'Article XI', *ER*, No. XXIII (April- July 1808), XII, 437.

Alonzo's casting alongside other 'Spanish' characters such as Pizarro and his corrupt generals, points to the use of 'national labels' as an empty rhetorical gesture. This allows Alonzo to be the epitome of Spain's uncorrupted martial spirit, as well as the character that comes closest to resembling the Peruvian hero, Rolla. In 1808, and in light of the pronounced sensitivities attendant upon Peninsular politics, Sheridan's underlying rhetoric about the fluidity of national identities helped revise popular, monolithic preconceptions of the Spaniards as perpetrators of the Black Legend. In the summer of 1808, to stake a successful claim to Peninsular politics, *Pizarro* and other stock plays on the British stage needed to redress the lingering political hostilities that had earlier allowed Sheridan and his public to conflate 'Spanishness' with all disagreeable forms of otherness.

It appears that audiences were up to the challenge. In September 1812, *The Times* reviewed *Pizarro* as a play which, however haphazardly, chimed with those events of 'the great stage of real life':

> The celebrated author little thought, when writing this play, in which he pourtrays [*sic*], in the blackest colours, the worst offices of Old Spain, that in a few short years, all the eloquence, patriotism, and *energy* which he infused in his Peruvians, would be found inspiring the tongues, swelling the hearts, and animating the exertions of the Spanish nation, in a cause equally sacred, against an invader as foul, treacherous, and insatiable, as ever history, or the drama, have pictured out *Pizarro*.[80]

Napoleon's persistent aggression permitted Sheridan's narrative to remain topical and ideologically pertinent. This meant that during the Peninsular War, as in 1799, the horrors of the Spanish Black Legend could continue to be deflected onto the French Emperor. As a common enemy to both Britain and Spain, Napoleon

---

[80] *Times*, 21 September 1812. In 1812 the French lost their advantage as Wellington executed a series of successful attacks, culminating in the battle of Salamanca and Wellington's official entrance to Madrid in August 1812. These triumphs helped turn opinion at home, and may explain why *The Times* chose to make the link between *Pizarro* and Spanish patriotism during this relatively late stage in the war. See Rory Muir, *Britain and the Defeat of Napoleon 1807-1815* (London: Yale University Press, 1996), pp. 193-220.

becomes a 'double' enemy, receiving the brunt of all the odious connotations of cruelty and superstition previously associated with the play's eighteenth-century anti-Spanish propaganda.[81] During the Peninsular War, nineteenth-century Spaniards became the ironic victims of the imperial cruelties committed by their sixteenth-century counterparts in *Pizarro*. As a result, in 1808 the main impact on the play's popular allegorical reading was that the Peruvians had come to symbolize the Spanish, as well as British, determination to resist the Napoleonic yoke.

The Times was, of course, correct in stating that Sheridan could not have anticipated how contemporary politics would effectively re-write the dynamics of his play's patriotic appeal. Sheridan's letters show, however, that he was closely following the Spanish campaign and relaying its rollercoaster of victories and defeats to his correspondents.[82] The playwright's sensitivity to Peninsular politics is also amply demonstrated by his extensive corrections to Theodore Hook's manuscript of *The Siege of St Quintin* (Drury Lane, 10 November 1808). In his textual commentary, Sheridan rebuked Hook's ill-timed attempt to imitate *The Duenna*'s pastiche of Roman Catholicism, observing that 'the Public sentiment is generally making head against the no Popery cry, and half the Patriotic enthusiasm in Spain is created and led by their Priests'.[83] It is significant that in *Pizarro* itself, Sheridan deflated the Catholic dimension of Kotzebue's play as much as possible. Having described the problems in Ireland as a struggle 'not of local discontent and partial disaffection', but rather 'a contest between the people and the government',

---

[81] Frederick Burwick writes about a performance of *Pizarro* for a 'Committee Night performance in Newcastle, after a sighting in 1809 of a French ship off the English coast'. See *Romantic Drama: Acting and Reacting* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), p. 159

[82] E.g. Sheridan to Lady Bessborough (22 January 1809); and to his wife (16 April 1810), in *The Letters of Richard Brinsley Sheridan*, ed. by Cecil Price, 3 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press: 1966) III, 48-9; 75-6.

[83] Quoted in 'Postscript: *The Siege of St Quintin'*, *Dramatic Works,* II, 841. Sheridan's comments point to the changing climate on Catholic Emancipation, which was a key concern for Anglo-Irish relations. E.g. Sheridan to S Jernyngham (25 November 1811), in *Letters*, pp. 135-6.

it makes sense that Sheridan would not have wished to associate the Irish populace (predominantly Catholic) with the religious bigotry ascribed to Spanish Catholicism by Kotzebue's text.[84]

The movement for parliamentary reform on the hotly debated issue of Catholic Emancipation had been active throughout the years of *Pizarro*'s greatest success. The main reason for Pitt's resignation as Prime Minister in 1801 had, after all, been George III's refusal to grant any concessions to the Catholics after the Act of Union. In 1799, Sheridan had handled his playtext with knowing dexterity. Anne Plumptre's translation of Kotzebue's *Die Spanier in Peru*, which appears to have been one of Sheridan's main sources for *Pizarro*, included several damning references to the close relationship between the Spanish church and state.[85] In Act I scene 4 of Plumptre's text, Las Casas shrinks at the thought that Pizarro's soldiers hung thirteen Indians as vengeance for the deaths of Christ and his Apostles.[86] Significantly, there was no allusion to this in Sheridan's version of the play.

Describing *The Siege of St Quintin* as 'a translation by Mr. HOOK, retouched by Mr. SHERIDAN', the *Morning Chronicle* identified in Hook's play, 'the same motive which gave rise to the production of Mr. Sheridan's *Pizarro*'.[87] The motive in question, as *The Oracle* explained to its readers, was 'merely to introduce Sentiments of Patriotism'.[88] *The Siege of St Quintin* was generally accepted as a play devoid of any real literary merit, making it significant that *Pizarro* provided the all-important point of comparison for Hook's Spanish play on 'the popular

---

[84] Hansard (HC), 'Debate on the King's Message respecting the offers of the Militia regiments to go to Ireland' (19 June 1798), in *PH*, XXXIII, 1503.
[85] Sheridan seems to have written *Pizarro* after receiving a translation of *Die Spanier in Peru*. While the manuscript is anonymous, the Drury Lane Account Book records two payments of £25 to Anne Plumptre, who was requested to withhold publication of her translation until *Pizarro*'s opening performance. Cecil Price declares that 'the evidence appears sufficient for us to conclude that Sheridan made use of Anne Plumptre's translation'. See *Dramatic Works*, II, 646.
[86] Plumptre, I. 4, p. 12.
[87] *MC,* 11 November 1808.
[88] *Oracle*, 11 November 1808.

feelings of the present day'.[89] It suggests that in 1808, new meanings to *Pizarro* had been grafted onto its old ones, and Sheridan's play re-infused with the nationalist charge that had made it the decided favourite of 1799. The money, soldiers, and ammunitions sent by Britain to aid Spain's national defense against the French invaders had remodelled *Pizarro* into a paradigmatic play about the patriotic spirit.

It is worthwhile then, to consider how Hook's play compares to Sheridan's, and what this might suggest about the 'patriotic' label reviewers had attached to both authors by the end of 1808. In contrast to Hook's first draft, the final version of the play sent for Larpent's inspection treats Spanish religious zeal with considerable care. In the opening scene of *The Siege*, the Spanish troops prepare for the Duke of Savoy's arrival to lead the assault against the French forces. The hero Egmont anticipates the signal for attack, which will alert 'each true Spaniard that the day has come, which grants him the glorious lot to save his injured Country, or perish with its fall'. He concludes his address to the soldiers by observing the approach of St Lawrence's day, when 'a nation's gratitude shall mingle with religious zeal'.[90] As Sheridan had taken pains to explain, during the Peninsular War priests and bishops helped marshal the local resistance effort, allowing, for instance, convents and monasteries to be opened up to the allied armies. The historical parallel upon which *The Siege* is based also validated Hook's final decision to align the religious and patriotic themes of his play. During the Franco-Habsburg War, on 10 August 1557 (the feast day of St Lawrence), the Spaniards, with the support of the English, gained an important victory over the French King Henry II at the northern French town of St. Quentin. To commemorate and pay homage to the martyred saint, Philip II of Spain built the illustrious Escorial Palace in the Sierra de Guadarrama. It made

[89] *MC,* 11 November 1808.
[90] Theodore Hook, *The Siege of St. Quintin* (1808), Larpent collection 1599. British Library Microfiche F254/700. See I. 1. Further references are given after quotations in the text.

perfect sense, therefore, that in his revised playtext, Hook should present religion as the spur to heroic action; a rallying cry to inspire courage and conviction in the righteousness of the Spanish cause.[91]

In fact, the comedy in Hook's play originates not in religious pastiche, but the interplay between the Spaniards and a motley assembly of British soldiers. Scots and Irish recruits deployed to the Peninsula between 1808 and 1814 made vital contributions to the war effort, and helped determine a new understanding of the British 'nation' at arms.[92] In *The Siege*, as in *Pizarro*, this raises questions about the different methods available to communicate national identities and allegiances. In Hook's play, the amiable Irishman, Sir Leinster Kildare makes a memorable (if bemusing) first appearance. He arrives at the Spanish camp as a messenger, proudly stating that as an Irishman by birth, he has the added honour to be Alvaro's countryman. Alvaro attempts to correct him: 'You are mistaken sir, I am a Spaniard'; but Kildare, with cool confidence, insists 'So am I' (I. 1). In a long digression explanatory of how the Spanish and Irish 'share the same root', Kildare relates that the ancient King Miletus first set foot on Ireland after his trip to Carthage. He concludes with physical proof of this by stating that the first six generations of the Kildare family were born with Spanish whiskers.[93] In kind

---

[91] In *Pizarro*, religious zeal could also be linked to the Peninsular War, although this was more problematic considering the play's villainous representation of Spanish characters. When Rolla is first reunited with Alonzo in the Spanish dungeon he explains: ' – this disguise I tore from the dead body of a Friar, as I pass'd our field of battle – it has gain'd me entrance to thy dungeon – now take it thou, and fly' (IV. 1. 16-17, p. 688). Rolla here describes the corpse of a political enemy, but it is likely that during the Peninsular War, this reference would have been seen to underscore the preparedness of Spain's religious orders to engage in military conflict and sacrifice.

[92] Between 1795-1810, 42% of artillery recruits came from Ireland, and 21% from Scotland. Richard Holmes, *Redcoat: The British Soldier in the Age of Horse and Musket* (London: Harper Collins, 2001), pp. 55-59.

[93] It was common to portray Spanish men with inordinately large moustaches (or whiskers). E.g. the character of Don Ferolo Whiskerandos, the son of the Spanish Admiral in Puff's play in *The Critic*. Kildare's comments are suggestive of the suspicion with which many Irish recruits were viewed, their loyalty to the Pope often regarded as a threat to national interests. In Catholic Spain, however, the Irish tended to receive a warmer reception that the English (largely Protestant, and by extension 'heathen') soldiers.

deference to Kildare's enthusiasm, but unwilling to consent to his argument, Alvaro welcomes the Irish colonel, 'for your own nation's sake as well as ours'.[94]

Later in Act II, in his attempt to convince the Scotch Captain to show more tolerance when dealing with the soldiers, Kildare once again indulges in a confused discourse on the subject of national identity:

> SIR LEINSTER — However partial I may have been formerly to my own countrymen – by my honour I feel nothing of that exclusive prejudice now – I wish to encourage no rivalry but the emulation of who shall be forwardest and boldest against the Common Enemy. & whether I'm an Irishman, an Englishman, a Scotchman, a Welshman, a Swede or a Spaniard, upon my conscience I won't wish to recollect. Let them divide me equally, & take the six quarters of me between them – & they will make little more of me than half the man I wish to be to each of the remaining five.[95]

Kildare may be somewhat inept at mathematics, but his declaration does not fail to persuade. So fervent and sincere is his disquisition, that the Scotch Captain concedes: 'My heart goes w'e ye in the sentiment – tho' I'm thinking you're a wee confused with the expression o't' (II. 1). The success of Britain's armies in Spain and Portugal was dependant upon co-operation and trust. Ambivalences needed to be redressed with regard to not only the Spanish and Portuguese, but also the British regiments. The *Oracle* commented: '[*The Siege of St Quintin*] literally consists of nothing but invectives against the French, and fulsome Panegyrics upon the Spaniards, English, Scotch, Irish, and Welsh'.[96] The play's theme of seeing beyond the duty to one's birthplace, in order to conceive of a larger sense of national commitment, was an important manifestation of Hook's patriotic intent. A comparable, although much more nuanced example occurs with Sheridan's

---

[94] *Siege*, I. 1.
[95] *Ibid*.,, II. 1.
[96] *Oracle*, 11 November 1811.

characterization of Alonzo in *Pizarro*, and his lessons on the plurality and essential instability of national labels.

Despite competition from new, obviously topical Spanish themed plays, *Pizarro* continued to retain the necessary urgency and immediacy associated with its patriotic narrative. Yet, during the 1808-1809 season, when audiences were most absorbed by the war in Spain and Portugal, Sheridan's play was performed only twice at London's patent houses: the result of a sad and ironic intersection in Sheridan's theatrical and political fortunes. On 24 February 1809, as Canning addressed the Commons on the role of Britain in the Peninsula, news arrived that Drury Lane was on fire. As a financial crisis for both Drury Lane's economy and Sheridan's own personal finances, it would take more than three years to rebuild the theatre.[97] A crucial result of the Drury Lane fire was that the dramatic company had to be temporarily relocated. At first, the actors moved to the Haymarket. Then, in April 1809, and on a more stable arrangement, they took over the much smaller Lyceum Theatre. In this new playspace, the capacity for spectacular entertainment was significantly restricted, helping explain the relative absence of *Pizarro* during the first years of the Peninsular War.[98] The company's playbills between 1809 and 1812 record only one (benefit) performance of Sheridan's tragedy.

On the face of it, a narrative dramatising Spanish plunder in Peru may not seem to have been an immediate choice for the 1809 repertoire. On the other hand, between 1801 and 1803, *Pizarro* had already proved itself capable of flexible application to changing political circumstances, striking the difficult balance between principle and pragmatism. Allegorical readings of *Pizarro* suggest that

[97] N.B. Covent Garden had burnt down in September 1808. It reopened as a beautiful, neoclassical theatre in September 1809.

[98] On the Lyceum's limited capacity for spectacle, see *Times* review of *The Maniac; or, The Swiss Banditti*: 'The scenery deserves particular commendation, and we have seldom seen on so small a scale, as that which the Lyceum admits, a finer specimen of the art […]' (14 March 1810.)

during the Peninsular War, Sheridan's play would have continued to hold its own in the dramatic repertoire. A cursory look at the patents' wartime calendar demonstrates the popularity of Spanish themes between 1808 and 1815.[99] In the Haymarket, the 'New Comic Ballet' of *Don Quichotte* [*sic*] was staged five times during the company's short stay there in the spring of 1809. Mr Braham's profitable engagement during the 1811 season and the success bestowed upon his impersonation of Don Alphonso in O'Keeffe's *The Castle of Andalusia*, ensured that stage depictions of Spain remained in the spotlight. The 'very favourable' reception given to Code's *The Spanish Patriots: A Thousand Years Ago* (1812) was, according to *The Times*, largely a result of the play's well-chosen title, 'sufficiently promising to attract a tolerable audience, because it announced something to which every British heart vibrates – the patriotism of Spain'.[100] Even a cursory look at the playbills suggests, therefore, that Spanish topicality would have only amplified the demand for Sheridan's play.[101]

Once it had recovered from its own fire, the new Covent Garden theatre testified to *Pizarro*'s enduring appeal by staging frequent revivals of Sheridan's play. During the 1811-1812 season, Covent Garden found a winning formula by pairing Sheridan's Spanish tragedy with Reynolds's *The Virgin of the Sun*. Reynolds's play was also a translation of Kotzebue, dramatising the love triangle between Rolla, Cora, and Alonzo as a prequel to *Die Spanier in Peru.* The *Theatrical Examiner* usefully defined the play 'a sort of companion to *Pizarro*', containing the early part of Rolla's history.[102] Equally spectacular, *The Virgin of the Sun* proved a popular hit, securing twenty-seven performances by 13 April 1812. To

[99] See Appendices A and B.
[100] *Times*, 23 September 1812.
[101] *Don Quichotte* was repeated on the 16, 23 March; 3, 6, and 10 April 1809 (Appendix B).
[102] *TE*, 9 February 1812.

a large extent, the play's success was predicated upon the existing fascination for *Pizarro*. *The Times*, for instance, described how 'on the rising of the curtain, which displayed the *Temple of the Sun*, the whole audience gave a shout of admiration'.[103] The opinion that the Temple was among *Pizarro*'s most magnificent scenes was almost unanimous.[104] In large part, the luxury and romance that characterized Reynolds's scenic splendour was thus necessarily tied to Sheridan's play, and audiences' recognition of the ideological terrain already mapped out by *Pizarro*.

The intertheatricality that united *Pizarro* and *The Virgin of the Sun* can be compared to Covent Garden's coupling of *Pizarro* with another Spanish themed piece, Charles Kemble's 1808 farce *The Portrait of Cervantes* (Covent Garden, 20 May 1812).[105] Thereafter, although *Pizarro* was repeated only eight times during the 1813-1814 season, the playbills provide further intriguing evidence of the strategic arrangements made to the theatre's repertoire. *Pizarro* was, for instance, played twice as the mainpiece before the successful melodrama *The Miller and His Men*, and twice again to introduce the pantomime *Harlequin and the Swans.*[106] The arrangement suggests that although repeated less frequently, Sheridan's tragedy was still considered high enough in public esteem to promote the theatre's heavy investment in spectacle and pantomime. The choices made by Covent Garden managers when structuring the various elements of their evening's entertainment are as important a consideration as the selection of the mainpiece itself.

In September 1809, the Drury Lane company inaugurated its new season at the Lyceum with *The Duenna* which, according to the playbills, was sanctioned for

---

[103] *Times*, 3 February 1812.
[104] *Morning Herald,* 25 May 1799: 'The scenery was enchanting throughout, and that of the *Temple of the Sun* superlatively magnificent'.
[105] *Pizarro* was also chosen for the theatre's summer closure on 9 July1812. Songs performed that night included 'The Four Saints, or the Union' by Mr Shaw, and 'The Death of Abercombie', by Mr Sinclair.
[106] Appendix A: 18 October and 30 December 1813; 7 January 1814.

frequent repetition 'in consequence of the uncommon applause' it received. The frequent staging of the play during the Peninsular War may seem hard to account for, especially after Sheridan's censorious approach to Hook's manuscript play, and careful textual editing of *The Siege*'s ridicule of Roman Catholicism.[107] A good example of *The Duenna*'s religious humour occurs in Act III scene 5. The Spanish friars sit around a table in the priory, drinking, singing, and making lecherous toasts to the abbess of St. Ursuline and 'the blue eye'd nun of St Catherine's'.[108] The friars' benefactions have been spent on wine, their professions of abstinence exposed as a mask for private indulgence in sensual gratification. Complete with glee and chorus, it's not surprising that Hook should have been drawn to this lively scene of religious hypocrisy. Sheridan cannot easily be cleared of a jealous motivation to defend *The Duenna*'s cultural playfulness against Hook's literary impingements. Charges of hypocrisy are, however, mitigated by the timing of his play's new stage run. In 1808, when Hook submitted his play to the Lord Chamberlain, the British nation was gripped with avid enthusiasm for the Spanish cause. By the end of 1809 the public were struggling to contain their disillusionment.

Godfrey Davies explains that although the Whigs were mostly devoted to the Spanish cause, they soon found themselves divided on the question of its probable outcome.[109] As the conflict was prolonged and the fissures in the Spanish government made ever more visible, many Whigs turned away from their Spanish compatriots. Frustrated at the inefficiency of the Spanish Cortes, the Whigs came to

---

[107] By staging revivals of his earlier anti-Spanish comedies, Sheridan may have been trying to compensate for the notable absence of his 'other' Spanish drama, *Pizarro* (too elaborate for the smaller stage).
[108] *The Duenna*, II. 5, in *Dramatic Works,* I, 273-5.
[109] Godfrey Davies, 'The Whigs and the Peninsular Wars', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 4th series, 2 (1919), 113-131.

realise that the Spanish revolution was, at heart, fiercely conservative. The Spaniards were not so much fighting for constitutional liberty, as for the conservative pairing of 'King and Church' (associated with reactionary government in Spain). British commanders in the Peninsula complained of Spanish incompetence, while the publication of officers' memoirs and private letters sent home recounted stories of mutual antipathy between Spanish and British soldiers, unaccustomed to each other's religion and cultural traditions. The publication of parliamentary papers on the war further contributed to the nation's disenchantment, making Britons resentful that their efforts had been hampered by Spanish provincial jealousies and poor co-operation.[110] The image of the Spanish patriot mobilised for action against all odds had been discovered as an essentially mythical construct. Britons' early, popular, and perhaps naïve support for the Spanish Revolution had become liable to serious qualification.

In this politically revisionist climate, there was much uncertainty regarding what constituted a legitimately sanctioned 'Spanish' drama. In *The Censorship of English Drama 1737-1824*, Leonard Conolly relates Spencer Perceval's surprise that Drury Lane had been ordered to stop reciting a monody to the memory of Sir John Moore, the military hero of Corunna.[111] Finding himself unexpectedly outnumbered by a far superior French force, Moore, who was acting as Commander-in-Chief in Spain, had made the bold decision to retreat to Corunna and re-embark with his troops. In the attempt to repulse the French, Moore received a fatal injury, but his death-in-battle did not guarantee his glory. Not only did the

[110] 'Article XVI', *ER*, No. XXVII (April- July 1809), XIV, 251. The Article refers readers to John Moore's letter from Salamanca and a letter intercepted from a French officer at Vittoria, used as evidence in the *House of Commons Papers.* These accused the Spaniards of inertia, and undermined the popular image of Spanish patriotism.
[111] L W Conolly, *The Censorship of English Drama 1737-1824* (San Marino: The Huntington Library, 1976), p. 95.

retreat shatter the nation's high hopes for the Spanish campaign, but the publication of Moore's letters and dispatches, shortly after his death, exposed a damning lack of communication between the allies. When British soldiers finally returned home, their tales of starvation, cold, ill-discipline, and Spanish hostility horrified the nation. John Larpent, the Censor of Plays, and Perceval, the Prime Minister were two prominent cultural arbiters whose public role was to promote the hegemonic ideal. Understandably, they found themselves at odds on how to respond to Drury Lane's request for a monody on the death of Sir John Moore.[112]

As the Peninsular War became divested of its initial nationalist glamour, *Pizarro*'s Spanish theme, though popular, became ever more controversial. In 1811, *The Times* reviewer explained that the play's first performances had been 'happily timed'. In 1799, 'to hear words of courage and comfort from the stage, was new'. [113] More than a decade later, a nation suffering from the hardships of war, troubled Anglo-Spanish relations, and political uncertainty at home, struggled to believe that they could still preserve 'their fortunes and their freedom'. [114] In the words of the theatrical reviewer, 'All this now seems to have been singularly absurd'.[115]

In its appraisal of Charles Vaughan's eulogistic narrative *The Siege of Zaragoza* (1809), the *Edinburgh Review* was quick to correct the author's 'partiality for his Saragossan friends'.[116] Instead, the *Edinburgh* published a forceful critique of British hopes for Spain and military operations therein. According to the review, British diplomacy bore all the ridicule associated with theatrical foppery: 'a pompous embassy' indulging 'in gaudiness and parade, and in the trappings of the

---

[112] See 'Monody on the Death of Sir John Moore', Larpent Collection 1568. BL Microfiche F254/235.
[113] *Times*, 7 October 1811.
[114] *Ibid.*
[115] *Ibid.*
[116] 'Article XVI', *ER*, No. XXVII (April- July 1809) XIV, 245.

East'.[117] This derision of spectacle recalls early responses to *Pizarro,* with the reference to effeminate Eastern luxury conjuring disturbing suggestions of a degenerate British empire. The article develops these hints into an insistence that 'No Sicily – no Ceuta – no Sugar islands – no cruizes in the Cattegat' should have influenced the government's Spanish campaign.[118] The intrusion of commercial interests on contemporary political ideology had marked consequences for both real and fictional depictions of Spain. In the 1810s, Britain's mercantile interests and the global implications of Napoleon's Peninsular campaign, would seriously impinge *Pizarro'*s 1808 reading as a play supporting the Spanish cause.

The revolution in Spain and its repercussions in the Spanish colonies excited contemporary interest, not least because it finally opened South American markets to the speculation of British merchants and traders. Gillray's 1799 cartoons of a money-grubbing Sheridan seemed to have come full circle with Britain's very real, if ideologically dubious, financial projects for South America. In the 1810s, British commercial interests across the Atlantic threatened to align Ministerial policy all too closely with *Pizarro*'s characterisation of mercenary Spanish imperialism. The insurrections in Spanish America were, however, also ideologically valuable. As early as the 1790s, the Venezuelan Franscisco de Miranda had come to London to seek assistance from the British Government. Many other Spanish-controlled states continued to consult the British on their plans for independence from Spain. Leigh Hunt wrote passionately about their cause, informing his readers of Peru's resolution to throw off the government of Spain and erect an independent state. In language reminiscent of *Pizarro*, Hunt exclaimed:

> May that land, which was the cradle of Spanish degeneracy, prove its grave, and a new race of men spring up in South America, to whom defeated pride

[117] 'Article XVI', *ER*, XIV, 255.
[118] *Ibid*., p. 258.

> may have taught reason; defeated indolence, industry; and defeated oppression, the indispensable blessing of liberty.[119]

Hunt's defence of indigenous rights against unlawful oppression chimes closely with *Pizarro*'s dramatisation of the Spanish conquest of Peru in the sixteenth century. After the disappointing convocation of the Spanish Cortes in 1810, and its failure to grant equal participation to the Creole representatives, the movement for independence from Spain gained rapid momentum. Yet, while the British government remained committed to the Peninsular campaign, it could not afford to sponsor the independence of Spanish America, despite the financial temptations. In this climate, *Pizarro,* which had always sparked political doubts as to its putative loyalism, found itself hard-pressed – betrayed by the difficulty of speaking at once to the Spanish rebels and the South American Creoles.

Towards the end of Sheridan's play, Pizarro confesses to Rolla 'I wou'd we might be friends' (IV. 3. 32, p. 694). He does so in full knowledge that his wish was likely to be rejected: 'would' and 'might' come together as a double conditional that defensively anchor Pizarro's gesture to the subjunctive mood. Rolla's answer: 'Become the friend of virtue – and thou wilt be mine' (IV. 3. 33-34) is, of course, alien to Pizarro's greedy designs. It prompts Pizarro, when alone, to question what his ambition has driven him to commit. He returns to the construction 'I would' in order to express the limitations of his condition: 'I would I cou'd retrace my steps – I cannot – Would I could evade my own reflections! – No! – thought and memory are my Hell' (IV. 3. 40-43). Nevertheless, such is his fascination with Rolla that when the Spanish soldiers mistake him for a spy and bring him back to Pizarro, the Spaniard concludes his apology by once again asking 'May not Rolla and Pizarro cease to be foes?' (V. 2. 26, p. 698). Humiliated, and suspicious of Pizarro's role in

[119] *Examiner,* 18 February 1810.

his arrest, Rolla responds: 'When the sea divides us; yes!' (V. 2. 27). This inability to bridge the distance between Old and New Spain would bring competing claims to *Pizarro*'s investment in justified revolt. The 1812 Creole Rebellion of Huánuco and the Rebellion of Cuzco (1814-1816) in Peru meant that during the Peninsular War, *Pizarro*'s Peruvian setting had become dangerously imbricated with movements for independence across Spanish America. In the 1810s, the romanticized landscape of South America was no longer geographically and topically remote, but troublesomely topical. Finally, it seemed that the task of directing audiences' moral and political responsibilities had exceeded the scope of Sheridan's play.

Conclusions

From the outset, *Pizarro*'s inherently 'protean' character had been appropriated in response to uncertainties both at home and abroad. By focusing on the play's premiere in 1799, the Peace of Amiens, and the Spanish campaign, this chapter has considered *Pizarro*'s changing relation to Romantic-period society. In the earliest reviews of *Pizarro* the physicality of actors and audience members was read as proof of the theatre's uncanny capacity to set human passions into motion. Rolla's celebrated speech was the emblematic focal point of this psychologically absorbing moment of spectatorship. After the collapse of the Peace of Amiens, *Pizarro*'s perceived capacity to transform spectatorship into participation was seized upon to disseminate the ideals of patriotic citizenship and encourage the nation to take up arms against the invader. During the first flush of enthusiasm for the Peninsular War (Britain's largest land campaign), the play's rhetoric was re-infused with this patriotic spark. Intriguingly, however, because the war in Spain soon found as many

detractors as supporters, *Pizarro*'s reductive portrayal of sixteenth-century Spain came to fit in well with the trend to protest against British involvement in the Peninsula by caricaturing the Spaniards as dreamers of a mythical golden age.[120] Sheridan's recourse to the Black Legend meant that *Pizarro* could be curiously up-to-date for opponents of the war. On the other hand, those who supported the war were at liberty to revise the play's literal plot, imagining nineteenth-century Spaniards in place of the righteous Peruvians and, as was customary, Napoleon and his armies as Pizarro and his soldiers.

Contrary to initial predictions, the Peninsular War had developed into a complex, partisan conflict. This imbued the representation of Spanish themes onstage with political controversy, and helps explain why, after 1809, Sheridan's *Pizarro* was not as popular as it might have been. *Pizarro*'s fluidity, however enabling, also had its limits. From 1810, when the South American question could no longer be avoided, the play's allegories struggled to compete with the real implications of its plot. From Venezuela to Argentina and Peru, the native peoples of South America were rising against the forces of Spanish imperialism – making proclamations of their liberty and independence, which theatrical audiences would have been quick to associate with the Peruvians of Sheridan's play. It is no coincidence, then, that the decreasing frequency with which *Pizarro* was presented corresponded with the most active years of the movement for Spanish American independence. Fictional and real histories had become inextricably tied. In the 1810s, the fortunes of a war with obviously global consequences, determined that

[120] In visual art, it remained commonplace to associate the Spaniards with their sixteenth-century golden age. They were often depicted wearing feathered hats, slashed doublets and cloaks. E.g. Charles Williams's 'John Bull among the Spaniards; or, Boney decently provided for' (1808), and Isaac Cruikshank's 'The noble Spaniards; or, Britannia assisting the cause of freedom […]' (1808).

Sheridan's *Pizarro,* whose patriotism had always been 'debated property', could no longer be allocated a definite place in the theatrical repertoire.

Frontispiece 3: Charles Williams, ‘John Bull amongst the Spaniards, or Boney decently provided for’, 1808.

CHAPTER TWO

British Accounts of Spain and Portugal

In October 1808 the *Edinburgh Review* published Jeffrey and Brougham's article on Don Cevallos and the French usurpation of Spain. The radical, potentially inflammatory lilt of its argument was quick to cause offence.[1] As a result, twenty-five prominent readers cancelled their subscriptions, including Walter Scott, who had hitherto been a popular contributor. In angry defiance, Scott left the magazine's ranks, recruited William Gifford as editor, and founded the rival, Tory-based *Quarterly Review*.[2] Such was the hysteria and furore that according to an amused Sydney Smith, the *Edinburgh* was 'not only discontinued by many people but returned to the Bookseller from the very first volume: the library shelves fumigated, &c.'[3] The anecdote suggests that contemporary responses to Iberian politics were so inflamed that the *Edinburgh*'s (mis)handling of the theme resulted in a virtual crisis in its publication history.

This chapter attempts to explore the volatility of Peninsular politics by pinning down the main issues emerging from accounts of Spain and Portugal published during the war. Between 1807 and 1815, many Britons viewed the Peninsula as a geopolitical space riddled with unsettling questions about history, religion and superstition, national identity, and gender. The purpose of this chapter

---

[1] Jeffrey and Brougham claimed events in the Peninsula had 'awaken[ed] all those feelings of liberty and patriotism which many had supposed were extinguished since the French Revolution'. They anticipated a successful outcome to the war would bring political enlightenment to Spain and encourage England's own reform movements. 'Article XIV', *ER*, No. XXV, (October 1808), XIII, 215-34. See also Susan Manning, 'Walter Scott, Antiquarianism and the Political Discourse of the *Edinburgh Review*, 1802-1811', in Demata and Wu, pp. 102-123.

[2] WS to Gifford (25 Oct 1808) on the 'political character' Scott intended for the *Quarterly Review*, in Grierson, II, 100-107. See also: Southey's letter to John May (23 May 1809), in Warter, II, 137.

[3] Sydney Smith, as quoted by John O'Hayden in *The Romantic Reviewers 1802-1824* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1969), p. 24.

is to identify the pre-existing conceptions of Iberia that playwrights and audiences would have taken with them to the playhouse, where they might be either confirmed or challenged by the entertainments on offer. Non-theatrical literature will serve to contextualise the popularity of stage dons, donnas, and duennas, exotic South American backdrops, and the politically inflected plot-lines of contemporary dramatic pieces. Examining how images of Spain and Portugal were interpreted, reconstructed, and appropriated by British writers between 1808 and 1815 will, in turn, help gauge the theatre's distinctive contribution to the Peninsular War debate.

As *Pizarro*'s first reviewers were quick to point out, theatregoers were already familiar with Spanish and South American settings.[4] Spain had featured prominently in earlier dramatic repertoires. Kyd's sensational play *The Spanish Tragedy* (c.1590), and Middleton and Rowley's *The Changeling* (1622), which was set in Alicante, continued to be performed on the Romantic stage. Moorish Spain was also recognised as a popular setting for heroic drama, as in Dryden's *The Conquest of Granada* (1670) and Congreve's influential tragedy *The Mourning Bride* (1679). The 'Spanish cloak and sword plays' that had been so popular after the Restoration help explain the fascination for Thomas Shadwell's *The Libertine* (1675) which, as Moyra Haslett explains, was the basis of most of the Don Juan plays that dominated the early nineteenth-century stage.[5]

Ronald Paulson has argued convincingly for the familiarity of the Don Quixote story in eighteenth-century England. Positioning Cervantes's text at the nexus of the aesthetics of laughter and political satire, Paulson shows that most

[4] *TB*, 25 May 1799. See Chapter One for a close reading of *Pizarro* and its reception history between 1799 and 1815.
[5] Moyra Haslett, *Byron's 'Don Juan' and the Don Juan Legend* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997), see esp. pp. 28, 41.

novel readers were well conversant with fictional Spain.[6] Le Sage's picaresque novels *The Devil on Two Sticks* (1708) and *Gil Blas* (1735) added to the readerly excitement surrounding *Don Quixote*.[7] In 1741, Gravelot produced a broadside print, 'The Devil on Two Sticks', that showed Walpole being carried through a bog by two members of Parliament.[8] In 1806, Gillray also turned to Le Sage for his cartoon 'Le Diable-Boiteux, – or – The Devil upon two sticks, conveying John Bull to the land of promise' (Figure 6). Here, Gillray depicts Fox as the Devil who, wearing the cloak of patriotism, is carried to power by his two props (Sidmouth and Grenville), while a terrified John Bull takes hold of his waistcoat. In the background, Gillray reproduces scenes from Le Sage's novel, satirizing the Prince of Wales's reputation for gambling, extramarital affairs, and drunken revelry. The print shows how, by the early nineteenth century, literary and pictorial representations of Spain could be used to effect a startlingly immediate, transparent critique of domestic politics.[9]

---

[6] Ronald Paulson, *Don Quixote in England: The Aesthetics of Laughter* (Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998).
[7] *Don Quixote* was first translated into English in 1612, by Thomas Shelton.
[8] See BM Satires 2439.
[9] See also *Harlequin Zambullo; or, The Devil Upon Two Sticks* (produced as *Harlequin Zambullo; or, Cupid on Crutches*, 1810), Larpent Collection 1651. British Library Microfiche F254/151. In the pantomime, Pillandoc has confined Asmodeus to a glass vial. Grateful for his release by Don Zambullo, Asmodeus promises to reunite him with his lover, Seraphina. He grants Zambullo the magic wand and transforms him into Harlequin. The lovers' reunion is predicated upon Cupid's restoration, which becomes the main interest of the pantomime (see finale). In 1810, a political reading might see Napoleon as Pillandoc, Cupid as Ferdinand VII (the figurehead of Spain's revolution), and Harlequin as representative of British aid to the Spanish cause. Following the occupation of Madrid, Cadiz had become the new political capital of Spain. In the pantomime, Cadiz represents freedom.

6: James Gillray, 'Le Diable Boiteux; or, The Devil Upon Two Sticks' (1806)

Contemporary audiences were not only aware of, but importantly attached to, a range of Spanish narratives – comic, tragic, didactic, and picaresque. After 1808, these themes would be opened up to interpretation and re-interpretation, as the changing contexts of wartime society demanded. Despite its fictional familiarity, however, real accounts of the Peninsula were much harder to access, with the Iberian nations being considered geographically difficult to define and even more awkward to visit.[10] The Grand Tour, which tended to focus on France and Italy (and place emphasis on Rome as the foundation of civilization), rendered Spain an inconvenient diversion. This meant that most travel itineraries missed the Iberian Peninsula altogether, with the few travellers that did venture there complaining of the region's notorious uncleanliness, inhospitality, and sub-developed

[10] Sarrazin describes Spain as situated between Europe and Africa, its population composed of the Goths who came from the North, and the Saracens who came from the South. See *History of the War in Spain and Portugal, from 1807 to 1814* (London: 1815), p. 17.

infrastructure.[11] Robert Southey, who was recognised as the Hispanicist of his age, spent more than a year in Lisbon and made visits to Madrid between 1795 and 1796.[12] His sojourn was, nevertheless, exceptional. Although Scott often expressed the wish to enlist with Wellington's troops in Portugal, he failed to make any serious attempt to realise this fancy.[13] His letters serve as a useful reminder that most of the writers discussed in this chapter never set foot in Spain or Portugal.[14] Anna Porter's Preface to *Don Sebastian* (1809) is thus refreshingly honest in its portrayal of an author that 'endeavoured to give as faithful a picture as was possible to one who described after the accounts of others'.[15]

British writers made frequent recourse to Spanish literature as a means of instructing their readers on the finer details of Iberian geography. To render the Spanish setting of *The Forest of Comalva* (1809) more recognisable, Mary Hill glosses the Sierra Morena as a landscape made 'famous in the history of the inimitable Don Quixote [*sic*]'.[16] Shortly afterwards, she suggests that 'whoever has read Don Quixote, must call to mind several scenes in that picturesque, as well as comic, work'.[17] Similarly, in the Anglo-Spanish romance *The Fair Andalusian*

---

[11] Jeremy Black, *The British and the Grand Tour* (London: Croom Helm, 1985), esp. pp. 24-6.
[12] During his stay, Southey acquired proficiency in both Portuguese and Spanish, and developed a lifelong interest in the literature and politics of the Peninsula. His *Letters from England by Don Manuel Espriella* was published anonymously in 1807. He then translated *Palmerin of England* (1807) and the epic poem *Chronicle of the Cid* (1808). Southey became Poet Laureate in 1813. His *History of Brazil* (1810-1819) exemplified his pronounced interest in South America. Southey was also a regular contributor on Spain and Portugal for the *Edinburgh Annual Register*. His *History of the Peninsular War* was published between 1823 and 1832.
[13] WS to Joanna Baillie (23 November 1810) and Lady Abercorn (11 January 1811), in Grierson, II, 401; 432.
[14] In 1808 Walter Savage Landor went to the Peninsula as a volunteer in the Spanish army. He returned a few months after the Convention of Cintra, and was disappointed to see no real action during his time there.
[15] Anna Maria Porter, *Don Sebastian*; *or, the House of Braganza*, 4 vols (London: 1809), I, vii.
[16] Mary Hill, *The Forest of Comalva; A Novel Containing Sketches of Portugal and Spain, and Part of France*, 3 vols (London: 1809), I, 59.
[17] See Hill, p. 63. *Comalva* was favourably reviewed by the *Gentleman's Magazine*, which placed a premium on its 'valuable instruction', especially 'the advantage which may be derived from this pleasing and appropriate method of diffusing useful information respecting the Topography of the two Countries [Great Britain and Spain]'. *GM* (March 1809), LXXIX, 249.

(1810) Montolieu, the English hero, passes through the Sierra Morena, 'compar[ing] the pages of Cervantes with the existing scene'.[18] Non-fiction writers, such as John Lillie, also took advantage of this intersection between history and romance. In *Narrative of the Campaigns of the Loyal Lusitanian Legions* (1811) it is Le Sage, rather than Cervantes, who opens up the geography of Ciudad Rodrigo, 'famous among the Romans, and familiar to the readers of Gil Blas [*sic*]'.[19] At the start of the war, Walter Scott observed how 'very singular ' it seemed 'to have all the places mentioned in Don Quixote and Gil Blas now the scenes of real and important events. Gazettes dated from Oviedo, and gorges fortified in the Sierra Morena, sound like history in the land of romance'.[20] As the war progressed and political opinions sharpened, commentators would invoke Spain's multifaceted reputation to either endorse or disparage the country's symbolic value to the military campaign.[21]

Gibraltar, Britain's hard-fought outpost in the Iberian Peninsula, was better known due to its strategic importance, but even this heroic bastion lacked the cultural associations most Britons would have been able to attach to other Continental geographies. The closure of the usual Grand Tour routes during the war meant that between 1808 and 1815, Spain and Portugal were even less likely to attract the sort of cultural tourists that had earlier flocked to the Classical seats of Italy and Greece.[22] And yet, it was ultimately due to the war that Byron and Hobhouse found their Continental tour diverted via Portugal and Spain. The Iberian Peninsula thus provided the memorable setting for the opening canto of *Childe*

---

[18] Honoria Scott [pseud], *The Fair Andalusian*, in *Amatory Tales of Spain, France, Switzerland, and the Mediterranean*, 3 vols (London: 1810), II, 25.
[19] Lillie, pp. 44 -5.
[20] WS to Thomas Scott (20 June 1808), in Grierson, II, 76.
[21] Supporters of the war frequently claimed the Spaniard's spirit of heroic chivalry would guarantee success against Napoleon. Opponents argued that Spain's sanguinary imperialism and the nation's outdated attachment to its sixteenth-century golden age made the Peninsula an absurd outlet for Britons' political hopes.
[22] It became increasingly difficult to obtain Spanish texts during the war. See WS to John Richardson (3 July 1810), in Grierson, II, 357.

Harold's Pilgrimage, whose phenomenal popularity almost single-handedly established Byron's reputation as a poet. The poem, which helped propagate images of a war-torn Peninsula, also drew attention to the war's attendant human costs and raised troubling questions about Britain's putative military success in Spain and Portugal.

In the visual arts, the Peninsula featured variously, appearing in picturesque, romantic landscapes, expensive scholarly engravings, amateur sketches by soldiers, and delightfully lampooning caricatures by George and Isaac Cruikshank, Thomas Rowlandson, James Gillray, and Charles Williams. From Spanish costumes to topographical representations of the Peninsula in prints, panoramas, paintings and book illustrations, the myriad images of Spain available in early nineteenth-century Britain, helped define theatre audiences' expectations for accurate, as well as imaginative, stage sets.

Romantic theatre was a multimedia experience that brought together the visual, spoken, and written word.[23] Oral accounts of Spain and Portugal played an important role in shaping the public's perception of the Peninsular campaign. Sailors, soldiers, and traders returning from the Peninsula came home with a broad repertoire of horrific, heroic, and even comic first-hand accounts of their experiences abroad. This extra dimension of the Peninsular War debate, although very tricky to judge, is often hinted at in the texts discussed. A good example of communal responses to the war was the Prince Regent's orders of prayers and thanksgiving in honour of the military victories gained in the Peninsula. From the re-publications of old texts, to commemorative medals, rings, and even fans

[23] Playbills frequently refer to the publication of songbooks and playtexts available for sale within the theatres. Ironically, the use of the written word was also closely associated to illegitimate drama, where the ban on spoken drama meant actors often came on stage with scrolls and banners explaining the main plot.

exported from London to the Spanish markets, Iberia was, at once, the ubiquitous subject and object of early nineteenth-century Britain.[24]

'The gabble of all the quidnuncs *in this country'*

The Peninsular War was, unsurprisingly, the major catalyst for the Hispanic themed publications that flooded the British market in the early nineteenth century. Reports of the sanguinary 'dos de mayo' rebellion, the arrival of the Spanish delegates in London, Sheridan's speech to the House of Commons, the recommendation of an Anglo-Spanish alliance, Wellesley's landing in Mondego Bay, and even the humiliating Convention of Cintra agreement, were all critical, early indicators that the Iberian Peninsula had become Europe's new theatre of war. The interest generated by the British campaign in Spain and Portugal was at once widespread and acute. Almost immediately, the British public registered a pressing need to not only come to terms with the wartime geographies of Vimeiro, Talavera, Zaragoza, and Ciudad Rodrigo, but to understand the politics, society, and culture embedded in these otherwise distant and exotic-sounding locales.

The publication of socio-cultural introductions to the Peninsula placed a premium on representations of Spain, England's historic enemy but newfound ally in 1808. The Spanish Armada and Black Legend, with its emphasis on the bigotry and cruelty of Spain's religious and imperial enterprises, continued to weigh down heavily on the contemporary imagination. As Diego Saglia points out, Foxe's acerbically anti-Catholic *Book of Martyrs* (1563) was read well into the late

[24] E.g. 'La España Triumfara' (1814), BM Collection: Fans Unmounted Roy.

eighteenth century, its gruesome woodcuts leaving an unforgettable impression.[25] The 1808 alliance marked a clear and compelling need to redefine this inherited tradition of negative Spanish stereotypes. This was, nevertheless, a difficult subject, and attempts were far from uniform. The Peninsular War may have prompted demand for publications about Iberia, but as opinions on the war became increasingly polarised, it also blurred and expanded the interpretative horizon to which contemporary readers would assign these texts.

In their numerous prefaces and introductions to works on Spain and Portugal authors frequently exploited the war interest as justification for having taken their works to press:

> At a period when the eyes of all Europe are directed to that awful scene of heroic enterprize [*sic*] now displayed in Spain and Portugal; when the heart of every Briton is animated to support the cause of oppressed nations; the most trivial incidents relating to that part of the Continent may be capable of exciting some degree of interest.[26]

Mary Hill, whose Preface to *The Forest of Comalva* highlights the anxieties of an inexperienced author to write in 'a universally acceptable way', significantly chooses an Iberian setting in order to give flourish to a novel defined as 'the first production of her pen', her 'first essay'.[27] Meanwhile, Samuel Broughton stated that his letters on Portugal, Spain and France, written 'originally on the request of a domestic circle of friends', would not have been made public were it not for 'the lively interest recently taken in every thing relating to the countries through which he passed'.[28] By the same token, in April 1809 *The Gentleman's Magazine* took advantage of the Peninsular War as an expedient to introduce readers to Mrs

---

[25] Saglia, *Poetic Castles*, p. 42.
[26] Hill, I, p. iv.
[27] *Ibid*., pp. iii-iv.
[28] Samuel Broughton, *Letters from Portugal, Spain, & France, written during the Campaigns of 1812, 1813, & 1814, Addressed to a Friend in England. Describing: The Leading Features of the Provinces Passed Through, and the State of Society, Manners, Habits &c. of the People* (London: 1815), pp. iii -iv.

Cowley's three epic poems: 'The Maid of Arragon', 'The Scottish Village', and 'The Siege of Acre'. In the aftermath of the siege of Zaragoza and accounts of the heroic actions of Augustina Zaragoza – hailed as a real-life 'Maid of Arragon'– the reviewer provides a summary only for the poem whose title the wars had given new political vigour:

> […] The scene of which is laid in Spain during the incursions of the Moors; her imagination therein sends the Christian Bishops, at the head of the Troops, the Cross in one hand and the Sword in the other, as in reality they have been seen in the present day.[29]

By drawing attention to the theme of invasion and how religion and patriotism helped mobilise resistance to the foreign yoke, the reviewer's biographical sketch aligns the campaign in Spain with Cowley's grand narrative of the Crusades. Again and again, contemporary writers and publishers would choose to heighten the interest of their work by underlining how their literary catalogues kept abreast of the latest Iberian developments.[30]

The Peninsular War also gave new impetus to many older works, such as the Countess d'Aunoy's [*sic*] *The Lady's Travels into Spain: or, A genuine relation of the religion, laws, commerce, customs, and manners of that country*, re-printed by Wood and Innes in 1808. By then, the work was into its eleventh English edition, but in a new Preface, the editors cunningly re-marketed the text as having acquired new valence as a result of the conflict in Spain:

> At a time when the eyes of all mankind are anxiously directed towards Spain, as the country from whence we hope, under Providence, that the deliverance of the continent of Europe, from the opprobrious tyranny of a Corsican usurper, may eventually arise; it can require no apology for presenting to the Public a new edition of a work, which treats of the Spanish

[29] *GM* (April 1809), LXXIX, 1, 377.
[30] In the 1809 issues of *GM* Spain featured in 'Parliamentary proceedings', 'Foreign Occurrences', and 'Reviews of New Publications', including Southey's *Chronicle of the Cid*, Hill's *Comalva*, *Ferdinand Vindicated and Ministers Defended* (1809), William Fitz-Gerald's Anniversary poem of the Literary Fund (Freemason's Hall, April 20, 1809) 'Ode on the Spirit of Spain', and Reginald Herber's *Europe: Lines on the Present War*.

> people, sovereign, and nation, at they existed one hundred and thirty years ago.[31]

This observation was succeeded by the Preface to the 1774 edition which, touching upon the later editors' concern that 'some of the stories here related may appear marvellous and romantic', celebrates the work as 'a very faithful as well as agreeable relation of the manners and customs' of Spain successfully wedded to an 'air of novel and romance'.[32] In turn, this was followed by d'Aunoy's Preface to the work's first edition. By bringing together these three distinct historical moments, the 1808 version of *The Lady's Travels* makes symbolic purchase of the past in order to validate contemporary hopes and expectations related to the wars. Where the 1774 Preface admires d'Aunoy's presentation of Spanish characters who 'breathe the very spirit of love and gallantry', the 1808 reader is encouraged to follow suit, reverently tracing the 'romance' of Spain from the eighteenth century to the present day.[33]

Efforts to update Spanish history were, however, fraught with difficulties. When Scott declares in his Preface to *The Vision of Don Roderick* (1811) that he has 'presumed to prolong the Vision of the Revolutions of Spain down to the present eventful crisis of the Peninsula', the word 'presumed' resonates powerfully.[34] Quite apart from the expected degree of modesty and temerity expressed in poetic prefaces, the poet's implicit emphasis on the audacious nature of his undertaking seems to accept that the link between eighth-century Spain and its nineteenth-century counterpart would be open to commentary and criticism.

The *Edinburgh Review* capitalized upon Scott's underlying sense of hesitancy. In the aftermath of the Don Cevallos controversy, Jeffrey responded with

---

[31] d'Aunoy, I, 1.
[32] *Ibid*., pp. ii; ix.
[33] *Ibid*., p. x.
[34] *The Vision of Don Roderick* (Edinburgh; London: 1811), Preface, p. vii.

outright hostility to the plan's pre-emptive defence, admonishing Scott for having 'venture[d] upon a theme with which all the vulgar echoes of the country are at that moment resounding'.[35] Scott's history of Don Roderick, Spain's last Visigoth King before the Moorish invasion is, as Jeffrey does not fail to mention, only 'nominally' the subject of the poem. 'Obviously a mere prelude to the grand piece of our recent battles', the historical frame is dismissed as 'a sort of machinery designed to give dignity and effect' to the introduction of the Napoleonic Wars:

> In point of fact, the poem begins and ends with Lord Wellington; and being written for the benefit of the plundered Portuguese, and upon a Spanish story, the thing could not well have been otherwise. The public, at this moment, will listen to nothing about Spain, but the history of the present war; and the Old Gothic King, and the Moors, are considered, we dare say, by Mr. Scott's most impatient readers, as very tedious interlopers in the proper business of the piece.[36]

Jeffrey is as critical of the public's indiscriminate bias for Spanish news, as he is of Scott's succumbing to the decidedly 'un'poetical subject of contemporary warfare.[37] According to Jeffrey, the poet could neither 'tell his readers any thing they did not know before', 'add any ennobling circumstance to the certain and notorious truth, nor suppress any vulgar or degrading ones with which it may happen to be encumbered'.[38] For all the care that Scott had taken to base his work on official dispatches and the latest accounts of the war before it went to press, his plan is dismissed as inadequate to the Horatian purposes of poetry. 'The present war' –

---

[35] 'Article VI', *ER*, No. XXXVI, (August 1811), XVIII, 379-92, (p. 379). See WS to J Morritt (September 1811), in Grierson, II, 543.
[36] *Ibid*., p. 380. N.B. It is interesting that Scott chose a Spanish theme for a poem whose sales were intended to provide relief for the Portuguese. In 1811 it was, nevertheless, commonplace to imagine that the fate of Spain would decide the outcome of the entire war.
[37] By the same token, in 1812 William Ticken was criticised for the 'timing' of his Peninsular War fiction, *Santos de Montenos*: 'Years should have passed before so sacred a sorrow should have been given up to the tribe of novelists and dramatists. In the case before us, the fiction disgraces the facts, and the facts destroy the illusion of the fiction'. *Critical Review*, (1812), 4th series, I, 643.
[38] 'Article VI', *ER*, XVIII, 379-80.

'gabble of all the *quidnuncs* in this country' – was at once too transparent, and too popular a subject for the poetic muse.[39]

In his Preface, Scott betrays an uneasy awareness of his poem's topicality, explaining his method of 'hastily executing a work, written for a temporary purpose, and on passing events'.[40] Scott's emphasis on the transient nature of his poem draws attention to a difficult time of composition, marked by the emotional distress surrounding the deaths of his attorney friends Lord President Blair and Lord Viscount Melville. It is significant, therefore, that in spite of all the *Vision*'s classicism (including its invocation to the muses, and archaic appellation of the poet as 'minstrel'), Scott introduces his theme as distinctly topical, even ephemeral. The connection made between history and the present moment suggests a recognition that the topicality of his work was, in essence, as fragile as human life itself. Scott's poem functions as an attempt to give permanence to this essentially vulnerable theme, but it is important to note the temporal signifiers of 'haste' and 'passing events', which appear to work against the poet's deliberate care and attention. *The Vision* was not, according to Scott, exempt from an 'appearance of negligence and incoherence'.[41] The Peninsular War, although central to the poet's theme, seemed notoriously resistant to literary expression.

The speed with which events were unfolding and party allegiances (re)made during the war, meant that Scott's historical narrative, however superficial to the poem's celebration of British martial valour, was a necessary adjunct to its more topical heroic theme. In the *Vision*, Scott relies on historical evidence to link Spain's reputation for romance and chivalry to the natives' preparedness for a noble resistance against Napoleon. Other poets, novelists, and military essayists, would

[39] 'Article VI', *ER*, XVIII, 379-80.
[40] Scott, Preface, p. vii.
[41] *Ibid*., p. ix.

also have recourse to Spanish history in order to formulate their predictions for the Anglo-Spanish campaign.

Roderick

In *Roderick; The Last of the Goths* (1814) Southey, like Scott before him, looked to Spain's Moorish invasion in order to re-imagine national resistance to Napoleon.[42] His poem, nevertheless, reads very differently from Scott's *Vision*. Not only is *Roderick* much less 'occasional', but its setting and characters are wholly Spanish. Throughout, Southey's poem is weighed down by meticulously researched footnotes that relate his creativity to Spain's rich literary and historical heritage. These notes, which are in English, Spanish, and Latin, characterise his poem with an air of scholasticism that aims to privilege the poet's romanticised version of Count Julian's story.[43]

Southey's narrative begins during the Moorish invasion, with the guilt-tormented King Roderick deserting the battlefield and arriving at an abandoned monastery.[44] In despair, Roderick prostrates himself before the cross:

> […] In attitude, but not in act
> Of prayer he lay; an agony of tears
> Was all his soul could offer.[45]

Religion is crucial to Southey's poetic scheme. Haunted by his crime against Florinda and ashamed of deserting his troops (and by extension, Spain), Roderick's

---

[42] N.B. Southey began his poem in 1809, and even joked with Landor about the popularity of 'the old Goth' among nineteenth-century poets. RS to Landor, in Warter, II, 225. Southey was an enthusiastic admirer of Landor's *Count Julian*, a dramatic tragedy on the same theme. See RS to Landor (9 February 1812), *Ibid*., p. 252.

[43] Robert Southey, *Roderick, The Last of the Goths: A Tragic Poem*, in *The Poetical Works of Robert Southey, Complete in One Volume* (London: 1884), pp. 628- 726. All further references will be based on this edition.

[44] According to legend, the Spanish Goth King Roderick, raped Count Julian's daughter. In vengeance, Julian collaborated with the Moors and facilitated the Moorish invasion of Spain.

[45] *Roderick,* Book I, 'Roderick and Romano', p. 640.

first attempts at prayer prove frustratingly futile. It is only after a year spent with Romano (a patriotic, aged monk whom he finds at the monastery), that Roderick is finally able to find solace in religion. This occurs after Romano's death, when Roderick prays for consolation and is granted a dream vision of his mother, Rusilla. She appears 'radiant in arms' with 'a bloody Cross' on her breastplate, brandishing a sword. In response to her battle cry for 'Spain and Victory!' Roderick enthusiastically rushes to the fight, but then awakens from his dream.[46] The Goth's very literal religious awakening marks a pivotal point in the poem's narrative. Prompting him to find his mother and repent of his sins, religion infuses the dejected Roderick with the energy and determination needed for the reconquest of Spain.

For the remainder of Southey's long poem, Roderick continues to be associated with the virtues of a religious reclamation based on mercy and forgiveness. In Book III, when Roderick declines to tell Adosinda his name, she re-christens him Maccabee, symbolically likening him to the Jewish rebel leader who helped liberate Israel from the Seleucid Empire. Roderick accepts this as his new name, and it is not until the final battle between the Christians and Moors (Book XXV) that he reveals his true identity. Mistaken for a Holy Father, he hears Florinda's confession of love (essentially absolving him of rape), and even ministers the holy sacrament to Julian, who makes a final reversion to Christianity shortly prior to his death.[47]

In Roderick's first attempt to convince Julian of his misguided conversion, he reminded him of the miseries and sufferings the 'creed of Mecca' had brought to Spain. Julian's renunciation of 'the Imposter's faith' is symbolic of yet another

---

[46] *Roderick*, Book II, 'Roderick in Solitude', p. 644.
[47] *Ibid*., Book XXIV, 'Roderick and Count Julian', p. 711.

turning point in the poem that characterises the struggle for Spain's liberation as a religious crusade. While Southey offers a damning portrayal of the ways in which Islam has been manipulated to political ends (sanctioning even rapine and lust in the name of military victory), the Spaniards' efforts, by contrast, are given religious endorsement.[48] 'A bloody Cross' appears in Roderick's first dream vision. Later, when Pelayo agrees to lead the Spanish armies, he ratifies his responsibility before the holy altar, 'stretching forth | His hands toward the crucifix'.[49] Even the official acclamation of Pelayo as King is imagined as a consecration.[50] 'Piety and war | In strange but fitting union' seem to transcend the action of the poem.[51]

Book XVIII, which dramatizes Pelayo's kingship, places deliberate emphasis on Spain's divinely ordained history:

> […] All-able Providence
> Thus having ordered all, that Spain this hour
> With happiest omens, and on surest base,
> Should from its ruins rear again her throne.[52]

Roderick's dream vision of a liberated Spain also portrays the Goth as 'the poor mere instrument of things ordain'd'.[53] This teleological narrative was closely related to the poem's topicality in 1814. In the ruins of Auria (which the *Quarterly Review* was quick to recognise as an allusion to Zaragoza), the narrator's apostrophe to the land anticipates 'undiscoverable futurity' where 'yet unevolved, your destined glories lay'.[54] Later, when describing the journey to Count Pedro's Castle, the narrator reflects upon the desert-like landscape, 'where in years to come | Shall populous towns arise, and crested towers | And stately temples rear their heads on

---

[48] For Southey's critique of Islam see *Roderick*, Book XX, 'The Moorish Camp', pp. 699-701, and Book XXII, 'The Moorish Council', p. 707.
[49] *Ibid*., Book VII, 'Roderick and Pelayo', p. 660.
[50] *Ibid*., Book XVIII, 'The Acclamation', p. 696.
[51] *Ibid.,* p. 694.
[52] *Ibid.*
[53] *Ibid.*, Book XVIII, 'The Acclamation' , p. 696.
[54] See *Quarterly Review*, (April-July 1815), XIII, 91. *Roderick*, Book III, 'Adosinda', p. 646.

high'.[55] Similar prolepsis occurs at various other stages in the poem, as for example, in Book XVI, where the narrator foresees that Pelayo's remains would one day be buried in the cave that his young daughter Hermesind now admires as their home. The subsequent implication that it would be in Hermesind's destiny to marry Alphonso ties Pelayo's achievements to Spain's future stability and unity.[56] These glimpses of futurity not only corroborate the heroic outcome of Southey's poem, but also give valuable insight into Southey's political views.

In a letter to Landor dated 1809, a year after he first conceived of the plan to write *Roderick* (then known as 'Pelayo'), Southey refers to the *Reconquista* as proof of Spain's national spirit and the Spaniards' unwavering resistance to Napoleonic rule: 'A nation that has carried on a war of seven centuries against one invader will never rest till it has thrown off their yoke also'. As Southey develops his argument, his letter acquires Biblical allusions:

> Doubtless, they have much to endure; no nation owes so heavy a debt to Divine vengeance. There is retribution to be exacted for the Jews, for the American Indians, for the Dutch. It is in the righteous and natural order of things that the sins of the fathers should be visited upon the children. Their punishment is the fruit of their crimes: by the enormities which they perpetrated under Fernando el Catholico [*sic*] and Felipe II., they established a thorough tyranny over body and soul in their own country, and this depravation has been the consequence. They are now passing through their purgatory, but it will purify them, and the Spaniards will come out like gold from the furnace.[57]

As in *Roderick*, Southey's letter brings together Spain's secular and religious narratives to depict the final outcome of the nation's struggle, likened to the last stages of a penitent's redemption. The letter is key to understanding the strategy at play in Southey's poem. The figures of Adosinda and Roderick, who featured prominently in the poem's reviews and whose actions were seen to update the

---

[55] *Roderick*, Book XI, 'Count Pedro's Castle', p. 672.
[56] *Ibid*., Book XVI, 'Covadonga', p. 686. N.B. As King of Spain, Alphoso established Castillian as the national language.
[57] RS to Landor (Keswick, 1809), in Warter, II, 165.

historic narrative, are imagined by the poet as the Jewish liberators Judith and Maccabee.[58] Southey's letter to Landor underscores Spain's expulsion of the Jews in 1492 and the horrific crimes committed at home and abroad by Philip II in the name of religion. This suggests that the Jewish association given to his poem's two arguably most interesting characters, and frequent allusions to providential design, were intended to link the Napoleonic invasion to Spain's incriminating historic record. Adosinda and Roderick, who set in motion the heroic action of the poem, represent national progress founded on a religious re-configuration of the past. Repeated emphasis on divine design allows Southey to qualify the link between Spain's religion and nationhood by aligning *Roderick* with a Protestant belief in Providence. Spanish history, although important, is thus eclipsed by an interest in futurity, which posits British Protestantism as Spain's ultimate salvation. Southey's religious outlook enabled his readers to make sense of, and ascribe order to, the tragic events of the poem.

History

During the Peninsular War, Spain's historical record proved a matter of significant concern. Several volumes of historical miscellanies appeared among the numerous re-prints of Spanish themed texts issued during the war. These were sold between 1808 and 1815, covering the years of conflict in the Peninsula up to the Battle of Waterloo. In 1809, John Murray published the second volume of *The Harleian Miscellany*.[59] Its market rival was Cadell and Davis's second edition of *The Somers*

[58] *Roderick*, Book IV, 'The Monastery of St. Felix', p. 649. See also: RS to Capt. Southey (11 October 1811), in Warter II, 235.
[59] Its full title was *The Harleian Miscellany: A Collection of Scarce, Curious, and Entertaining Pamphlets and Tracts, as well in manuscript as in print. Selected from the library of Edward Harley,*

Collection of Tracts: A Collection of Scarce and Valuable Tracts, on the most interesting and entertaining subjects; but chiefly such as relate to the history and constitution of these kingdoms, arranged by Walter Scott, and published in thirteen volumes until 1815. These rare tracts and pamphlets focused quite prominently on sixteenth and early seventeenth-century British history, when Britain and Spain were rivals for European political and religious supremacy.[60]

In 1809, the *Harleian Miscellany* re-printed 'A briefe and true Declaration of the Sicknesse, last Wordes, and Death of the King of Spaine, Philip the Second of that name [*sic*]'.[61] The account scrutinises the King's dying moments, making something of a spectacle of 'a whip with bloudie knots' that he bequeaths to his successor. This is presumably intended by the pamphleteer to be read as a symbol of Philip's supposedly superstitious, and considering his notoriety, hypocritical belief in the punishments of the Spanish Inquisition.[62] The account is followed by another pamphlet entitled 'The wicked Plots and perfidious Practices of the Spaniards, against the Seventeen Provinces of the Netherlands, before they took up Arms'. Originally printed in 1642, the pamphlet offers an uncompromising portrait of 'the cruel, inhuman, treacherous, perfidious, yea, unnatural practices of the Spaniards'.[63]

Second Earl of Oxford. Interspersed with Historical, Political, and Critical Annotations, by the late William Oldys, Esq. and Some Additional Notes, by Thomas Park, FSA, ed. by William Oldys (London: 1809).

[60] Porter lists the *Harleian Miscellany* as one of the main sources for her historical romance, *Don Sebastian* (Preface, pp. viii-ix).

[61] *HM* (1809), II, 395-7.

[62] The best Romantic treatment of Philip II is probably Schiller's historical tragedy *Don Carlos* (1787). In the play, Don Carlos, the Prince of Asturias (Philip II's son), rejects his father's campaign to subjugate the Netherlands, and determines to flee Spain in order to help defend Dutch independence. The play ends with Philip handing over his son to the Grand Inquisitor, with whom he has arranged his death. Two separate English translations appeared in London, dated 1798. Coleridge read Schiller as he prepared to write his own Spanish themed tragedy, *Osorio* (1797), later reworked into *Remorse*. According to Frederick Lieder, *Don Carlos*'s only English-language performance during the course of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries was in New York (6 May 1799). See 'Bayard Taylor's Adaptation of Schiller's *Don Carlos*', *The Journal of English and German Philology,* 16.1 (January 1971), 27-52.

[63] *HM*, II, 411.

This ironic choice for showcasing Britain's new ally in the Napoleonic Wars was not an entirely straightforward one.

In his *Letters on the Spaniards*, written for *The Courier* between 7 December 1809 and 10 January 1810, Coleridge also fashioned an interesting parallel between Spain in the sixteenth century and during the Napoleonic Wars. Writing to the paper's editor Daniel Stuart in the autumn of 1809, Coleridge argued for the existence of a 'close analogy between the present Spanish Revolution and that of the Belgic Provinces against Philip the 2nd'. Both, he claimed, illustrated 'the grounds of Hope and Fear in a War of a Nation against Armies'.[64] As in the *Harleian* pamphlet, Coleridge's choice analogy and method of execution seem contradictory and self-defeating in light of his support for the Anglo-Spanish alliance of 1808.[65] In Letter III, for example, Coleridge described in detail Philip II's Catholic campaign and the Duke of Alva's bloody and oppressive march into the Netherlands. He justified this unexpected parallel by arguing that in early nineteenth-century Europe, Napoleon and his armies were repeating the self-same 'lessons and exercises of their predecessors in the school of darkness'.[66] In much the same way that *Pizarro*'s early nineteenth-century audiences were encouraged to deflect the villainy of the Spanish conquistadores to Napoleon's invading armies, in 1809 Coleridge passes the sanguinary baton from imperial Spain to Napoleonic France.[67]

---

[64] STC to Daniel Stuart (27 September 1809), in Griggs, III, 225.
[65] As Coleridge began his research for *Letters on the Spaniards*, in his Notebook he recorded an excerpt from Burleigh's Advice to Queen Elizabeth, taken from Scott's Edition of the Somers Tracts. See *Notebooks*, III (1808-1819), entry 3627 24. 39.
[66] 'Letter III', in *CC: EOT*, II, 56.
[67] The military essayist William Pasley concurred. Reminding his readers of Elizabeth I's assistance to Holland, he describes Philip II as 'an enemy no less formidable to Holland in those days, than Buonaparte is in these'. See *Essay on the Military Policy and Institutions of the British Empire* (London: 1811), p. 373.

The fact that Coleridge could see the Spaniards as both 'butchers of mankind' and later, as patriots heroically asserting themselves against French tyranny, suggests a perception of Spanish history marked by vacillation and instability.[68] This view had been nurtured by a long tradition of ambivalence in British accounts of Spain. Coleridge's choice of framing is, however, entirely consistent with his self-presentation as 'a teacher of moral wisdom', and the ways in which his political journalism sought to align 'the historic muse' with 'the nurse of HOPE'.[69] When read serially (as intended) the letters reveal it is not in fact Spanish, but British history, that inspires Coleridge with confidence of success in the Peninsula. If Britain was able to commit to the Dutch cause in the sixteenth century, then the clear implication is that it would again act as the guardian of oppressed peoples and turn its full attention to Spain where, Coleridge argues, the sieges of Saragossa and Gerona uncannily resembled the resistance to the siege of Harlem.[70]

Above all, it was British constancy and heroism that defined the accounts of Spanish history published during the Peninsular War. In *Memoirs of the Kings of Spain of the House of Bourbons* (1815), William Coxe explains that during the War of the Spanish Succession (1701-1714), 'as in the present', 'England took an active share, to arrest the encroachment and usurpations of a rival power'.[71] Specialising in tracts from the reign of Queen Anne, volume XIII of *The Somers Collection* included 'The Comparison; or Accounts on both Sides fairly stated, in a View of the Management of the War in Spain under the respective Commands of the Earl of Peterborough and Galway'. Originally printed in the year 1711, the pamphlet

---

[68] Letter III, *CC: EOT*, II, 56.
[69] *Ibid*., p. 53.
[70] See Saglia, 'War Romances, Historical Analogies and Coleridge's *Letters on the Spaniards*', in *Romantic Wars: Studies in Culture and Conflict 1793-1822* (Hampshire: Ashgate Publishing, 2000), 138-160 (esp. pp. 152-153).
[71] Coxe, I, pp. x-xi.

referred to the Earl's controversial command of British forces during the War of the Spanish Succession. When it appeared in 1815, it was printed with a prose epigraph from Smollett's *History of England*, which defined the Earl as one 'who had done such wonders in Spain with a force wholly inadequate'.[72] The epigraph celebrates Peterborough's vindication after a military enquiry in 1707 charged him with serious incompetence. It also expresses gratitude for Parliament's final vote on an address to Queen Anne for the measures taken to restore the affairs of Spain and provide foreign troops for that service.[73]

The questions of legitimate succession and British military intervention would have been familiar to readers in 1815, by then celebrating Spain's independence from French rule, but for the most part, regretting the restoration of Ferdinand VII, the inconstant Bourbon. Consequently, while the War of Spanish Succession and Anglo-Spanish enmity from which it originated may have been the original foci of the pamphlet, in 1815 it was the reclamation of the British character that mattered most. Spain, whether presented positively or negatively, was secondary to Scott's political concern with Britain's history of military action in Europe. The mixed, and curious nature of the historical 'miscellany' stands as sign and symptom of the ambivalent and apparently contradictory approaches often

---

[72] *A Collection of Scarce and Valuable Tracts, on the Most Interesting and Entertaining Subjects: But Chiefly such as relate to the History and Constitution of These Kingdoms*, ed. by Walter Scott (London: 1815), XIII, 395.

[73] WS to Robert Surtees (23 February 1812), in Grierson, III, 30. Scott makes an explicit connection between his historic Spanish texts and concern for the contemporary military campaign. He explains that he has sent the Somers volume to Ballantyne, adding 'I have desired him to put up with it a (very indifferent) poem on Catalonia written by Sir Edward Pellew's naval secretary'. Consider *Catalonia: a Poem* (Edinburgh: 1811), dedicated to Walter Scott in homage to his *Vision*. See review in *MR* (May-August 1812). In stanza lxx the poet alludes to Lord Peterborough, establishing connections between that earlier campaign in Spain and the Peninsular War. His Notes, upon which Scott placed high regard, also refer to the *Memoirs of Colonel Carleton* – a popular sourcebook during the Peninsular War. (Cf. reference to Memoirs in *MR*, pp. 210-212). The nexus of texts serves as a prime example of how Tory authors reinterpreted Britain's complex history with Spain in order to validate British involvement in the Peninsula.

taken by nineteenth-century writers to codify the Spanish nation within a discourse firmly British in scope and content.

The Great British model

Britons were encouraged to embrace the Peninsular cause and celebrate their heroic reputation as freedom-fighters. The controversy over the *Edinburgh Review* article on Don Cevallos suggests, however, that bringing the Spanish model of heroism back to England was altogether a different matter. Cevallos's narrative, *An Exposure of the Arts and Machinations which led to the usurpation of the Crown of Spain and the means pursued by Bonaparte to carry his views into effect* (1808), had the self-declared aim to expose the 'perfidious and deceitful arts by which the Emperor has made the progress we have seen'.[74] But Jeffrey and Brougham were prompt to accuse Cevallos of the self-same scheming and hypocrisy he had assigned to Napoleon. Questioning Cevallos's authority, the reviewers jest:

> One is tempted to think it some other Don Pedro than the illustrious person who, for so many years, acted as the toll of the reigning favourite, and helped him out with all his submissions to France.[75]

Their article's sarcastic tone unmasks the 'illustrious' façade of the Spanish minister, literally denouncing the author of the *Exposure* as an opportunistic and unreliable political dealer. To the *Edinburgh*, Cevallos's pamphlet was little more than an 'incredible', 'ludicrous' narrative, skirting the real issues at stake in the

[74] Don Pedro Cevallos, *An Exposure of the Arts and Machinations which led to the usurpation of the Crown of Spain and the means pursued by Bonaparte to carry his views into effect* (London: 1808), p. 74.
[75] 'Article XIV', *ER* (October 1808), XIII, 215.

Peninsula. The reviewers argued that, contrary to Cevallos's account, 'the whole battle is still to begin'.[76]

Walter Scott and his fellow Tory readers would undoubtedly have flinched at Brougham and Jeffrey's prediction that 'Army after army will be poured through the Pyrenees, and all Spain must become a field of blood'.[77] Any staunch Tory would certainly have interpreted the obligation and inescapable necessity implied by the modal verb – 'must' – as an unpatriotic prediction for the early phases of the British campaign in Spain. But what most concerned the article's detractors was that when its authors finally did rise to envisage a successful outcome, they did so through hopes of reform in Spain and, significantly, England. Provocatively comparing the Spanish uprising to the French revolution, Jeffrey and Brougham bravely resurrect the spirit of Jacobinism supposed to have been dormant since the turn of the century:

> We can once more utter the words "liberty" and "people", without starting at the echo of our own voices, or looking round the chamber for some spy or officer of the government.[78]

In this vein, they underscore the desertion of Spanish rulers and nobles from the cause, and ascribe to the populace the merit of 'the glorious opposition to the common enemy of national independence', specifically lauding the efforts of 'the middle, and above all, the lower orders'.[79] Anti-aristocratic and anti-chivalric in dismissing the British romance of Spain as a mere fantasy, Jeffrey and Brougham discredit the military campaign in the Peninsula. They explain that in Spain, it is the masses who are empowered, the 'very odious, many-headed beast, the multitude', as they sarcastically put it. And here, the authors claim, 'is a grand and permanent

---

[76] 'Article XIV', *ER*, XIII, 218.
[77] *Ibid.*
[78] *Ibid*., p. 220.
[79] *Ibid*.

success – a lesson to all governments – a warning to all oligarchies – a cheering example to every people'.[80] As the founding of the *Quarterly Review* forcefully attests, this democratic lesson was not to be taken lightly.[81] Jeffrey's and Brougham's specific references to 'reform in England' and use of the first person pronoun to relate 'the measures of our government' was interpreted as contentious, controversial, and contaminating rhetoric.

Broughton's propagandist *Letters from Portugal, Spain, and France* was much more in line with government views. In fact, his narrative was so flatteringly Anglo-centric that Broughton claimed even 'the fullest account which has been given of the worst parts, and the most abandoned inhabitants of St Giles's or the Borough', would not equal 'the depravity and squalid wretchedness prevailing in most parts of Lisbon'.[82] In his fifth letter (dated 1813) he relates Lord Wellington's arrival in Lisbon, the hero's first return to the Portuguese capital since the expulsion of the French. Describing the 'extensive and grand' preparations made for Wellington's reception, he recalls:

> […] Cheering and firing from the shipping, shouts of "viva" from the Portuguese, varieties of bands playing as many different tunes as there were instruments, squibs, crackers, and all kinds of fire-works, with horses, mules, and donkies [*sic*] prancing and braying in all directions, ushered the hero upon shore.[83]

Broughton paints a scene of chaotic celebration that depicts the locals' excess and overwhelming emotion as they greet Wellington: 'maddening with joy, [they] burst through all obstructions, and rushed upon him'. His use of active verbs underlines

---

[80] 'Article XIV', *ER*, XIII, 220.
[81] WS to RS (4 June 1812), on '*Jacquerie*' as a growing concern during this period. Both Scott and Southey were much alarmed by the symptoms of popular discontent, especially after Perceval's murder in 1812. Grierson, III, 125.
[82] Broughton, p. 12.
[83] *Ibid*., pp. 52-53.

the sheer force of energy that marks this 'scene of national exultation'.[84] And yet, despite a proud sense of satisfaction, Broughton notes: 'Generally speaking, however, the illuminations in this country were very inferior to those which are common in England'.[85] This anti-climactic comment is emblematic of the ways in which Broughton sees it as his constant duty to raise the British example over and above the Portuguese.

Portugal

It is with a sense of delight, even if a degree of self-surprise, that Broughton responds to the Portuguese opera presented in honour of Wellington's victories. Set in the mythical Elysian Fields, the cast of this unnamed opera incorporated Portugal's greatest heroes of antiquity. Broughton summarises the basic plot:

> Fame descended amongst them, and proclaimed the glorious deeds of *Vellington* [*sic*], which the goddess (without any regard to the feelings of the heroes around her) declared to eclipse all others that were ever recorded, coupling with this declaration every epithet of love and adoration which a Portuguese imagination could conjure up.[86]

The departed spirits of the Portuguese heroes are described as feeling understandably jealous of the attention given to Wellington, and as a result, enter into a dispute with Fame. Broughton explains, however, that according to the muse, even the Marquis de Pombal '(their favourite hero and one of the principal figures in the group)' stood to no comparison. Upon this assertion, the audience 'testified their unanimous approbation, without the least regard to the honour of their own countrymen'.[87] Broughton's theatrical vignette is an interesting one. In form, it

[84] Broughton, pp. 52-3.
[85] *Ibid*., p. 54.
[86] *Ibid*., pp. 55-56.
[87] *Ibid*., p. 58.

points towards the didactic and celebratory capacities of dramatic entertainments.[88] More pertinently, however, its method of exposition highlights the essential limitations of the Anglo-Iberian dialogue in 1813. While the Englishman is able to identify the Marquis de Pombal as one of Portugal's most revered heroes, the Portuguese are happy to overlook 'the honour of their own countrymen' and exalt Lord Wellington as their ultimate heroic saviour. It is a conclusion Broughton admires and upholds. Nevertheless, underlying his narration, there remains a certain critique of the fickleness of the Portuguese national spirit. His reaction implies that in Britain, the honour of one's countryman would always inspire more than 'the least regard'.

In Broughton's *Letters*, the jubilant Portuguese are so enamoured with the British example, that they go to great lengths to emulate it. Identifying dance as one of the principal national amusements, Broughton notes that in private parties, many of the gentlemen imitate the English costume, 'throwing off the enormous cocked hat, and dingy brown or black coat in which the generality envelope themselves'.[89] This role-playing with 'Englishness', which significantly occurs within the context of one of the favourite pastimes of the Portuguese, falls in line with the *Letters*' general argument that the Peninsula ought to look to Britain as a paradigm for improvement.

Another pertinent example occurs in Letter IV (written in 1812). Here, describing his religious experiences in Portugal, Broughton uneasily refers to the ways in which the French abolition of the Inquisition 'opened the eyes of the

[88] In a letter dated from Bellem (January 1813), Broughton observed: 'I have usually recognized in the comedies and farces of the Portuguese either complete translations or partial imitations from our comic muse', Broughton, p. 49.
[89] *Ibid*., p. 60.

inhabitants, and taught them to think with more freedom and liberty than before'.[90] His aversion to the 'mummery of mass, and superstitious processions' with which he characterises Catholic practice in the Peninsula, means that he is grateful for the reform initiated by the Napoleonic Code.[91] But rather than allowing the merit to rest with the French, Broughton immediately re-claims it for his own countrymen, suggesting that 'A long continued connexion with England will no doubt render Catholicism still milder and more inoffensive, and probably lessen the ignorance and bigotry yet existing'.[92] Where Brougham and Jeffrey caused offence by urging England to look towards Spain for inspired examples of reform, Broughton safely calls upon the Peninsula to model itself on the British system of religious tolerance and civic improvement.

In George Woodley's poem *Portugal Delivered* (1812) the importance attached to following the British example is as striking as it is in Broughton. In his dedication to the Duke of York, who was by then re-instated as Commander-in-Chief of the British forces, Woodley describes his poem as a celebration of 'the triumph of British generosity'.[93] Divided into five books, the poem relates Portugal's recent history through the inset narrative spoken by a Hermit to a peasant youth who, though uneducated, is blessed 'with the patriot passion in his heart'.[94] In his emotional account of the war in Portugal, the hermit underlines the advantages received from England's 'prompt' assistance to the Portuguese. Even the humiliating terms of the Convention of Cintra, which provoked such outrage in

---

[90] Broughton, p. 41.
[91] *Ibid.*
[92] *Ibid*.
[93] George Woodley, *Portugal Delivered: A Poem* (London: 1812), Preface, p. ix. N.B. The Duke of York had resigned as Commander-in-Chief after allegations in 1809 that he had been involved in the illicit sale of army commissions by his lover, Mary Anne Clarke.
[94] *Ibid*., Book II, p. 29.

Britain, are described as ultimately beneficial.[95] While he acknowledges the agreement's unwarranted leniency, the Hermit celebrates the fact that as a result of Cintra, the French were 'compell'd' 'to abdicate' Portuguese shores. This enables him to ascribe the British navy with the key role of clearing the French legions 'back to Gallia', so that 'reviving Lusitania rais'd her head | As from her soil the fierce banditti sped'.[96] When the patriotic youth resolves to join the fight against French perfidy, the Hermit praises the peasant's resolve and urges him to 'Haste then, to where the English camps are spread'.[97] In Woodley's narrative, the Portuguese nation finds its sense of self-determination through the English model. What the Tory poet's emphasis on British superiority only implicitly accepts, however, is that the Peninsular War also invented a new role for British arms and political ideology. By 'assisting' the Portuguese, Britain re-discovered its own sense of identity.

'The Noble Spaniards'

In the House of Commons debates on Spain in June 1808, Canning unambiguously stated that 'any nation of Europe that starts up with a determination to oppose a Power which […] is the common enemy of all nations, becomes instantly our essential Ally'.[98] Isaac Cruikshank's 'The Noble Spaniards; or, Britannia assisting the cause of freedom all over the world, whither friend or foe' (1808, Figure 7), evinces a prime application of this maxim. In the print, a well-dressed British commander leads a half-spirited, ill-prepared Spanish army. Its soldiers sport

[95] For an overview of Britons' response to the Convention of Cintra, see Introduction, p. 10.
[96] Woodley, Book IV, p. 80.
[97] *Ibid*., p. 97.
[98] See Hansard (HC), 'Parliamentary debates: Affairs of Spain', (15 June 1808), in *Parliamentary Debates*, XI, 886.

feathered hats and ruffs harking back to the sixteenth-century golden age, but ridiculously anachronistic to the needs of the present war. The Spanish army merges with a band of locals in the background, including armed monks and a woman. But predictably, in the upper-left corner, overlooking this pseudo-heroic assembly, is the figure of Britannia, seated on a cloud from which munitions shower down unto the Spanish countryside. It is Britannia, presumably, who has provided the monks with their muskets and musket-balls, and now presents them with the cannon and gunpowder requisite to early nineteenth-century warfare. 'Whither friend or foe', as Cruikshank's title claims, Britannia recognises the Spanish cause as one of liberty and national independence – sufficient in itself to make Spain, 'that moment an ally of Great Britain'.[99]

7: Isaac Cruikshank, 'The Noble Spaniards', (1808)

The official parliamentary consensus was that past judgements against the Spaniards should be overlooked in favour of supporting the patriotic cause.

[99] In the print, Britannia echoes Canning's speech to the Commons : "The Nation that has the spirit to throw off the yoke of the Tyrant of France, is that moment an ally of Great Britain".

Nevertheless, publications such as Broughton's *Letters* suggest this was a tall order. Although the fall of Madrid was seen by many to have liberated the Spaniards from 'their old, hereditary, corrupt rulers' and awakened the nation from its despotic nightmare, in 1808 Spaniards were still popularly perceived to be living in a political dark age.[100] Isaac Cruikshank's 'Apollyon the Devil's Generalissimo, addressing his legions!!' (1808, Figure 8) shows a Satanic Napoleon exhorting his troops to murder and plunder at will in the Peninsula. Grotesquely drawn with cloven hoofs, this (at best) only half-human general is himself as much an abomination of nature as the content of his military address. But however brutal, ironic, and unnatural his speech may be, Napoleon's insistence that his troops would act as civilizing influences in the Iberian Peninsula, underscores Cruikshank's uneasiness with the representative value of nineteenth-century Spain. His Napoleon exclaims:

> I have occasion for you – the hideous presence of Religion and Loyalty, contaminates the continent of Spain and Portugal, let your aspect drive them away from thence – let us carry our conquering Eagles to the gates of Heaven there also we have an injury to avenge.

In 1808, the Inquisition was still active in Spain. To many Britons, the Spaniards' defence of their Church and declared loyalty to the unworthy Ferdinand VII appeared sufficiently conservative and reactionary to warrant pause for reflection. If these emblematised the real character of the Spanish rebellion, then it was categorically not the causes of liberty and enfranchisement Brougham and Jeffrey had in mind. The Whig turn against Spain in early 1809 was symptom of a growing dissatisfaction with the persistently oppressive nature associated with the Spanish government.

---

[100] 'Article XL', *ER* (July 1808), XII, 439.

8: Isaac Cruikshank, 'Apollyon the Devil's Generalissimo', (1806)

In his *Account of the Operations of the British Army and the state and sentiments of the people of Portugal and Spain, during the campaigns of the years 1808 & 1809* (1809) Rev. James Ormsby notes with a sense of insulted irony that though the Spaniards were not to be surpassed in their 'patriotism and loyalty', support for the 'restoration of their beloved Ferdinand' was a cause for concern. As he saw it, the Spaniards made no complaints against their old government, nor did they demand a more general redress of grievances. In Spain, there was 'no stipulation proposed, nor any wish expressed, but the permanent re-establishment of the ancient order of things'.[101] Apprehensions about the Spaniards' limited political ambitions run throughout the letters. 'Perhaps there is not upon earth a people so enslaved to prejudice, and so inimical to improvement' Ormsby suggests, his pre-determined conclusion overwriting the uncertainty and possibility otherwise implied

[101] Rev. James Ormsby, *An Account of the Operations of the British Army and the state and sentiments of the people of Portugal and Spain, during the campaigns of the years 1808 & 1809*, 2 vols (London: 1809), II, 38-39.

by the adverbial 'perhaps'.[102] And yet, he remained hopeful that the Spaniards would reform. He anticipates:

> How much will it redound to the honour of the modern Spaniards, if the spirit of patriotism and the love of liberty shall dispel those mists, which have so long concealed from them their real interests, and enable them to break those fetters, which were forged by superstition, and are indurated by time! – It is, indeed, devoutly to be wished for.[103]

As a practicing Reverend, Ormsby translates his hope for the Spaniards into a prayer, using the force of his Protestant convictions to exert pressure on the 'fetters [of] superstition' by which he believed the Catholic religion continued to bind its Iberian adherents.

In *The Fair Andalusian* (1811) Honoria Scott [a pseudonym for Susan Fraser] is also forthright in her condemnation of Spanish religious bias.[104] In her novel, Fraser cleverly employs the conventions of domesticated Gothic description to underscore her disappointment with the political state of early nineteenth-century Spain. In the opening to the second volume, the hero Montolieu arrives at Seville to visit the Spanish Marquis Mondecar, recently nominated to the council of the Junta. Fraser describes the nobleman's residence as a grand, ornately decorated Moorish mansion, in keeping with Southern Spain's Arabic influences. Inside, Montolieu itemises 'chairs of carved wood inlaid with ivory', 'a large mirror in a massy silver frame', and 'a small crucifix'.[105] The 'bed of carved wood covered with a canopy of

---

[102] Ormsby, II, 69-70.
[103] *Ibid*., pp. 70-71.
[104] Honoria Scott was an apt pseudonym for a British writer of Peninsular War fiction. Peter Garside suggests *Amatory Tales of Spain, France, Switzerland, and the Mediterranean* (1810), *A Winter in Edinburgh* (1810), *The Vale of Clyde* (1810), and *Strathmay* (1813), can most probably be attributed to the Scottish writer Susan Fraser. It is tempting to subscribe to this identification, which confirms the very personal and acute interest in the Peninsular War suggested in *Amatory Tales*. *The Biographical Dictionary of Living Authors* (1816) identifies Fraser as the wife of an officer, citing *Camilla de Florian and other poems* (1809) as her most famous publication. This collection, 'published in the hope that their profits may administer to the comforts of a sick husband', defines Fraser as an indirect victim of the Napoleonic wars, venturing into the public world of print in order to provide for her family's financial security.
[105] Fraser, II, 19.

dark velvet, and surmounted by a plume of feathers' is draped with 'an ewer of Mexican gold' set in 'deep point lace'.[106] This detailed and interesting itinerary is clearly intended to present the reader with more than merely aesthetic gratification.

In essence, the room stands as a synecdoche for the state of Spain in 1810, when the Junta moved to Seville. Then, the convocation of the Cortes was eagerly expected to initiate a sort of turning point for Spanish politics.[107] The main questions at stake included how best to organize the war-effort, recognise calls for independence from the South American colonies, and abolish the Inquisition. But to these ends, Fraser's narrative suggests her hopes were sorely frustrated. Her description of the dark guest room, accentuated by its large and heavy furniture, makes it feel ultimately closed in, oppressive, and claustrophobic. The large mirror, for instance, suggestive of vanity and self-obsession, seems overpowered by its massy silver frame. It amplifies the 'small crucifix' in the room, a symbol of the Marquis's religious devotion. Paintings representative of the conquests of Cortez sinisterly locate Spain's interests in South America within the same confined space as this religious icon of Catholic practice. The room's ostentatious magnificence appears to seal it off from the reality of a war-torn populace living in abject poverty. As such, Fraser inculpates the Junta for closing itself away from the real issues at stake, and remaining nostalgically committed to a past associated with the imperialism and religious bigotry represented by the room's sixteenth-century splendour.

Later, in Chapter XX, when Montolieu's exploits in the Peninsular campaign bring him to a deserted castle, Fraser's detailing of an impressively decadent interior confirms the political commentary suggested by her earlier domestic

---

[106] Fraser, II, 19.
[107] See Letter IV, *Letters on the Spaniards*, *CC*: *EOT*, II, 60.

descriptions. Montolieu makes the discovery that the castle originally belonged to Mondecar's ancestors.[108] Built in the reign of Ferdinand and Isabella, its 'heavy furniture, the religious ornaments, the worked arras, and the stained casements, were those of ancient magnificence and modern neglect'.[109] The castle's secret panels, passages and hidden entrance to its vaults seem distinctly Gothic.[110] Jacintha, the old woman who has effectively become guardian of both the castle and Mondecar's family history, is convinced that it is haunted. She reports hearing mysterious sighs, especially when the Marquis is spoken of. This promise of a ghostly apparition seems half-fulfilled by the rational Montolieu's unsettled recognition of having heard footsteps by his door. When he approaches the arras that leads to his companion Ferdinand's room, the mystery is heightened by Montolieu's horror when he hears Mondecar's voice and is confronted by his 'livid, shrunk, and altered features'.[111] Incredulous, he follows the 'spectre' 'through the long windings of the castle' and is led to a suite of rooms that open 'as if by magic'.[112] All the Gothic trappings seem to be in place for the reader's submersion into an underworld of supernatural occurrences.

Fraser, nevertheless, refuses to indulge in her story's Gothic strain.[113] Rather, as Montolieu approaches the chapel, Mondecar reveals that he is in fact alive and engaged on a private mission of his own. Calling upon Father Clement, his confidante from the nearby convent, Mondecar asks that Estella – who

---

[108] By this stage in the narrative, Marquis Mondecar has been branded a traitor of the new regime and is presumed to have taken his own life as a result.
[109] Fraser, II, 86.
[110] Indeed, Spain was the setting for several Gothic fictions that used the Black Legend to infer a link to the demonic. E.g. Matthew Lewis's *The Monk* (1796), Charlotte Dacre's *Zofloya; or, The Moor* (1806), and Charles Maturin's *Melmouth the Wanderer* (1820).
[111] Fraser, II, 96.
[112] *Ibid.*
[113] In the 1810s some writers started to deconstruct the link between Spain and the Gothic imagination. E.g. Semple's bathetic anecdote about the Gothic trappings of his Spanish inn. See *Observations on a Journey through Spain and Italy to Naples*, 2 vols (London: 1808), I, 111.

unbeknown to anyone had disguised herself as Ferdinand – be brought before them, and specifically 'to the presence of him [Montolieu] whom, preferring to religion, fame, or blood, she has followed'.[114] At the climax of Scott's novel, the textual – if not quite literal – resurrection of the Marquis and discovery of Estella's disguise, eclipse the expected Gothicism of the scene's imposing setting.

The detailed descriptions of the castle were not only intended to toy with the reader's generic excitement, but to provide a clue to Mondecar's character. Unable to appreciate the extent of his daughter's romantic courage and patriotic actions, Mondecar accuses his daughter of being an 'apostate', 'a wanton'. [115] The nobleman and his castle are representative of an attachment to a Spanish golden age of chivalry and conquest exasperatingly resistant to change, and out of touch with the needs of the present moment. In both the interior spaces associated with the Marquis, the novel hints that his commitment to the Catholic religion has inhibited his sense of personal development. It is, after all, the Marquis's misplaced trust in the jealous Father Ximenes, which ultimately results in his betrayal, accusations of treason, and consequent social downfall. In volume II chapter XIII, Fraser spares no blows in her socio-political critique of Spain's religious institutions. In her observation of the communications between 'the clergy serving in the field, and advising in the cabinet, with their brethren in the cloister', she deplores the fact that 'when Spain removed her generals for treachery, and her statesmen for corruption, she forbore to unlink this chain'.[116]

William Walton, translator of *The Inquisition Unmasked* (1816) perceived a

[114] Fraser, II, 101.
[115] *Ibid*., p. 102.
[116] *Ibid*., p. 50.

similarly nefarious connection between the Spanish church and state.[117] His prefatory comments decry at the ways religion had been 'made subservient to political purposes and base and selfish interests':

> a systematic plan of superstition and pious fraud had poisoned all the sources of religious truth and morality, and tainted the general mass of society with licentiousness and vice.[118]

Positing the convocation of the Cortes and its abolition of the Inquisition as a momentous step toward effecting 'the transition from despotism to liberty', Walton argues that for Spaniards, the prospect of reform would have 'alone rendered their country worth defending'.[119] Walton deliberately employs images of Spanish backwardness and political ignorance as a means of justifying the need for change and British intervention. He is confident that his translation, which fits this reformatory text with 'an English dress', 'will thence be duly appreciated in a country that owes its prosperity and happiness to those principles of civil and religious liberty which its inhabitants enjoy'.[120] This emphasis on religious enlightenment resonates with older, anti-Spanish manipulations of the Black Legend. It is, however, by underlining the otherness of Spanish culture, and reinforcing the cultural gap between Britons and Spaniards, that Walton highlights the truly reformatory interest of his work.

---

[117] Catholic Emancipation was an especially thorny issue during this period. It alarmed the leading supporters for the Peninsular War, including Coleridge, who wrote three letters on the Catholic petition for *The Courier* in 1811. See also Southey's letter to Rev. Hebert Hill (30 May 1812), in Warter, II, 276, and consider the prominence he ascribes to religion in *Roderick*. Alexander Beaumont despaired at the irony by which 'the very men who oppressed the Catholic worship in Ireland fought for the Inquisition in Spain' (*The History of Spain, from the earliest accounts to the present times; with a geographical view of the Peninsula* (London: 1809), pp. 519-520). In *Three Letters Written in Spain* (London: 1809) Landor was careful to distinguish Spanish and Irish forms of Catholicism. He linked the Irish with political dissent, whereas in Spain, religion was seen as a crucial adjunct to the patriotic cause.

[118] *The Inquisition Unmasked: Being an Historical and Philosophical Account of that Tremendous Tribunal*, trans. by William Walton (London: 1816), 'Translator's Preliminary Remarks', p. viii.

[119] Walton, p. xv.

[120] Walton's translation is based on *La Inquisicion Sin Mascara* written by Antonio Puigblanch under the religious pseudonym Natanel Jomtob (Cadiz: 1811). Puigblanch and the political theorist Flores Estrada were refugees in England in the early nineteenth century. See Henry Kamen, *The Disinherited: The Exiles Who Created Spanish Culture* (London: Penguin, 2008), pp. 174-6.

If Walton identifies the convocation of the Cortes as a key turning point in contemporary Spanish history, then its counterpoint is associated with the restoration of Ferdinand VII:

> No sooner, had king Ferdinand VII been restored to his throne, than he annulled the acts of the Cortes, and re-established the Inquisition in its full powers […][121]

When Ferdinand returned to the Spanish throne in the spring of 1814, he scrapped the 1812 Constitution and effectively pursued a reign of terror in Spain, charging those who had supported the changes with the crime of political treason. George Cruikshank's 1815 print, 'Twelfth Night or, what you will' (Figure 9) appropriately caricatures the restored king as a spectator at a political theatre. Seated in his box, Ferdinand VII wears a crown gruesomely adorned with hanging corpses.[122] In his hands, he holds a list of the prisoners to be executed for having supported the Constitution – a list so big that Ferdinand seems dwarfed in comparison. Behind him stands a Jesuit priest, a Grim Reaper-like figure with a large standard emblematic of the Holy Inquisition. Cruikshank's visual economy is loaded with recriminations against an indulgently despotic government.

[121] Walton, p. xxvi.
[122] The cross on his crown also depicts the racks of the Inquisition, a favourite means of torture described in detail in the pamphlet *Tribunal of the Inquisition: The Speech of Doctor D. Antonio Joseph Ruiz de Padron* (Mediterranean: 1813), p. 45.

9: George Cruikshank: 'Twelfth Night; or, What You Will' (1814)

It is understandable then, that from the moment Walton mentions Ferdinand's restoration his tone becomes increasingly embittered and inculpatory:

> At the time the Inquisition was re-established in Spain, the happiness of Europe, nay, I may say of the world, were as a sacred deposit in the hands of Great Britain; and future events have yet to unfold the mystery, whence governments reposing on bases conformable to natural right, are not more brilliant and secure than when they rest on the degradation of the human mind.[123]

Here, the reference to Great Britain is hostile, accusing Ministers of failing to preserve Britain's 'moral vestige' in the Peninsula.[124] Walton's use of the past conditional to lament that 'in Spain, where England might have done so much' she secured so little, lends his work an unexpectedly radical leaning. In 1816, following the end of the Napoleonic War and the restoration of the Bourbons, it seemed that

[123] Walton, p. xxix.
[124] *Ibid*., p. llxiv.

Spain was no more enlightened and liberal than it had been before the 1808 invasion.

Gibraltar

If both Spain and Portugal were pockmarked by ideological contradictions and uncertainties, then where did this leave Gibraltar? Located on the southernmost tip of the Peninsula, the territory was (and remains) a historic bone of contention between Britons and Spaniards. In terms of physical geography Gibraltar shares its northern boundary with Spain, but had been ceded to the British crown in perpetuity under the 1713 Treaty of Utrecht, after which it was transformed into an important base for the Royal Navy. In *Portugal Delivered*, Woodley identifies Gibraltar's important strategic value when he dramatizes Napoleon's plans for European conquest:

> Gibraltar fall'n! – The Adriatic main
> No more shall bear the British flag again.[125]

As a British naval base, Gibraltar had played a key role in the Battle of Trafalgar. The logic here ascribed to Napoleon is that the loss of Gibraltar would decidedly weaken Britain's ability to resist naval attacks in the Mediterranean. In 1812 when *The Universal Magazine* published John Carr's 'Account of Gibraltar: its Present State of Society, Manners &c', Gibraltar's fate was also in question. 'Should England ever evacuate this rock, her dominion in the Mediterranean will be but slender and precarious', argued Carr.[126] Gibraltar was not only a prestigious trading post but Britain's footing in Southern Europe, a key strategic stronghold that linked

[125] Woodley, Book II, 38.
[126] 'An Account of Gibraltar: its Present State of Society, Manners, &c. By Sir John Carr', *Universal Magazine*, No. XCVIII, (December 1811), XVI, 441-445, (p. 442).

questions of sovereignty to the likelihood of British success in the Peninsular campaign.

To Carr, the rock was an apt monument to British history:

> Even at this day, several pieces of wrecks are to be found upon the beach, as proud, though melancholy, memorials of that great battle, in which the joyous sensations excited by its glory were qualified by a pensive sympathy for the loss of one of the greatest of our heroes.[127]

Evoking the memory of Nelson, Carr's reference to the Battle of Trafalgar attaches sentimental value to Britain's strategic interests in Gibraltar. This sentimentality is re-figured when he describes the socio-cultural mélange of life on the rock, where ironically, despite the controversy between its different political claimants, Britons and Spaniards enjoyed mutual sociability:

> Our officers were permitted to enjoy the sports of the turf within the Spanish territory, and in return, gave balls, and other entertainments, to the Spaniards.[128]

This image of Anglo-Spanish fraternity is tinctured by a nostalgia that fits in well with the author's subsequent description of the 'truly romantic and beautiful' spot of Catalan Bay.[129] It is an idealised Romantic space, suggestive of how an Anglo-Spanish alliance could succeed, despite political rivalries.

In *The Fair Andalusian*, Gibraltar provides the setting for much of the first volume. An important scene, into which the narrator intrudes by commenting that it 'must be displeasing to the Spanish eye', occurs from the perspective afforded by the Levant Steps. As Montolieu and Mondecar overlook the straits of Gibraltar, the Marquis asks Montolieu to point out the king's bastion. The aristocratic Spaniard then proceeds to deliver a surprising 'eulogium on the gallant Elliott, as honourable as just'. This is confirmed but also generously tempered by the Englishman, who

---

[127] Carr, *Universal Magazine*, XVI, 441.
[128] *Ibid*., 443-4.
[129] *Ibid*., 444.

emphasises that 'his foe was worthy of his sword'.[130] Alluding to the French as their 'less noble adversaries', the conversation moves from historic to contemporary matters. Significantly, it is precisely this reference to the French invasion of Spain that causes the Marquis to turn rapidly, and with an 'expression of pleasure', propose that the historic adversaries may '"yet be friends"'.[131] Gibraltar, by bringing Mondecar and Montolieu together, affords the Spaniard and Englishman a new, important perspective on the conflict in the Peninsula.

Soon after, Gibraltar's importance is underscored by its inhabitants' disinterested commitment to aid the cause of the Spanish patriots. Fraser describes how the merchants of Gibraltar readily provided Castanos with a supply of money, 'for which they would accept no interest':

> Communicating boats came daily; the Spanish people, awakening into energy, astonished the continental powers by their efforts to free themselves from their invaders; and for a while gave a bright example of heroism and resolution.[132]

Here, it is worth pausing on the qualifier 'for a while'. Fraser's narrative might celebrate the early stages of the war effort, but ultimately reads as a record of disillusionment with the course of events pursued. On the level of plot development, this is characterised by abrupt stops and starts, as in Fraser's relative neglect of the story of the Swiss Count Valmont and the disgrace brought upon his family by the French villain Fayau. At certain points, the novelist's oscillation between feelings of initial enthusiasm and subsequent disappointment features explicitly in her prose style:

> In the course of our narrative, the fatal cause of their [Spanish] failure will be slightly touched on, with every delicacy to a nation, who, however

---

[130] Fraser, I, 96.
[131] *Ibid*.
[132] *Ibid*., I, 207.

> unfortunate in their armies, have the sacred names of Saragossa and Gerona enrolled in their annals of fame![133]

It is all the more significant, then, that as the plot of *The Fair Andalusian* develops, Gibraltar's successful cultural mix, and the symbolic significance attached to it, will help resolve these divided sympathies for the Spanish nation.

At the end of the novel, after Montolieu and Estella have been married, the Englishman's disenchantment as a Volunteer results in his early retirement and a return to Gibraltar, where the protagonists are reunited with du Marr and the now widowed Madame du Rose. After five months of war, the return to Gibraltar's Levant cottage provides the couple with the pastoral tranquillity essential to their emotional healing. It is a space importantly associated with restoration and reconciliation, permitting the happy couple to make their journey to England, where Montolieu inherits his father's title, and 'amid his parental shades, […] gave his adored bride to the arms of his mother'.[134] In Fraser's novel, Gibraltar becomes the route to the happy-ending, a crucial in-between zone of all things English and Spanish. However controversial or troubled Gibraltar's history may have been, Fraser's novel shows that during the Peninsular War, it could still be celebrated as a monument to British victory. Gibraltar had been, and continued to be, a space for Anglo-Spanish contact and exchange. During the Peninsular War, it represented an all-important bridge between otherwise warily suspicious allies.

Nation and Narration

It is important to remember that in the early nineteenth century, Portugal and Spain

[133] Fraser, I, 208.
[134] *Ibid*., II, 139.

were still coming to terms with a budding sense of nationalism in their own right. Accounts of the war in Spain seemed to give daily proof that the Spaniard's loyalty remained first and foremost to his province. This prompted many of the writers considered in this chapter to reflect on the ways that Spanish patriotism could reinvigorate British nationalism. While most Britons celebrated the Spaniard's localised attachment to his birthplace, there was also immediate recognition that in order for the patriotic effort to succeed, unison of spirit would be needed at all levels. In *The History of Spain, from the earliest accounts to the present times* (1809) Alexander Beaumont identifies the lack of co-operation between the provincial juntas as the major obstacle to their success:

> Strangers in a great measure to each other, coming from different parts of an extensive kingdom, and entertaining different political opinions, the members of the Central Junta did not coalesce well together, nor act with that promptness and vigour which had marked the exertions of the provinces.[135]

One of the main reasons for convening the Supreme Junta had been to establish a central government that would do away with local jealousies. The difficulties in securing a concerted war effort would prove highly topical in Regency Britain where, among other discontents, the Veto Controversy threatened to undo the fragile bond between England and Ireland.[136]

Spain's provincial response to war featured in many of the British poems composed during this period. In John Glanville's 'Iberia' (1812), the fall of Madrid

---

[135] Beaumont, p. 516.

[136] In 1808, William Grenville (who had been Prime Minister during the Ministry of All Talents) proposed a move towards Catholic Emancipation on the condition that the Catholic Church should allow the government to have a veto on its appointment of bishops. This provoked impassioned debate before it even reached the parliamentary chambers. Daniel O'Connell, popularly known as 'The Emancipator', insisted that Irish Catholics should not consent to state-approved bishops. In 1810, the debate intensified when the English Catholics agreed to support the veto. The Irish, led by Lord Fingall, reinforced their aversion by submitting a petition to Parliament for full Catholic Emancipation. For a helpful introduction to the Veto Controversy, see Shelley Meagher, 'Islam in Irish Poetry: Thomas Moore and the Early Union Years' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Oxford, 2006) pp. 12; 21- 25; 68. See also Lillie, p. 13 for the Veto Controversy as a distraction to the war effort.

prompts a domino-like effect of localised commitment to the cause of independence:

> SEVILLE uprising and breaks her galling chain,
> Rous'd by the shouts of Salamanca's plain;
> Prolong the patriot strain and let it dart,
> Its forceful energies to every heart.[137]

In Glanville's poem, the wrongs suffered by Salamanca inspire the Sevillians to rise against the French usurper and make independence their common cause. Here, the geographical distance between western Salamanca and southwestern Seville is only significant because of its ultimate irrelevance.

Sotheby's poem, 'Song of Triumph' (1814) also celebrates the impulse to act under unison of arms and cause. But in the wake of victory against Napoleon, the poem's image of military co-operation is identified with Great Britain, as much as Spain. In a series of apostrophes, Sotheby individualises the different participants of the British force in order to emphasise their collective action:

> Hail! Caledonia's strength! Ye plum'd your pride,
> And rang'd your tartan robes on England's side,
> Sons of the brave!
> […]
> Hail, Erin's gallant race! […][138]

His verse depicts not only a diverse people, but different nations, united through mutual determination to reclaim the Peninsula from French expansionism.

British writers often commented upon the plurality of the Spanish nation, ascribing the Moorish elements in Spanish culture with everything from civilizing influences to downright brutality.[139] Britain's complex and fractured sense of identity often lay beneath the surface of these varied accounts about the Spanish

---

[137] John Glanville, 'Iberia: with an Invocation to the Patriots of Spain, A Poem. To which is added War; an Ode' (London: 1812), p. 9.
[138] William Sotheby, 'Song of Triumph' (London: 1814), pp. 9-10.
[139] Several publications on Moorish Spain were written during the Peninsular War. E.g. George Power, *The History of the Empire of the Mussulmans in Spain and Portugal, From the First Invasion of the Moors, to their Ultimate Expulsion from the Peninsula* (London: 1815).

nation. As the *Edinburgh* remarked, not even *The Vision of Don Roderick* was about Spanish history per se. In fact, the true focus of the poem was not so much on the Iberian patriots, but British loyalism. In Scott's Introduction it is the Highlands, 'within whose rugged breasts | The friends of Scottish freedom found repose', that determine the Spanish theme pursued.[140] 'Decayed our old traditionary lore', the Highland muses discourage the poet from writing 'Of feuds obscure, and border ravaging'. Instead, they advise him to imagine the potential of 'romantic lands':

> […] where the near Sun,
> Gives with unstinted boon ethereal flame,
> Where the rude villager, his labour done,
> In verse spontaneous chaunts some favour'd name;
> Whether Olalia's charms his tribute claim,
> Her eye of diamond, and her locks of jet;
> Or whether, kindling at the deeds of Graeme,
> He sing, to wild Morisco measure set,
> Old Albion's red claymore, green Erin's bayonet![141]

The implication is that since Scotland is no longer a worn-torn country, her soldiers should go abroad to fight the cause of freedom. In the *Vision* Scott identifies the deployment of Scottish soldiers to the Peninsula as marking the emergence of a modern Britain, newly self-confident and ready for combat.

In 1811, Scott saw in the Peninsular War the opportunity to define a new Scotland and, by extension, a new Britain amenable to local distinctions. [142] While Scott's *Waverly* novels are equivocal about the Highlanders, offsetting their heroism in the battlefield by questioning their role in civilized society, the *Vision* invests the Highlanders with an image that casts a more positive light on modern Scotland.[143] Regional differences could, according to Scott, be the basis of a country's strength:

---

[140] *Vision*, verse iv, p. 5.
[141] *Ibid*., verse ix, p. 9.
[142] C.f. Wordsworth, *Cintra*.
[143] In *Rob Roy*, the Highlanders are associated with primitive society and a savage disposition. Chapter XXX describes their 'miserable dwellings', and common hatred of the English. Frank presents a terrifying image of 'the natives' when he likens the Gaelic-speaking women, with

> […] Much of the ancient poetry, preserved in Wales, refers less to the history of the principality to which that name is now limited, than to events which happened in the North-west of England and South-west of Scotland, where Britons for a long time made a stand against the Saxons.[144]

The statement is emblematic of the way in which Scott allows his native history to pervade the poem's narrative; even at this point, when it should be ostensibly concerned with the Welsh tradition. Throughout the Notes, as in the main body of the poem itself, examples of Scottish heroism are manifold. In Note V Scott pays homage to Colonel Cameron, who 'fell at the head of his native Highlanders, the 71st and 79th', inspiring among his men a dreadful spirit of determination. He claims: 'Massena pays my countrymen a singular compliment in his account of the attack and defence of this village, in which, he says, the British lost many officers, *and Scotch*'.[145] Scott places typographical, as well as rhetorical, emphasis on 'the furious Highlanders of this '*Scotch*' division. Although the *Vision* is commonly seen to begin and close in praise of Wellington, the Notes actually conclude in praise of Graham and his warlike ancestors, referring to Sheridan's Vote of Thanks for the Scottish General known as the hero of Barrosa.

By celebrating Highland culture and its distinctive contribution to the Peninsular War, Scott dismisses any notion of the Highlanders as a 'terrorist organisation'. This is in contrast, for instance, to *Rob Roy*, where the Highlanders are presumed to pose a threat to the stability of Lowland Scotland and England in 1715. His poem's treatment of the Irish is, however, notably more cautious. This was probably because of the religious insecurities Ireland continued to provoke in Scott's political thoughts. In the *Vision* he describes how, with majesty:

'shrivelled brows, and long skinny arms', to the weird sisters in *Macbeth*. Walter Scott, *Rob Roy* [1817] (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), p. 344.

[144] *Vision*, Note I, p. 67.

[145] *Ibid*., Note v, p. 118.

> From mast and stern St George's symbol flow'd
> Blent with the silver cross to Scotland dear,
> Mottling the sea their landward barges row'd,
> And flashed the sun on bayonet, brand, and spear,[146]

St Patrick's cross is notably overlooked in this description. The poet also defers his address to the Irish soldiers (condescendingly apostrophised as 'Rough Nature's children') until verse lx. Scott, who was an opponent of Catholic Emancipation, predictably places his emphasis on a British Protestant force, rather than a Catholic one. The intensification of the Veto Controversy in 1811, the year in which his poem was published, may well explain why Scott delimited his portrayal of the Irish forces.[147] In order to safeguard his argument about the empowering potential of regional responses, Scott offers a qualified commemoration of the Irish war effort, restricting his praise to a very personal eulogy of Arthur Wellesley, the Anglo-Irish commander.

In his description of the English and Scots' joint arrival to fight the Spanish cause, Scott's mention of the Britons' historic rivalry is intended both as a literal and indirect means of re-imagining Anglo-Spanish hostilities:

> A various host – from kindred realms they came,
> Brethren in arms, but rivals in renown –
> For yon fair bands shall merry England claim,
> And with their deeds of valour deck her crown.[148]

By drawing attention to the Scottish contribution to the British campaign, Scott's poem supports a belief in the inherent potential of an Anglo-Spanish alliance, which also united historic enemies for the realisation of a common cause. Curiously

---

[146] *Vision*, verse lv, p .50.
[147] George III was renowned for his uncompromising attitude to the Catholics. Supporters of Emancipation hoped that they would fare better with the Prince Regent, but he proved surprisingly conservative in his politics, and failed to grant any concessions when he assumed power in 1811. See 'State of Public Affairs', *Universal Magazine* , No. XCIX, (February 1812), XVII, 150-156.
[148] *Vision*, verse lviii, p. 51.

however, there is one Scotsman which Scott's narrative notably fails to mention, Sir John Moore.[149] According to the *Edinburgh Review*, this was 'unpardonable':

> […] It is a sin not easily to be expiated, that in a poem written substantially for the purpose of commemorating the brave who have fought or fallen in Spain and Portugal, – and written by a Scotchman, – there should be no mention of the name of MOORE! – of the only commander in chief which has fallen in this memorable contest; – of a commander, who was acknowledged as the model and pattern of a British soldier, when British soldiers stood most in need of such an example – and was, at the same time, distinguished not less for every manly virtue and generous affection, than for skill and gallantry in his profession.[150]

Punctuated with exasperated dashes and forceful crescendo-like repetitions of Moore's rank as a 'commander' and 'British soldier', the review inscribes for Moore the eulogy Scott denied him.

Yet, despite the reviewer's impassioned sense of outrage, the *Edinburgh* only provoked in Scott a nonchalant recognition that 'they are very wroth with me for omitting the merits of Sir John Moore'. 'I must hold myself excused for not giving praise where I was unable to see that much was due', he maintained in his correspondence to Morritt.[151] In earlier letters, Scott had been quick to condemn Moore's actions, regarding Corunna as a national disgrace. In late 1808, venting his thoughts on the military campaign with George Ellis, Scott clearly had Moore in mind when he decried against poor resolution in the conduct of the war:

> A general who is always looking over his shoulder, and more intent on saving his own army than on doing the service on which he is sent, will, I

---

[149] Towards the end of the summer of 1808, Wellesley and Dalyrmple returned to England to face the Board of Inquiry on Cintra, leaving Moore and Burrard in charge of the British campaign in the Peninsula. Moore was entrusted to lead the army into northern Spain (for reinforcements), but was disappointed by the lack of Spanish military assistance and shortage of funds. Pursued by a superior French force, Moore and his exhausted troops arrived at Corunna on 11 January 1809, where he arranged for his army to be evacuated. As embarkation got under way, the French began their assault. Moore organised a brave counter-attack, in the course of which he was fatally wounded. Although he was subsequently immortalised in Charles Wolfe's eulogistic poem, 'The Burial of Sir John Moore after Corunna' (1816), during the war itself, Moore's reputation was much more controversial. Public opinion was torn between Moore's supporters, who saw him as a valiant hero, and his detractors, who painted the battle of Corunna as an embarrassing retreat and military failure.
[150] 'Article VI', *ER*, XXXVI, (August 1811), 390.
[151] WS to J Morritt (September 1811), in Grierson, II, 543.

> fear, hardly be found capable of forming or executing a plan which its very daring character might render successful.[152]

A month later, in a letter to Southey, Scott's hypothesis that 'had Wellesley been there, the battle of Corunna would have been fought and won at Somosierra', entirely dismisses Moore's achievements in Spain.[153] To Scott, the General's retreat was a 'flight', not a strategic victory.

The fact that Moore was a Scotsman thus worked against him in Scott's poetic scheme of absolute Scottish glory, allowing the poet to justify his omission of Moore as both personally and politically expedient. By 1811, the Peninsular War may have been in its third year but opinions remained problematically partisan. As previously glossed, a very public debate had been launched between Moore's supporters and detractors, stimulating the publication of a range of texts by those who served under Moore or could otherwise claim some indirect interest in defining his reputation.[154] To Scott, Moore's name became associated not only with cowardice, but an all-too public vulgarity. It is unsurprising, therefore, that he should have deemed Moore unfit to join the illustrious ranks of Scottish military heroes celebrated in the *Vision.* The connections the poem makes between Scotland and Spain were considered too valuable to be jeopardised by the contention over Moore.

---

[152] WS to George Ellis (23 December 1808), in Grierson, II, 139.
[153] WS to RS (10 September 1809), in Grierson, p. 160. N.B. Ellis's article had criticised James Moore's defence of his brother. The *Quarterly Review* also took an aggressive stance. In October 1809 Scott was in the difficult position of having to write diplomatic replies to James Moore (See Grierson, II, 249-50, 256).
[154] E.g. [An Officer], *Letters from Portugal and Spain: Written During the March of the British Troops Under Sir John Moore* (London: 1809), and [An Officer of Staff], *Operations of the British Army in Spain: Involving Broad Hints to the Commissariat, and Board of Transports: with Anecdotes Illustrative of the Spanish Character* (London: 1809); Adam Neale's *Letters from Portugal and Spain: An Account of the Operations of the Armies Under Sir Arthur Wellesley and Sir John Moore from the Landing of the troops in Mondego Bay to the Battle at Corunna* (London:1809); and *A Narrative of the Campaign of the British Army in Spain Commanded by his Excellency Lieutenant-General Sir John Moore* (London: 1809), published by Moore's brother, and into its fourth edition before the end of 1809.

Scott's emphasis on the links between Scotland – ancient and modern – with contemporary Spain was not, in itself, unique. It is likely that contemporary readers, much more attuned to civil dissent within Great Britain, would have been quick to pick up on the political questions underlying his poem. Robert Semple's *Observations on a Journey through Spain and Italy to Naples* (1808) also drew upon the history of Anglo-Scottish conflict to better understand the Peninsular campaign. Although he comes to different conclusions, Semple also found himself inspired by the plurality of the Spanish provinces, to demonstrate how ancient British rivalry had been replaced by a mutual commitment to British union. He remarks that 'England and Scotland were once most inveterably hostile', the temporal distance of 'once' relegating national differences to a far away, almost forgotten time. But crucially, this history is not, of course, entirely forgotten:

> It is good we should refresh our memories from our own history. Little more than half a century ago, a few bands of northern Highlanders, many of whom were without muskets, descended from their mountains, defeated a considerable body of regular troops, took Carlisle, and advanced into the heart of England.[155]

Semple invokes the Scottish anecdote in order to persuade his readers that the popular patriotic movement in Spain could be successful, however ill-equipped or disorganised the Spanish army may have been.[156] His allusion is, nevertheless, riddled with ambivalence. Semple is obviously referring to the Jacobite Rebellion of 1745 and the attempt by the Scottish Highlanders to reinstate the Stuart Dynasty in the person of 'Bonnie Prince Charlie'. In the early months of the rebellion, the Highlanders enjoyed surprising success against the much better equipped government forces, armed with muskets and cannon. Once the regulars were organised into an army, however, the Highlanders fared miserably. Charles

[155] Semple, *Observations*, II, 289.
[156] In *A Second Journey in Spain in the Spring of 1809* (London: 1812), Semple continues his identification of the Highlander with the Spanish peasant. See plates 1 and 9 esp.

ultimately fled to France, the Duke of Cumberland crushed the rebellion, and the threat of Jacobitism was quenched by repressive measures. These facts, conveniently overlooked by Semple's narrative, would have been common knowledge among his readers. The anecdote only makes sense, therefore, when read alongside his earlier concern for 'mob' violence in Portugal.[157] Semple's larger narrative shows that while he is keen to celebrate the power of native resistance and resolution, he considered good leadership to be paramount – the kind of leadership that Charles had failed to give the Highlanders, and that the Spanish nobility seemed so reluctant to provide for the armed peasants.[158]

Even writers who were largely sympathetic to Peninsular politics expressed anxiety and alarm about the mobilisation of the masses. In *Observations*, Semple recounts his horrific first-hand experience of angry mob-action in Portugal, describing in gruesome detail the murder of an Englishman within one hundred yards of the English headquarters. Noting that the victim was stabbed by a pike from behind, Semple reads the fatal wound as symbolic shorthand for the mob's frustration against the exodus of Englishmen after Cintra. Underlying this interpretation is the writer's impression that such scenes of violence effectively amounted to a betrayal of the Portuguese character by its own people, placed in stark contrast to 'the romantic ideals England is forming of them':[159]

> I beheld a people armed, but without chiefs of any science […] the tumult and ferocity of a mob against armed individuals […] I beheld a government, hated, yet implicitly obeyed, and this was to me a kind of clue to the national

---

[157] Semple, *Observations*, II, 21.
[158] *A History of the Campaigns of the British Forces in Spain and Portugal* 5 vols (London: 1812), I, xvii. The author interprets the Spanish revolution as rousing 'the spirit of a great people, dormant for ages, and creating numerous native-armies that must for ever destroy the hope of his consolidated European empire, and gives another region of liberty to mankind!'. For more detail on the violence in Portugal, see below, pp. 126; 129-32.
[159] Semple, *Observations*, II, 33.

> character, where the hereditary rights of tyranny in the great, and long habits of servitude in the multitude, compose the principal traits.[160]

Semple ironically toys with the idea that 'the people are awakened, […] armed, and habits of freedom will by degree, rise among them'. Almost immediately, however, he decidedly undermines this vision with a suffix of 'Never'.[161] According to Semple, the Iberian Peninsula, 'with all its old rites, its superstitions, and its prejudices of three centuries is in its decrepitude'.[162]

After his experiences in Portugal, Semple's view of the Portuguese remained emphatically limited to the stereotypes of religious bigotry, political submission, and indolence, which had tainted British perceptions of the Hispanic 'other' since the Elizabethan era. Popular hopes that the Iberian people would be redeemed by newly acquired 'habits of freedom' seemed, to Semple, an untimely joke. And yet, for all his prejudice, Semple remained committed to supporting Britain's involvement in the Peninsula, defining the war against Napoleon as the 'righteous cause of Spain, of England, and of posterity'.[163] His narrative censures Britain's mishandling of Cintra and the Walcheren expedition, and reminds his readers: 'we began the last war with Spain by an act of unexampled and perfidious aggression […] Thank Heaven, an opportunity has been afforded us, as far as possible, of wiping off the foul stain'.[164] This re-writing of Anglo-Spanish history, although surprising, anticipates Walton's technique in *The Inquisition Unmasked*. Even negative stereotypes had a role to play in mobilising the British war effort in Portugal and Spain. What is remarkable about the turn in Semple's argument, is that

---

[160] Semple*, Observations*, II, 32.
[161] *Ibid*., pp. 32-3.
[162] *Ibid.*
[163] *Ibid*., p. 15.
[164] *Ibid*., p. 303.

it is prepared for by the text itself and, perhaps most ingeniously, conditioned by the genre of his *Observations*.

Travel and politics

Semple's narrative is a travelogue; *Observations on a Journey*, as his title insists. It signals that the author's damning stereotypes of the Portuguese and Spanish character were determined by first-hand experiences of war in the Peninsula. Semple underlines the principal advantage of this perspective when he claims that 'the officer views the country and the inhabitants as an officer, and is viewed as such by them', whereas, 'wrapped up in his cloak the traveller views them merely as a man'.[165] This image of the traveller 'wrapped up in his cloak' is suggestive of both the Spanish mantle and early nineteenth-century British fashion. It lends to the traveller a freedom of movement unknown to the soldier or officer. With assumed inconspicuousness, the traveller is able to dance the line between his immersion in the local culture and commitment to his own national identity. By fearlessly invoking signifiers of cultural difference Semple, the traveller, can claim the objective distance needed for the validation of his political commentary.[166]

[165] Semple*, Observations*, II, 297.
[166] In his Preface to *Sketch of the Present State of Caracas* (London: 1812), Semple skirts round the politically moot issue of South America, claiming: 'I am a traveller, and do but sketch as I pass along', p. iv.

10: Thomas Phillips, 'Portrait of Lord Byron' (1814)

Thomas Phillips's famous portrait of Lord Byron in an open white-necked shirt and draping velvet cloak was commissioned by John Murray to embellish his published poems (Figure 10). Its popular iconography has often been linked to Byron's theatrical interests, but should also be read as a visual emblem of his status as a traveller.[167] In the Preface to Cantos I and II of *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage*, Byron emphasizes that for the most part, his poem was written 'amidst the scenes which it attempts to describe':

> It was begun in Albania; and the parts relative to Spain and Portugal were composed from the author's observations in those countries. Thus much it may be necessary to state for the correctness of the descriptions.[168]

Byron, like Semple, is keen to define the travelogue as a politically convenient, informed, and informative genre of literary writing. *Childe Harold*'s topicality and

[167] The link between Byron's dress and his theatrical interests was suggested by William St Clair, 'The Byron that People Saw', paper presented at *Romantic Realignments* seminar, (University of Oxford, 27 November 2008).

[168] Lord Byron, *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage*, 'Preface to Cantos I and II', in *The Complete Poetical Works*, ed. by Jerome J McGann, 7 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1980), II, 3. All further references to *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage* [*CHP*] will be from this edition.

temporal specificity synchronises the act of writing with the actions described in the poem itself, giving Byron's verse a verisimilitude not otherwise possible. This notion is further developed in the Notes of the poem, which are overwhelmingly dependent on the first person pronouns 'I' and 'we' to describe Byron's (and Hobhouse's) experiences in the Iberian Peninsula.

Describing Portugal as 'this purple land, where law secures not life', Byron glosses that 'Englishmen were daily butchered' in the 1809 assassinations in the streets of Lisbon.[169] His Notes qualify this 'well-known fact' by drawing the reader's attention to the poet's own experiences as an eye-witness:

> […] We were requested not to interfere if we perceived any compatriot defending himself against his allies.[170]

From this general warning, Byron proceeds to relate how he nearly became a victim of Portuguese violence when, on the way to the theatre, his own carriage was stopped. He concludes:

> […] Had we not fortunately been armed, I have not the least doubt that we should have adorned a tale instead of telling one.[171]

Here, the personal anecdote lends weight to what was otherwise an abstract historical fact, while the poet's marginal escape offers additional dramatic inflection. Interestingly, in his travel journal, Hobhouse records the incident with much less emphasis on its political implications. In an altogether more economic journalistic style, he notes: 'at half-past nine went with Byron in a calash to Rua dos Condes – attacked near the — by four men– walked halfway home – bed at Barnwell's'.[172] Couched by the reassuring conclusion that the two men returned safely to their bed and board, Hobhouse's narratorial mode takes little account of

---

[169] *CHP*, Canto I, stanza 21, l. 269, p. 18 and Notes, pp. 187-188
[170] *Ibid*., Notes to Canto I, p. 187
[171] *Ibid*., p. 188.
[172] 'The Journal of John Cam Hobhouse', in *Hobby-O*, edited by Peter Cochran <http://www.hobby-o.com/diaryeditorial.php> [accessed May 2009]. See entry for Tuesday, 18 July 1809.

the emotionally charged interpretation given to the incident by Byron himself. In Byron's main verse, subjective vacillations made it irresistible for contemporary readers to conflate the poet with the fictional persona of Childe Harold. The Notes seem to give added justification for this, by deliberately foregrounding Byron's personal experiences as a traveller in the Peninsula

A political reading of the poem thus demands that as much attention is paid to the accompanying Notes as to the verse itself.[173] It also requires a shrewd deliberation of the poem's overall design. In more generalized terms, the movement from the Iberian Peninsula toward the East, and ultimately Greece, traces how the forces of history have changed the social landscape. Suggestions of order and organization, despite the speaker's diversions, are already present in the first two cantos. Interestingly, Byron's emphasis is not on chronology. Consider for instance, the way in which his reference to Portuguese violence precedes the stanzas on the Convention of Cintra. In the main body of the poem, Byron apostrophizes Cintra, equating the Portuguese topography with the shameful and embarrassing terms of the treaty signed therein:

> And ever since that martial synod met,
> Britannia sickens, Cintra! at thy name;
> And folks in office at the mention fret,
> And fain would blush, if blush they could, for shame.
> How will posterity the deed proclaim!
> Will not our own and fellow-nations sneer,
> To view these champions cheated of their fame,
> By foes in fight o'erthrown, yet victors here,
> Where Scorn her fingers points through many a coming year?[174]

The apostrophe to Cintra is grammatically underlined by its exclamatory tenor, expressive of the surprise, anger, and pain with which news of the Convention was received in Britain. Byron informally refers to the government ministers as 'folks',

[173] Cf. Scott's *Vision* and *Catalonia: A Poem.*
[174] *CHP*, Canto I, stanza 26, pp. 20-1.

deriding the putative authority of those who tried to disguise the treaty as a cause for commemoration. According to Byron, Cintra exemplified how the government's self-serving political strategies had alienated Ministers from the opinions and beliefs of ordinary people at home (the real 'folks' aligned to posterity).

In all, Byron devotes three stanzas to the Convention. These malign the British government for having allowed such a treaty to take place and disgrace Ministers for presuming to assume mastery over the Portuguese, 'champions cheated of their fame'.[175] The stanzas' cumulative effect is to render the Portuguese, previously seen as violent antagonists, into the victims of diplomatic chicanery. Historically, of course, the Convention preceded the 1809 assassinations in Lisbon, offering the Portuguese mobs some justification, perhaps, for their feelings of betrayal. While the narratorial order imposed by Byron does not seek to mitigate the barbarity of the Lisbon assassinations, or the injustice of the Convention of Cintra, it does prompt the reader to pause and question the interpretations ascribed to these events when viewed separately. Paired together, the Convention of Cintra and 1809 assassinations seem to belong to a mutually informing, socio-political narrative of historical regression, as well as progression. In *Childe Harold*, Byron intended that his readers move backwards and forwards between these different anecdotes.

In his Notes, when Byron refers to the Convention, his assertion that 'the late exploits of Lord Wellington have effaced the follies of Cintra' merits the reader's consideration. This becomes especially urgent when Byron expands his mock-eulogy with an insistence that:

> He [Wellesley] has, indeed, done wonders: he has perhaps changed the character of a nation, reconciled rival superstitions, and baffled an enemy who never retreated before his predecessors.[176]

---

[175] *CHP*, Canto I, stanza 26, l. 312, p. 21.
[176] *Ibid*., Notes to Canto I, p. 188.

Had Byron not included earlier proof of the proud and superstitious nature of the Portuguese people, this 'celebration' of Arthur Wellesley's management of the Spanish campaign would have lacked much of its force and effect. Although it is significant that Byron is only able to make sense of contemporary history by disrupting the chronology of events in the Peninsula, his reconfiguration allows him to expand his readers' perceptions of the moral issues at stake in the war, suggesting that the Portuguese and British may have been equally to blame in the crisis that ensued.

Negotiating gender

When Byron and Hobhouse were in Seville, 'the Maid of Aragon' was also there, 'walk[ing] daily in the Prado, decorated with medals and orders, by command of the Junta'.[177] Byron's Note on Augustina Zaragoza attests to her symbolic status in Spanish culture, and how the Junta took advantage of her heroic reputation to help promote the cause of independence. Parading in Seville, Augustina found herself more than five hundred miles away from the town whose defence she had played such a prominent role in securing. It would seem that to the Junta, Augustina was an important patriotic idol, belonging to the new administrative capital of the Spanish Kingdom, as much as Zaragoza. [178] In *Childe Harold*, Byron also stakes a claim to this most famous of Spanish heroines.

---

[177] *CHP*, Notes to Canto I, p. 189.

[178] The real Augustine Zaragoza y Domenech belonged to neither town. She was Catalan, and as Diego Saglia explains, 'a middle-class woman' who 'found herself casually involved in the first siege while visiting her husband, a soldier in the local garrison'. See: '" O My Mother Spain!": The Peninsular War, Family Matters, and the Practice of Romantic Nation-Writing', *ELH*, 65. 2 (Summer 1998), 363-93 (p. 376).

In Byron's account of the siege, the very exceptionality of Augustina's actions prompts the poet to re-assert his heroine's essential femininity and, crucially, her Spanishness also. Tellingly, Byron first imagines Augustina before her participation in the siege. He delineates her profile in the familiar terms used by travel writers to describe the exotic and mysterious Spanish belle:

> Oh! had you known her in her softer hour,
> Mark'd her black eye that mocks her coal-black veil,
> Heard her light, lovely tones in Lady's bower,
> Seen her long frocks that foil the painter's power,
> Her fairy-form, with more than female grace,
> Scarce would you deem that Saragoza's tower
> Beheld her smile in Danger's Gorgon face,
> Thin the clos'd ranks, and lead in Glory's fearful chase.[179]

At this point, the description of Augustina is purely speculative. It was, after all, the siege and Augustina's magnanimous refusal to concede to the French that brought her to the public gaze. The fact, therefore, that Byron should be keen to imagine her before the siege should not be overlooked. Ultimately, the verse may proceed to the present tense narration of Augustina's heroic response to the death and destruction around her, but as the speaker is quick to impose: 'Yet are Spain's maids no race of Amazons'.[180] At this point, the speaker returns to his earlier contemplation of the Maid of Aragon as a lover 'in her softer hour', emphasising the essential femininity of Spanish women, 'form'd for all the witching arts of love'.[181]

Both the Junta and Byron interpreted Augustina as a sort of paradigm for Spanish women at large. But in Byron's scheme, Augustina's re-definition of gendered action is significantly qualified:

> Though thus in arms they emulate their sons,
> And in the horrid phalanx dare to move,

---

[179] Byron, *CHP*, Canto I, stanza 55, p. 30. Compare this image of Augustina to Byron's 'dark-eyed girl of Cadiz', in his 1809 poem [Song: 'The Girl of Cadiz'], in *The Complete Poetical Works*, I, 270-1.
[180] *CHP*, Canto I, stanza 57, l. 585, p. 30.
[181] *Ibid*.

> 'Tis but the tender fierceness of the dove
> Pecking the hand that hovers o'er her mate:[182]

According to Byron, it is the femininity of women such as Augustina that underlies their strength, making them not so atypical after all. By feminising Augustina and associating her with a narrative of seduction as much as military action, Byron normalises the heroine as one whose 'softness' was equal to her 'firmness'.[183] While to the Junta of Seville, Augustina Zaragoza afforded an empowering example of a woman's active defence of hearth and home, to Byron, this new public role seemed in danger of compromising Augustina's femininity. The Maid of Aragon may have been iconic, but her significance was far from straightforward.

Fraser also retained a relatively conservative view of gender norms during the war. In the early stages of *The Fair Andalusian*, she describes Estella's cousin, 'Countess B—', as the 'ministering angel' of Saragossa.[184] Readers would have been quick to identify this 'angel' as the Countess Burita who, in Vaughan's famous account of the siege of Zaragoza, is praised for her formation of a corps of women devoted to the relief of the soldiers.[185] Set against this model of feminine action, is the novel's climactic revelation that Ferdinand, the young soldier whom Montolieu has taken under his protection, is in fact Estella.[186] Although intended as the ultimate test of Estella's love for Montolieu, Fraser finds herself unable to condone her heroine's actions. The scene closes upon 'Estella, broken by misfortune, her energies softened by love', still dressed 'in the attire of a boy, blush[ing] before the shrine, a modest timid woman'.[187] As the lovers leave Mondecar's hermitage,

---

[182] *CHP*, Canto I, stanza 57, ll. 587-90, p. 30.
[183] *Ibid*., l. 591, p. 30.
[184] Fraser, I, 161.
[185] Charles Vaughan, *Narrative of the Siege of Zaragoza* (London: 1809), p. 28.
[186] Fraser, II, 105-106.
[187] *Ibid*., 109.

Montolieu joins Romana's army, taking with him the 'disguised Estella'.[188] But Montolieu, disappointed with Spanish insubordination and unwilling to permit his wife's dissemblance to continue, hides Estella in the nearby convent of Astorga. By the time the lovers retire to Gibraltar, Estella's experiences of the past five months of warfare have left her fragile and exhausted. By an inversion of gender roles Montolieu becomes his wife's nurse, lovingly restoring her to health and good spirits. Although Fraser's idealization of Countess Burita suggests women had important roles to play in war, her treatment of Estella argues that when women seek to deny their femininity, the costs outweigh the value of the sacrifice. In retrospect, the reader acknowledges that Montolieu's reservations about Ferdinand made it painfully clear Estella was, in any case, ill suited to the dangers of the camp.[189]

Conclusions

Writing to John Murray, Walter Scott described his affront at the Don Cevallos controversy as 'disgust beyond measure'.[190] This chapter has attempted to chart how and why the discussion of Iberian themes was so contentious in early nineteenth-century Britain. Between 1807 and 1816, the British public were far from achieving any real consensus on Peninsular politics, resulting in accounts of Spain and Portugal that continued to be refracted by divergent political concerns and aspirations. The Peninsular War was a much more partisan conflict than has often been acknowledged. The section called 'Nation and Narration' illustrates that as a

[188] Fraser, II, 113.
[189] *Ibid*., p. 41.
[190] WS to John Murray (15 November 1808), in Grierson, II, 126.

result of the prolonged campaign, it became increasingly difficult to extricate the interest in Spanish politics from concern over domestic affairs.

In 1809, the author of *Operations of the British Army in Spain* (a damning critique of the government's mismanagement of the Peninsular campaign) penned *The Jubilee; or, John Bull in his Dotage*. It was subtitled 'A Grand National Pantomime; As it was to have been acted by His Majesty's Subjects, on the twenty-fifth of October, 1809'. The past conditional 'to have been', and the reference to 'His Majesty's Subjects' rather than 'Servants' signal the pantomime's uncompromising treatment of British politics in the year of the Silver Jubilee. In the fast changing scenes of this political pantomime, the writer found an ideal medium for his acerbic satire of British culture, and its military reputation.

While contemporary censorship laws meant *The Jubilee*'s political criticisms would be confined to the closet, the author did not neglect his readers' interests in contemporary performance. The enlarged metropolitan theatres of the early nineteenth century placed a premium on spectacle, and relied heavily on actors' hyperbolic movements and gestures. The author shows his recognition of this by pinning *The Jubilee*'s political commentary on a series of Shakespearean processions. Lord Castlereagh, for instance, is the implied lead in *Timon of Athens*, whose soliloquy, curiously echoing the form of Hamlet's famous 'To be, or not to be' ponders the horrors of the war: 'Myriads of sacrifices, all "kill'd off | Men, women, children, horses, scamp'ring o'er | The craggy heights of foul Iberian roads'.[191] It should come as no surprise then, that during this period, Peninsular politics, that most pressing of British concerns, should have been aligned with Shakespeare, the great national bard. What it meant to perform Shakespeare, and

[191] *Jubilee*, p. 28.

how his plays' political valence were applied to the Spanish campaign will be the focus of the next chapter, and its discovery of 'Shakespeare during the Peninsular War'.

Frontispiece 4: George Cruikshank, ‘The Rehearsal or the Baron and the Elephant’, 1812.

CHAPTER THREE

Performing Shakespeare during the Peninsular War

In *The Jubilee; or, John Bull in his Dotage* (1809) the author cleverly manipulates audiences' familiarity with Shakespeare to deconstruct the theatricality at the heart of Romantic political culture. He achieves pointed satirical effect by aligning contemporary statesmen and public celebrities with the main heroes and villains in Shakespeare's plays.[1] In 1809, the year of the Golden Jubilee, this included George III, '(His M - - - -)', in the role of King Lear: 'Here I am, ye gods! a poor old man, | More sinn'd against than sinning! – | Oh! how sharper than a serpent's tooth | It is, to have - - a *stupid Ministry!*'[2] Evoking Lear's powerlessness, his desperation during the storm, and denunciation of filial ingratitude, the short soliloquy exposes ministerial ineptitude and greed by re-hashing and conflating distinct moments in Shakespeare's play. As suggested by the sub-title *John Bull in His Dotage*, growing disaffection with domestic corruption and the government's management of the war gave the impression that in 1809, the nation was suffering a pathetic decline into senility, not an advance towards enlightened maturity. The mock pantomime catalogues the Convention of Cintra, retreat from Corunna, disastrous Walcheren expedition, and Mary Anne Clarke affair as proof of Britain's perceived moral and political impairment. *The Jubilee*'s transparent political commentary meant it could never be performed. It prompts, nevertheless, interesting questions about Shakespeare's popularity and the kinds of responses elicited by his plays. This chapter explores Shakespeare in performance, and what contemporary productions suggest about appropriations of the bard during the Peninsular War.

---

[1] See Chapter Two, pp. 136-7.
[2] *The Jubilee; or, John Bull in his Dotage*, p. 24.

Jonathan Bate, Carol Jones Carlisle, Michael Dobson, Richard Foakes, Jane Moody and Roy Park have written insightful commentaries on the Romantics' reception of Shakespeare, both on page and stage. This chapter builds on their work by investigating the ways in which Shakespeare was used to promote and renounce the British government's foreign and domestic policies during the Peninsular War. Bate introduces *The Romantics on Shakespeare* (1992) with a brilliant essay considering the political dimension of Shakespeare's reception in Continental Europe. He writes in depth about the political implications of Schlegel's, Coleridge's, and Hazlitt's literary lectures, explaining that British and German Shakespearean scholarship was perceived in symbolic opposition to French strictures. This chapter reveals that Shakespearean lectures and reviews were also determined by the politics of southern Europe, and in particular, Portugal and Spain – an area crucial to our understanding of the pan-European horizons opened up by the Napoleonic Wars.

Why Shakespeare?

By November 1807, when the French invaded Portugal, Shakespeare was a well-established British icon, whose cultural significance seemed embodied by Garrick's extravagant Shakespearean Jubilee of 1769.[3] Bate reminds us that this sense of celebrity was important in both England and Germany, where Shakespeare's apparent lack of concern for the neoclassical unities allowed him to serve as a counterweight to the 'hegemonic tendencies' of French culture.[4] In the early

[3] Not even Kemble, keen to assert his own reputation as a Shakespearean critic, departed very considerably from Garrick's adaptations. Garrick's Shakespeare Ode remained popular (recited on 7 June 1808 for Mrs Mattock's Farewell performance at CG. See Appendix A).
[4] Jonathan Bate, *The Romantics on Shakespeare* (London: Penguin Books, 1992), p. 9.

nineteenth century, aversion to French prescriptiveness went hand in hand with political resistance to Napoleon's antagonistic foreign policy including, of course, his invasion of the Peninsula in 1807-1808. During this period, writers began to forge links between a nation's literary tastes and its attempts at self-definition and political independence. Coleridge, for instance, not only lectured specifically on Shakespeare, but also alluded to him quite freely in his journalistic writings on the war in Spain.[5]

This chapter opens by considering the political nuances of critical responses to Shakespeare in the early nineteenth century and the fragility of a national canon that was continually defined and redefined during the Romantic period. The specific interest in Coleridge and his series of Shakespearean lectures is twofold. On the one hand, his lectures help contextualise the study of his Spanish themed journalism. On the other, they help resolve the seemingly irreconcilable opposition between page and stage that shadowed Romantic theatre studies until the 1990s. Despite its relative scholarly neglect, the Peninsular War marks an exciting and turbulent period in Britain's theatrical and political history. Coleridge's lectures on Shakespeare and the Shakespearean allusions in his own drama *Remorse* (1813) exemplify how the Romantic theatre repertoire was used to rehearse changing opinions on the controversial policies and outcome of the Iberian campaign.

The main body of this chapter offers an analysis of Shakespeare in performance. It suggests why and how Romantic theatre managers turned to Shakespeare to reflect upon the 'Spanish cause' and its attendant social and political

---

[5] For examples of Shakespeare in Peninsular War journalism, see: Coleridge, 'The War XI – Battle of Albuera 2', 5 June 1811, (allusions to *Henry IV (1)*), in *CC: EOT*, II, 186; *FFBJ* 12 September 1808 (which attacks the convention of Cintra by quoting *The Merry Wives of Windsor*); the *BG* 11 January 1809 (uses *Richard III* to comment on Bonaparte's retreat from Spain); *FFBJ* 19 August 1809 (celebrates the victory at Talavera by quoting Henry's St. Crispin Day speech); and *FFBJ* 18 September 1813, (observing 'the extraordinary coincidence' of Thomas Graham's dispatches from St Sebastian and the Duke of York's description of his sons' heroic actions in *Henry VI (3)*).

questions. Key sources include Kemble's Shakespearean Promptbooks and the 1807-1815 catalogue of patent theatre playbills (see Appendices). Kemble's celebrated Shakespearean productions provided authoritative models for theatre managers across the United Kingdom, and were sold to the playgoing public. This chapter discusses Kemble's partial restorations and revisions in light of the political commentary implied by the dramas. Shakespeare may have been representative of Romantic cultural authority, but he was not beyond adaptation and appropriation.

The bard's familiarity to nineteenth-century audiences made it easy for readers and playgoers to engage imaginatively with his plays. This provides a fascinating opportunity to explore how the Shakespearean canon was variously interpreted and performed during the Peninsular War. Shakespearean stagings and their reception history are crucial for any study of the Romantic stage, and are especially interesting in relation to theatrical censorship. During this period, Shakespeare's playtexts were seen to belong to an inherited dramatic repertoire, which meant they did not have to be sent to the Examiner of Plays prior to representation. The plays were, however, subject to other kinds of regulation, since only the patent playhouses were permitted to stage spoken drama.

Technically, the right to perform Shakespeare 'proper' belonged to Drury Lane, Covent Garden, the Haymarket, and provincial Theatres Royal.[6] In practice, however, Shakespeare was not exclusive to the patent houses. In August 1809, the Surrey caused a stir with its ballet version of *Macbeth*. Elliston, the theatre manager

[6] The Haymarket was open during the summer season, when DL and CG were shut. William Burling notes that from 1805, almost half its repertoire focused on opera and musical farce. Shakespearean performances were only put on when 'special personnel were at hand'. Between 1808 and 1815 there were a total of fifteen Shakespearean performances: Summer 1808: *Hamlet* (3), *Katharine and Petruchio* (3). 1809: *Hamlet* (2), *Katharine and Petruchio* (1). 1810: *Hamlet* (2). 1811: No Shakespeare. 1812: *Othello* (1). 1813: Theatre closed due to legal disputes. 1814: *Henry IV* (2). 1815: *Richard III* (1). See *Summer Theatre in London, 1661-1820, and the Rise of the Haymarket Theatre* (London: Associated University Press, 2000), p. 206 and Appendix.

(who was also a leading actor at Drury Lane), succeeded in transgressing the limitations imposed upon his minor theatre. With the assistance of John Cross, the Surrey's artistic director, he reduced *Macbeth*'s dialogue to three hundred and twenty-six lines and used banners to explain the most important dramatic moments. The end result was a production best characterized as a mélange of music and gestural dumbshow.[7] The wily ways by which the managers of the minors circumvented their legal restrictions is, nevertheless, a subject unto itself, investigated in greater depth in Chapter Four.

In contrast to the minor theatres, the patent houses were legally sanctioned venues for Shakespearean performances, offering the opportunity to explore how political commentary – both positive and negative – could be asserted from the very core of a publicly endorsed cultural discourse. This chapter considers perceptions of Shakespeare between 1808 and 1814, revealing the techniques used to repair the social, cultural and political upheaval occasioned by the war with Napoleonic France.

Coleridge's Critical Response to Shakespeare

Coleridge's first series of Shakespearean lectures were given in 1808 at the Royal Institution in London. He continued to lecture on the principles of poetry, and more specifically, Shakespeare and Milton, the supreme representatives of English literature, until 1819. His lectures were thus delivered during the height of his preoccupation with the Spanish campaign. In June 1808, when the first series came

[7] *The History, Murders, Life, and Death of Macbeth: And a Full Description of the Scenery, Action, Chorusses* [*sic*]*, and Characters of the Ballet of Music and Action of that name* (1809), reprinted by Prof. A C Sprague, in *All These to Teach: Essays in Honor of C A Robertson*, ed. by Robert Bryan and others (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1965), pp. 80-101.

to an end, Coleridge retreated to Grasmere. From the rural seclusion of the Lake District, he busied himself for the next two years preparing his political journal *The Friend* and making his first contributions to the *Courier*. Among the latter were his *Letters on the Spaniards*, published in the *Courier* between December 1809 and January 1810. This political context is necessary to understanding how Coleridge's interest in the Peninsular War influenced his career as a literary critic. At first, his main concern had been to save Shakespeare from the attacks of French criticism, offering a defence based on coherence and unity. His second series, delivered during the Peninsular War, signalled a significant departure, both aesthetic and political. This was made clear in his 1811-1812 Lectures on Shakespeare and Milton, which saw Coleridge begin to focus much more prominently on the morality of Shakespeare's heroes and villains.

Coleridge's interest in character should come as no surprise; the early nineteenth century was, after all, an age of celebrity culture. The decision to spotlight the complexities of Shakespearean characterization would, however, help redirect his criticism. Addressing audiences at the London Philosophical Society, on 5 December 1811 Coleridge consigned his remarks to education and the qualities of Shakespeare's language. His transition from one topic to the other was made by means of a didactic exchange with his listeners. Proceeding to discuss Shakespeare's conceits and witticisms, Coleridge (who claimed the role of teacher as one of his chief aspirations), compared the Elizabethan age to the age of Republicanism.[8] He had previously drawn upon this historical theme in the seventeenth number of *The Friend* (14 December 1809), where his concern 'to weigh, honestly and thoughtfully, the moral worth and intellectual power of the Age

[8] For Coleridge as 'a teacher of moral wisdom', see Letter VI, *Letters on the Spaniards*, *CC*: *EOT,* II, 72.

in which we live' looked toward Shakespeare, Milton and Bacon.[9] In his literary lecture, he referred to the reigns of Charles I and Charles II, asking audiences to:

> Compare this Revolution with that of a later age where the bubling [*sic*] up and overflowing had been produced by dregs, where there was a total want of all principle and which had raised from the bottom those dregs to the top & founded a monarchy to be the poison and bane of the rest of mankind – '[10]

'This Revolution' all-too readily cedes to the 'later age' of 1811, when a 'bubling up', 'overflowing', and 'total want of principle' characterized Coleridge's disillusionment with the tragic turn taken by the French Revolution and its own republican ideology. When he re-emerges from this animated political aside to deliver his main literary argument, Coleridge is careful to underline that Milton and Shakespeare were chosen to illustrate 'general truths', and to help aid the judgement 'of all writers of all countries'.[11] The underlying implication is that in the context of such historical change, the 'general truths' represented by Milton and Shakespeare spoke as much of the nation's public affairs and standing in the international community, as it did of British literary achievements. In 1811-1812, Coleridge was working on the empowering argument that Shakespeare could bring political enlightenment, at home and abroad.

In his twelfth lecture in the 1811-1812 series, Coleridge's interests in the characterisation and motivations of Richard II and Hamlet were used to expand his views on patriotic identity. According to Coleridge, *Richard II*:

> Contains the most magnificent and the truest eulogium on our native country which the English language could boast and which could be found in any other not excepting the proud claims of Greece & Rome.[12]

---

[9] Coleridge, 'Appendix A: No 17. December 14, 1809', in *CC: The Friend*, ed. by Barbara Rooke, 2 vols (Princeton: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1969), II, 230-2.
[10] '1811-1812 Lectures on Shakespeare and Milton in Illustration of the Principles of Poetry' (London Philosophical Society), Lecture 6 (5 December 1811), *CC*: *Lectures 1808-1819 on Literature*, ed. by R A Foakes, 2 vols (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1987), I, 288.
[11] *Ibid*., p. 290.
[12] Lecture 12 (2 January 1812), *Ibid*., I, 378.

At the heart of the drama is Richard himself, who fascinates Coleridge by his 'most rapid transitions from insolence to despair, from the heights of love to the agonies of resentment & from pretended resignation to the bitterest reproaches'.[13] Shakespeare's play about the phenomenon of the king's two bodies and Richard's struggle to come to terms with the immortal and mortal aspects of his being, fascinates Coleridge for the strength of its characterisation. In *Richard II*, he perceived that Shakespeare had reached his 'summit {of excellence} in the ~~admirable~~ preservation of character'.[14] This appreciation of Shakespeare's portrayal of historical individuals would enable him to read *Richard II* as a political play that enforced a triangular relation between character, morality, and nationalism.[15]

Coleridge's notes for the lecture do not survive, but John Payne Collier, who attended and made a comprehensive synopsis, offers a relatively full account. His records suggest that Coleridge's discussion of character and morality of action within the play lent itself to a consideration of political ethics during the war against Napoleon. Coleridge felt England's safety rested primarily on its good morality, but voiced concern that 'while we were proudly pre-eminent in morals our enemy maintained his station by superiority in mechanical means'.[16] To moderate this fear, Coleridge quoted John of Gaunt's famous speech in Act II scene 1 beginning 'This royal throne of kings, this sceptre'd isle'. Gaunt's speech was an apt choice, celebrating England as an island naturally fortified against invasion, and blessed with royal kings, 'renown'd for deeds' of 'Christian service and true chivalry'.[17]

---

[13] *CC*: *Lectures*, p. 382.
[14] *Ibid.*, p. 385.
[15] Political readings of *Richard II* had given the play a notorious reception history. In 1680, Tate adapted the play and renamed it *The Sicilian Usurper* but it was banned after only two performances. See Jonathan Bate, *Shakespearean Constitutions: Politics, Theatre, Criticism, 1730-1830* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989), pp. 62, 70.
[16] Lecture 12 (2 January 1812), *CC*: *Lectures*, I, 378.
[17] William Shakespeare, *King Richard II* in *The Plays of William Shakespeare*, edited by Samuel Johnson, Edward Malone, and Isaac Reed (London: 1801), (II. 1), XII, 44.

Such morale-raising rhetoric clearly met the needs of patriotism, and was as serviceable to Coleridge in 1811 as it would be to the British government during the Second World War.

Coleridge is, nevertheless, very careful to omit the final lines of Gaunt's speech, which re-imagine the protection afforded to a land 'bound in with the triumphant sea' as containment 'bound in with shame'. Gaunt – old, wise, and infirm – actually concludes his speech with apprehensions of national and personal defeat. Corrupted by 'inky blots, and rotten parchment bonds', Gaunt laments that 'England, that was wont to conquer others, | Hath made a shameful conquest of itself'. His final plea, 'O, would the scandal vanish with my life, | How happy then were my ensuing death' is more the expression of a wish than a realistic prognosis.[18] These were dying words of dire warning, and especially unsettling considering the parallels between the old age of Gaunt and George III. Coleridge's politicised reading of the play is thus characterised by his very selective quotation of Gaunt's speech, which takes advantage of England's moral history and reputation, but overlooks the nation's vulnerability to domestic tyranny. This allows Coleridge to retain his focus on the external threat posed by Napoleonic France.

It is unlikely that all of Coleridge's auditors would have been aware of the selectivity of his quotations. Some of his listeners may have based their knowledge of the play on in-depth readings of Shakespeare, but many more would have had a less complete understanding determined by excerpts or performance. Knox's *Elegant Extracts* (1810) is a good example of the 'truncated' Shakespeare available in the early nineteenth century. In the *Elegant Extracts*, Knox claimed to offer a 'copious selection of instructing, moral, and entertaining passages' from the

[18] *King Richard II*, II. 1, pp. 44-5.

nation's most eminent writers.[19] Books VII and VIII of his six-volume publication were almost entirely devoted to Shakespeare. *Hamlet*, the most popular play on stage, is most frequently quoted, in thirteen short extracts. *Henry IV (1)* and *The Merchant of Venice* also feature prominently, but it is clear that Knox's selection was based on Shakespeare in the closet, rather than on stage. The volumes on Shakespeare include quotations from *Henry VI (2)* and *Troilus and Cressida*, which were not acted during this period. Similarly, Knox's quotations from the plays that were performed often overlook contemporary stage practice. In Book VIII, for instance, he includes the King's soliloquy in the closet scene in *Hamlet*, which was absent from contemporary stagings of the play.[20] It is important to remember then, that Coleridge was an untypical reader, who approached Shakespeare with exceptional care and intellectual energy. While his lectures were grounded on a close appreciation of the plays, many of his auditors would have understood Shakespeare only through floating references. Coleridge's selective appropriation of John of Gaunt's speech belongs to a tradition of being able to divorce Shakespeare's lines from their larger framework.

Tellingly, *Richard II* remained central to Coleridge's Bristol Lectures of 1813. Speaking of the history plays, and *Richard II* as a prime example, Coleridge began his fifth lecture (in November) by differentiating between drama and epic. This distinction was further expounded in his 1818-1819 Lectures, which explained how in epic, a pre-determined fate gradually employed the will, whereas in drama, the fate and will appeared in opposition.[21] In the contest between human action and man's predetermined destiny, the historic drama presented a transitory state,

---

[19] Vicesimus Knox, *Elegant Extracts: Being a Copious Selection of Instructive, Moral, and Entertaining Passages from the Most Eminent British Poets*, 6 vols (London: 1810).
[20] Knox, Book XVIII, IV, 172.
[21] 'Works: Copy D', *CC: Marginalia*, ed. by H J Jackson and George Whalley, 6 vols (Princeton: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1998), IV, 794.

uniquely endowed with the merit of 'familiarizing the men to the great names of the Country, and exciting Patriotism'.[22] In 1813, Coleridge proved this point to his Bristolian auditors by again quoting Gaunt's speech. He justified his use of quotation, observing: 'An historic play requires more excitement than a tragic, thus Shakespeare never loses an opportunity of awakening a patriotic feeling; for this purpose Old *Gaunt* accuses Richard of having "*farmed* out the island"'.[23] The *Bristol Gazette* also explained that 'Shakespear [*sic*], in blending the Epic with the Tragic, has given the impression of the Drama to the history of his country'.[24] Coleridge's application of history was, again, more politically expedient than accurate.

The *Gazette* mentions that during the course of the lecture, Coleridge reminded his audiences that Shakespeare should not be read as a literal historian. Coleridge's notes state that *Richard II* involved 'the introduction of *Accidents*' that made the play '*Drama* not History'.[25] He enlarged upon this on the flyleaf of his annotated *Richard II*, found in Theobald's edition of *The Complete Works of Shakespeare*:

> The distinction does not depend on the quantity of historical events compared with the fictions, for there is as much *History* in Macbeth as in Richard, but in relation of the History to the Plot – in the purely historical plays the History ~~dir~~ *informs* the plot, in the mixt [*sic*] it *directs* it – in the rest, as Macbeth, Hamlet, Cymbeline, Lear, it subserves it'.[26]

His audience's ability to recognise the familiar, factual narrative that 'informs' the plot of *Richard II* was seen as an affirmation of their national identity. Coleridge conceived that one of greatest objects of the play was 'to make his countrymen

---

[22] '1813 Lectures on Shakespeare and Education' (White Lion, Bristol), Lecture 5 (11 November 1813), *CC: Lectures,* I, 559.
[23] *Ibid*., p. 563.
[24] *Ibid*., p. 562.
[25] *Ibid*., p. 561. For *Richard II* as Shakespeare's 'purest Historic Play', see 'Works: Copy D', *CC: Marginalia*, IV, 797.
[26] 'Works: Copy A', *Ibid*., IV, 712.

more patriotic; to make Englishmen proud of being Englishmen'.[27] In the year that marked the liberation of Spain and Wellington's march into France, Coleridge's lecture concentrated on *Richard II*, celebrating British success with the proposition that Shakespeare's history plays helped maintain the nation in good moral and political unity, whatever the shortcomings of the present age.[28]

'The closet of Shakespear's mind'

Following up on his claims for the history plays and their political potential, Coleridge remarked that in his day and age, *Richard II* was a play not much acted.[29] He tacked onto this observation an unmitigated attack on contemporary Shakespearean performances; namely, that he 'never saw any of Shakespear's [*sic*] plays performed, but with a degree of pain, disgust, and indignation'.[30] Coleridge had of course, seen the celebrated Mrs Siddons as Lady, and Kemble as Macbeth, yet maintained that 'these might be the Macbeths of the Kembles, but they were not the Macbeths of Shakespear [*sic*]'.[31] The 'enormous size and monopoly of the theatres, which naturally produced many bad and but few good actors; and which drove Shakespear from the stage' seems to be ironically relished by Coleridge, who insists that the bard's 'proper place' was 'in the heart and in the closet; where he sits

---

[27] *Bristol Gazette* report of Lecture 5 (11 November 1813): *CC: Lectures*, I, 563.
[28] Coleridge insisted: 'The Spirit of patriotic reminiscence is the all-permeating Spirit of this Drama'. 'Works Copy D', *CC: Marginalia*, IV, 795.
[29] *Richard II* was revived in 1815 with several omissions and alterations to Shakespeare's text. See *Monthly Theatrical Reporter* (April 1815) and *Examiner* (19 March 1815) for an analysis of Kean's Richard II and the differences between reading and watching Shakespeare.
[30] Lecture 5 (11 November 1813), *CC: Lectures,* I, 563.
[31] *Ibid.* Siddons's Lady Macbeth was often interpreted as the definitive representation of Shakespeare's character. The actress admitted, however, that her idea of the character differed significantly from her performances. See 'Remarks on the Character of Lady Macbeth', in Thomas Campbell, *Life of Mrs. Siddons* (London: 1834), II, 10- 39.

with Milton, enthroned on a double-headed Parnassus'.[32] The performative disadvantages of the cavernous metropolitan theatres were a common complaint. The *Theatrical Examiner*'s assessment of the new Covent Garden playhouse captures some of the perceived limitations associated with larger auditoriums:

> In no such theatre can a true taste be excited, because a true drama, which requires nicety of expression in the voice and countenance, cannot be felt in it: SHAKESPEARE may be played to the pit and side boxes, but he will be little better than dumb shew to the people in the basket, who pay seven shillings to hear nothing but noise, or to those in the higher boxes, who pay seven shillings to see nothing but indecency.[33]

It is easy to see why, until relatively recently, literary scholars maintained that for the Romantic poets, dramatic performance (and especially Shakespeare) was more satisfactorily situated in the mind and imaginative freedom of the closet, than the stage itself.

Coleridge was not, however, averse to the theatre per se. It is significant for instance, that his lectures on drama in the 1811-1812 and 1813 series were quite explicitly paired with his interest in education. Contemporary proponents of the theatre often ascribed a valuable didactic function to dramatic performances. In her introduction to *The British Theatre* (1808) edition of *The Merchant of Venice*, Elizabeth Inchbald reflected:

> Refinement is honourable to our nation; and the delicacy of the English stage at present is the best characteristic of that elegant propriety, with which the public shrink from all savage indecorum of principles or manners, however excited by passions, or by debased sentiments.[34]

Inchbald celebrates the capacity for characters to be reformed, both onstage and off. Coleridge's recognition of the informative facet of Shakespeare's dramas was

---

[32] 5 (11 November 1813), *CC: Lectures,* I, 563.
[33] *TE*, 24 September 1809.
[34] *British Theatre; or, A Collection of Plays, which are acted by The Theatres Royal, Drury Lane, Covent-Garden, and Haymarket, with Biographical and Critical Remarks by Mrs. Inchbald*, 25 vols (London: 1808). Introduction to *The Merchant of Venice*, II, 4.

behind his acerbic attack on the Romantic stage. It was not that he believed Shakespeare shouldn't be staged, but that the optimal conditions were lacking.

Coleridge, much like Schlegel, believed in recovering the historical context of Shakespeare's writings.[35] The materiality of Elizabethan theatre was a persistent concern in his lectures. In the second lecture of the 1811 series, he explicitly states his purpose to show 'the state of the stage & of the times in which Shakespere [*sic*] lived'.[36] On similar lines, the advertised goal of his lecture on 25 November 1811 was to provide a general introduction to 'Shakespeare as a dramatist'. It would be a mistake to take Coleridge's angry comments against Romantic theatre as an absolute attack against performativity. By reminding his audience of the non-representational settings of Shakespeare's Globe, Coleridge was promoting the ways in which Shakespeare could be successfully staged, independent of the patent theatres' predilection for spectacle and exclamatory acting.[37] His censure of the Romantic stage belonged to his efforts to reform it, not disclaim it.[38] Indeed, despite his outspokenness on behalf of closet readings, Coleridge remained convinced of the patriotic import of performances of *Richard II*. He imagined that providing Gaunt's speech were 'properly repeated every man would retire from the theatre secure in his country if secure in his own virtue '.[39] Romantic drama reached large audiences. Coleridge recognised that the great merit of successful performance was

---

[35] A W Schlegel, 'Lectures on Dramatic Art and Literature' (1808-1811), reprinted in Bate, *Romantics*, pp. 91-110.

[36] '1811-1812 Lectures on Shakespeare and Milton' (London Philosophical Society), Lecture 2 (21 November 1811), *CC: Lectures*, I, 210.

[37] 'He found the stage as near as possible a closet, & in the closet only could it be fully & completely enjoyed', Lecture 4 (28 November 1811), *Ibid*., I, 254. See also, discussion of *Henry V* in Lecture 3 (25 November 1811), I, 228; and 'the scanty apparatus of distinguishing Dresses in Shakespear's [*sic*] Trying-room', 'Works Copy A', *CC: Marginalia*, IV, 717.

[38] He writes of Richard II: 'the events are all *historical*, presented in their *results* not produced by acts seen, ~~on the Stage~~ or that take place before the audience, this Tragedy is ill-suited to our present large Theatres […]'. N.B. Coleridge strikes out his initial, but on afterthought mistaken, reference to the stage. The emphasis on 'our present large Theatres' is also very specific to contemporary acting conditions. 'In itself, and for the Closet', Coleridge places *Richard II* as the 'first and most admirable' of Shakespeare's '*purely* historical Plays'. *CC: Marginalia,* IV, 712.

[39] Lecture 12 (2 January 1812), *CC: Lectures*, I, 378.

that it could familiarise both literate and illiterate audiences with the shape and emotional depth of the historical narratives necessary for their political and moral education.

Coleridge's commitment to performing Shakespeare is interestingly re-enacted in his own successful drama, *Remorse*. In his annotated copy of Joseph Rann's edition of *The Dramatic Works of Shakespeare*, Coleridge paid special attention to Macbeth's early response to the witches' prophecy. There, he identified the protagonist's 'First Struggl[e] of Conscience[,] his disobedien[ce] to which is to destroy him b[y] the very pang[s] of Compunct[on]'.[40] Beside this note, he wrote '"Remorse"', the double quotation marks alluding to his own play of that name.[41] *Remorse*, Coleridge's Spanish themed tragedy of 1813, spoke convincingly to Peninsular War politics and was a re-writing of his earlier rejected drama, *Osorio* (1797). Coleridge's note to *Macbeth* reminds us that during the long process of dramatic revision, he was busily preparing for his series of Shakespearean lectures. It is no coincidence then, that as he reworked *Osorio*, Coleridge drew upon one of his favourite patriotic passages in *Richard II*.

In *Osorio*, Albert loiters in Spain for nearly a month before finally resolving to take action. In *Remorse*, by contrast, the return to the homeland proves wholly decisive. The 1813 text opens with an apostrophe to the Spanish nation that echoes Richard II's speech upon his return from Ireland. Shakespeare's king weeps for joy and bends down in salutation of his homeland. [42] Flushed with confidence in his role as divine representative, Richard declares:

---

[40] 'Works: Copy C', *CC: Marginalia*, IV, 770.
[41] See *Remorse* (Printed) in *CC: Poetical Works: Plays III.2*, ed. by J C C Mays, 2 vols (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2001), 'Epigraph', II, 1237.
[42] Cf. *Examiner* (17 July 1808), on the 1600 Spanish prisoners who sailed from Plymouth to Spain: 'On their embarkation, many of them took up handfuls of sand from the beach, actually kissed it with

RICHARD This earth shall have a feeling, and these stones
Prove armed soldiers, ere her native king
Shall falter under foul rebellion's arms.[43]

The speech captures Richard at his most magnanimous and kingly. It reverberates in *Remorse*, which opens with Alvar's homecoming to Granada. His address, like Richard's, serves as a call to action:

ALVAR If aught on earth demand an unmix'd feeling,
'Tis surely this – after long years of exile,
To step forth on firm land, and gazing round us,
To hail at once our country, and our birth place.
Hail, Spain! Granada, hail! once more I press
Thy sands with filial awe, land of my fathers![44]

The parallels are striking, with echoes occurring on verbal and thematic levels.

Although Richard returns from war, rather than exile per se, Shakespeare's play was also preoccupied with the implications of expatriation. In Act I scene 3 Richard cuts short the duel between Bolingbroke and Mowbray by sentencing Bolingbroke to six years' exile and admonishing Mowbray to 'never return'. When Bolingbroke returns prematurely, York upbraids him as a traitor: 'Why have those banish'd and forbidden legs | Dar'd once to touch a dust of England's ground'.[45] Bolingbroke, similar to Alvar in Coleridge's *Remorse*, is able to justify his return as a defence of hereditary rights slandered by a usurping power. The similarities between the two plays show Coleridge's infusion of the political readings promoted by his 1811-1812 Shakespeare lectures into the revised playtext of his own nationalist drama.

---

reverence and affection, as a part of the earth (as they expressed it) of the Land of true Liberty, and then carefully put it into their pockets, in order to exhibit it to their countrymen!'

[43] *King Richard II*, III. 2, p. 85.

[44] *Remorse* (Printed), I. 1. 4-9, p. 1239.

[45] *King Richard II*, II. 3, p. 74.

Allusions to the Shakespearean lectures and Coleridge's interest in dramaturgical experimentation run throughout *Remorse*. In *Biographia Literaria*, Coleridge links his celebrity as a playwright to his literary lectures:

> I can conscientiously declare, that the complete success of the REMORSE on the first night of its representation did not give me as great or as heart-felt a pleasure, as the observation that the pit and boxes were crowded with faces familiar to me, though of individuals whose names I did not know, and of whom I knew nothing, but that they had attended one or other of my courses of lectures.[46]

Coleridge may well have expected that these recognizable faces in the crowd would be able to discern an affinity between his romanticized history play and Shakespeare's drama. This is confirmed by a Notebook entry dated 1809-1810, which sees Coleridge sketch his dramatic plans on the basis of Shakespeare's history plays. [47]

Coleridge's interest in audience response involved his exploration of the theatre as a psychological arena. In Act III scene 3, his villain Ordonio contracts a disguised Alvar to play the part of wizard and dupe Teresa into believing her beloved's death.[48] Coleridge used the scene to test the limits of performativity and denounce the theatrical illusions behind any attempt at political witchery.[49] Ordonio's scheming in the play gives literal form to the dubious mechanisms by which Coleridge argued political power was exercised in nineteenth-century Europe. In keeping with his lectures' analogy between drama and politics, he presents Ordonio, like Bonaparte, as a 'mad Realizer of mad Dreams'.[50] The prominence given to the conjuring scene, which occurs at the heart of Coleridge's

---

[46] *CC: BL*, I, 221.
[47] *CC: Notebooks*, III, entry 3654.
[48] *TE* described Ordonio as 'a Hamlet corrupted by mad passions' (31 January 1813).
[49] This scene has also been read as an illustration of Coleridge's distinction between copy and imitation; the subject of Coleridge's third lecture in the 1811-1812 course (25 November 1811). See also, Frederick Burwick, *Illusion and the Drama: Critical Theory of the Enlightenment and the Romantic Era* (Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1991), pp. 191-229.
[50] 'Essay XVI', *CC: Friend*, I, 124.

play, also suggests that the material character of performance was not, after all, entirely incompatible with the imaginative licence ascribed to reading.

Coleridge never published his lectures. Our understanding of them is thus dependent upon a collage of his marginalia, notes taken by the audience, and reports preserved in public newspapers and journals, as well as private letters and diaries. But one advantage of this process of reconstruction is that it permits us to see Coleridge through the eyes of his audience.[51] It encourages us to imagine Coleridge in the autumn of 1813, walking into Bristol's White Lion Inn. He brings with him his lecturing copy of Ayscough's *Dramatic Works of William Shakespeare* (1807); stands at the lectern, and excitedly leafs through the marked pages, taking prompts from his prefatory essays and detailed textual commentaries – his audience is enthralled. To picture this scene, which is suggested so vividly by the various accounts of the 1813 lectures, is to see Coleridge, the critic, in direct engagement with his subject.

There is a crucial difference, however, between an audience's response to a lecture as a kind of performance in its own right, and a review, which depends upon the reading experience. In contrast to reviewers, who would see a performance of Shakespeare and then write about it, Coleridge read Shakespeare and then 'performed' his interpretation. In his *Reminiscences of Samuel Taylor Coleridge and Robert Southey* (1847), Joseph Cottle remarks:

> But if there was little of formal and finished composition in Mr. C.'s lectures, there were always racy and felicitous passages, indicating deep thought, and indicative of the man of genius; so that if polish was not always attained, as one mark of excellence, the attention of his hearers never flagged, and his large dark eyes, and his countenance, in an excited state, glowing with intellect, predisposed his audience in his favor.[52]

[51] N.B. Coleridge's lectures were never designed for publication.
[52] Joseph Cottle, *Reminiscences of Samuel Taylor Coleridge and Robert Southey* (London: 1847), p. 355.

Quoting Shakespeare's plays with the enthusiasm and gusto of a devoted critic, Coleridge's impromptu delivery and dramatic digressions were nothing short of theatrical. For all his emphasis on the closet, not even Coleridge could resist bringing Shakespeare from the page to the stage (and lectern).

Performances of Shakespeare 1808-1815

'While England venerates Shakespeare, it must cherish Kemble'

When Coleridge thinks of Shakespeare onstage, he thinks of John Philip Kemble. By the early nineteenth century, Kemble's Shakespearean productions were renowned for their lavish display and majestic effect. Since assuming management of Covent Garden in 1803, he had invested in grand Shakespearean revivals that took place every theatrical season.[53] Kemble was a committed antiquarian scholar who, in his best efforts, sought to restore historically accurate costume and scenery to Shakespeare's plays. His promptbooks provide architectural sketches for a splendid miniature stage, recreating *Hamlet*'s 'Theatre in the Palace', and intricate designs for the Palace in *Henry VIII*, the setting for Princess Elizabeth's Christening.[54] His acting texts for *Julius Caesar* exist in two versions. In 1811, he released his first copy in advance of the Covent Garden production. This was then revised and re-issued subsequent to the play's performance in 1812. The flyleaves to both versions testify to the manager's diligent study of historical and classical writers of Roman history. Kemble provides, for instance, a detailed list of the

[53] N.B. Shakespeare continued to be performed during the disruptive OP riots. See Appendix A and *TE* (3 June 1810):'Mr. KEMBLE continues to draw from SHAKESPEARE a kind of stock play for the season, which is performed regularly once a week'.

[54] *Shakespeare's Hamlet, Prince of Denmark, A Tragedy*, revised by J P Kemble (London: 1804), in *John Philip Kemble Promptbooks*, edited by Charles H Shattuck, 11 volumes (Charlottesville: Published for the Folger Shakespeare Library, 1974), II, 44. Cf. *Shakespeare's King Henry the Eighth, A Historical Play*, revised by J P Kemble (London: 1804), *JKP*, IV, [flyleaves at the end].

Republicans and the fates they suffered, identifying Cicero, Livius, Seneca, Plinius, Plutarch and Appian in an impressive catalogue of sources.[55] Audiences agreed that, for the most part, Kemble's productions of Shakespeare were expert and accomplished.

It was, nevertheless, a well known fact that Kemble's Shakespearean productions were as dependent on Cibber, Tate, Sheridan, Thomson, Garrick or Hull, as on the bard himself. This interplay between cultural tradition and translation defined Shakespeare's place in early nineteenth-century Britain, and deserves attention. As Michael Dobson explains, once the eighteenth century accepted Shakespeare as 'one of Britain's heroic forefathers, amending Shakespeare's plays became part of the vital nationalist project of rewriting the national past in order to validate the aspirations of the present'.[56] This included editing and altering Shakespeare's texts in order to keep them in line with contemporary tastes and mores. As a result, it was Nahum Tate's 1680 version of *King Lear*, rather than Shakespeare's, that held the boards until the late nineteenth century. In Tate's version, the most obvious and drastic changes include the omission of the Fool and the rewriting of the conclusion to provide a happy ending, which sees Cordelia united with Edgar, and Lear restored to the throne.[57] Even a play such as *Othello*, which did not undergo any major re-writing, was significantly different from Shakespeare's original. In Kemble's acting version, Act IV was pruned so as to omit Othello's epileptic fit, Desdemona's Willow song, and her

---

[55] See the opening flyleaves to both 1811 and 1812 copies of *Julius Caesar*, written in Kemble's hand. *JKP*, IV.
[56] Michael Dobson, *The Making of the National Poet: Shakespeare, Adaptation and Authorship 1660-1769* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), p. 186.
[57] *Shakespeare's King Lear (With Nahum Tate's alterations), A Tragedy*, revised by J P Kemble (London 1808), *JKP*, (V.5), V, 68-72.

conversation with Emilia on the topic of adultery.[58] Kemble was attuned to Coleridge's interest in Shakespearean morality and, like other self-perceived cultural keyholders, felt Shakespeare's plays ought to avoid offending audiences' sensibilities.

Despite his antiquarian enthusiasm, Kemble never fully abandoned the more popular changes that had been made by earlier generations of actors and managers. Intrinsically related to his artistic and ideological appreciation of the bard remained his overall desire to establish Shakespeare's place in an ever more commercialised theatrical market.[59] This required taking care to ensure his productions conformed to the moral and political expectations of Covent Garden's socially heterogeneous mix of playgoers. The theatre's economically savvy manager knew he could profit from Shakespeare's status as a valuable cultural commodity. To achieve this, he continuously re-invested in his Shakespearean productions, offering frequent revivals and publishing his own acting version of the plays. Kemble put on twenty-six Shakespearean productions during the course of his career, publishing and re-publishing his acting editions as many as six times for any one play.[60]

Kemble's productions serve as a useful measure by which to gauge the popular mood in playhouse auditoriums during the Peninsular War. In 1814, Kemble reissued all of his Shakespearean acting texts for publication in John Miller's *Select British Drama* (1814-1815). As he prepared his texts for the press, Kemble would have learnt of the French evacuation of Russia in December 1812 and the liberation of Spain in 1813. The play's readers would have had even more

---

[58] *Shakespeare's Othello, The Moor of Venice, A Tragedy*, revised by J P Kemble (London: 1804), *JKP,* (IV), VII, 57-67.
[59] E.g. *TE*'s attack on the patent managers' abuse of Shakespeare: 'Why do not they speak out, and confess that their object is to get money how they can; and that as the drama is rather unprofitable, they choose to convert the stage of SHAKESPEARE into an arena for mimes and spectacles' (26 September 1813).
[60] Shattuck, 'General Introduction', *JKP,* I, p. xiv.

cause for rejoicing. The year 1814, when Miller's first volumes were released, also marked the Treaty of Paris and restoration of the Bourbon monarchy in Europe. During the war, the manager's privileging of Shakespeare had been strongly politicized. Through productions that were consciously and proudly contingent upon the topical and political, Kemble gave the impression that Shakespeare contributed to changing times and the nation's growing confidence and morale. In the manager's apt hands, the bard's plays were not stock pieces with fixed meanings and styles for delivery, but open scripts that could be adapted to particular ends, and with dazzling effects.

'How you awake our sleeping sword of war'

Kemble's most popular productions included intricate onstage pageantry. One of his most elaborate exteriors occurred in *Henry V*, 'Before the Gates of Harfleur'.[61] The Governor and citizens, having descended from the walls, come out of the town and kneel as the English enter in procession. Kemble's acting version records all this in fastidious detail:

> *When the Gates are opened, a Bridge is discovered – The 12 French soldiers and their Captain, drawn up on it, salute as the King crosses it.*
>
> *–The Governor and 2 Citizens come out of the Town, and kneel. –L.*
>
> *Exeter takes the key from the Governor.*
>
> *Exeunt into Harfleur –*
> *Exeter.*
> *The King.*
> *Bedford & Gloster.*
> *Westmoreland.*
> *Fluellen & Gower.*

[61] *Shakespeare's King Henry the Fifth, A Historical Play*, revised by J P Kemble (London: 1806), *JKP*, (III. 1), III, 29.

Governor and Citizens.
2 Lords.
2 Lords.
2 Heralds.
Captain
Soldiers, two and two.
March – Orchestra.
~~Great chorus.~~[62]

This sort of organising impulse characterises Kemble's stage management. The massive gates that allowed the procession to take place were not alone responsible for the scene's remarkable stage effect. The arrangements for the procession itself were even more important, with Kemble carefully ordering the play's characters according to rank and status. By this spectacle, *Henry V* emphasised to its audiences the need to observe hierarchy, both in the playhouse and outside it.

Henry V was consistently produced during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, complementing regular productions of *Henry IV (1)*. The pairing of these plays was a patriotic choice, which charted the progress of the Prince of Wales and culminated in the British monarchy's defeat of the French at Agincourt. Perceived till this day as a play that seems very 'British', *Henry V*'s political topicality was underscored by its early nineteenth-century subtitle, 'The Conquest of France'. In the words of Elizabeth Inchbald, 'Shakespeare was determined, in this drama, to expose every vanity of the Gallic foe to British ridicule'.[63] This made *Henry V* an especially popular play during the Napoleonic Wars.

Kemble's active intervention in Shakspeare's text is clearly exemplified by his 1806 marginalia notes to Act III where, to conclude, he wrote a new speech for Henry:

---

[62] *Henry the Fifth, JKP*, (III. 1), III, 29.
[63] *British Theatre*, Introduction to *Henry V*, II, 5.

HENRY *Were the French twice the number that they are,*
We would cut a passage through them to our home,
Or tear the Lions out of England's Coat.
Forward – March. – [64]

This morale-raising insert replaces Henry's prosaic order to set up camp and prepare the troops for their march the following day.[65] In Kemble's version, it is the 'here and now' that takes centre stage, not the 'tomorrow' of the original. His new emphasis brings much more impressive dramatic affect, justifying a cue for the orchestra to play 'Britons strike home' as the characters clear the stage in military formation. At this point, audiences are more than likely to have actively taken part in the performance by also singing along, assured in the knowledge that the historical end-result was entirely in their favour.

The barbarities of war, which Shakespeare's play dramatizes with such poignant effect, were not excised from the Romantic version of the play. Henry's threat of reprisals against the citizens of Harfleur, his order to kill the French prisoners on the battlefield, and Bardolph's execution for stealing remained central to the play's representation of war. This may seem surprising in light of the Peninsular War's appalling reports of unruly soldiers (French and English) who looted, raped, murdered, and plundered out of sheer desperation.[66] Inchbald's comments on the play suggest, nevertheless, that patriotic feeling might have been enhanced by the inclusion of these dark and disturbing moments in Shakespeare's play.

In her Introduction to *Henry V*, Inchbald makes capable use of history to underscore the play's acts of violence, explaining how at Agincourt, an army of

---

[64] *Henry the Fifth*, *JKP*, (III. 3), III, 36.
[65] The promptbook reads: 'On to the bridge, ~~it now draws toward night : Beyond the river we'll encamp ourselves; And on to-morrow bid them march away~~.' *Ibid*.
[66] William Pasley, *Essay on the Military Policy and Institutions of the British Empire* (London: 1811) Third Edition. See p. 265 and accompanying footnote on British plunder in the Peninsula.

15,000 English soldiers are said to have defeated 52, 000 French. This celebration of English prowess gives way to her reflections on Henry's order to slay the French prisoners:

> The consequences of this glorious victory were yet most horrible to the humane Britons; for the number of their prisoners amounting to more than their own triumphant army, they were commanded, even when the heat of contest had subsided, to put every Frenchman to death.[67]

What makes Inchbald's remarks all the more intriguing is that the French casualties are treated as victims, not so much of English cruelty, but French flippancy. She evokes the example to introduce her contention that in *Henry V*, Shakespeare was determined to denounce 'the Gallic foe'. She points out that 'instantly after the slaughter of their numerous hosts – [Shakespeare] displays the frivolous anxiety of the surviving nobility'.[68] Inchbald refers to Montjoy's arrival at the English camp (IV. 7) to distinguish the corpses of French nobles from the merely 'vulgar'.[69] The French court's insensitivity to the sufferings of its own people ensures strong aversion to the French, even as the English victory is confirmed. During the long and frustrating years of the Peninsular War, when human suffering seemed to outweigh the conflict's political justifications, *Henry V*'s dramatisation of the cold-hearted and mean-spirited French helped remind audiences why the fight really mattered.

Henry gives the order to execute the French prisoners after hearing Suffolk's account of the courageous deaths of the Duke of York and Exeter in battle. He issues the order at the end of this moving report, after he misinterprets the sounds of cannon fire as a sign that the French have received reinforcements and are preparing to attack once more. Henry's order to kill the French prisoners characterises a rash

---

[67] *British Theatre*, Introduction to *Henry V*, II, 4-5.
[68] *Ibid*., p. 5.
[69] *Henry the Fifth*, *JKP*, (IV. 7), III, 51.

but assertive response to a perceived escalation in the hostilities. The chaotic and disruptive alarums of war heighten and prolong the tension. The distress continues into the next scene, which opens with Fluellen and Gower's outrage at the slaughter of the English baggage-boys by a group of French soldiers. Gower then relates how the French 'have burn'd, and carried away, all that was in the king's tent: wherefore the king, most worthily, hath caus'd every soldier to cut his prisoner's throat'.[70] This new context refigures the murder of the French prisoners as a measure of retaliation. Henry's response may not be proportionate, but as Fluellen observes, the murder of the English boys was 'expressly against the law of arms'.[71]

By this late stage in the battle, the play's audience have already been notified of the adherence to law and order within the English camp. Even Bardolph, Henry's one-time drinking companion, was sentenced to hanging because he stole a pix.[72] The play's theme of punishment may have reminded playgoers of anecdotes about military justice in the Peninsula.[73] The author of *Operations of the British Army in Spain* narrates that during the march from Astorga, four hungry dragoons went into a merchant's shop. When the merchant refused to serve them, the desperate dragoons stole a loaf of bread and piece of bacon, which they ate raw. The merchant complained to their commander, Sir John Moore who, keen to win over the locals' trust, decided that the dragoon who picked the shortest straw should be tied to a tree and shot. The account closes with the author's exclamation that to instill the lesson, 'all the regiments were marched in succession round his body!'[74]

---

[70] *Henry the Fifth*, *JKP*, (IV. 7), III, 49.
[71] *Ibid*.
[72] *Ibid*., (III. 3), III, 32.
[73] The discussion of Bardolph's execution and Pistol's invective 'The fig of Spain!' offers an associative cue for such topical comparisons. *Ibid*., p. 33.
[74] [An Officer of the Staff], *Operations of the British Army in Spain: Involving Broad Hints to the Commissariat, and Board of Transports: with Anecdotes Illustrative of the Spanish Character* (London: 1809), p. 62.

The author of *Operations*, who, as we have already seen, was also responsible for *The Jubilee; or, John Bull in His Dotage*, was an outspoken critic of the government's conduct of the war. He was, nevertheless, a supporter of John Moore, under whom he served in the Peninsula.[75] At Agincourt 'humane Britons' had been appalled by the consequences of the war – and likewise in the Peninsula. Readers of *Operations* were alerted to a gruesome war whose barbarities made questions of military justice in *Henry V* all the more contentious. In the anecdote, Moore is forced to act against a member of his own army in order to implement the law and order so central to Shakespeare's characterisation of the English camp. To playgoers, recognition of the brutality of the Hundred Years War was an important adjunct to contemporary reports of sanguinary battles and military disorder in Spain and Portugal. To fully celebrate their nation's history, audiences needed to take account of the odds that had been stacked against but ultimately overcome by the patriotic spirit, at Agincourt and Astorga.

Kemble's production imparted the hope that as the British spirit had prevailed in France, so too would it succeed in driving the French out of the Peninsula. *Henry V* was judiciously chosen for performance in November and December 1813 – one of Britain's most successful years in the war against Napoleon. After five years of strategic defence, Wellington finally found himself in a position to initiate the offensive. In June 1813, the Allied armies won the prestigious town of Vittoria and secured an Austrian alliance that made Napoleon's position in Germany all the more precarious. This enabled Wellington to begin his advance into Bayonne, crossing the Franco-Spanish border in October 1813. The following month, *The Times* introduced its review of Covent Garden's *Henry V*, observing that:

[75] The author's sympathy for Moore is probably related to the fact that the commander's death-in-battle underscored the government's inept handling of the campaign. Cf. *Examiner* (29 January 1809) on Moore: 'O most abused of soldiers! O most wretched of means, measures, and Ministers!'

> Few, indeed are the periods, since the original production of this martial play, when it could have been performed with the remarkable coincidence of an event, similar to that on which its story is founded – the Invasion of France.[76]

That year, audiences would have responded to *Henry V* with as much excitement and anticipation for Henry's victory at Agincourt, as for Wellington's pursuit of Napoleon's armies into France.[77]

'I can tell you strange news that you yet dreamt not of'

In the early nineteenth century, theatre managers made use of occasional addresses and songs to deliver the latest bulletins and military intelligence from the wars. The theatre offered an important, socially mixed forum in which audiences were invited to pause and reflect upon the dizzying political changes unfolding before them. Playhouses became political arenas where the Napoleonic Wars could be dressed up by magnificent stage illusions and then undressed again, at the discretion of the viewer. As explored in the earlier analysis of *Pizarro*, contemporary censorship laws meant a relocation of time and place was a realistic way of commenting on the political events of the day with any degree of nuance.[78] The referential range of critical commentaries on Sheridan's play and its changing significance during the Napoleonic Wars, prove that contemporary audiences were well-versed on the strategies needed for allegorical interpretations. Kemble's adaptations to the Shakespearean text confirm that this was indeed the case, with the manager exploiting the multivalence of Shakespeare's plays in order to make direct claims on audiences' political sympathies.

---

[76] *Times*, 2 November 1813.
[77] See *Examiner* (1 August 1813) on the link between Vittoria and Agincourt.
[78] See Chapter One.

Events in the Peninsula weighed heavily upon the political consciousness of early nineteenth-century playgoers. John Waldie's theatre diary for 14 August 1809 documents a visit to the Circus, where Mr Clarke interrupted the night's entertainment to report:

> —That he had it in command to state to the audience from his Royal Highness at the Pavilion, that he had just received dispatches from London to inform him of a glorious victory gained by Sir Arthur Wellesley & Cuesta with a very inferior force over Victor & Sebastiani—the French force is stated at 44,000, the English & Spanish at 28,000: our troops were victorious--& the enemy lost 10,000—but we have lost above 5,000—which may be reckoned at 7,000: General Mackenzie & General Langwerth are killed:-- besides many others.[79]

'The News was received with cheers & God Save the King played: audience standing'.[80] Clarke's announcement informed audiences of the Allied success at Talavera.[81] Waldie was jubilant but thoughtful. He oscillated between recording Clarke's address and offering his own commentary upon it. Reflecting that the estimated death toll of 5,000 British soldiers might more accurately be reckoned at 7,000, he inflates the official government figures by an astounding 40%. With feeling, Waldie contemplates:

> Many are the acquaintances that I have there — but Lluellyn I reckon my first friend - - & he, I think, must have been in the action. Heaven protect him. He is, I hope, safe — but it is a most awful idea to think how many are lost, & what anxiety & suspence [*sic*] must prevail at home.[82]

Clarke's positive report of the British victory is modulated by Waldie's awareness of the human costs of war. His 'anxiety & suspence' overshadow the magic otherwise associated with the Circus performance.

---

[79] *The Journal of John Waldie: Theatre Commentaries, 1799-1830*, ed. by Frederick Burwick [http://repositories.cdlib.org/uclalib/dsc/waldie/], e-Scholarship Repository, California Digital Library]. See entries for 14 August 1809, XX, 215.
[80] *Ibid*.
[81] The Battle of Talavera, celebrated as a national victory, proved one of the bloodiest battles of the Peninsular campaign. See Hunt's criticisms in *Examiner*, 20 August; 27 August 1809; and *BG*, 26 October 1809.
[82] Waldie, XX, 216.

It is only, however, in Waldie's diary entry for the following night that his response to Clarke's military broadcast can be more comprehensively understood. Waldie records that he went to the theatre to see Barrymore and Mrs Siddons in the lead roles of *Macbeth*. In his diary, he praises Mrs Siddons's 'perfection' in the sleepwalking scene, but confesses he was unimpressed with Barrymore's stiffness and repeated blunders. In particular, he derides the actor's choice of costume, noting:

> His dress was ridiculous — his action stalking & unnatural — his second dress, a Spanish habit & trunk breeches — he had not sword, but used a foil. He gave the words in an unvaried monotonous rant.[83]

Barrymore's decision to wear a 'Spanish habit', and thereby forego the tradition of playing Macbeth in Scottish dress, was most certainly inspired by the preceding night's celebration of the British victory. Whilst the leading actor no doubt intended his costume change to signal his support for the Peninsular campaign, Waldie's comments suggest impatience with Barrymore's overt political gesture. It is, however, less of a political aversion, than a shrinking away from the utterly unconvincing manner in which the actor performed what should have been a noble part.[84] By Waldie's account, Barrymore was 'monotonous' and 'unnatural', undermining any gesture towards verisimilitude by using a cheap foil instead of a sword. More a Don Quixote than a Spanish General, Barrymore's Hispanic inflection of Shakespeare's play offended Waldie precisely because he cared; because he had been at the Circus when the Allied victory was first announced, and because he had thought immediately of his friends serving in the Peninsula, and probably taking part in that very engagement.

---

[83] Waldie, XX, 226.

[84] On the whole, the Romantic stage seems have presented Macbeth as a brave and sympathetic character. For a good overview of the play's reception history, see Carol Jones Carlisle, *Shakespeare from the Greenroom: Actors' Criticisms from Four Major Tragedies* (University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, 1969), pp. 366-373.

'Know'st me not by my clothes?'

Barrymore's well-intended but ill-executed gesture was not unique. Leigh Hunt wrote about the widespread appeal of *Much Ado About Nothing* for the first issue of the *Theatrical Examiner* in 1808. He noted, that despite the manager's professed love for antiquarian research, the Covent Garden wardrobe portrayed the Prince of Arragon as an archetypal English gentleman.[85] During the Peninsular War, the topical significance Kemble attached to Shakespeare's *Othello* was also emblematised by a confused attitude to appropriate stage-dress.[86] On occasion, Kemble would wear a 'Moorish' costume, at other times, he reverted to the tradition of playing Othello in the uniform of a contemporary British officer. Chapter Two has shown that after 1807, the deployment of British troops to the Peninsula resulted in a demand for publications on Spanish history and the nation's Islamic past.[87] In *Remorse,* Coleridge gestured towards Peninsular politics by setting the action of his play in Granada. This enabled audiences to convert Alhadra's experiences of Moorish persecution into an allegory for the Spaniards' political oppression under French occupation. Whether Shakespeare's Moor was specifically Spanish may be debatable, but in the popular imagination, Moorish culture had become inextricably linked to the south of Spain.[88]

Kemble's vacillations in costume-choice for *Much Ado* and *Othello* can be read as a symbolic counterpart to the ways in which the campaign in the Peninsula

---

[85] *TE*, 3 January 1808.
[86] N.B. Kemble's acting editions of *Othello* were issued in 1804, 1808 and 1814 – i.e. twice during the Peninsular War.
[87] E.g. Thomas Bourke, *A Concise History of the Moors in Spain* (London: 1811).
[88] Barbara Everett, '"Spanish" Othello: The Making of Shakespeare's Moor', *Shakespeare Survey,* Vol. 35 (1982), 101-12.

seemed to be as much about asserting British political interests and values, as it was about helping the Spaniards fight the French yoke. Stage representations of Othello were, however, further complicated by the sensitive question of race. Neither Coleridge nor Lamb accepted the tradition of playing the role in blackface. 'On the Tragedies of Shakespeare, Considered with reference to their Fitness for Stage Representation' (1811), Lamb's main objection to the staging of Shakespeare centred on the immediacy of live performance, wherein 'it is not what the character is, but how he looks; not what he says, but how he speaks it' that matters.[89] Lamb claimed that onstage, Othello's courtship of 'fair Desdemona' can only come across as 'extremely revolting', because although Desdemona may see Othello's colour in his mind, the tradition of playing Othello as a 'coal-black Moor' 'sink[s] Othello's mind in his colour'.[90] In his Bristol lecture of 9 November 1813 Coleridge also spoke out against a 'black' Othello, dismissing the idea of making him 'a negro'. According to Coleridge, Othello was 'a gallant Moor, of royal blood, combining a high sense of Spanish and Italian feeling', a man of a 'noble nature'.[91] Reading the two critics alongside each other, the aversion to a black Othello seems expressive of a desire to ultimately subvert, rather than accept, racial stereotypes.

Lamb is cautious lest popular prejudice against Othello's blackness delimit audiences' sympathies with his internal motives. This seems to be very much at the heart of Coleridge's apprehension also. But Coleridge goes a step further, recommending that Othello should be represented as a Moor. Unwilling to accept

---

[89] Charles Lamb, 'On The Tragedies of Shakespeare, Considered with Reference to their Fitness for Stage Representation' (1811), *English Critical Essays: Nineteenth Century*, selected and edited by Edmund D Jones (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1971) p. 87.
[90] *Ibid.*
[91] '1813 Lectures on Shakespeare and Education' (White Lion, Bristol), Lecture 4 (9 November 1813), *CC: Lectures*, I, 555.

that audiences might confuse the Moor as a 'negro', Coleridge underlines the fact that non-British did not mean mere 'otherness'.

Coleridge had been actively involved in the abolition movement, and used his Bristol lectures of 1795 as a platform to promote its policies.[92] By the time the slave trade was abolished in 1807, the public at large was much better informed and more sensitive to the issue of race. Coleridge's suggestions about Othello's skin colour add an interesting dimension to the race question by bringing together the abolition movement with Britons' interest in the Peninsula and accompanying fascination for Moorish history. In *Remorse*, Coleridge offered a comparably sympathetic representation of the Moors. Alhadra, the only character whose name did not change during the process of re-writing *Osorio*, had always been a favourite of Coleridge's. In a letter to John Thelwall dated October 1797, Coleridge explained how he had projected his own feelings of spiritual uncertainty unto Alhadra, affectionately referred to as 'my Moorish woman'.[93] This feeling of identification brings Coleridge's sympathetic response with the Moor in direct opposition to Iago's racist dislike of Othello. In contrast to the xenophobia of Othello's lieutenant, Coleridge's thoughts on race were inflected by true considerations of equality and brotherhood – thoughts conditioned by his involvement in the abolition movement, and re-writing of *Remorse* to make it a topical play about the Peninsular War.[94] In 1813, Coleridge seems to have felt that by evoking southern Europe and Othello's Moorish identity, managers could offer a much more convincing manifestation of the character Shakespeare intended for his military hero.

---

[92] Bate explains that Coleridge's sixth lecture in the series alluded to *Macbeth* and *Othello*. *Shakespearean Constitutions*, p. 120.
[93] STC to John Thelwall (14 October 1797), in Griggs, III, 350.
[94] For an example of the language of brotherhood in relation to the Peninsular campaign, see *BG's* claim that Spanish Patriots 'become identified with Englishmen, and we feel for them as our own brethren and our friends' (22 December 1808).

There were also many practical considerations against the representation of a black Othello. In *The Road to the Stage*, a sort of manual for early nineteenth-century actors, Leman Rede explains that the tradition of playing Othello in blackface was an obsolete custom by the 1820s. 'Being destructive of the effect of the face, and preventing the possibility of the expression being observable', Othello's blackface came to be replaced by 'a tawny tinge'.[95] Rede recommended 'Spanish brown' as the ideal skin-tone. He also prescribed this for the character of Rolla, Sheridan's great hero of the Romantic stage whose 'otherness' was, likewise, a key aspect of the play.[96] Coleridge's and Lamb's writings on Othello and race seem to prefigure the performative advantages of this new stage make-up.

Leigh Hunt who, unlike Coleridge, was an opponent of the British campaign in the Peninsula, agreed with the poet on the virtues of Spain's Moorish heritage. In February 1808, predating the Anglo-Spanish alliance but already taking into account Napoleon's invasion of Portugal, Hunt suggested that the Moors were responsible for the profusion of romances brought into Spain.[97] Later, on 22 May 1808, by which time *The Examiner* had already reported on the presence of French troops in Spain and the country's submission to Napoleon, Hunt claimed that the Moors had been 'almost the only industrious subjects, because they had no share in the American plunder'.[98] As late as 10 October 1813, the paper continued to praise 'the good-natured friendship, the affectionate gentleness, the soul-subduing sorrows, the fiery revenge, the lofty magnanimity, which in succession mark the noble Moor'. Despite Coleridge's and Hunt's diverging political opinions, during

[95] Leman Thomas Rede, *The Road to the Stage, contains clear and ample instructions for obtaining theatrical engagements* (London: 1836), p. 34.
[96] See Chapter One.
[97] *TE*, 14 February 1808.
[98] *Examiner*, 22 May 1808.

the Peninsular War, Othello's Moorish identity was seen as a crucial aspect of Shakespeare's capacity to excite audiences' wonder and delight.

'What ish my nation? Who talks of my nation?'

Spain's Moorish history helped define a country that originated in diversity. The emergence of the Spanish nation, as the result of a fusion of different cultures and local loyalties, provided a useful model for British authors trying to promote their own sense of national identity.[99] Contemporary adaptations of Shakespeare's history plays were a case in point. During the war, the bard's dramatizations of the lives of the English monarchs were seen to be not only about the assertion of powerful personalities, but the very sequence of events leading to the modern-day 'British' nation. By staging regular performances of Shakespeare's plays between 1808-1815, Romantic theatre presented audiences with easily accessible sources from which to learn more about their nation's history. Shakespeare's plays about the kings and queens of England helped transform English history into a subject worthy of great theatre.

Elizabeth Inchbald gave strong support to the didactic quality of Shakespeare's history plays. In her Preface to *Richard III* she states: 'Shakespeare's historical plays are particularly valuable, wherein faithful history is combined with transcendent poetry'.[100] Coleridge, as we have seen, debated the 'faithfulness' of this history, aware that the plays were full of historical errors and anachronisms. Inchbald's remarks do not, however, celebrate Shakespeare's 'fidelity' to history per se, insomuch as his ability to successfully mix history and poetry. As Inchbald

[99] For a more in-depth discussion of British national identity during the Peninsular War, see Chapter Two.
[100] *British Theatre*, Introduction to *Richard III*, I, 3.

would have it, fictionalized narratives also had a role to play in propping the public's historical understanding. Not only 'transcendent', Shakespeare's poetry had the added benefit of timelessness. This made his plays as informative about the past, as the present. In the age of Napoleon, the magnetic pull between Richard III's deformities and seductive power of mind could be easily re-applied to the French Emperor who, although derided by the caricaturists for being uncommonly short, was also greatly charismatic.[101] The invitation to make such comparisons was implicit but clear.

Throughout the Prefaces, Inchbald encourages her readers to place the performances they saw at Drury Lane or Covent Garden on a continuous spectrum of history. Her remarks on *Richard III* circumscribe fourteen years to the period covered by the play. This permits her to explain how, during the reign of William and Mary, the first act was often omitted in case audiences associated Henry VI with James II, then living in exile across the Channel.[102] By informing her readers of the play's performance history, as well as the chronology depicted by the play itself, Inchbald proposes that the Shakespearean canon be located on an ever-expanding historical axis.

One of the most popular history plays in the period was *Henry VIII*. Unlike *Henry V*, *King John*, and *Richard III*, however, the play did not feature any battle scenes, or even a particularly sympathetic portrayal of kingship. King Henry VIII may have been a coveted role, but in point of fact, the play's much more interesting scenes are given over to the king's religious and political counsellors.[103] Henry

---

[101] See A Franklin's discussion of Gillray's Little Boney: 'John Bull in a Dream: Fear and Fantasy in the Visual Satires of 1803', in *Resisting Napoleon: The British Response to the Threat of Invasion, 1797-1815*, ed. by Mark Philp, (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1988), 125-140 (p. 130).
[102] *British Theatre*, Introduction to *Richard III*, I, 4 – allusions to contemporary concerns about Catholicism.
[103] N.B. Kemble's Wolsey came to be regarded as one of his finest roles.

himself merely presides over most of the events at court. The ceremonial style associated with that court was used by Kemble to instruct and direct audience sympathy. During the Peninsular War, it was customary for playbills to advertise 'The Cardinal's Banquet' (Act I), 'The Trial of Queen Katharine' (Act II), and 'The Procession to the Christening of Princess Elizabeth' (Act V) as the play's main attractions.

On 20 October 1810, the Covent Garden playbills publicised a performance of *Henry VIII* that included the singing of the national anthem. That night, ceremony was everything and, as was often the case with Kemble's productions, strategically so. In September 1810, Wellington's army of British and Portuguese soldiers had enjoyed success at the Battle of Bussaco, resulting in the defeat of the French forces led by Marshal Massena. Difficult relations with the Spaniards and uncertainty about the political situation at home made this especially welcome news. In October that year, George III had fallen seriously ill. While there was hope that he'd make another recovery, as in 1788, the government was uncertain about the future leadership of the country. During this time of political and domestic concern, *Henry VIII* was chosen as an important play about 'Englishness'. By making use of spectacle and cleverly determined characterisation (as, for instance, in the representation of the Spanish Queen Katharine), Covent Garden sought to affirm the importance of good government, and promote the nation's commitment to politics at home and abroad.

In the very first scene of *Henry VIII* Cardinal Wolsey is given only three lines of dialogue. Nevertheless, he appears onstage with a train of twenty-five followers:

> *Trumpets sound* – Enter *2* Footmen, – ~~Guards~~ – *2* Gentlemen, *1 Herald*, one Gentleman bearing the broad seal – another, the Cardinal's hat, two

> Gentlemen with silver pillars, –two Priests with silver crosses, two Gentlemen-ushers bareheaded with wands, – Cardinal WOLSEY, – two Pages bearing his train, – CROMWELL with despatches, two Secretaries with bags of papers, *2* Chaplains, *2* Gentlemen, *2* Footmen. *Trumpets.*[104]

Italics indicate Kemble's annotations to his acting copy. As in *Henry V*, the facing page provided further handwritten instructions pertaining to the exact order in which the different persons in Wolsey's train should make their entrance. He divided the cast into fourteen different groups, and secured a cue for their exit that followed almost immediately after the Cardinal's short speech. This ensured that the procession itself took up much of the audience's attention for what was otherwise a short scene. Kemble would have felt well justified in devoting so much time to Wolsey's first appearance in the play. In this modern production, it signified nothing less than a celebration of the stage's materiality and capacity for advantageous displays of power.

When it came to the Cardinal's banquet scene and the masquerade dance that takes place therein, Kemble called for '*Musick* [*sic*] *in Orchestra*' and filled the stage with supernumeraries.[105] Dressed as a shepherd, it is in this scene that Henry meets and falls in love with Anne Bullen. But if Henry and Anne are here associated with the formality of the courtly-love tradition, Katharine, by contrast, is associated with an entirely different sort of spectacle. Whereas visual display defines Henry's character, it significantly compliments, rather than supplements, Katharine's. In this complex interaction of spectacle and characterisation, Kemble's adaptation aimed to bring together a narrative of politics, theatre, and nationalist feeling.

---

[104] *Henry the Eighth, JKP,* (I. 1) IV, 6.
[105] *Ibid*., (I. 4) IV, 18.

'O ceremony, show me but thy worth!'

As the playbills suggest, the trial of Queen Katharine was one of the play's main attractions. In order to better understand this much-anticipated scene, however, it is necessary to consider Katharine's earlier appearance as spokesperson in the Council Chamber meeting:

> *Enter Guildford with a Cushion, then the Queen. Guildford places the cushion, and the Queen kneels. The King rises, takes her up, and places her by him at his L. at "take your place by us". Guildford removes the cushion to the side of the Queen's chair, and remains there.*[106]

These are the stage directions provided in Kemble's handwriting. His additions are significant for the ways in which they mirror the opening of the trial scene, where Katharine kneels, and remains kneeling, before Henry. In Act I scene 2, when raised by the King and told to take her place 'by us', Katharine directly addresses Henry and his council on behalf of the suffering populace.[107] On account of their grievances, the king's subjects have vented potentially rebellious reproaches against Cardinal Wolsey, and even Henry himself. Henry's response to their solicitation proves that he is ignorant of the taxation being levied in his name. Katharine shows her political awareness by explaining that one-sixth of his subjects' substance was being raised for the war with France. By persuading Henry to pardon those who had denied the terms of the tax commission, it is Katharine who deserves the merit of averting rebellion. Her efforts to raise Buckingham's suit may be less successful, but confirm the sympathetic, principled nature of her character.

In the first two acts, Katharine's presence underlines important themes in the play's narrative. In Act I, she speaks of domestic unrest and the more localised

---

[106] *Henry the Eighth, JKP,* (I. 2) IV, 10.
[107] *Ibid.*

fissures of court life represented by the case against Buckingham. In the second, her appeals to 'friends in Spain' and the authority of the Pope help set the scene for the religious changes that would accompany Henry's new choice of queen, Anne being 'A spleeny Lutheran', as Wolsey termed her.[108] The play's compassionate characterisation of Katharine included underlining her Spanish birth, Catholic creed, and good political counsel. In 1810 when the play was staged at Covent Garden and the national anthem sung, it would have helped audiences replace an image of Spain tainted by anti-Papist prejudices and xenophobic mistrust, for one of heroism and honour. It is significant that during the Peninsular War, the play's use of spectacle seemed to place as much emphasis on the characterisation of Katharine as the celebration of Princess Elizabeth's baptism.

In his carefully planned production of *Henry VIII* in the autumn of 1810, Kemble may have intended to counter the unexpected radical inflections the play had acquired toward the end of the previous theatrical season. In April 1810, a month before the Covent Garden revival of Shakespeare's history play, the House of Commons issued a warrant for the arrest of Francis Burdett. A self-acclaimed 'Man of the People', Burdett was an outspoken opponent of electoral corruption and the government's military campaigns. His speeches had been widely reported in the press, and his 'Letter to the Westminster Electors' published in Cobbett's *Political Register*. When the Commons charged him to confinement in the Tower, Burdett challenged the arrest and refused to leave his home. His popularity won him widespread support, and resulted in clashes between government troops and the crowds that gathered around his house. This tense climate lasted for three days, until

[108] *Henry the Eighth, JKP,* (III. 1) IV, 38.

9 April, when Burdett was finally seized for imprisonment until the end of the Parliamentary session that summer.

According to the *Examiner,* Burdett's arrest gave several new resonances to *Henry VIII*. While many of these passed 'unnoticed', audiences were captivated by King Henry's lines 'I had thought I had men of some understanding | And wisdom of my council, but I find none':

> These words were received with a burst of acclamation, which interrupted the performance; and several other passages of a similar nature were afterwards greeted in like manner.[109]

The Council Chamber scene (V. 3) is identified as a key moment for audience engagement with the play's newfound topicality. The scene opens with Norfolk accusing Cranmer of having inspired the nation with dangerous ideas, and Gardiner's conclusion that Cranmer should be taken to the Tower. The *Monthly Mirror* for May 1810 expanded upon the scene's topical relevance by explaining that its depiction of 'unjust judges' meant 'every thing was construed with a bearing on the case of Sir Francis Burdett'.[110] The review adds a footnote stating that 'by virtue of the Speaker's warrant, [Burdett was] forcibly taken from his house, and sent to the Tower'. Emphasising the Commons' mistreatment of the politician, the *Mirror* explains how popular support for Burdett was re-enacted during the play's performance with alternate hisses and applauses from the audience. Gardiner's line "Receive him, and see him safe to the *Tower*" is said to have prompted increased hisses, for instance. By contrast Cranmer, Burdett's obvious counterpart in the play, was given loud applause throughout the scene. His loyalty to Henry and the King's appreciative support of his counsellor lent to the play a new emotive climax.

---

[109] *TE*, 13 May 1810.
[110] *MM*, New Series. No. XLI, May 1810, p. 389.

The *Mirror* placed emphasis on Henry's challenge to Cranmer's accusers: 'he had better starve | Than but once *think this place becomes thee not*'.[111] By italicising the play's key phrases, it helped draw attention to the 'points' that seemed to justify audience preoccupation with Burdett's wrongful imprisonment after his denunciation of corrupt place-holders. At the end of the scene, Henry leaves his court in no doubt of his appreciation of Cranmer. He invites him to be Elizabeth's godfather, and orders Gardiner to makes gestures of reconciliation. Burdett's supporters in the audience undoubtedly hoped that at the end of his ordeal, he might also be restored to his rightful place in government.

The *Monthly Mirror* followed up its commentary on *Henry VIII* with a review of another Shakespearean production. This time, the play in question was *King John*, whose anti-French and anti-Catholic rhetoric gave it clear attractions as a wartime favourite. According to the *Monthly Mirror*, Burdett's arrest meant that its nationalist appeal was newly politicised by domestic commotions. The defining moment for audience response is said to have occurred after King John's claim that 'It is the curse of kings to be attended | By slaves that take their humours for a warrant – '.[112] Burdett's resistance of the Speaker's order allowed audiences to place literal weight on the mention of 'a warrant'. In this excitable political climate, audiences interpreted the king's frustrations in the play as a cue to protest against Burdett's arrest. The *Mirror* reports that the lines 'produced peals of applause, indicative of the people's disapprobation of the act'. [113]

Kemble was certain to have felt uneasy about the radical support evinced for Burdett within his theatre. The year 1810 had turned out to be a trying one for the British government. In February and March a House of Commons inquiry had been

[111] *MM*, May 1810, p. 389.
[112] *Ibid*., p. 391.
[113] *Ibid*.

held into the failed Walcheren Expedition; difficulties in Spain caused Wellington to retreat to Portugal and assume the defensive; while Napoleon's tightening of the Continental blockade resulted in even more economic hardship. Yet, despite *King John*'s openness to new radical meanings, Kemble is likely to have felt some sense of reassurance in Faulconbridge's final speech:

> FAUL This England never did, nor never shall,
> Lie at the proud foot of a conqueror,
> But when it first did help to wound itself.[114]

As the curtain fell, audiences were reminded that England's safety depended on its domestic tranquillity. In response to renewed movements for political reform, Kemble maintained that England needed to remain united: internal division could be as much a menace to national interests as a French invasion.

'The stones of Rome to rise and mutiny'

It wasn't until 1812 that Kemble first ventured to produce *Julius Caesar*, a play that had long been absent from the patent stage.[115] It is not surprising that it was omitted from his Shakespearean canon for so long. Above all else, the play leaves open the possibility that Caesar's death was not an absolute political tragedy – a reading that would certainly have unsettled Kemble's staunch monarchism. The *Examiner* suggested as much when it claimed that Caesar's death at the end of Act III made Brutus the real hero of the play, 'the arbiter of all that succeeds, and the predominant spirit to the last'.[116] Caesar's absence during the play's principal scenes of action resulted in Inchbald's description of the play as a 'drama about the

[114] *Shakespeare's King John, A Historical Play*, revised by J P Kemble (London: 1804), *JKP*, (V. 7), V, 61.
[115] *British Theatre*, Introduction to *Julius Caesar*, IV, 3.
[116] *TE* (29 March 1812), offers a critique of the play 'in abstract', deferring its review of the performers to the next issue.

death, not life of Julius Caesar'.[117] Schlegel, likewise, imparted his overall impression that 'Caesar is not the hero of the piece, but Brutus'.[118] Kemble knew his production would need to challenge this interpretation, by reminding audiences of Caesar's greatness, even after his death.

If ideological reasons meant that Kemble shied away from an earlier production of *Julius* Caesar, then his late inclusion of the play suggests other factors may have been influential. His 1812 revival of the piece seems to have been primarily determined as a competitive response to the opening of the new Drury Lane theatre in October that year. After the fire of 1809, the Drury Lane company had been relocated to the Haymarket and Lyceum. Although these smaller stages afforded a more intimate environment for Shakespearean performances, the company did not rise to the challenge, relying instead on only a handful of Shakespeare's comedies, produced with no new attractions. It was only at the start of the 1812-1813 season, when Drury Lane could finally compete against the visual splendour of the Covent Garden productions, that Elliston appeared in the role of Hamlet.[119] This suggests that spectacular display had become an integral staple of the Shakespearean diet, and that Kemble's revival of *Julius Caesar* was motivated, at least in part, by the desire to outshine the new theatre by offering a novel addition to Covent Garden's already distinguished Shakespearean repertoire.[120]

---

[117] *British Theatre*, Introduction to *Julius Caesar*, IV, 5.
[118] Schlegel, 'Lectures', reprinted in *Romantics*, p. 374.
[119] After Drury Lane burnt down, several of the company's actors went on tour in the provinces. See *BM* (7 October 1809): 'What amateur could have foreseen, only a few months since, that the Bristol boards could have been favoured with the presence of a Catalani, and the inimitable Jordan, in the very depths of the winter season in London?...Such, however, is the miracle wrought by the destruction of Drury Lane'. Bristol's Theatre Royal seems, however, to have had better links with CG. In 1809, it recruited Young, Cooke, and Siddons, from the CG company.
[120] The competition between the two patents was intense. See *TE* (25 July 1813) for the patents as 'the rival theatres'. Competition intensified in 1814 when DL's farce *Jean de Paris* was brought out at CG as *John of Paris* (*TE*, 6 November 1814).

In the early nineteenth century, the deposition of the Bourbons and unease over George III's precarious mental health meant that *Julius Caesar*'s problematising of state authority remained contentiously immediate to the concerns of the time.[121] The play's equivocal characterisation of the roman leader meant that in 1812, Kemble's odds were still stacked against him. Even Brutus, whose intentions, as Octavius recognises, were characterised by 'general honest thought', found himself easily convinced that Caesar's death was in Rome's best interest.[122]

Caesar's hypocrisy is exposed in Act III scene 2 when, in refusing Metellus's suit on behalf of his banished brother, Caesar claims to be as 'constant as the northern star, | Of whose true-fix'd and resting quality | There is no fellow in the firmament'. [123] Earlier in the play, however, Calpurnia had begged Caesar to take heed of her nightmarish vision and excuse his absence from the Capitol. He promised to follow her advice. His decision was quickly changed when Decius arrived, twisting the dream's ominous signifiers into auguries of Caesar's promise, and suggesting that the senators might interpret his absence as cowardly and foolish.[124]

Predictably, Kemble handled the republicanism of Shakespeare's play with caution. When Casca relates to Brutus how Caesar swooned amidst the crowds, he reinterprets Caesar's falling-fit as the result of a popular contagion:

> CASCA The rabblement hooted, and clapp'd their chopp'd hands, and threw up their sweaty night-caps, and utter'd such a deal of stinking breath because Caesar refus'd the crown, that it had almost choak'd Caesar; for he swoon'd, and fell down at it:

---

[121] Coleridge paid special attention to Brutus's speech in IV. 3 and the lines 'What, shall one of us, | That struck the foremost man of all this world, | But for *supporting robbers*'. He noted: 'This seemingly strange Assertion of Brutus is unhappily verified in the present day. What is an immense Army, in whom the Lust of Plunder has quenched all the duties of the Citizen, other than Robbers, or differenced only as Fiends are from reprobate men? – Caesar supported & was supported by, such as those – even as Napoleon in our days'. 'Works: Copy A', *CC: Marginalia*, IV, 735.
[122] *Julius Caesar* (1812)*, JKP* (V. 5), IV, 71.
[123] *Ibid*., (III. 2), IV, 36.
[124] *Ibid*.

> And, for mine own part, I durst not laugh, for fear of opening my lips, and receiving the bad air.[125]

Since the French Revolution, the mob had become closely associated with revolutionary crowds. Fear of mass violence was also a characteristic of the Peninsular War, and was especially acute in 1809, when the British press related shocking reports of mob action in Portugal.[126] Kemble's production nudged audiences to recognise that Casca's odious snobbery could be at least partially explained by his earlier contention that the populace was dangerously capricious and unreliable. Having once celebrated Pompey, they now celebrate Caesar, who 'comes in triumph over Pompey's blood'.[127] In 1812, Kemble knew the play's successful run would be crucially predicated upon its ability to mediate between extreme allusions to republican and monarchical allegiances.

It is then, with a sense of poetic justice, that in response to Marc Antony's eloquent address, the crowds choose to defend the memory of Caesar over the decadent republic headed by the conspirators. As Marc Antony speaks of Caesar's mantle, he recreates the moment when the traitors, and Brutus especially, stabbed Caesar. In response, the plebeians cry out in pity and anger:

> 1 PLE O piteous spectacle!
>
> 2 PLE O noble Caesar!
>
> 3 PLE O woful day!
>
> 4 PLE O traitors, villains!
>
> 5 PLE We will be reveng'd: revenge; about, – seek, – burn, – fire, – kill, – slay! – let not a traitor live.[128]

---

[125] *Julius Caesar* (1812), *JKP* (I. 2), IV, 14.
[126] There were reports the French consulate and merchant at Malaga were 'murdered by the populace', 'hewn piecemeal & thrown into flames' (*Examiner*, 24 July 1808). See also Chapter Two, pp. 125-6; 129-32.
[127] *Julius Caesar* (1812), *JKP* (I. 1), IV, 6.
[128] *Ibid*., (III. 4), IV, 48.

Their rebellion is contagious and degenerative. What starts off as a cry of pity ends in an impassioned string of imperatives with the fifth plebeian's call for indiscriminate revenge. Marc Antony, who was played by Charles Kemble, succeeds in staying their immediate impulse for retribution. But, significantly, only insofar as to allow his reading of Caesar's will to strengthen the crowds' resolve:

ANT Here is the will, and under Caesar's seal.
To every Roman citizen he gives,
To every several man, seventy-five drachmas.

2 PLE Most noble Caesar! – we'll revenge his death.

ANT Here me with patience.

ALL THE PLE Peace, ho!

ANT Moreover, he hath left you all his walks,
His private arbours, and new-planted orchards,
On this side Tyber; he hath left them you,
And to your heirs for ever,
To walk abroad, and recreate yourselves.
Here was a Caesar: When comes such another?

2 PLE Never, never: – Come, away, away:
We'll burn his body in the holy place,
And, with the brands, fire the traitors' houses.
Take up the body.[129]

Marc Antony purposefully detains the crowd by adumbrating on the different articles of Caesar's will. His final rhetorical question, 'When comes such another?' transfers the playgoer's attention to the crowds onstage, now fully convinced of Caesar's paternal care for his subjects and determined to mutiny. The mobs raise the hearse with Caesar's body and exit the scene, creating great tumult and noise as they prepare for civil war against Brutus's leadership. To counter the image of a dangerous populace, however, Kemble's *Julius Caesar* makes dramatic capital out of Marc Antony's leadership. As the plebeians bear Caesar's body offstage, Marc

[129] *Julius Caesar* (1812), *JKP* (III. 4), IV, 49-50.

Antony remarks: 'Now let it work: – Mischief, thou art afoot, | Take thou what course thou wilt!'[130] Kemble's production depicted an onstage crowd that had been led into action – spurred by Marc Antony's rhetorical manipulation of Caesar's legacy to his people.

In Kemble's adaptation, the memory of Julius Caesar directs the course of the entire play. Another instance of the actor-manager's monarchist gratification occurs, for example, when Cassius runs into his sword, exclaiming: 'Caesar, thou art reveng'd | Even with the sword that kill'd thee'.[131] Both figuratively and literally (when Caesar's ghost haunts Brutus in his tent), it is the memory of Caesar that finally destroys the conspirators' shaky republic.

When the play was first presented to Covent Garden audiences on 29 February 1812 it was an immediate success. Kemble's interpretation of Brutus was widely admired by audiences and critics alike.[132] In 1812 alone, the play was staged sixteen times, and then frequently produced thereafter. After thirty-three years of neglect, *Julius Caesar*'s revival seemed auspiciously timed. Popular outcry against Napoleon's aggressive foreign policy and apparently unprovoked attack of the Iberian Peninsula suggested that audiences were in a position to resist the republican dreams evoked by Cassius to sway Brutus's loyalties. Equally significant, after several abortive victories, in 1811 Britain finally succeeded in gaining a series of military advantages in the Peninsula. By the end of spring, the French had been forced out of Portugal, and in the Battle of Fuentes de Oñoro (3-5 May 1811) British troops emerged victorious over Massena and his army. Although the final outcome of the war was still far from certain, at least the frequency of British successes seemed to be on the increase. Interestingly, one of the most notable differences

[130] *Julius Caesar* (1812), *JKP* (III. 4), IV, 50.
[131] *Ibid*., (V. 2), IV, 67.
[132] Brutus became one of Kemble's favourite roles, performed six times during his retirement season.

between the 1811 and 1812 acting texts hinges on Kemble's subsequent decision to suppress almost all the lines referring to supernatural horrors (with the exception of Calpurnia's dream). This was comparable to Wellington's success in shattering the myth of French invincibility. In 1812, the play's action seemed no longer determined by providential design, but conspiratorial intrigue and deceit; and these, by implication, were within the power of audiences to diagnose and avert.

Coriolanus, Shakespeare's other roman play and more openly political drama, was also subject to close censorship, and judiciously removed from the dramatic repertoire during Pitt's years in office:[133]

> When the lower order of people are good in plight, they will bear contempt with cheerfulness, and even with mirth; but poverty puts them out of humour at the slightest disrespect. Certain sentences in this play are therefore of dangerous tendency at certain times, though at other periods they are welcomed with loud applause.[134]

Inchbald's comments are very much in line with her response to *Julius Caesar*, identifying concern over audiences' political excitement as the main reason for the play's censorship during times of socio-political unrest. Her remarks identify, however, a new chapter in the play's publication history. In 1806, Covent Garden had produced a successful revival of *Coriolanus*:

> This circumstance may be received as joyful evidence – that the multitude at present are content in their various stations; and can therefore, in this little dramatic history, amuse themselves with beholding, free from anger and resentment, that vainglory, which presumes to despise them.[135]

In 1808, that 'vainglory' was none other than Napoleon. This prompts Inchbald to assume a patriotic tone entirely consistent with the nationalist implications of writing for *The British Theatre*. In the early stages of the Peninsular War, *Coriolanus*'s reinstatement was seen to symbolise the nation's renewed confidence

---

[133] His final appearance as Coriolanus was on 23 June 1817.
[134] *British Theatre*, Introduction to *Coriolanus*, V, 5.
[135] *Ibid*.

in its political stature. Conditions of social unrest and the poor harvests experienced during Pitt's premiership had excluded the play from performance after the fall of the Bastille. Its revival in 1806 thus marked a political triumph for both contemporary British society and the play's inherent dramatic logic.

Audiences had to wait, however, until 1811 before Kemble gave *Coriolanus* its second grand revival. The play's absence during the 1809-1810 season was not surprising considering its emphasis on popular enfranchisement and Covent Garden's volatile OP protestors in the theatre's auditorium.[136] When Covent Garden re-opened in September 1810, managers continued to be afflicted with protests over the number of private boxes, and as a result, *Coriolanus* remained problematic. Poor harvests in 1811 would have made the play's opening scene particularly dangerous. In spite of these difficulties, however, Kemble was aware that he needed a new box office hit to balance the Covent Garden ledgers. He hoped that Siddons's Volumnia, which had been a success with audiences in 1789, would attract full houses once again. Kemble knew that to enthral modern audiences, he would have to make Shakespeare's play feel more immediate, and decided, therefore, to merge Shakespeare's text with more recent reworkings by Thomson and Sheridan. While *Coriolanus* offered potentially dangerous examples of class conflict, it also dramatized an external war against the Volscians, useful for inciting audiences on the basis of patriotic patronage. By placing strong emphasis on martial music and ceremonial processions, Kemble ensured that topical, military and political themes would be seen as the chief attractions of his new Shakespearean production. The play's investigation of rightful government and what it means to be a true patriot

[136] During the OP riots, the *Morning Chronicle* used Kemble's earlier success as Coriolanus to parody his management of Covent Garden. See Introduction, pp. 14-5.

was seen to highlight important lessons for Britain's military campaign against Napoleon.

In Shakespeare's original, Act I opens with Coriolanus addressing angry plebeians who protest that while they starve, the patricians have packed their storehouses with grain. This suggestion is absent from Kemble's version. Instead, Menenius explains that the plebeians have risen in rebellion because they want corn 'at their own rates'.[137] It is the plebeians' commercial self-interest, not their basic needs, which prompts their revolt. The new context does not excuse Coriolanus's contemptuous and scornful attitude, but it does make him appear less hateful than in Shakespeare's original. *The Times* review of the play's performance on 14 December 1811 testified to Kemble's success. Explaining the interest excited by the play's action and characterisation, the reviewer was delighted with the opposition between 'the haughty mind of a hero nobly born, who had served and saved his country' and 'the contracted, selfish, cowardly species of public spirit, which characterizes an assembly of venal, and ungrateful, and self-conceited electors'.[138] He concluded that 'there is, perhaps, no part for which Mr. KEMBLE is more fitted than this Roman hero', applauding the actor-manager for his treatment of class conflict within the play.

Coriolanus's bold and forthright disposition means his antagonistic relationship with the citizens is invariably given direct dramatisation. The main advantage of this mode of characterisation is to render Coriolanus's conduct open to the audience's judgement.[139] Kemble's strategy was to reclaim the play's eponymous hero, relying on commanding gestures and statuesque poses to help

---

[137] *Shakespeare's Coriolanus; or, The Roman Matron, A Historical Play, adapted to the Stage, with additions from Thomson,* by J P Kemble (London: 1806), *JKP*, (I. 1), II, 6.
[138] *Times*, 16 December 1811.
[139] Cf. Coriolanus's invectives to the crowd (I. 1), with Menenius's address to the romans after Coriolanus's deflection to the Volscian camp (IV. 5). *Coriolanus*, *JKP*, II, 6; 51-2.

redefine Coriolanus as a Romantic visionary. The war hero is loath to address the people in order to confer his appointment, not so much because of his pride, but his aversion to making political rhetoric out of his soldier's wounds.[140] Kemble's Coriolanus believed his very truthfulness and masculinity would be compromised if he agreed to pander to the crowds' eager curiosity, or to flatter their vanity. [141]

One of Kemble's most important departures from Shakespeare's text occurs in the fifth act, when Coriolanus's family visit the Volscian camp to supplicate his loyalty to Rome. In Shakespeare's play, Coriolanus is finally moved by his mother's pleas. Choosing to rely on Thomson instead, Kemble produced a finale in which rhetorical power cedes to the threat of physical violence. As Volumnia draws forth a dagger to kill herself, Coriolanus seizes her hand and orders the Volscians to raise the siege. *The Times* review of the play's performance in May 1814 placed appropriate emphasis on this final act of the play, underlining 'the most triumphant impression' produced by Coriolanus's 'final defence of his motives and conduct, before the Volscian army'. The reviewer's sympathetic response to Coriolanus's character and overall commendation of the final act is given larger social significance by his observation that 'the plaudits towards the close of the play were incessant, and the curtains fell in the midst of general acclamation'.[142] In a cavernous theatre that made rhetorical effect extremely difficult, Kemble's fifth act provided audiences with a powerful visual tableau that defined Coriolanus's intervention as an act of self-sacrifice. 'Rome by thy aid is sav'd, – but thy son lost!' Coriolanus exclaims.[143] The dramatic prop of the dagger fixed this turning

[140] *Coriolanus*, *JKP*, (III. 2), II, 39.
[141] This theme in the play became especially topical after 1814, when soldiers and sailors started to return home from the wars.
[142] *Times*, 19 May 1814.
[143] *Coriolanus*, *JKP*, (V. 1), II, 60.

point, encouraging audiences to re-appraise the hero who, earlier, seemed cold, aloof, and wholly unmoved by the entreaties of his family.

William Hazlitt, who was theatre correspondent for the *Examiner* in December 1813, declared himself unconvinced by this modernisation of Shakespeare's text.[144] He dismissed Volumnia's dagger as nothing more than 'a despicable stage-expedient', and made no attempt to disguise his contempt for Kemble's aristocratic politics.[145] Instead, Hazlitt took advantage of the review to extol the virtues of the citizens, so damningly portrayed in Kemble's version of the play. Viciously attacking Coriolanus's behaviour as proof of 'the unnatural and more hateful haughtiness of the social aristocrat', Hazlitt ridicules the roman's petty and womanish abhorrence of his social inferiors:

> Too ignorant to know that the awl of the cobbler is as respectable an instrument as the sword of the general (perhaps more so, as it frequently exhibits more skill in its guidance,) too stupid to feel a kindly sensation towards a being worse dressed than himself, he was a nuisance to his country […][146]

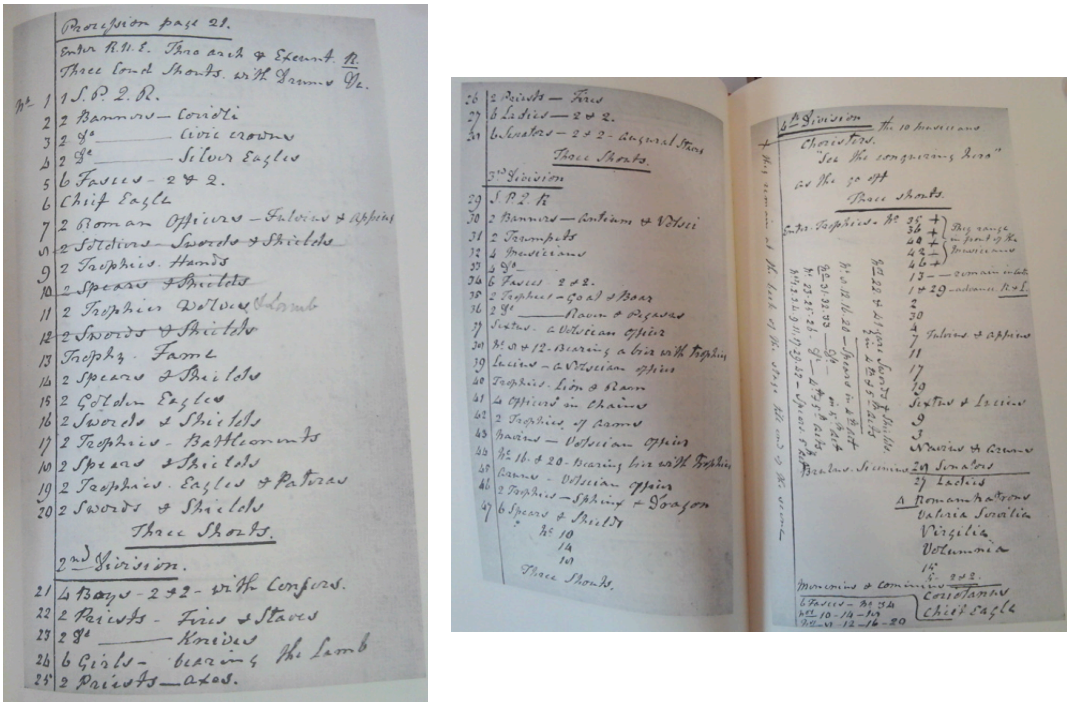
Hazlitt exploits the *Examiner*'s opposition to the Peninsular campaign in order to undermine Kemble's privileging of the play's martial theme.[147] He claims that during the Napoleonic Wars, the 'sword of the general' was all-too often brandished with insufficient skill, and armies inadequately led. Kemble had relied on Coriolanus's military character and Thomson's dramatic finale to redefine audience sympathies. Hazlitt purposefully draws upon these modifications to damn the manager's political aims. The differences between Hazlitt's article and *The Times*'s review of the play suggest that Kemble's success or failure was open to debate, and ultimately dependent on political allegiances. Common to both reviews, however, is

---

[144] Hazlitt's contributions were signed 'W.H.'.
[145] *TE*, 19 December 1813.
[146] *Ibid*.
[147] Almost from the outset, the *Examiner* adopted a hard-line editorial policy on the British campaign in Spain. E.g. 17 September; 11 and 25 December 1808.

the recognition that the actor-manager had made significant alterations to Shakespeare's play, and that in 1811, the overall experience of watching *Coriolanus* had changed as a result.

When Kemble had first starred in the Drury Lane production, one hundred and sixty-four supernumeraries passed through the stage in the Ovation procession. In 1811, he was keen to recreate an aura of majestic ceremony that would confirm Coriolanus's belief in aristocratic leadership. He recruited an additional seventy-six extras for the Ovation scene, increasing the total number of people onstage to two hundred and forty. Kemble realised that in the enlarged Covent Garden theatre, greater stage presence would be needed to give the impression of power imparted by the earlier production. The degree of planning needed to successfully marshal such large numbers on and off the stage is clearly indicated by Kemble's description of the Ovation in the Covent Garden Promptbook (Figure 11). Featuring real soldiers, standard bearers and military musicians, the supernumeraries were divided into four divisions. Three shouts were given after each division had assembled onstage, with choristers singing 'See the Conquering Hero' as the stage was filled with more soldiers. Handel's theme from *Judas Maccabeaeus* was a favourite with the royal family and often performed during the Easter Oratorios, providing the orchestra with a crucial role in building up to the Ovation's affective climax. Finally, the senators, roman matrons, Menenius, and Coriolanus with the 'Chief Eagle', made their grand entrance, with the supernumeraries instructed to remain until the end of the scene, their military flags swaying in the background.



11: Kemble's annotations for the grand procession in *Coriolanus* (Covent Garden Promptbook, 1811).

Kemble's precise and attentive treatment of the Ovation scene made it one of his most magnificent. In 1811, it recreated the military splendour of imperial Rome to audiences increasingly disillusioned and disaffected with the prolonged wars against Napoleon. The play was also intended to enforce an important point about public order and due decorum to audiences, who two years earlier, had created havoc in Covent Garden's auditoriums. At the height of the Peninsular Wars, Kemble's *Coriolanus* was a play about the articulation of patriotic identities, at a time when the very meaning of 'patriotism' was hotly debated.

'In war was never lion raged more fierce' – Concluding remarks

In Coleridge's series of literary lectures (1811-1812 and 1813), Shakespeare's election as the national bard was representative of the ways in which a nation's literary tastes could be used to bolster its political self-awareness. In an age of

political unrest at home and abroad, Shakespeare's most popular plays were those centred on the themes of nation, history and identity. *The Merry Wives of Windsor* was performed every season between 1807 and 1815. By no coincidence, this was the only comedy in the Shakespearean repertoire where the action was set entirely in England. The English wives' superior moral sense, which determines their comic plotting, goes hand-in-hand with the play's happy ending in vindication of the national character. The images of home and hearth that featured frequently in wartime propaganda added extra weight to Mrs Page's closing injunction: 'let us every one go home, | And laugh this sport o'er by a country fire'.[148] The play's popularity during the Peninsular War suggests audiences were more than pleased to recognise as much.[149] It also serves as a reminder that Shakespeare's political didacticism, though perhaps most immediately felt in the history plays, was by no means genre-specific, and that much more work remains to be done on the political import of Drury Lane's Shakespearean comedies.

Theatre managers took care when selecting the Shakespearean plays revived in their seasonal repertoires. As this chapter has shown, contemporary acting editions were often noticeably different from the Folio edition of Shakespeare's plays. The tradition of 'emending' Shakespeare was already well established by the early nineteenth century.[150] Kemble's decision to omit much of Act IV of *Othello*, in order to render it a more 'polite' drama, is symptomatic of the ways in which other, significant modifications were made to help keep Shakespeare's plays abreast of the changing times. Kemble's textual interventions, pageantry, and wardrobe choices

---

[148] *Shakespeare's Merry Wives of Windsor; A Comedy*, revised by J P Kemble (London: 1804), *JPK*, (V. 3), VI, 72.
[149] *Merry Wives* was performed two times by CG in 1807-1808. The following year, it was played four times at DL. In 1810-1811, both theatres played it twice. In 1811-1812, CG staged it twice again, and three times the following season. In 1813-1814, it was only played once at CG, but twice at DL. In 1814-1815, DL staged the play once more. See Appendices A and B.
[150] *TE*, 22 May 1808: 'almost every fine play of Shakespeare has its genealogy of emendation'.

helped update the canon, and realise an almost tangibly topical 're-telling' of contemporary politics.

Most audiences seem to have been prepared and willing to accept popular emendations to Shakespeare's plays. Waldie's negative response to Barrymore's Macbeth shows, however, that they were not shy to speak out when they thought particular actors or managers had got in the way of their creative enterprise. To check managerial excess, the early nineteenth century advanced a decade of flourishing theatrical criticism. The hyperbole and sycophancy of the eighteenth-century puffs were replaced with increasingly sophisticated and critical dramatic analyses appearing in newspapers and theatre-specific reviews.

Shakespeare's plays were endowed with perceived flexibility and essential openness to interpretation. According to Coleridge, the bard belonged to a process of history in the making: 'he writes not for past ages, but for that in which he lives, and that which is to follow'.[151] *Henry VIII* spoke to both domestic and international concerns about court intrigue. This chapter has shown how in May 1810, Burdett's supporters interpreted the play in relation to his arrest. It was also easy for audiences to imagine the overweight and licentious Prince of Wales as Henry VIII, and his spurned wife Katharine of Aragon, as Princess Caroline.[152] After 1811, Caroline was prohibited from court and had only very limited access to their daughter, Princess Charlotte. The royal couple's marital difficulties were widely reported in the press, and would surely have influenced audiences' interpretation of the play.[153]

---

[151] Lecture 1 (28 October 1813), *CC: Lectures*, I, 516.
[152] See *Shakespearean Constitutions*, p. 80 for the Prince of Wales as Henry VIII in a contemporary Union Ball Masquerade print. See Chapter One on the Union Ball, pp. 41-3.
[153] See *Times*, 21 October 1811.

Through Kemble's sympathetic characterisation of the Spanish Queen, *Henry VIII* could also be read as a study of the imbroglios of court politics and the opportunities available for strong women to assert their role in history. In the lead-up to the French invasion of Spain, the Queen Consort, Maria Louisa, had been placed under public scrutiny for her extramarital relationship with the unpopular Prime Minister Manuel de Godoy. Although Ferdinand VII's title of 'el deseado' owed much to the detested Godoy faction, this domestic instability was exploited by Napoleon in order to place Joseph Buonaparte on the Spanish throne. Where Maria Louisa failed, Shakespeare's Katharine of Aragon provided an alternative model of female constancy and devotion. The baptism of Princess Elizabeth in Act V serves as a reminder, however, that the greater tolerance inspired by Katharine's story belonged to the dawn of a specifically English, Protestant 'golden age'.[154]

Theatre and politics were valuable counters of exchange in the critical writings of Coleridge, Hunt, and Hazlitt. The latter's interest in 'Literature during the Age of Elizabeth' helps contextualise the ways in which the Elizabethan period was frequently compared to the early nineteenth century. Hazlitt describes it as a period distinguished by great men, whose achievements 'had the mark of their age and country upon it'.[155] In this scheme, Shakespeare 'was not something sacred and aloof from the vulgar herd of men', as some of Hazlitt's contemporaries claimed, but one who 'shook hands with the nature and the circumstances of the time': 'His age was necessary to him'.[156] According to Hazlitt, the Reformation embodied the nation's evolving Protestant faith, while its effect on politics and philosophy are

---

[154] According to Schlegel, the real ending of the play was not the christening of Princess Elizabeth, which he described as a 'theatrical illusion', but the death of Katharine. Either interpretation retains the Spanish Queen as the play's focal character. See *Romantics*, p. 371.
[155] William Hazlitt, *Lectures on the Dramatic Literature of the Age of Elizabeth* (London, 1821: Second Edition), p. 2.
[156] Hazlitt, p. 12.

'still at work, and will continue to be so'.[157] In his Lectures, he was keen to establish the modern age's forgotten but essential continuity with the religious faith, scientific, and literary achievements of the past.

The age of Elizabeth saw England overcome the Spanish Armada and establish itself against the competing claims of Spanish imperialism. There was then, a common interest/concern with Spanish politics in both the sixteenth and nineteenth centuries. The difficulty of distinguishing sixteenth-century dress from Spanish stage costume would only have heightened the apparently topical pertinence of Elizabethan plays during the Peninsular War period. If Shakespeare, as Hazlitt would have it, was a man of his time, whose writings were invariably influenced by the age in which he lived, then the implication is that Romantic audiences, by acknowledging that past, could also reap the benefits of an age of military prowess, international glory, and national pride.

During the Peninsular War, Shakespeare was used to broadcast nationalist and patriotic propaganda. From war bulletins delivered during the performance of plays, to likenesses between Napoleon and the villains of Richard III and Macbeth, writers and cartoonists evoked Shakespeare as a means of bringing the war in Iberia back home to audiences. In October 1813, Wellington's forces crossed the frontier from Spain into France. Coleridge's third Bristol lecture was wholly inflected by his political enthusiasm with this positive turn in the war.[158] In his lecture, Coleridge compared the character of Macbeth to Bonaparte; 'both tyrants, both indifferent to means, however barbarous, to attain the ends'. He was hopeful that 'the fate of the latter would be like the former, in sailing amidst a host of foes, which his cruelty

[157] Hazlitt, p. 23. See also pp. 15 ff.
[158] *FFBJ*, 6 November 1813.

and injustice had roused against him'.[159] To conclude, Coleridge pointed to the Allies' success, praising England for the lead taken in the war and example set to other nations.[160] He celebrated that 'England, justly proud, as she had right to be, of a Shakespear [*sic*], a Milton, a Bacon, and a Newton, could also boast of a Nelson and a Wellington'. [161] By aligning the liberation of Spain with the triumphs of the Elizabethan Golden Age, Coleridge promoted Shakespeare as an emblem of the military glory and cultural achievements audiences needed to aspire to in order to overcome Napoleonic France, and the superficial displays and empty bombast of contemporary theatre.

[159] Lecture 3 (4 November 1813), *CC: Lectures*, I, 545-6.
[160] *BG* (11 November 1813) printed its report of the lecture alongside a column on Napoleon's defeat.
[161] Lecture 3 (4 November 1813), *CC: Lectures*, I, 546.

Frontispiece 5: ‘An Entire New Plan of the Cities of London and Westminster’, 1805. Published by Edward Mogg.

CHAPTER FOUR

'Spectacular Spain': The Peninsular War at the Minor Theatres

Shakespeare was crucial to the bolstering of civic and national identities during the war against Napoleonic France. Legal restrictions on dramatic entertainments meant that, in theory, Shakespeare belonged to the patent houses, but the reality was very different. In the early nineteenth century, opportunistic managers at London's minor theatres found ways to circumvent the dramatic laws, and successfully staged several audacious adaptations of what had hitherto been considered 'legitimate' pieces. The ban on spoken drama outside the patent playhouses meant that entertainments at the minors were based entirely on song, dance, and spectacle. These plays were often punctuated with circus-like animal performances or daring feats of human gymnastics, giving rise to what become known as a kind of 'illegitimate theatre'.[1] The Olympic New Pavilion's 1812 production of *Baghvan-Ho; or the Tartar Tartar'd* was a fairly typical production. An Indian themed horse spectacle in two acts, it boasted 'the largest most sagacious elephant in this kingdom', and concluded with a general attack on the usurper's castle, 'man to man, and horse to horse'.[2] This kind of theatre lacked literary finesse, and was often subject to passing interest. During the Romantic period, however, the illegitimate dramas staged at London's minor theatres represented a popular and profitable form of mass entertainment, whose response to the Peninsular War deserves attention.

There were at least seven minor playhouses in London during the first decade of the nineteenth century. These were Sadler's Wells, the Royal Circus

[1] See Moody, *Illegitimate Theatre in London*.
[2] Olympic New Pavilion Playbill, 5 July 1812 (V&A).

(renamed the Surrey in 1810), Astley's Royal Amphitheatre, the Sans Pareil, the Olympic Pavilion, the Royalty, and the Regency.[3] In comparison to the patent houses, these theatres charged lower prices, making their entertainments available to an even broader social spectrum. Their clientele was largely made up of London's lower middle-class and working communities, and included large numbers of sailors and soldiers directly involved in the war itself.[4] In their bid to satisfy this heterogeneous group of playgoers, managers invested in elaborate military and nautical spectacles. To be successful, these expensive and heavily advertised productions required verisimilitude, as much as novelty and sensationalism. The latest press reports and dispatches from the Peninsula were, therefore, important sources for managers at the minors, enabling them to relocate the theatre of war from the Iberian Peninsula to their own stages.

This chapter explores the entertainments staged at London's minor playhouses between 1807 and 1815, and questions how the ban on spoken drama affected their ability to participate in the Peninsular War debate. In September 1808 and then February1809, London's theatrical life was critically affected by the destruction of its two winter patents. A significant repercussion of the fires at Covent Garden and Drury Lane was that both theatres lost almost all their scenery, props, and promptbooks. This gave the minors an upper hand in the production of

---

[3] The Regency Theatre faced a series of internal troubles during this period, and is consequently eclipsed in this chapter by its more successful and established rivals. The Regency's claim to fame had come as a result of the Pic-Nic Society, who treated the venue as a private theatre for amateur drama. In 1808, Saunders, having acquired a license for the performance of equestrian performances, bought the theatre and sold it two years later to Mr. Paul. His opening performance of *Love in a Village* was, however, outside the limits of the theatre's license, and the Regency was forced to close as a result. With no returns for his investment, Paul was faced with crippling debt. He tried several times to sell his lease. After many failed attempts, it was finally put for auction in December 1814.

[4] The minor theatres charged 4s for the boxes, 2s for the pit and 1s for the gallery. When half-price was available, prices were reduced after 8:30 pm.

impressive war spectacles that appealed to the political and cultural curiosities of an eager playgoing public. Their response to the war, which often capitalised upon the latest vogues in fashion and politics, make them comparable to contemporary print culture. During the Peninsular War, Charles Dibdin the Younger was the popular songwriter and manager at Sadler's Wells. In his *Memoirs*, he compares his aquatic pantomimes to print shop caricatures, both 'allusive to the reigning follies of the Day'.[5]

Until 1843, when the theatrical monopoly was finally abolished, the minors were subject to a series of severe legal restrictions that placed a cap on their artistic expression. Their determination, nevertheless, to work around these limitations and compete with the legitimate stage, allowed patent favourites, such as Shakespeare, to acquire significant new meanings. During the war, London's minor theatres thus exercised significant moral, political, and social power. Catering to audiences from a range of economic and educational backgrounds, the minors' response to changing opinions on the war helped shape British feeling in an uncertain and volatile political climate. This chapter shows how, between 1807 and 1815, the minors made an important contribution to a city bustling with all sorts of cultural activity and opportunities for political participation.

[5] Charles Dibdin, *Memoirs of Charles Dibdin the Younger*, ed. by George Speaight (London: Society for Theatre Research, 1956), p. 102.

The minor theatres

London's minor theatres were not 'establishments' to the same degree as the patent playhouses of Drury Lane, Covent Garden, or the Haymarket. The royal family, for instance, did not visit these more populist venues, which, with the exception of the Olympic and Sans Pareil, were located on the fringes of the theatrical city. This distance from Westminster was not wholly disadvantageous. It placed the older minors outside the scope of the Lord Chamberlain's prerogative, and allowed them a freedom of expression unavailable at the patent houses.[6] The Olympic and Sans Pareil theatres, located within Westminster, were required by law to send their playscripts to the Lord Chamberlain prior to performance. The process was, however, something of a formality. It was assumed that the legal distinction between the minor and patent theatres restricted their entertainments to non-dramatic performances that could not, in effect, pose any direct threat to the legitimate drama. One of the fascinating features of Romantic theatre history is that, contrary to expectation, an intense rivalry emerged between managers at London's minor and patent theatres. This included competition for potential patrons, actors, and even the kinds of productions on offer.

In the early nineteenth century, the monopoly companies found themselves increasingly reliant upon the types of melodramatic show proving so popular at the

[6] By contrast, the Olympic (in Wynch Street) and Sans Pareil (just off the Strand), were located in Westminster, central London.

minor playhouses.[7] During this period, the patent and minor theatres relied upon a common pool of performative and creative talent. Joseph Grimaldi, the popular stage clown, was contracted to appear in pantomimes at both Covent Garden and Sadler's Wells. This required him to make the long journey from Islington to Holborn in order to act at the two theatres on the same night. The occasion in which his coach failed to arrive on time has become one of the best-loved anecdotes of nineteenth-century theatre history. Crowds chased Grimaldi, who was still dressed in his Harlequin costume, as he sprinted across London to catch a coach and fulfil his contractual obligations at Covent Garden. In 1812, Thomas Dibdin was invited to be Prompter at the new Drury Lane theatre. He accepted on the condition that he could still write for Harris, at Covent Garden, and maintain his links to the Surrey Theatre. The job at Drury Lane required him to produce an annual pantomime and occasional one-act piece on 'any public national event which might take place'.[8] In his *Memoirs*, he describes the difficulties of juggling these various commitments, and proudly reflects that he still managed to complete his *Metrical History of England* while acting as manager of the Surrey. The interdependence between these two kinds of theatrical cultures makes the Iberian 'spectacles' put on at the minors interesting in their own right, and as an adjunct to the topical plays staged at Covent Garden and Drury Lane.

During the Peninsular War, London's different minors were highly individualised venues for performance where theatrical programmes were determined

[7] In large part, this was due to the expansion of the patent theatres, famously rendering them theatres for 'seeing' rather than 'hearing'. See *Monthly Theatrical Reporter* on melodrama at the patent theatres as a symptom of declining theatrical tastes. No.1 (October 1814), pp. 2-3.
[8] Thomas Dibdin, *The Reminiscences of Thomas Dibdin, of the Theatres Royal, Covent-Garden, Drury-Lane, Haymarket, &c*, 2 vols (London: 1834), II, 3.

by a range of factors. This included managerial egos, the specific talents of the resident company, local audience demographics, and convenient geographical determinants. Sadler's Wells was advantageously situated near the New River. Using real tanks of water to set the scene for its nautical dramas, the theatre rapidly acquired a reputation for specialist aqua-dramas. Astley's Amphitheatre, near Westminster Bridge, was built in the form of a circus ring with adjoining stage, and was renowned for its equestrian performances. However convenient, therefore, it may be to think of the 'minors' in opposition to the patent houses, it is important to bear in mind that the individual theatres catered for very different tastes and expectations.

Sadler's Wells, the city's oldest minor theatre, had a history that stretched back to the seventeenth century. It was located on the outskirts of London by the toll pass, earning the epithet 'the country theatre'. When Drury Lane and Covent Garden closed for the summer months, London's beau monde would often negotiate the long journey across the city for the chance to see one of Dibdin's breath-taking aqua-dramas. In 1804, he had installed a water tank within the stage and achieved remarkable success with *The Siege of Gibraltar* (1804). Boasting wondrous special effects, the piece culminated in a spectacular destruction of the Spanish fleet, with models built to scale by the Dockyard's shipwrights. This kind of innovation in contemporary staging techniques was certain to attract the patronage of any theatre lover.

To entice audiences from central London, Sadler's Wells invested in better lighting and provided patrols to guide its playgoers back home in safety. In a competitive economy, the Sans Pareil and Olympic theatres made the most of their

central location. Jane Scott, the Sans Pareil's manager and in-house dramatic talent, printed all references to her playhouse as the 'Sans Pareil Theatre, Strand'.[9] Her published playscripts and playbills thereby defined a venue for dramatic entertainments within the heart of the city, testing the stereotype of what a minor theatre should and could be in the early nineteenth century. When Robert Elliston became proprietor of the Olympic Pavilion in 1813, he also challenged popular assumptions about illegitimate drama by provocatively re-branding his new playhouse 'Little Drury Lane'. His experiment was, however, short-lived. 'Little Drury's' proximity to the real Drury Lane theatre unsettled the patent committees. Under pressure from Whitbread and Harris, the Lord Chamberlain informed Elliston that he had infringed the terms of his performance license, and ordered the closure of his theatre. The theatre remained closed from May to December 1813, but was allowed to reopen the following year, with a renewed license for burletta performances and a reversion to its original name.

The Olympic and Sans Pareil had first opened in 1806, making them relative newcomers to the theatrical map.[10] Previously, the minor theatres had been built apart from the centre of London's polite society – a distance seen to represent their perceived social and cultural marginality. The central location granted to the proprietors of the Olympic and Sans Pareil helps literalise how, by the early

[9] Jane Scott was manager, writer, and main actress at the Sans Pareil between 1806 and 1819. During this time, she wrote over fifty plays. Her father, John Scott, was a wealthy entrepreneur, famous for the clothes and ink dye, 'Old True Blue'. He bought the theatre for his daughter, who had studied under Dr Arne and showed a talent for mounting amateur theatricals. In 1806, the theatre was a small house with no gallery. It was licensed for performance between October to March. Jane Scott wrote most of the plays performed, many of which were a financial success. The theatre became known as a venue for burletta, pantomime, and ballet. See 'The 1806-1807 Season', *The Adelphi Theatre 1806-1900: A Calendar of Performances*. General Editors Alfred L. Nelson and Gilbert B. Cross <http://www.emich.edu/public/english/adelphi_calendar/acpmain.htm> [Accessed 24/08/09].

[10] Philip Astley's Olympic Pavilion opened on 8 September 1806. The Sans Pareil opened on 17 November 1806.

nineteenth century, the minors had come to represent a dynamic and creative underground culture that was rapidly encroaching upon patent terrain.

The various minor theatres took care to appeal to the tastes and pockets of local audiences. The high stakes of operating in a highly competitive marketplace meant, however, that they could not rely solely on neighbourhood patronage. The Royal Circus/Surrey was located on the very outskirts of London in St George's Circus, close to the Obelisk. The Magdalen Hospital for Penitent Prostitutes was very near the theatre, and the King's Bench Prison located to the south. When Elliston became manager of the Royal Circus in 1809, he realised that in order to be successful, he would have to attract playgoers from the other side of the Thames. Immediately, he set about announcing a series of improvements, including an embellishment of the interior and the construction of additional private boxes.[11] In 1810, he converted the amphitheatre into a spacious pit. This transformed the Royal Circus into the Surrey Theatre – a much more stage-oriented venue for theatrical performance.[12]

Before Elliston, the Olympic had belonged to Philip Astley, the famous founder of the Royal Amphitheatre in Lambeth.[13] Astley had been a sergeant major

---

[11] Advertisement 23 March 1809, quoted by George Raymond in *The Life and Enterprises of R W Elliston, Comedian*, illustrated by George Cruikshank and 'Phiz' (London: 1857), p. 161.

[12] In November 1809, Elliston applied to the 'Third Theatre Committee' to transform the Surrey into London's additional patent theatre. The movement for a third patent collapsed, and the monopoly system was preserved. Elliston, however, continued to test the limits of his license. In August 1810, following the re-modelling of his theatre and Thomas Dibdin's recent engagement as the Surrey's artistic director, he staged an elaborate adaptation of Garrick's Shakespearean Jubilee. The playbills advertised seventeen scenes from Shakespeare's plays, and offered a full description and cast list. As with *Macbeth*, the strategy was to present the different scenes as ballets of action. See Christopher Murray, 'Elliston's Productions of Shakespeare', *Theatre Survey,* 11.2 (November 1920), pp. 99-123.

[13] In 1805 Astley acquired permission to build the Olympic Pavilion in Wych Street. Erroll Sherson describes the location as 'one of the narrowest, dirtiest, and most disreputable thoroughfares the West End has ever known […]', *London's Lost Theatres of the Nineteenth Century: With Notes on Plays and Players seen there*, (London: Bodley Head Limited, 1925), p. 77. Astley struggled to

in the British army who, after his retirement in 1766, opened his own circus ring for equestrian exercises. By the time of his death in 1814, he had built a total of nineteen establishments across Britain, Ireland, and the Continent. A successful showman, Astley combined his military knowledge with business acumen. During the Peninsular War, he devoted his efforts to mechanically and topographically ambitious entertainments that seemed to celebrate the nation's improvements in technology and military power. Astley's unique brand of equestrian spectacles received positive reviews in the *Monthly Mirror* (1810-1811), which distinguished the Amphitheatre as a respectable place of public amusement, attracting an extremely 'elegant assemblage of persons'.[14]

12: Robert Dodd, 'The Blood Red Knight, or The Fatal Bridge' (1810). Astley's very lucrative horse and water spectacle.

---

make a return on his investment and sold the theatre to Elliston in 1813. One of the most distinctive features of this venue was its architectural design – built in the shape of a tent, using timber from a captured French ship.

[14] See *MM* review of *The Erroneous Fortune-tellers; or, Harlequin's Judgment* and *The Blood Red Knight, or the Fatal Bridge*, Vol. VIII (June 1810), p. 472.

A question of genre

The *Monthly Mirror*'s favourable notice of productions at the Amphitheatre may seem surprising. It remained, however, very specific on the kinds of entertainment deemed suitable to such a venue. Expounding upon the continued success of *The Blood-Red Knight*, in August 1810 the review affirmed:

> We go to the minor theatres to be diverted by the prodigies of horsemanship, the fascination of spectacle, and the eccentric whimsicalities of drolls and clowns, and not to sleep over Shakespeare turned into dull mummery, or modern plays ingeniously improved in nonsense, and acted, most unnecessarily, still worse and worse. The nobility and fashion are perfectly agreed with us in this opinion, as the boxes at Astley testify every night.[15]

The reviewer celebrates the play's demanding horse manoeuvres, 'the fascination of spectacle' and irregularities of 'drolls and clowns'. Meanwhile, the reference to 'Shakespeare turned into dull mummery' makes a tacit dig at the generic transgressions practiced at the Royal Circus/Surrey Theatre. Chapter Three has already provided a brief discussion of *Macbeth* at the Royal Circus, hinting at the ways in which a cunning entrepreneur, such as Elliston, could exceed the limitations of his license. By re-staging familiar texts, Elliston gave plays new shape and meaning. In June 1809, he made his first appearance onstage at the Royal Circus as Captain Macheath in a burletta-melodrama version of *The Beggar's Opera*. A few months later, the Circus applied a similar formula to Shakespeare's *Macbeth*. When considering the wartime spectacles put on at the Surrey and other minors, it is important to remember the knowing, generic coyness illustrated by Elliston's burletta successes.

---

[15] *MM*, (August 1810), p. 159.

In *Macbeth*'s Occasional Address, Elliston took care to describe the play's new mode of representation:

> Though not indulg'd with full pow'rs of speech
> The poet's object we aspire to reach;
> The emphatic gesture, eloquence of eye,
> Scenes, music, every energy we try,
> […]
> And what we must not *say*, resolve to *do*;[16]

Scrolls and banners were used to relate important information to the audience, and provide them with the signals and context needed to make sense of the action onstage. These messages also helped entail a sense of theatre as a communitarian experience. Since many of the minors' poorer patrons were illiterate, the onus would have been placed on the Circus's better-educated playgoers. By reading aloud the messages paraded onstage, each night they were given a chance to take an active part in the theatre's creation of meaning.

Constrained by the inability to disclose their subject matter 'with full pow'rs of speech', the minors' representations of Spain and Portugal were reliant upon a recognizable visual economy of Iberian objects and mannerisms. Boleros, castanet dances, patriotic songs, and other symbolic shorthands, such as allusions to cape and sword drama, frequently featured in the topical productions staged at the minor theatres during the Peninsular War. By effective arrangement, these referents could provide audiences with gestural narratives as politically pointed and ambitious as Elliston's controversial yet popularly acclaimed adaptations of *The Beggar's Opera* and *Macbeth*. This makes the largely non-verbal productions put on at the minor theatres extremely difficult to reconstruct, even with the aid of surviving performance texts and songbooks. Where so much was dependent on the dancing

[16] Occasional Address, in *History, Murders, Life, and Death of Macbeth*, p. 86.

and vocal abilities of the main actors, cues for a 'pas seul' or the singing of a favourite ballad, are difficult to recreate.

In the playtext for Charles Dibdin's *The Wild Man* (1809), one of Sadler's Wells greatest hits, the description for the fifth scene merely reads 'Scene V – Interior of the Wild Man's Cave – Power of Music over the Savage Mind'.[17] It hardly does justice to the fact that this was one of the play's most celebrated scenes, commonly reproduced 'on Benefit nights, at almost every theatre in Town, and many in the Country'.[18] Contemporary audiences would have understood, however, that it was a play very much conversant with the Peninsular War, taking advantage of Britons' political interests to introduce the characters of Don Quixote and Sancho Panza. These, Dibdin claimed, were intended 'to relieve the serious part of the piece'.[19]

Dibdin's Don Quixote was immediately recognisable as a version of Cervantes's famous romantic idealist. The hero arrives at the island under the absurd belief that his boat is an enchanted one. He brags to the peasants:

> DON QUIXOTE — I am of the ancient order of Knights Errant who fight giants, destroy enchantments, redress wrongs, and never put up with insults, nor would I with the present; but *ye* are beneath my knightly resentment;[20]

This serves as the cue for Quixote's stage audience – and the auditorium at large – to laugh at the swaggering Don. When the peasants ridicule him, '*Quixote attacks them, they conquer, tie him, and carry him off in ludicrous procession, singing'*.[21] The character of Sancho Panca [*sic*] is Quixote's more cynical foil. He initially introduces

[17] Dibdin, *Songs and Vocal Compositions in the New Aquatic Romance,' The Wild Man'* (London: 1809), p. 18. The play was such a success that it was revived in 1814.
[18] *Memoirs*, p. 102.
[19] *Wild Man*, p. 4.
[20] *Ibid*., 'Scene I', p. 9.
[21] *Ibid*., p. 10.

himself as the faithful squire to 'the most redoubtable Knight-errant, Signor Don Quixote de la Mancha, who arrived with me upon this island in an enchanted boat to redress grievances, right wrongs, kill giants, and smother sorcerers'. He then qualifies this bombast by translating their quest into practical terms: 'that is, to meddle with other people's business instead of our own, run our heads against stone walls, […] and though we very seldom see a bed, get very often tossed in a blanket'.[22] The pair's separation for much of the piece permits Dibdin to play off these two, very different characters, and use Sancho's realism to offer comic qualification to the limitations of Spanish idealism, as represented by Don Quixote.

The 1809 production of the piece at Sadler's Wells seemed attuned to the turn in public opinion for the Peninsular campaign. By then, Ministers had come under increasing attack from the Opposition press. Many commentators began to question both the commitment of Spanish and Portuguese patriots, and the viability of further British involvement. It is significant, therefore, that Dibdin's juxtaposition of Don Quixote and Sancho Panca serves as the springboard for much of the play's humour, especially in light of a conclusion that bring the play's political message firmly in line with government policy. In the final scene of the play, the Prince orders a grand fête in Don Quixote's honour. Sadler's Wells' grand aquatic effects were reserved for this impressive finale, set in the Palace Garden with real 'jets d'eau'. Here, the mock sorcerer 'Bronganthan' is 'attacked and overcome by the joint efforts of Don Quixote and Sancho'. Meanwhile, the Wild Man oversees the final overthrow of the arch villain, Muley, a remorseless Moor.[23]

---

[22] *Wild Man*, 'Scene II', p. 12.
[23] *Ibid*., 'Scene the last', pp. 30- 31.

To contemporary audiences, the heathen Moor, overcome by his political ambitions, could easily be re-imagined as Napoleonic tyranny. This interpretation would have been reinforced by the conclusion, which celebrates the heroism of the Wild Man, and successfully re-unites Don Quioxte and Sancho as complementary sides of the Spanish character. Audiences are likely to have identified the Wild Man (impersonated by Grimaldi, the popular Harlequin of English pantomime), as a national hero of their own. In the visual grandeur that concludes the play, Dibdin signals his support of the Peninsular campaign by staging an implicit recognition of the value of chivalric ideals in modern British society.

Leigh Hunt's *Theatrical Examiner* essays on pantomime celebrate the genre's 'bustle', 'variety' and 'sudden changes'.[24] 'There is', Hunt claims, 'something *real* in Pantomime: there is animal spirit in it'.[25] With its fast paced scene-changes and disorientating special effects, the pantomimic action of *The Wild Man* and other successful spectacles in the genre, underscored the extraordinary pace at which history seemed to be taking place. Defining pantomime as the perfect vehicle for satire and its reforming aims, Hunt imagines how, in the absence of dialogue, the spectators are left 'to their several powers, to imagine what supplement they please to the mute caricature before them'.[26] To an extent, the ban on spoken drama at the minor theatres may have actually enhanced, rather than reduced, managers' capacities to create symbolic, politically engaging narratives.

[24] *TE*, 26 January 1817.
[25] *Ibid*., 5 January1817.
[26] *Ibid*., 26 January 1817.

1807-1809 The first responses

The early summer of 1808 was, and still is, described as a time of unanimous support for the Peninsular War. Literary historians have, however, often failed to recognise that part of the initial support for Portugal and Spain entailed quite damning critiques of the British government's foreign policy. During this period, the *Morning Chronicle* and *Morning Post* published a series of attacks against the Ministry of All the Talents, interpreting the government's slow response to Napoleon's invasion of Portugal as proof of the 'cowardly, crooked, and puffing policy of the day'.[27] The *Morning Chronicle* went so far as to claim that, deprived of British assistance, the Portuguese were fully justified in making negotiations with the French. According to the *Chronicle*, it was only the Portuguese Prince Regent's decision to emigrate to Brazil that salvaged England's historical alliance with Portugal.[28] From that moment, all the London papers began to publish accounts of the geography, commerce, politics, and culture of Portugal's South American empire. In 1808, Astley's Amphitheatre and Sadler's Wells also invested in plays with a Brazilian setting, creating visually stunning entertainments that alerted audiences to the global, as well as European, implications of Napoleon's interference in the Iberian Peninsula.

On 29 November 1807, as French troops arrived in Portugal via Castelo Branco, the Portuguese Royal family and 15,000 members of the court left for Brazil, under the protection of the British navy. By December, Lord Strangford's account of the evacuation was published in the 'London Gazette Extraordinary' and

[27] *MC,* 2 February 1808.
[28] *Ibid*., 31 December 1807.

became public knowledge. On 16 May 1808, *The Honest Criminal* was performed for the first time at Astley's Royal Amphitheatre. 'An entirely new Grand Spectacle, some months in preparation, invented and written by Mr. Astley Jun', the playbills promised to delineate 'the Manners and Customs of the Portuguese in that Part of South America, called, The Brazils'.[29] With the lure of seventeen new scenes, Astley claimed to provide a veritable 'Microcosm of that Country' (Figure 13).

13: Playbill for *The Honest Criminal* (Astley's, 7 June 1808). The image originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA because of 'copyright'. The image was sourced at the Victoria & Albert Theatre Museum Collection.

[29] Astley's Playbill, 7 June 1808 (V&A).

The Honest Criminal was an instant hit, gaining additional popularity in June 1808 when the British government vouchsafed its military commitment to assist the Spanish patriots. By 25 July it had been produced an astounding sixty-one times, and received several positive reviews.[30] For the past six months, the *Morning Chronicle* had maintained an acute interest in the implications of the Portuguese royal family's emigration, printing feature articles on the agriculture, commerce, and politics of Brazil.[31] It described *The Honest Criminal* as nothing short of 'a grand climax of theatrical perfection'.[32] In a review that was at once a theatrical and political puff, the *Morning Chronicle* celebrated the play's 'truly interesting and impressive effects', and dramatic company's acting strength. In particular, the paper praised Mrs Astley in the character of Zara, and Mr Crossman as 'a truly brave British Sailor'.[33] By the summer of 1808, as *The Honest Criminal* enjoyed its extended play-run, the *Morning Chronicle* attested that the play's Brazilian setting represented more than just a tropical travelscape:

> The Bay and City of Rio de Janeiro, as represented in this production, is certainly most beautiful, and the landing of the Prince Regent of Portugal in the Brazils, is a scene of the most pleasing and lively nature.[34]

As the new seat of the Portuguese monarchy, Brazil provided a political and sentimental refuge from the tyrannies of Napoleonic France. In 1808, the confused state of Peninsular politics gave Astley's Brazilian spectacle an intriguing mix of the political and melodramatic.

---

[30] *MC,* 25 July 1808.
[31] *Ibid*., 28 December 1807.
[32] *Ibid*., 24 May 1808.
[33] *Ibid*.
[34] *Ibid*.

The play opens with Zara de Almeida, daughter of the Governor of Rio de Janeiro, returning from Lisbon with her fiancé, a high-ranking Portuguese Officer, and their female attendant. Their journey was obviously intended to mirror the arrival of the Portuguese royal court at Rio de Janeiro. To heighten the thematic importance of this voyage from the Old to the New World, Astley adds dramatic tension when Zara and her party are shipwrecked off the coast of Rio de Janeiro. They are saved by 'the intrepidity of a British Sailor', 'at the hazard of his own life'. [35] As a reward for his heroism, Zara's father presents the sailor with a diamond ring. In awe of the ring's beauty, the sailor decides to travel to the interior of the country in search of its famous gold mines. During the course of this excursion, the sailor is submitted to the jealous machinations of Perez (husband to Zara's attendant) and his group of friends. In an act of self-defence, the sailor kills his antagonist, and becomes the 'Honest Criminal' of the play. The plot, however, continues at full pace. The sailor pays little heed to any moral wrangling, disguises himself in the dead man's clothes, and volunteers to join one of the annual expeditions to the gold mines. His putting on of another's identity proves so successful, that the officers in charge suppose him to be a native Brazilian. This plot synopsis is provided in concise detail by the theatre's playbills. In the interest of dramatic suspense, the précis concludes with the officers preparing to march the disguised sailor to the mines, when Perez's friends arrive to accuse him of murder and robbery. While the playbills do not reveal how the sailor acquits these charges,

[35] Astley's Playbill, 7 June 1808 (V&A).

they reassure audiences that the 'total overthrow of false evidence' would secure a happy ending for its hero.[36]

In Astley's play, the protagonist kills his opponent, dons his clothes, and doggedly pursues the whims of a materialistic curiosity to discover more about Brazil's renowned gold mines. Action and character seem troublesomely immoral. The play's setting and fascination with the region's mineral wealth was, however, entirely consistent with the newspapers' response to the emigration of the Portuguese royal family. The account in the *Morning Chronicle* defined Rio de Janeiro as the recognised 'emporium and principal staple of the rich produce of the Brasils [*sic*]'. It explained to its readers that Rio de Janeiro was the country's chief city, 'owing to the gold and diamond mines in the neighbourhood'.[37] The Braganzas' relocation from Lisbon to Rio de Janeiro was seen to bring with it all sorts of commercial and political advantages, including, of course, the opening of the South American markets to British trade.[38] This made the backlash against Ministers' slow response to events all the more severe. In the New Year of 1808, the *Morning Chronicle* printed a letter to its editor that denounced the government's 'puerile and contemptible attempt to claim the merit of assisting the Prince of Brazil in his embarkation'.[39]

Astley's piece re-writes Britain's disputed policy by foregrounding the thematic – and by extension, historic – significance attached to the sailor's rescue of the Portuguese party. This moment of heroic fulfilment colours the ensuing action

---

[36] Astley's Playbill, 7 June 1808 (V&A).
[37] *MC*, 'The Brazils', 28 December 1807.
[38] *MC* anticipated that Brazil would become 'a rich and powerful empire' (28 December 1807). Similarly, the *MP* claimed there were so many 'closely connected' 'political and commercial' advantages to the establishment of a Portuguese empire in the Brazils, 'that it is difficult to separate them' (28 December 1807). For the effects of the Peninsular War on South America, see Chapter One, pp. 69- 71.
[39] 'To the Landholders and Merchants of England', *MC*, 18 January 1808.

and is revived at the conclusion of the play, which re-enacts the fête and illuminations given by the Governor of Rio De Janeiro upon the arrival of the Prince Regent of Portugal. By this magnificent finale, Astley gave meaning to the otherwise ad-hoc action of the play, bringing together its real-life inspiration in the Braganzas' self-exile to Brazil and the night of theatrical performance itself. To highlight the play's exotic, military, and political themes, the play's many supporting roles included dancers and supernumerary characters described as 'Mulattoes, Portuguese, Slaves, Free Negroes, Guards of the Mines, Troops of the Line, [and] Native Infantry'. After the Anglo-Spanish alliance of June 1808, Astley would follow up on his South American success with the production of *The Spanish Patriots*, which, although not as popular as *The Honest Criminal*, secured at least thirty-eight representations by September that year.[40]

With curious audiences clamouring to see Astley's Brazilian spectacle, Sadler's Wells also looked to South America for the setting of *The White Witch; or The Cataract of Amazonia* (1808), a 'New Grand Aquatic Melo-Dramatic Spectacle'.[41] With music by Reeve and scenery especially designed by Andrews, the piece attempted a revolution in staging technique by creating a dry stage at the front (for the actors), and a wet stage at the back, where the mechanists created a real waterfall. Unfortunately for the proprietors, after heavy investment, it turned out that the waterfall, so magnificent during the day's rehearsals, was deficient by lamplight, when performances were made before a paying public.[42] This resulted in

[40] Unidentified clipping, dated September 1808 (Astley's (1770-1827) box, V&A).
[41] Sadler's Wells Playbill, 16 May 1808 (LMA).
[42] *Memoirs*, p. 99.

the piece's failure, but did not prevent Dibdin from recouping some of the loss by publishing his playtext.

In *The White Witch,* Dibdin exploits the themes of empire, exoticism, gender, and religion, stimulated by Britons' new-found interest in South America. His Advertisement opens, like many newspapers' descriptions of Brazil, by explaining the geographical situation of the Amazon River. Dibdin, however, replaces such factual details with a much more speculative account:

> There are no European Settlements there, and very little is said to be known of the place to which implicit credit can be given. Indeed the existence of the *Amazons* is a subject of much doubt, but there are many Authors that have asserted, that there are *Amazons* about the foot of Mount Cacassus, in Arabia, as well as in South America, who assist the Men in War and undergo equally the same Hardships; heading the troops jointly with the *Caciques*; and some that even expel the male sex from their communities, except at stated periods, […] preserving a few to bring up as Slaves.[43]

In contrast to *The Honest Criminal*, Dibdin's *The White Witch* imagines a Brazilian setting culturally and geographically distant from the emerging capital of Rio de Janeiro. The Advertisement takes care to underscore the lack of any European settlement in the region. It refers to the cruel customs ascribed to the Amazonian women as proof of the primitivism of this exotic locale. This frees Dibdin from the demands for verisimilitude expected from Astley's Brazilian melodrama. It provides an early indicator of a play that the Advertisement goes on to define as 'FICTION'. Here, there 'is much doubt' and 'very little […] to which implicit credit can be given'. Even the Amazonian settlement, which according to the literature referred to

[43] C Dibdin, *Songs, Duets, Recitatives, Chorusses, &c in the New Grand Aquatic Melo-Dramatic Spectacle, called 'The White Witch; or, The Cataract of Amazonia', with the argument of the piece* (London: 1808), 'Advertisement', p. 3.

in the Advertisement, would have expelled its male members, is re-imagined as a community composed of 'Men and Women equally trained to Martial Exercises'.[44]

The play's reinstatement of the male characters within the Amazon community makes it surprising to find Mr Norman in the role of Gargantua, the Principal Amazon listed under the 'Women' characters.[45] Dibdin's decision to cast a male actor in the role suggests that, contrary to the gender politics suggested by the Advertisement, his aquadrama divests the Amazons of their essential femininity and warrior-like ability to pre-empt action. Mr Norman's impersonation also served to replace the Amazons' exotic, sexual appeal with a comic denial of it. The women in *The White Witch* may be given the visual emblems of power, but the play ultimately deconstructs their authority by exposing the critical influence of the otherwise secondary male characters. Another example of this occurs in the characterisation of Pedagogue, who teaches the 'White Witch' (in reality, his cousin, an Englishwoman, with whom he has been shipwrecked on the shores of the Amazon) to impose upon the natives' superstitious beliefs by successfully passing as a sorceress.

Throughout, the play can be characterised as conservative. Its intent seems merely to gain cheap laughs by presenting a simplistic reduction of Amazonia as an exotic and mysterious land of 'otherness'. It concludes with a battle of the good and bad spirits. This made for a spectacular finale, set in an immense cataract of real water representative of one of the great rivers of the Amazon. As the White Witch is saved, Jongbongee falls prey to a crocodile from the river. In turn, the spirit of the dead Amazon queen, Pulkawulka, appears with personifications of Allegory and

---

[44] *White Witch*, 'Advertisement', p. 3.
[45] *Ibid*., p. 2.

Truth, and a scroll that reads 'Virtue is Heaven's peculiar Care!'[46] For a moment, the Amazons' superstitious belief in supernatural agency is normalised by the Christian faith in the power of Heaven to reward the good and punish the wicked. It would, however, be a leap to interpret this finale as any serious attempt to bridge the divide between the play's foreign setting and its local audiences.[47]

When writing *The White Witch*, Dibdin wanted to take advantage of his theatre's scenic effects, rather than offer any real challenge to his audiences' cultural or political expectations. Had the stage waterfall produced its desired visual effect, this colourful aqua-drama is likely to have given Dibdin the financial success he envisaged for the 1808 season. It had all the ingredients for probable success; an accomplished cast, exotic setting, and transparent, if unsophisticated, comic humour. But although similar in kind to *The Honest Criminal*, Dibdin's fanciful 'FICTION' should not be confused with Astley's more politicised cityscape of Rio de Janeiro. While both managers were keen to fill seats and secure cheap laughs, they differed in their claims to topicality. By 1808, reports about the royal evacuation from Lisbon had validated Rio de Janeiro as a subject of popular speculation. Amazonia was only of interest by extension, and remained a largely mythical setting. This enabled Dibdin to sidestep the ideological considerations that would have affected the popular interest in – and response to –Astley's Brazilian drama. In 1808, the staging of Spanish, Portuguese, or South American themed plays was a popular reaction to the public interest in the Iberian Peninsula. The

[46] *White Witch*, 'Scene XII', p. 20.
[47] South American themes were popular during this period. Robert Southey published *Madoc* in 1805, a long poem about a Welsh Prince who fights for the liberation of the Aztlan tribes from the cruel practices of the American Aztecs. It featured an exotic setting, sensational plot line, and comparable interest in native superstitions and governance. By 1812, the poem was in its third edition.

differences between the South American spectacles at Astley's Amphitheatre and Sadler's Wells illustrate that there was, nevertheless, an important distinction to be made between more politically alert productions, such as *The Honest Criminal* (associated with the Portuguese royal family's emigration), and more purely commercial sops, such as Dibdin's play.

Staging the war

In April 1809, after the disappointments of the Convention of Cintra and Moore's forced retreat at Corunna, news of British success in the Peninsula was particularly welcome. The Battle of Basque Roads (11-14 April) provided the British public with a much-needed occasion for celebration. Aware that Britain's armies in the Iberian Peninsula were dependent upon maritime supply, Napoleon had stationed one of his fleets near the French shores of Biscay, blocking the British supply ships. In retaliation, Lord Cochrane commanded the British fireships to lead an assault on the French fleet at anchor. The attack was a success, allowing the Royal Navy to reclaim a strategic, and much needed shipping route. Lord Cochrane returned to England a popular hero.

Astley's Amphitheatre was quick to celebrate the event by staging a nautical piece. The minor theatre produced a spectacle complete with recitative, duets, choruses, and glees. The playbills announced 'a true and lively Portraiture of the late Proceedings and glorious Event in the Destruction of the FRENCH FLEET, in Basque

Roads'.[48] According to the *Morning Chronicle*, this 'National Spectacle' attracted large crowds, despite the bad weather that spring.[49] At the start of the Easter season, attendance at the theatre to see the destruction of the French fleet was rendered into a patriotic gesture par excellence.

The other minors responded to Lord Cochrane's naval victory by staging commemorative entertainments of their own. At Sadler's Wells, audiences were introduced to a new song called 'Basque Roads', sung by Mr Rees in the character of a sailor. Characterised by its use of sailors' dialect and colloquialisms, 'Basque Roads' oscillated between song and spoken dialogue. Its lyrics were clearly instructive, functioning not only as a newscast but commentary on the battle itself. In the spoken accompaniment to the second verse, the song describes the launching of the fire-rockets, the British deflection of the French attack and ultimate success in washing the enemy fleet ashore:

Spoken
The fire ships led the way and forc'd *Monsieur* to cut and
Run ashore under his own batteries, but that *Kunouvre*
Wou'dn't do, for you know
Hearts of oak are our ships,
Hearts of oak are our men,
And we'll fight and we'll conquer again and again.
With a chip chow, &c[50]

The spoken inserts complement the dramatic narrative of the musical verse, providing a lively, educational resumé of the course of the battle. This change in

[48] *MC*, 28 April 1809
[49] *Ibid*., 4 May 1809.
[50] *Recitatives, Duets, Trios, Chorusses &c with a description of the scenery and other decorations, also the fables and arguments of the Various pieces now performing at the Aquatic Theatre, Sadler's Wells* (London: 1809), 'The popular new song called "Basque Roads"', p. 1.

tone between song and speech lent added weight to the didactic qualities of popular music.

In establishing a dialogue between the song's performer and his audience, Dibdin alludes to British 'hearts of oak'. His audiences would have immediately associated 'hearts of oak' with Garrick's song of that name:

> Hearts of Oak are our ships, jolly Tars are our men
> We ever are ready
> Steady boys, steady
> We'll fight and we'll conquer again and again![51]

Performances of Garrick's song were very popular at the London theatres during the Peninsular War. Performers sang with a fervour often matched by enthusiastic renditions from the auditorium. In the 'Battle of Basque Roads', Dibdin's allusions sought to re-create a communal appreciation of the patriotism and sense of self-confident realisation identified with Garrick's nationalist song.

Dibdin's song also provides an ironic description of how Lord Cochrane made his advance to the tune of 'Britons strike home'. According to the song, British music was so irresistible in its charms that even the French '*Mounsieurs* all danc'd' to 'Rule Britannia'. By 1809, 'Rule Britannia', which had been first performed in 1741, was well established as an emblem of British imperial power.[52] It was also a favourite at the patent theatres, where it had become a sort of national anthem among theatrical audiences. To effect an even more emotive conclusion, the finals lines of Dibdin's song reverberate to 'God Save the King', as loyalty for 'our

---

[51] David Garrick, 'Hearts of Oak', (Edinburgh, 1776), *Eighteenth Century Collections Online,* Gale. University of Oxford <http://find.galegroup.com/ecco/infomark.do?&contentSet=ECCOArticles&type=multipage&tabID=T001&prodId=ECCO&docId=CW113137829&source=gale&userGroupName=oxford&version=1.0&docLevel=FASCIMILE>, [accessed 5 May 2010].

[52] In 1815, the Sadler's Wells pantomime *Harlequin Brilliant* depicted the launching of 'the good ship Britannia' while the whole company sang 'Rule Britannia'. C Dibdin, *Memoirs*, p. 108.

good old King' prompts the cry: 'Send Him victorious, happy and glorious | Long to reign over us'.[53] The affecting experience of an entire auditorium in song would have left little time for playgoers to consider the ironic application our 'our good old King' to George III, then old and in ill-health. Instead, by his clever interlacing of a Peninsular War victory with the familiar lyrics and titles of popular patriotic songs, Dibdin helped reinvigorate the spirits of a weary and disillusioned public. 'The Battle of Basque Roads' created the opportunity for theatregoers to come together as a national community, conscious and proud of its military responsibilities.

At the Sans Pareil theatre, Jane Scott also looked to the Battle of Basque Roads in order to redress Britons' wartime concerns. On 6 July 1809, the evening's entertainment opened with a new military and naval burletta spectacle *The Double Defeat; or British Tars and Austrian Troops*. Contemporary uncertainties about the future independence of Austria had fuelled a series of political speculations in the periodical press. On 28 May1809, for instance, the *Examiner* anxiously observed that while Wellesley was in Oporto, Napoleon was in Austria.[54] The main scene in *The Double Defeat* brought together the war's two military fronts by depicting the naval engagement in Basque Roads as well as the 'Achievements of the Austrians on the Banks of the Danube'.[55] These scenes, which were proudly advertised on the playbills, serve as a useful reminder that Britain's war effort between 1807- 1815 was not limited to the Peninsula.

At the Sans Pareil, the spectacles on offer were enhanced by a new dance, patriotically entitled 'Britons Strike Home; or, Which of the Three'. This interlude

[53] 'Basque Roads', p. 2.
[54] *Examiner*, 28 May 1809.
[55] SP Playbill, 6 June 1809 (V&A).

was rendered all the more attractive by the engagement of Miss Twamley, from the Opera House, who performed the new pas deux with Mr Goodwin. An Occasional Address was then delivered as an interlude to the 'new Grand serious spectacle' of *Female Courage; or, The Banditti of the Rock*, and the comic pantomime of *Harlequin Cottager; or, The Wandering Fairy*. As a final gesture in celebration of Cochrane's naval battle, the entertainments concluded with a hornpipe in the character of a British sailor.

The surviving performance records suggest that Scott's choice of mainpieces that evening did not attract much notice. There were no further representations of either *The Double Defeat* or *Female Courage*, and no playtexts published. Perhaps the competition was too high, with audiences preferring the Amphitheatre's special effects, or the singing of Mr Rees at Sadler's Wells. The Sans Pareil's failure to attract enough playgoers does, however, point towards two significant conclusions. Firstly, it suggests that during the Peninsular War, it was not enough for a piece to be obviously patriotic. Patriotic inflexions would certainly have helped sell tickets, but further attractions were also needed. The minor theatres thus sought to entice audiences with impressive new scenery, mechanical contrivances, or the engagement of a star actor. Scott's failure with the *Double Defeat* and *Female Courage* also shows that in a highly competitive marketplace, managers were on a continuous search for the distinctive sense of novelty that would place their theatre at a cut above the rest.

Earlier in 1809, Scott had achieved remarkable success with *The Bashaw; or, The Midnight Adventures of Three Spaniards*. The piece was staged fifty-nine times

at the Sans Pareil between 23 January and 22 April 1809.[56] Scott wrote the script and played the part of Clara, 'a Spanish Lady, Disguised as a Bashaw'.[57] Her artistic vision and skills as an actress were equally celebrated. The advertisements placed in the *Morning Chronicle* suggest that her role-playing was one of the chief attractions of the piece.[58] Typographical emphasis was continually placed on Scott's impersonation of the Turkish pasha, and *The Times*, for its part, wrote a glowing review of the play:

> It is truly the most elegant thing of the kind we have ever witnessed. The music is fascinating to a degree; so is the Dance in the first Act. The torch light business in the Second Act has a novel and pleasing effect. Miss Scott plays and sings the female Bashaw to admiration; nor does she look the worse for the assumed mustachios. [59]

Since the Restoration, when women were first allowed on the British stage, cross-dressing roles had acquired immense popularity. Peter Thomson notes that 'close to one quarter of the plays staged between 1660 and 1700 called for an actress (or two) to expose normally concealed parts of the body in male costume'.[60] Cross-dressing was a distinctive feature of *The Bashaw*'s visual appeal. Less immediately, however, Scott's representation of the Bashaw also testified to the contemporary political value of conflating images of the East with the West. Scott specifically marketed her play as the adaptation of 'an original Spanish tale'. It is possible, therefore, that her leading performance would have provoked discussion about the

---

[56] A Calendar of Plays for the Sans Pareil is available online, and is the main source for the statistical data quoted. See *The Adelphi Theatre 1806-1900: A Calendar of Performances*. General Editors Alfred L. Nelson and Gilbert B. Cross <http://www.emich.edu/public/english/adelphi_calendar/acpmain.htm> [Accessed 24/08/09].
[57] Jane Scott, *Songs, Chorusses, Duetts, Trios, &c in The Bashaw; or, Midnight Adventures of Three Spaniards. From a Spanish Tale* (London: 1809).
[58] N.B. In the published playtext, the role of Clara is not listed under the female parts, but at the head of the male cast list.
[59] *Times*, 31 January 1809.
[60] Peter Thomson, *Cambridge Introduction to English Theatre, 1660-1900* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), p. 54.

active role assumed by many Spanish women during the Peninsular War.[61] As British soldiers struggled to gain ground in the Peninsula, there were also acute fears of a collapse in the Orient. The *Examiner* imagined that if Turkey failed to reform, it would be next in line for a Napoleonic invasion.[62] The sensuality of the cross-dressing Clara may well have spoken to distant political, as well as more immediately physical, desires.

The terms used by the *Morning Chronicle* to review *The Bashaw* were not dissimilar to the first reports on Sheridan's phenomenally popular *Pizarro*:

> Have you seen the Bashaw at the Sans Pareil Theatre, is the first question in every fashionable circle at the West end of Town? [*sic*] Have you seen the Bashaw? – the first question in every Coffee and Counting House in the City. Nor can we wonder at the estimation in which the Public hold it. The Patriotic Lines at the conclusion, independent of their merit, render it worthy every unbounded patronage it has already received. Every English heart must feel and hand approve them. – The other entertainments at this beautiful Theatre, though each excellent in their kind, must all give way. The reigning favourite of the day is the Bashaw.[63]

Although the play's patriotic lines were considered to be of dubious literary 'merit', the reviewer did not fail to recognise their importance in bringing together an approving English audience. From the west end of London to the city's financial core, *The Bashaw*'s 'unbounded patronage' knew no geographic – or, by implication, social – limits. 'The reigning favourite of the day', *The Bashaw* benefited from the talents of the company's most skilled actors. John Isaacs, Mrs James F Pyne and Abraham Slader all assumed leading parts. These actors had come

---

[61] See Chapter Two, pp. 132-5.
[62] On 25 December 1809 the *Examiner* wrote on the need for internal reform in Turkey. See also, its fears of invasion, printed mid-way through the play's successful run (26 March 1809).
[63] *MC*, 3 February 1809. Cf. 'Pizarro the Universal Topic!' in *Spirit [...]1799*, pp. 314-8.

from Covent Garden theatre after it burned down in September 1808, and helped make *The Bashaw* the highlight of the 1809 season.

1810-1812: Bullets and Bulletins

Disappointments; or, Love in Castille premiered at the Sans Pareil on 3 December 1810. It was the first play of the winter season, with an Opening Address written and delivered by Jane Scott. The Address conformed to the custom among women playwrights to affably poke fun at the idea of female authorship. Introducing *Disappointments* with its new scenery, dress, and decorations, the Address curries audience sympathy by revealing the company's anxieties for the new play's success, and making a spectacle of its author:

> Then there's Miss, the *Authoress*, a little conceited thing – aye, 'tis true,
> Do you know, she fancies that she is a *favourite* with you.[64]

The objectifying distance implied by the use of the third person is rendered ironic because spoken by the authoress herself. Jane Scott, the successful author of *Ulthona, The Red Robber, The Magistrate, The Misers of Smyrna, The Bashaw,* and *Mary the Maid of the Inn*, was also well known for her comic pantomimes of *Mother White Cap, The Necromancer*, and *The Magic Pipe*. Her expectations for success were, therefore, fully justified. The Address then switches from Scott's self-representation as a conceited outsider, to a lovable, scatterbrained first-person speaker, who gives audiences what they want: 'I am prating at a random rate | When

[64] Jane Scott, *Songs, Duets, and Chorusses* [*sic*] *in the New Serio-Comic Burletta, entitled 'Disappointments; or, Love in Castille'* (London: 1810), Opening Address, p. 4.

in due form I ought to *supplicate*'.[65] Shortly after, the prompt bell rings, blurring the delivery of the Address with the mainpiece itself:

> Lud, don't ring yet, I know I'm running on,
> But have a little Patience, Sir, and I'll be gone;
> Bless my soul, when talking is the plan,
> And *Women* have to *speechify* – stop their tongues who can.[66]

Playing up to the period's reductive gender norms, Scott quickly concludes with an urbane address to the gentlemen in her audience. Although her tone is entertaining, it remains predictably conventional. The Address stands out, however, in relation to the ensuing play, which suggests that Scott's emphasis on female authorship and audience expectation went some way towards an acknowledgement of the ideological shortcomings of the performance that followed.

Chapter Three has discussed the differences between the Romantic experience of reading Shakespeare and watching his plays in performance. Scott's decision to publish the playtext of *Disappointments* was a significant one. Financial motivations were certainly important, but there also seems to be a suggestion that a closet reading of Scott's play could provide audiences with a much more ideologically rounded experience than offered by the performance itself. The principle indication of any real political or historical interest to Scott's play occurs in the playtext's description of 'The Plot preceding the opening of the Piece'. In an attempt to 'open the mind to the situation of the Characters at the rise of the curtain', Scott goes to considerable length to explain the circumstances of the play's leading male characters.[67] She explains that Don Alvares, a disgraced Portuguese

---

[65] *Disappointments,* p. 4.
[66] *Ibid*.
[67] *Ibid*., p. 5.

nobleman, has fallen victim to the 'private machinations of his enemies'. Resigning from his post as Prime Minister, he escapes with his son, Foliano, 'in disgust from the Court'. They end up in Spain after Foliano falls in love with a young lady travelling there.[68] This preliminary plot summary delivers promises unfulfilled by the play itself. To her readers, Scott describes a Portuguese court falling apart through inner dissension. Don Alvares' plight seems mirrored by that of Seberto (a Portuguese gentleman disguised as a peasant), whose own experiences of political foulplay took place during Don Alvares' government. This intriguing political backdrop helps set up the obstacles that would be likely to frustrate the younger generation's hopes for romantic fulfilment. Scott's theatregoers, by contrast, were given a very different impression of the play's action. *Disappointments* opens with a dance and choral lay by the peasant community and then proceeds to detail the young Julian's amorous melancholy.[69] At no point does the main play take up the challenges of its politicised subplot. Instead, attention is drawn to the worn-out, familiar stereotypes of Spanish peasants, belles, and religious hypocrisy.[70]

Why, then, does Scott take care to 'open the mind to the situation of the Characters at the rise of the curtain', if only to ignore that mindset during the course of the play itself? To an extent, the Opening Address, which was published as part of her playtext, helps account for the disparity between the preceding plot and political hesitancy so obvious to *Disappointment*'s main action. In the Address, Scott portrays herself as the distant, conceited author, and then playfully retreats as a ditsy female playwright. By the same token, *Disappointments* teases its audiences

[68] *Disappointments*, p. 5.
[69] *Ibid*., p. 7.
[70] E.g. *Disappointments,* II. 2, pp. 11-12.

with the interests of a political subplot it subsequently fails to develop. Scott knew that to fill seats in her playhouse, she had to abide by certain expectations. Engagement with hard politics was not what audiences wanted when they came to the theatre. Scott's play thus deliberately, and successfully, avoids the imbroglios of Peninsular politics and complies to a superficial Spanish theme. Produced fifty-six times between December 1810 and March 1811, the piece included Spanish dances by Goodwin, the theatre's resident ballet master, and was accompanied by a mock bolero in character, danced by Goodwin and Kirkby on its opening night.[71] Scott could not, however, resist at least hinting at the undeveloped ideological potential of her play's Spanish setting. She thus included a synopsis of the preceding plot in her published playtext that encouraged her literate audiences to supplement their memories of the Sans Pareil performance with a politicised narrative that added depth and substance to the play's skittish action.

Spectacular recreations

The minors' generic limitations encouraged managers to develop the experience and talent needed to produce more obviously patriotic, visually immediate narratives about the British campaign in Spain and Portugal. At the Amphitheatre and Surrey, Astley and Elliston were quick to discover that much profit could be gained by literally transposing the Peninsular battlefield onto the stages of their own playhouses. In 1810-1811, a succession of British victories in Portugal made this a

[71] SP Playbill, 3 December 1810 (V&A).

particularly attractive prospect. The Battle of Bussaco (27 September 1810) and the battles of Fuentes de Oñoro and Albuera (both 16 May 1811) had played a crucial role in facilitating Wellington's expulsion of the French from Portuguese territory. By the end of April 1811, the townspeople of Elvas were lauding him as the heroic 'Restorer of the Kingdom of Portugal'. The significance of Wellington's victories was symbolic, as well as strategic. Although the war was far from over, the myth of French invincibility had finally been shattered and important victories gained with the assistance – and on behalf – of Britain's oldest ally. Astley took this as the opportune moment to invest in the production of a new military piece *Lisbon, Or the Cunning of War on the Banks of the Tagus* – a celebration of the army's success in driving the French troops out of Lisbon.[72]

In 1812, with Napoleon and his armies distracted by the demands of a Russian campaign, Wellington replaced his defensive strategy with an Anglo-Portuguese offensive. Taking Ciudad Rodrigo and Badajoz by storm, the Allies succeeded in opening up two of the main routes into Spain. Theatre managers recognised that the deaths of Major Generals Henry Mackinnon and Crauford called for a heroic eulogy. At the Surrey Theatre, Elliston responded with a '*petite* Melo-Dramatic Spectacle' to record the capture of Ciudad Rodrigo. It boasted 'incidents and situations similar and appropriate to the recent gallant and glorious achievement of our victorious Army in the Peninsula', and concluded with a large, illuminated transparency of Wellington.[73]

---

[72] Unidentified clipping dated 24 July 1811, (V&A Astley's Box).
[73] As described by Christopher Murray in *Robert William Elliston: Manager* (London: Society for Theatre Research, 1975), p. 45.

Astley rose to the challenge and produced *The Siege and Capture of Badajoz.* The Amphitheatre's speed in mounting the spectacle was impressive. It premiered in May 1812, only a month after the real siege. The newspaper advertisements promoted:

> Accurate stage representation in Fourteen Scenes, of the glorious and unparalleled SIEGE, STORMING and TAKING, at the point of the Sword and Bayonet, the strong OUTWORK and CITY of BADAJOZ, by the brave and gallant Allied Army, commanded by Field Marshal the Most Noble Lord Wellington – Characters (Besieged and Besiegers) are inserted in the Bills of the Day.[74]

The *Morning Chronicle* used typographical emphasis to break up the play's action into three stages, describing the conquest as a siege, storming, and taking.[75] Investing in skilled manoeuvres with the sword and bayonet, Astley gave added importance to military parading. A large portion of his budget was reserved for the scenery, which relied on fourteen different scenes. These would have been carefully scrutinised by contemporary audiences, familiar with the plans of battleworks printed in the main newspapers shortly after the siege. Accounts from the *London Gazette* were also used for the accurate representation of Badajoz exhibited at the Panorama in Leicester Square.[76] Information about Badajoz was, therefore, readily available, and suggests that audiences would have arrived at the theatre with well-formed preconceptions about the town and its surrounding country.

---

[74] *MC,* 7 May 1812.
[75] On the night of its first representation, *The Siege and Capture of Badajoz* was presented alongside the spectacle of *The Brave Cossack*. The proprietors asked for the public's indulgence, explaining that maximum stage room would be needed for the representation of these large and demanding productions. The pairing of these pieces paid testimony to the pan-European scale of the wars.
[76] See *A Short Description of Badajoz, and the surrounding country; With Extracts from the London Gazette. Explanatory of the Picture Exhibiting in the PANORAMA, Leicester Square, Representing the Siege in 1812* (London: 1813).

Badajoz turned out to be one of the bloodiest sieges in the Peninsular campaign, making Astley's observation that the Besieged and Besiegers would be inserted in the Bills of the day illustrative of the piece's acute topicality. The list of casualties from Badajoz was augmenting daily. By giving individual recognition to the different supernumeraries engaged at his theatre each night, Astley was introducing audiences to real soldiers, awaiting deployment so they could reinforce existing troops in the Peninsula. On 28 April 1812 the *Morning Chronicle* printed a letter from a British officer in Spain detailing the brutal savagery of French warfare, and difficulties of a night-time assault. It explained that after scaling the fortress walls at Badajoz the British soldiers were finally in a position to leap down. When they jumped, 'they fell on *cheveaux de frize*, formed of old swords ground to the utmost sharpness'.[77] Beating the odds in such an inhumane war, the army's successful taking of Badajoz represented the epitome of British heroic achievement.

In August 1812, the Surrey took advantage of the Allied victory at Salamanca, a month earlier, to give added lustre to its own representation of Badajoz:

> The splendid VICTORY OF SALAMANCA and the FALL OF BADAJOZ; the piece produced at this Theatre under the latter Title, and which was constantly received with the most flattering applause, will by particular desire, be reproduced on this occasion.[78]

To compete against Astley's carefully planned spectacle, the Surrey attached similar significance to its representations of setting. The play's geographic movement became an important part of its patriotic design. In the lead up to the

---

[77] *MC*, 28 April 1812.
[78] *Ibid*., 31 August 1812. N.B. the Surrey was competing against Astley's 'grand Military Spectacle in two acts, called *The Battle of SALAMANCA! The Town Major and Spanish Heroine*.

triumphant storming of the city, the advertisements promised scenes of a Portuguese village (with preparations for Nuptials), a Portuguese village plundered and destroyed, and the view before Badajoz.[79] The play's main intent was to chart the movement of the Allied troops from Portugal into Spain. By this means, the play not only celebrated Anglo-Portuguese success in driving away the French, but introduced audiences to a new chapter in the British military campaign in the Peninsula. The progression of scenes was calculated for maximum effect, building up a sequence of events that climaxed with the storming of Badajoz – the inevitable rallying point for British heroic action.

Actors and audiences

In the summer of 1812, managers at London's minor theatres exploited the public's fascination with the latest news from the Peninsula by staging highly topical representations of the war.[80] Their policy of 'bringing the war home' was to some extent complemented by the trend of engaging foreign performers. In January 1809 the Olympic Pavilion hired a ropedancer from Lisbon.[81] The Sans Pareil engaged 'Signor Montigani "from [the] Lisbon Opera"'.[82] At a time when all eyes were on

[79] N.B. The border town of Badajoz is Spanish, not Portuguese.
[80] Representations of the battle on stage were complemented by the successful exhibition of Barker's 1813 panorama of the city.
[81] *MC*, 24 January1809.
[82] See Frank McHugh, 'The 1811-1812 Season', Theatre History Summary <http://www.emich.edu/public/english/adelphi_calendar/acpmain.htm> [Accessed 24/08/09].

Spain and Portugal, foreign actors added to the commercial and 'spectacular' purchase of the Peninsular War.[83]

Signor Montigiani's story is an interesting one, and offers another example of the connections between the legitimate and illegitimate theatres. Before Montigiani accepted the post of ballet master at the Sans Pareil, he was contracted by the Drury Lane company. He first appeared before London audiences in the comic ballet *The Village Doctor* (May 1810), which he helped write. The *Monthly Mirror* was unequivocally critical of the ballet's 'disappointing mimicry and dance'.[84] A month later, the *Mirror* remained unimpressed by Montigiani, 'the jumping *monsieur*, with the *Italian* name, from *Lisbon*'.[85] In its earlier reviews of the performances at Astley's Amphitheatre, the *Mirror* had been highly opinionated about the kinds of entertainment appropriate at the city's different theatres. Unsurprisingly, it found little to praise in Montigiani's non-dramatic contributions to the Drury Lane repertoire. With satirical bite, the reviewer extended his suspicions of the ballet's generic legitimacy, to question the authenticity of Montigiani's Portuguese connections. There could be no mistake: Montigani, the *Mirror* claimed, was not the man for Drury Lane.

What, then, was Montigiani's value to a minor theatre, such as the Sans Pareil? In the 1811-1812 season, Montigiani was active in the dual capacities of composer and performer at Scott's theatre. He was choreographer for *The Three Rivals* (November 1811-January 1812) and *The Vizier's Son, The Merchant's*

---

[83] This trend continued after the war. As late as 1816, the Surrey was advertising 'Signor Don Juan y Ese (from Madrid)' as a star attraction. Playbill, 30 January 1816 (V&A).
[84] *MM*, (May 1810), p.392.
[85] *Ibid*., (June 1810), p. 462.

Daughter, and the Ugly Woman of Baghdad (performed sixty-two times between December 1811 and April 1812). He regularly played the energetic character of Gormez/Pantaloon in Scott's hit play *The Poison Tree; or, Harlequin in Java*, and danced a mock bolero on 10 February 1812.[86] Montigiani may not have fared well as the new ballet master at Drury Lane, but his dances and the patriotic songs composed by Jane Scott and Michael Parnell were the chief attractions of the Sans Pareil's 1811-1812 season.

During the Peninsular War, London became a refuge for political émigrés and their families. The engagement of foreign performers, such as Montigiani, may, therefore, have served as an additional draw to London's growing Hispanic community.[87] Refugees of the Peninsular War often arrived in London with very poor command of the English language, and were consequently more likely to have been attracted to the spectacular, non-spoken performances at the minor theatres. William Ticken, author of *The Annals of England* (1810) and the Peninsular War novel *Santos de Montenos; or, Annals of a Patriot Family* (1811) was among the many British writers to advocate England as a safe-haven for the war's political exiles. Early in the novel, the Spanish Duke and Marquis de Montenos discuss contingency plans for their families' wellbeing. The Duke informs his friend that he has sent 'a large sum to invest in English funds'. This, he explains, will enable his mother and sister to be sent to England in the likelihood of a civil war:

---

[86] *The Adelphi Theatre 1806-1900: A Calendar of Performances*. General Editors Alfred L. Nelson and Gilbert B. Cross <http://www.emich.edu/public/english/adelphi_calendar/acpmain.htm> [Accessed 24/08/09].

[87] Prof. Frederick Burwick (Department of English, UCLA) is currently working on what promises to be a fascinating study of the performance of ethnic drama for London's migrant communities in the nineteenth century.

> The Marquis, without hesitation, embraced the idea; he knew the generous hospitality of the English towards all those unfortunates, who had at different times, been obliged to seek there an asylum from the fangs of the despoiler of Europe [...].[88]

When Laura Mondecar, the novel's heroine, arrives in London, she finds particular solace in the convent in Hammersmith. The neighbourhood was well known for its many Roman Catholic schools. These had been founded by French émigrés, but were open to their religious brethren from the Iberian Peninsula. Tickens's novel, as its full title declares, was 'founded on facts'. This makes it tempting to identify the religious house in his story with the convent founded in the seventeenth century by Frances Beddingfield, next door to the house of the Portuguese ambassador.[89] The Spanish chapel in Spanish Place (Manchester Square), and the Portuguese Embassy Chapel (74 South Audley Street) were other focal points for the Peninsula's emigrant communities.[90] In 1811, the latter became a fashionable place of worship when Vincent Novello, the Chapel's organist, published his two-volume *Collection of Sacred Music, as Performed at the Portuguese Chapel in London*. During the wars, London's Hispanic settlers were a visible part of the city's population.

The social make-up of London's Spanish émigrés ranged from the well-educated circle that gathered at Holland House, to liberated prisoners of war, who struggled to make their way home after 1808.[91] The Old Bailey records for the

---

[88] William Ticken Esq, *Santos de Montenos; or, Annals of a Patriot Family. Founded on Recent Facts*, 3 vols (London: 1811), I, 37.

[89] Information about the convent was provided in response to a research enquiry to the Hammersmith and Fulham Libraries and Archives.

[90] Since 1793, the church of 'Our Lady Star of the Sea' had been open at Crooms Hill (Greenwich), catering for Catholic seamen that found themselves anchored in London.

[91] For an example of the cultural activities of London's upper class Spanish émigrés, see *MC* (10 April 1812) advertisement for a masquerade at the Argyle-Street Rooms. The venue was a private subscription theatre, owned by William Greville, a keen theatrical amateur, and one of the most famous members of the Pic-Nic Society. He was granted a license for music, dancing, and occasional balls at Argyle-Street. It was anticipated that 'a great number of Spaniards now in town, will attend this masquerade, and contribute by their "canzonnetas" and "boleros" to the mirth of the evening'.

Peninsular War period showcase a few examples of the difficulties faced by London's many Spanish and Portuguese sailors. On 9 September 1808, Joze Kertein was indicted for felonious robbery. In his defence statement, Kertein described himself as 'a poor man, a native of Spain, lately removed for Portsmouth', where he had been a prisoner for three years. After the arrival of the Asturian delegates in London, many prisoners of war from that region in Spain were granted their freedom. It is likely, therefore, that Kertein was among these, and came to London in search of a ship to return to Spain.[92] On the evening in question, he admitted to being so drunk that he was unable to account for the charges levelled against him. Kertein begged for the Judge's mercy, 'as I am a poor man, and ignorant of the English tongue'.[93] He was allowed an interpreter on account of his linguistic difficulties. As was customary in the trial of foreigners, his case was heard by a special jury composed by at least some members of his native country. In 1808, with expectations for the war still high, the newspapers paid little notice to his trial, which, in any case, ended in a pardon. According to the *Morning Post*, more than one hundred and forty cases had been listed in the Old Bailey Calendar, but 'none of any particular importance'.[94]

Kertein and other stranded sailors are likely to have looked for lodgings in the Wapping neighbourhood of East London. The neighbourhood's strong maritime character made it home to many sailors, boat-builders, and other instrument-makers of the naval trade, who provided the minor theatres with its unruly but important

---

His guests, representative of the Spanish elite in London, were the subject of excited gossip and speculation.

[92] See Chapter Three, p. 152, note 42.

[93] Old Bailey Proceedings Online, <http://www.oldbaileyonline.org> [Accessed 17 September 2009], September 1808, trial of Joze Kertein (t18080914-119).

[94] *MP*, 14 September 1808.

crowds of gallery spectators. The performers from Lisbon contracted at the minor theatres were famous for their dances and gymnastic shows. These tended to be reserved for the latter half of an evening's entertainment, and helped safeguard their popularity with second-price viewers. From the ambassadorial role of foreign performers, to popular ballets and elaborate recreations of the latest battle in the Peninsula, wartime representations of Spain and Portugal brought the minors valuable patrons, publicity, and profit.

1813-1815: Vittoria and Victory

On 21 June 1813, the Battle of Vittoria brought an end to Bonaparte's rule in Spain. Since 1812, the public had been on tenterhooks, hopeful that Napoleon's Russian campaign would weaken his hold on Spain. The expectations raised by Elliston's 'The Victory at Salamanca' were confirmed at Vittoria, where the French army was decisively crushed and Joseph forced to flee Madrid once again. This gave Napoleon little room for manoeuvre, and he reluctantly agreed to sign the Treaty of Valençay (11 December 1813). Preliminary to a full peace settlement between France and Spain, the treaty secured Ferdinand's release from French captivity and acknowledged his restoration. News of Vittoria reached England in the first week of July. Three nights of general illuminations and fireworks were given in honour of Wellington. There were fantastic displays at Carlton House, Somerset House, and the homes of the Spanish Ambassador and Spanish Consul. At Vauxhall, more than one thousand guests joined the Royal family and foreign ambassadors in celebration.

The gardens were decorated in full magnificence; Wellington's name was projected onto the colonnades, and allusions made to the towns in the Peninsula known as 'the scenes of British glory'. The standard of the 100th regiment of French horse, which had been taken at the battle of Vittoria, was on display and Marshal Jourdan's baton visibly placed among the plate. [95] In the summer of 1813, Vittoria seemed synonymous with victory.

The minor theatres offered their own commemorations of the Allied successes in Spain. Charles Dibdin the Younger remembered celebrating 'the Duke of Wellington's Victories, which were obtained in that year, in two musical and military melanges, called *Vittoria, or Wellington's Laurels,* and *The Battle of Salamanca*'.[96] Songs from *Vittoria* were re-printed in popular songbooks of the period, including 'Jourdan and His Marshal's Staff', which was sung by Mr Lund to the familiar tune of 'Sir Sidney Smith'. Dibdin's musical ballet of action was performed as soon as a week after the first London illuminations. With music by Reeve and scenery by Andrews, the piece introduced a 'Bayonet Charge', reminiscent of the real battle:

> My readers will probably recollect, that the English and French charged each other, each in an immensely extended line; and that each marched up the Charge, with the utmost coolness and intrepidity; – their Bayonets were locked in each other, – an instant pause took place, the Eyes of each fixed upon his adversary; when the determined aspect of the British Soldiers, produced such an appalling effect upon the elite of the Emperor, that they suddenly and simultaneously, turned tail, and ran off, at speed. Doubtlessly, the high character which the English Soldiers, who are said to surpass all the

[95] As described in *Some Account of London, Westminster, and Southwark: Illustrated with Portraits, Views, Historical Prints, Medals, &c. With an appendix and index* (London: printed for the Illustrator, [1815]), p. 75 (LMA Archives, Misc. Boxes, SC/GL/LMI/XI).
[96] *Memoirs*, p. 107.

> troops in the known world at the *pas de charge*, bore, was most material in effecting this unprecedented panic.[97]

Dibdin's spirited account of the piece lays emphasis on tense dramatic stage effect. He describes the confrontation between the two troops as a moment of silent engagement: the bayonets are locked and the soldiers' eyes fixed upon their opponents. At once chilling and thrilling, this dramatic military tableau was made all the more immediate by Dibdin's engagement of real soldiers. He explains how, on the very long stage at Sadler's Wells, they were able to muster:

> Two very respectable *lines* of Infantry, properly armed, and accoutred, so that our *pas de charge*, in miniature, presented a very striking likeness to the full length, large as life, Portrait, from which it was copied.[98]

Dibdin intended his re-enactment of the battle's famous bayonet attack to be as realistic as possible.

Notably, however, *Vittoria* places emphasis on national self-confidence, rather than any serious realisation of physical threat. According to Dibdin, 'the determined aspect' of the British soldiers was key, frightening off the French soldiers who 'suddenly and simultaneously, turned tail, and ran off, at speed'. This portrayal of French intimidation would have given added leverage to the recreations of Badajoz and Salamanca staged by the other minors in 1812. In keeping with these spectacles, *Vittoria*'s somewhat bathetic conclusion was, in fact, very much a part of its aim to reassure and congratulate audiences on British superiority. Dibdin's realistic recreation of the battle aimed to excite theatregoers, whose nervousness and sympathies would then find relief in a comic finale, and a chorus of anti-French jeers, laughter, and cheers from the auditorium.

---

[97] *Memoirs*, p. 107.
[98] *Ibid*.

Dibdin's piece was also very much concerned with celebrating the apotheosis of Wellington as the nation's greatest hero.[99] The full title of his play was, after all, *Vittoria; or, Wellington's Laurels*. The playwright does not, however, entirely neglect the contributions made by ordinary soldiers to Wellington's victory in Spain. In the second scene, 'The Captain's a Bold Man' calls for a trio of English, Irish, and Spanish soldiers to sing to the tune of 'Balinamona ora'. By setting the song to the tune of an Irish jig, Dibdin nods in acknowledgement to the Irish soldiers who took part in the British campaign. By contrast, the Spanish soldier is somewhat overlooked in the trio arrangement. In the second verse, the Spaniard sings: 'The Spaniards and Portuguese both have agreed | To carry their point or for freedom to bleed'.[100] From this point, his role is eclipsed by humorous rivalry between the British soldiers. Playfully exploiting contemporary Anglo-Irish animosity, Dibdin's soldiers compete on their devotion to the cause, issuing a series of threats against the French. This play-off within the British army is effected through the song's many puns. As the English soldier sings in celebration of Wellington's war tactics, the Irish puts up his fists, 'a nice pair of *tack-sticks*' against the French.[101] In Dibdin's song, the Peninsular War unites an otherwise suspicious and diversified army of British recruits.

As we have already seen, the war in the Peninsula brought added urgency to the Irish question. Concern about Ireland features repeatedly in Hunt's Peninsular War journalism and the *Theatrical Examiner*. Hunt, who was particularly alert to

---

[99] Dibdin's celebration of Wellington was extended to various plays that season, including the 1814 aquadrama *Vive Le Roi; or, The White Cockade* (London: 1814). See 'Scene 11', Tent in the Allied Camp wherein the 'Song By the British Officer' salutes 'Arthur, Britain's pride', p. 24.
[100] C Dibdin, *Vittoria, or Wellington's Laurels* (London: 1813), 'Scene 2', p. 3.
[101] *Ibid*., p. 2.

representations of the stage Irishman, condemned the legitimate drama *The Jew of Mogadore* for placing an Irishman in Morocco, 'merely for the sake of his brogue'.[102] Similarly, in 1811, he praised Miss Chambers's new play, *Ourselves*, but declared himself dissatisfied with her portrayal of the Irish character Mr O'Shanagan. At the end of his review, Hunt strongly recommends that the author excise her 'occasional pruriency of imagination'.[103] Reductive stereotypes of the Irishman prevail in Dibdin's *Vittoria*. They are not, however, merely gratuitous. While the Irishman's propensity to violence remains comic, his 'tack-sticks', for instance, symbolise the attributes of a brave soldier, committed to the war. In place of his shillelagh, or cudgel, the Irishman in Dibdin's drama holds up '*tack sticks*', prepared for hand-to-hand combat.

Fairburn's Comic Constellation (1814) reprinted several songs from Dibdin's *Vittoria*, including 'Ifs and Buts' (another trio by English, Irish, and Spanish soldiers), and the eponymous 'Wellington's Laurels'.[104] This song was delayed until the final scene of Dibdin's play, which saw the stage illuminated in honour of Wellington, 'The Great Captain'. A portrait of the hero was raised in full sight of the auditorium, while the company – and most likely the audience – sang in unison to his renown. With a chorus of 'Heart of Oak is our chief! hearts of oak are our men', the finale celebrates Wellington: 'Who supports falling freedom' and 'oppression knocks down'.[105] Vittoria may have been an Allied victory, but at Sadler's Wells, it was celebrated as an unquestionably British achievement.

---

[102] *TE*, 8 May 1808.
[103] *Ibid*., 10 March 1811.
[104] *Fairburn's Comic Constellation, or Eccentric Repository for 1814* (London: 1814).
[105] '*Wellington's Laurels* – The Finale and Chorus', *Fairburn,* p. 22.

'Vittoria; or King Joseph's Last Gun' was also included in *Fairburn's Comic Constellation*. The song was written by Mr Barratt and set to the tune of 'The Bold Dragoon'. It was sung by Mr Herring at Astley's Amphitheatre, and recounts the events that led up to the engagement at Vittoria. Napoleon is caricatured as 'Little Bonaparte', 'With his swagg'ring frown, And iron crown'.[106] The song depicts the angry response from 'master Don' to Bonaparte's gift of the Spanish throne to 'brother Joey':

> No damme if you do:
> For one and all
> We stand or fall,
> To our own monarch's cause so hearty,
> For while we're back'd by England,
> Lads, a fig for Mr. Boneyparte.
> Whack! Pull away, &c.[107]

The chorus allows for a direct dramatisation of the Spanish point of view but, as with Dibdin's song, the main part remains reserved for a British voice. The speaker is thus casually referred to as an anonymous 'master Don', and a successful realisation of the Spaniard's resolution seen to be heavily dependent upon British support for the war. The fourth verse reports that as soon as British help was sought, 'in a crack, each Briton swore | He'd join 'em heart and hand'.[108] This nationalist perspective is confirmed and validated by the use of the first person plural to celebrate Britain, the land of freedom:

> For, 'tis well known,
> We've always shewn
> Our friendship for each injur'd party,
> Och! 'tis Britons have the knack

[106] For 'Little Boney' in contemporary print culture, see Chapter Three, p.173, note 100.
[107] 'Vittoria; or King Jospeh's Last Gun', written by Mr Barratt, and sung, by Mr. Herring, at Astley's Amphitheatre, *Fairburn*, p. 19.
[108] *Ibid*.

Of thumping little Boneyparte.
Whack! &c.[109]

'Brave Wellington and British lads' save the day, chasing Napoleon's armies back into France and increasing the nation's glory with success reaped by the army and navy, alike. These popular songs about the Peninsular War justified a new sense of pride in the British character. At the end of a protracted and expensive war, they reveal that little thought, however, was spared for the native troops and civilians who made vital contribution to the Allied war effort.

By the end of 1813, Wellington's cult of adulation was in full swing. It positively thrived after Waterloo; the embarrassments of the Convention of Cintra apparently forgotten when Sadler's Wells celebrated 'Waterloo; or, Wellington for ever'.[110] Equally enthusiastic, on 11 September 1815 the Surrey (which had reverted to its old name, the Royal Circus), commemorated Waterloo with another popular adaptation of Shakespeare. *Richard III*, staged with distinctive topical allusions, was performed for the benefit of the T P Cooke, one of the company's main actors. With patriotic glow, the piece re-imagined the Battle of Bosworth Field as the site of Napoleon's final defeat. Playbills printed in eye-catching red and black ink, advertised Cooke's representation of Richmond (Figure 14):

> Accoutred in a REAL FRENCH CUIRASS, Stripped from a Cuirassier, on the Field of Battle, at Waterloo and which bears the indenture of Several Musket Shot and Sabre Cuts.[111]

By replacing stage property with real battle armour, the Royal Circus production presented its audiences with an authentic relic from the Napoleonic Wars, complete

[109] 'Vittoria; or King Jospeh's Last Gun', *Fairburn*, p.19.
[110] Advertisement Sadler's Wells, 3 July 1815 (V&A).
[111] Surrey Theatre Playbill, 11 September 1815 (V&A).

with ‘several musket shot and sabre cuts’. Richmond’s success in battle and subsequent coronation as Henry VII becomes, thereby, a counterpart to the new world order symbolised in 1815 by Wellington’s military glory at Waterloo. Napoleon’s final downfall pitched the minors’ celebration of British heroism to an all-time high. Victory did not, however, assure political stability. Disbanded soldiers returned home to unemployment and economic hardship, while the political situation in the Peninsula seemed only to worsen. Keeping morale high at the end of the war would require strategy and determination.

14: Playbill for *Richard III* (Royal Circus, 11 September 1815).[112] The image originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA because of ‘copyright’. The image was sourced at the Victoria & Albert Theatre Museum Collection.

[112] N.B. Elliston gave up management of the Surrey in the Summer of 1814. His successor, Samuel Russell used theatre’s old name ‘The Royal Circus’.

From the outset, the Bourbon restoration in Spain had been riddled with difficulties. When Ferdinand returned to Madrid, he found himself in a country much changed since his abdication in 1808. In his absence, the Cortes had passed the 1812 Constitution, which guaranteed limited political and religious freedoms to the Spanish people. It was expected that Ferdinand would swear an oath to uphold these civil rights and accept certain limitations to his rule. Instead, in March 1814, Ferdinand made his official return and denounced the Constitution, arresting several leading liberals.

In April 1813, Astley's production of *Ferdinand of Spain*; *or, Ancient Chivalry*, 'A Grand Heroic, Equestrian and Pedestrian Spectacle, in Two Parts', had paid homage to the political hopes riding on the restoration of the Spanish prince. Staged during the final phases of the Peninsular War, the highlight of the piece realised a spectacular moment of moral retribution:

> A Castle is fired, and a splendid scene of conflagration ensues: the falling beams, enveloped in masses of flame, – the explosion, – the ruinous confusion, – together with the trampling of horses, formed one of the most striking combinations that we ever witnessed.[113]

The play's romantic title and unforgettable stage effect were barely able to contain the public's high expectations for the imminent return of Ferdinand VII to Spain. By the end of 1814, however, it would be hard to disguise the widespread aversion to the obviously autocratic and repressive regime the British army had unwittingly helped to restore.

---

[113] *Times*, 20 April 1813.

The 1814-1815 season was an important one for the Sans Pareil, which had undergone several improvements during its closure in the summer and autumn months. When Scott's theatre reopened in December 1814, audiences discovered that the playhouse had been enlarged and a new front erected, with neoclassical designs adorning the exterior and interior. The pit had been expanded to accommodate eight hundred spectators, and twelve new boxes were added, allowing the house, when full, to take in £200. Other embellishments, such as a ventilator at the centre of the house, aimed to improve audiences' comfort and give the overall impression of a more refined establishment, now called the Strand Theatre. In celebration of this grand reopening, Jane Scott wrote a new farce, *Eccentricities; or, Mistakes at Madrid*. The play was performed twenty-two times between 26 December 1814 and 16 February 1815. Its title alerted audiences to a Spanish theme and implied that there would be comic results for its advertised 'eccentricities' and 'mistakes'. Four years earlier, Scott had also chosen a play with a Spanish theme to inaugurate her 1810 season and showcase the alterations made to her playhouse.[114] *Disappointments; or, Love in Castille*, a Spanish melodrama, premiered on 3 December 1810. On both occasions, audiences' curiosity to see the improved playspace combined with public interest in Spanish politics, guaranteeing a pool of eager and well-informed spectators. The four years that separated the two productions had, however, resulted in markedly different opinions about Spain. While in the early stages of the war Ferdinand was known as Spain's desired one, 'el deseado', after his restoration, many saw him as 'el detestado', the detested.

This chapter has already suggested that in 1810, Scott wavered between the desire to explore Peninsular politics, and satisfy audiences' received ideas about the

[114] Improvements had also been made to the theatre before the first performance of *Disappointments*. On 3 December 1810, the playbills announced that 'The House has been embellished, in the Audience Part' (Playbill, V&A).

peoples, religion, and culture of Spain. It is likely that in 1814, Britons' 'disappointments' with the Bourbon restoration discouraged Scott from staging an obviously topical Spanish play. Due to its central location, the Sans Pareil playscripts had to be approved by the Examiner of Plays, whose aversion to political and religious themes was well known. *Eccentricities; or, Mistakes in Madrid* turned out to be a farce about love, marriage, and mistaken identity.

The play opens in a village near Madrid, with 'lads and lasses dancing around a poll decorated with flowers'.[115] The attraction of this foreign setting is, however, immediately qualified by its unmistakably English depiction of the village's Mayday festivities. At the end of the scene, the familiarity value of the villagers' rural sports is reinforced by a rendition of 'God Save the King' to celebrate the wedding announcements made by the town crier.[116] One of the less immediately obvious 'eccentricities' advertised by the play's title was that, contrary to its signals, there was nothing distinctly Spanish about the play's action or characterisation.

There is the possibility, however, that Scott's opening reference to Madrid may have been deliberately intended to expose the limitations of her Spanish theme.[117] Despite obvious signifiers of English culture and tradition depicted in the play's first scene, her Spanish setting was not entirely disqualified, since Mayday celebrations were rooted in the history of most Western European countries. What made Spain unique, however, is that after 1808, springtime celebrations were inextricably associated with the revolutionary 'dos de mayo'. Murat's bloody

---

[115] Jane Scott, *Eccentricities; or, Mistakes at Madrid; or, The Village Witch* (1814), Huntington Library Larpent Collection 1836, at the British Library, F 254/90, I. 1, p. 1.
[116] *Eccentricities*, I. 1, p. 5.
[117] N.B. In 1810, Scott's Opening Address and description of the plot preceding the play had implied that there might been an underlying political message to *Disappointments* apparently improbable actions.

reprisal of the rebellion had transformed the rioters in Madrid from victims into political martyrs. News of the uprising had fuelled the resistance effort in other Spanish provinces, and helped secure British involvement in the Iberian Peninsula.

It remains curious, therefore, that in the winter of 1814, Scott should have chosen to write about Mayday in Madrid, ignoring that 2 May 1808 was one the most famous and symbolic dates in the Spanish calendar. The Larpent version of her play reveals other irregularities. The character list, for instance, offers two versions of the play's dramatis personae; the first, 'If Played Spanish', and the second, 'If Played English'. In this scheme, Don Fransisco, 'If Played English', becomes Sir Francis Fairthorn, while the Marquis de Marmont becomes Lord St Clarville. Meanwhile, while Donna Julia's English counterpart is simply Julia, Donna Marcella acquires the distinctly Anglicised name of Winifred. The stage directions then describe the play's setting in 'either Madrid and a village near it or London – and Environs'.[118]

Scott's hesitations between a Spanish or English setting may or may not have been deliberate. After a run of performances, playwrights would often tweak their playscripts, in reaction to audience response. This meant that the printed texts of plays often differed in many points from the manuscript copies sent for licensing. During the Peninsular War, Scott had achieved public renown for her handling of Spanish themes. Although *Disappointments* had failed to provide any real political stimulation, it had, at least, delivered on its promise to provide a depiction of Spanish society. Scott's apparent indifference to *Eccentricities*' Spanish theme suggests uneasiness with the representative value of Ferdinand's Spain. In 1814,

[118] *Eccentricities,* I. 1, p. 1.

Scott's decision to overlook her play's Spanish setting may be indicative of a turn away from Bourbon Spain, a land that seemed more nightmarish than romantic.

Conclusions

The minor theatres tended to leave the cultural and political implications of their plays unexplored. That does not mean to say, however, that their entertainments lacked political meaning. The managers were, after all, operating under very difficult working conditions, subject not only to legal censorship, but also intense rivalry, and meddling from the patent committees, possessive of their right to the legitimate drama. London's minor theatres were constantly in search of novelty.

Under these demanding conditions, the minors helped develop pantomime into what Hunt termed 'the best medium of dramatic satire'.[119] Audiences of a nineteenth- century pantomime would have been led through a dizzying landscape of recognisable scenes suddenly and unexpectedly transformed by Harlequin's magic wand. The Olympic's production of *Harlequin & Don Quixote* in January 1813 is a good example. Described as 'a New Grand, Romantic, Serio Comic-Pantomime', whose main scene portrayed a 'Grand Burlesque Charge of Cavalry', it was a play clearly intended to divert and instruct the Olympic's playgoers. [120] The choice of Spanish characters and military action were undoubtedly made on the basis of Britons' new sense of optimism after Salamanca, and the general anticipation that the campaign in Spain was approaching its final stages. The pantomimes and other gestural narratives staged at the minor theatres seem to have

[119] *TE*, 26 January 1817.
[120] Olympic Playbill, 11 January 1813 (V&A).

been particularly well-suited to recording the latest events in the war and the public's changing opinions, without alarming the political censors.

All theatre proprietors feared that over-excited audiences might degenerate into savage, unruly mobs, but audience activism at the more populist, minor theatres was considered particularly dangerous. The *Edinburgh Review*'s article on Don Cevallos and the French Usurpation of Spain had provoked fears that an upheaval in Peninsular politics would encourage similar reform movements at home. Overt allusions to the Spanish Revolution, understood as a rebellion led by the masses, would have almost certainly assumed radical meanings in the minor theatres. Managers' evasion of Peninsular politics was, at least in part, a strategy of self-preservation.

On the whole, the minor theatres adopted a conservative response to the war. They staged plays that ridiculed Roman Catholicism, made fun of Spaniards' complicated love intrigues and saluted the patriotism of British soldiers and sailors. Many of the plays discussed in this chapter are, nevertheless, more politically suggestive than they first appear. Almost all exhibited a fascination with the Spanish countryside and peasant life, which, I suggest, contained political import that should not be underestimated. In *The Wild Man*, Dibdin presented an assertive group of peasants, who are organised and efficient enough to arrest Don Quixote shortly after his first mysterious appearance. Scott also chose to open *Disappointments* with a group of peasants, this time, performing a dance. At the Olympic, among the several supernumeraries listed for *Harlequin & Don Quixote*, the playbills listed 'country people'; their importance to the play underscored by the manager's recognition of the 'numerous auxiliaries expressly engaged for the

occasion'.[121] Similarly, in August 1814, when the Royalty advertised a new Spanish ballet, it drew special attention to its representation of the 'Peasants' Courtship'.[122] Between 1808 and 1815, traditional images of the Spanish peasantry became pointedly political. The peasants in these plays helped characterise the civilian war effort in Spain and Portugal, which had been dismissed by the more military and patriotic celebrations of British sacrifice. More radically, they also reminded popular audiences about their own political power.

The South American spectacle staged at Astley's Amphitheatre and Sadler's Wells in 1808 illustrate the close connection between the minor theatres and contemporary newsprint. Following the Portuguese court's relocation to Brazil, both theatres produced plays with visually spectacular settings that explored the relationship between the Old and New Worlds. Astley obviously derived many of his ideas for *The Honest Criminal* from the accounts of Brazil and various analyses of the Portuguese emigration published in the main London papers.[123] Under the persistent pressure to provide audiences with something new, the minor theatres had become adept at the production of topical entertainments. Careful perusal of the weekly papers could provide managers with a sensational plot-line or statistical detailing on the British army's latest military engagement. Managers' quick and impressive response to public events is captured by the typographical declamations in their theatres' playbills, advertising accurate recreations of the battles of Basque Roads, Ciudad Rodrigo, Badajoz, Salamanca, and Vittoria. During the Peninsular

[121] Olympic Playbill, 11 January 1813 (V&A).
[122] Royalty Theatre Playbill, 16 August 1814 (LMA).
[123] Charles Dibdin gives the link between the minor theatres and print culture further validation when he claims that he had access to an unstamped copy to one of the two Sunday evening papers, containing '*complete critiques* upon the Performances of that Night, at Drury Lane, and Covent Garden, at an hour those performances were not above half over' (*Memoirs*, p. 108).

War, London's minor theatres were more than just venues for popular entertainment; they were 'theatrical newspapers'.

The playtexts, playbills, and contemporary critiques discussed in this chapter define an illegitimate theatrical culture that was alert to the Peninsular War, and keen to cash in on its commercial and political implications. Despite their ban on spoken dramas, the minor theatres responded to the war with a range of politically relevant and provocative entertainments. This chapter has shown that while the absence of speech and geographical distance of London's older minors entailed certain disadvantages, its managers became arguably more ambitious, experimental, and innovative than their legitimate counterparts.

In an ever more competitive marketplace, managers struggled with a theatrical economy defined by constant flux and loss. During the Peninsular War, the commercial value of an Iberian setting was, therefore, full of promise. The minors may have been limited in their capacity to stage entertainments of political depth, but their investment in visual splendour, bulletin-like topicality, and the general suggestiveness of 'hustle and bustle' onstage, ensured that even as the theatres of war expanded, the Iberian Peninsula was never far from the British popular imagination.

Frontispiece 6: Thomas Rowlandson, ‘John Bull arming the Spaniards’, 1808.

CHAPTER FIVE

The Peninsular War and Theatre in the Provinces: Bristol, a case study

In London, playhouses were distinguished by the price, kind, and perceived quality of their entertainments. While the patent houses offered comedies, tragedies, and an annual Christmas pantomime, the equestrian evolutions at Astley's Amphitheatre and water spectacles at Sadler's Wells represented the different kinds of non-dramatic performance available at the city's minor theatres. This thesis has shown that during the Peninsular War, London's disparate stages provided valuable opportunities for the diversion and instruction of mass audiences. British theatre cannot, however, be confined to the cultural life of Westminster and its immediate suburbs. By the early nineteenth century, theatrical activity was also flourishing in the provinces, where the nation's many Theatre Royals helped promote civic amelioration and patriotic feeling. This chapter focuses on Bristol as a case study for Romantic provincial theatre.

Bristol had two theatres during the Peninsular War: the Theatre Royal (built in 1766), and the Regency Theatre, an 'illegitimate' stage that was active between 1811 and 1813. These playhouses provided audiences with an exciting theatrical culture characterized by military bespeaks, an active tradition of dramatic criticism, the engagement of star actors and impressive onstage spectacle. British theatre historians have, nevertheless, tended to overlook the provinces. According to Loren Kruger, a 'geographical parochialism' ensured that for many years, British theatres

studies remained centred on the London stages.[1] More recently, Frederick Burwick, Jane Moody, and Kathleen Wilson have worked on projects that challenge our presumptions about a metropolitan based theatre.[2] This chapter adopts their revisionist approach to show that the provinces were assuming an ever more prominent role in Romantic political and cultural discourses. By exploring the entertainments provided by Bristol's legitimate and illegitimate theatres, this chapter spotlights the kinds of cultural projects that occurred outside London, and the ideological – as well as geographical – distances that distinguished Romantic provincial culture during the Peninsular War.

The Romantic Provinces

Since the late eighteenth century, the nation's provincial capitals had undergone a series of civic improvements, initiating a new wave of England's 'urban renaissance'.[3] The introduction of street lighting, new architectural designs, and provisions for polite amusement all aimed to increase standards of living in the provinces. A result of this increased urban consciousness was the recognition that the margins, and not only London, could shape the nation's cultural hegemony. The actor and theatre manager, James Winston, was quick to recognize that the early

[1] Loren Kruger, 'History Plays (in) Britain: Dramas, Nations, and Inventing the Present', in *Theorizing Practice: Redefining Theatre History*, ed. by W B Worthen with Peter Holland (Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), 151-176 (p. 151).
[2] See: *The Journal of John Waldie*, ed. by Frederick Burwick [http://repositories.cdlib.org/uclalib/dsc/waldie/], e-Scholarship Repository, California Digital Library]; Kathleen Wilson, *The Sense of the People: Politics, Culture, and Imperialism in England, 1715-1785* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995); and Jane Moody, 'Dictating to the Empire: Performance and Theatrical Geography in Eighteenth Century Britain', in *The Cambridge Companion to British theatre, 1730-1830* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 21-41.
[3] See especially, Peter Borsay, *The English Urban Renaissance: Culture and Society in the Provincial Town 1660-1770* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989).

nineteenth century offered a new age for cultural entertainments outside London. Between 1804 and 1805, he published twenty-four installments of *The Theatric Tourist*, providing architectural plates, a short historical overview and lively anecdotes for each establishment.[4] His intention had been to publish ninety installments – merely a sample from his working list of two hundred and eighty-one playhouses. Although this project was cut short by inadequate financial backing, Winston's colourful, attractive book testified to a popular and influential culture of provincial theatregoing.

The emergence of Bristol's Theatre Royal, and many of the other theatres listed in Winston's publication, was the result of a great boom in theatre building that occurred at the end of the eighteenth century. One of the main incentives for this was the extension of letters patent to the provinces, which began after 1766 when Samuel Foote was awarded 'Theatre Royal' status for his playhouse in the Haymarket.[5] When Bristol acquired its patent status in 1787, the playhouse in King Street was finally permitted to present legitimate drama, boast the prestigious title of 'Theatre Royal' and display the royal coat of arms. A year later, in 1788, the Theatres Representation Act empowered local magistrates to license 'legitimate' drama outside London for a period of up to sixty days. These measures contributed to a growing sense of cultural independence from the capital. Whereas before, provincial companies had to find all sorts of clever disguises and excuses to entice a paying audience, the granting of letters patent and Theatre Representation Act

---

[4] James Winston, *The Theatric Tourist. A facsimile of the first and only edition of 1805 preceded by a facsimile of the original prospectus*, ed. by Iain Mackintosh, with an Introduction by Marcus Risdell (London: Society for Theatre Research and The British Library, 2008).

[5] Foote's license was a form of compensation after a riding accident with the Duke of York, which left him maimed. For more detail on the particular circumstances of this settlement see Thomson, *English Theatre*, p. 127.

transformed provincial playhouses from risqué ventures to esteemed social spaces.[6]

The nation's proliferating road networks, and improved communications meant that many metropolitan actors actually benefited from the establishment of provincial Theatres Royal. When Drury Lane and Covent Garden closed for the summer months, star actors such as John Philip Kemble, Sarah Siddons, and George Frederick Cooke found employment in theatres as distant as Dublin, York, and Edinburgh. Profitable touring circuits also developed within the provinces themselves. By 1800, Henry Thornton had established himself as manager of the Oxford, Reading, Newbury, and Windsor theatres, making the most of his circuit's geographical advantages.[7] According to James Winston, Bath was one of the best provincial theatres. In 1768, it had been one of the first theatres outside London to acquire a royal patent.[8] Ten years later, when Bristol became a 'Theatre Royal', it merged its theatrical season with Bath's, which lasted from September to the end of July.[9] This arrangement permitted the two theatres to share one dramatic company, and operate as a tightly knit and successful circuit.

In *The Wandering Patentee*, Tate Wilkinson offers a spirited Memoir of his professional career as manager of provincial theatre in the northeast of England. In recounting his managerial difficulties and successes, Wilkinson often imagines himself as a military commander. He describes the need to recruit extra players as 'reinforcement', 'commence the siege on the purses of the inhabitants', and provide

---

[6] In order to avoid action by local magistrates, dramatic companies often advertised 'tea parties', in which 'concerts of music' would be provided. Audiences would not, therefore, technically be paying for a dramatic performance. In 1766, Bristol's theatre advertised 'A Concert of Music interspersed with specimens of Rhetorick'.

[7] Paul Ranger, 'A Matter of Choice: A Comparison of Locations and Repertoire in Some English Provincial Theatres', *Nineteenth Century Theatre Research*, 10.2 (Winter 1982), 61-84.

[8] In 1768, Bath and Norwich were the first provincial theatres to acquire a royal patent.

[9] Winston, 'Theatre-Royal, Bath', p. 5.

'provisions' to the 'theatrical corps'.[10] His military metaphors portray provincial theatre management as a war in its own right. Ever the strategist, Wilkinson used the stage as a platform from which to display and celebrate Britain's military campaigns, proving that theatre managers in London and the provinces were equally adept in appealing to wartime audiences.

By focusing on provincial theatre, this chapter considers how the war in Spain and Portugal became bound to an English audience's awareness of their local and regional identities. From the arrival of the Asturian delegates in London to reports of guerrilla warfare, the Spanish war was presented to the British public as a mode of resistance founded on local allegiance and patriotic duty. In their response to the Convention of Cintra both Wordsworth and Coleridge exploited what they considered an advantageous distance from the centre of government. Coleridge, for example, took care to sign and date each of his *Letters on the Spaniards* from 'Grassmere'.[11] Chapter Two has already drawn attention to the ways in which an attachment to locality seems to have prompted many writers to refigure their political anxieties about British nationhood.

During the war, the Catholic question remained a moot point in Anglo-Irish relations. Inflammatory opinions were only further fuelled by the British government's very public commitment to Catholic Spain, while refusing to make any concessions to the Irish. England's relations with Scotland were much less volatile by this period, but still pertinent. Semple's link between the Scots and kilt-

[10] Tate Wilkinson, *The Wandering Patentee; Or, A History of the Yorkshire Theatres, from 1770 to the present time: interspersed with anecdotes respecting most of the performers in the Three Kingdoms, from 1765 to 1795*, 4 vols. (York: Wilson, Spence, and Mawman, 1795), II, 132; 163.
[11] *Letters on the Spaniards*, in *CC: EOT*, II, 37-100.

wearing peasants of the Spanish provinces was as political as it was aesthetic.[12] The impression that contemporary concerns about the British 'nation' were heightened by the Spaniards' localised responses to the war heightens the importance of investigating English provincial culture.

In the early nineteenth century there were several successful and popular playhouses operating both legitimately and illegitimately outside London. Bristol was the economic and social capital of the West. As a busy port city, it derived much of its commerce from foreign trade, but was also an important manufacturing and distributive centre for the area. It was situated at the heart of a network of roads that ran to the east as far as London and to the northeast as far as Leeds. It was also advantageously positioned on the confluence of the rivers Avon and Frome. Among its many trading partners, Bristol had good relations with Ireland, France, the Iberian Peninsula, America, Africa's western coast, and the West Indies. As a result, Napoleon's Continental Blockade had a direct bearing on Bristol's mercantile community. This makes the study of theatrical representations of the Peninsular War particularly interesting. When they attended the theatre, Bristolians are likely to have taken with them a series of very real anxieties and preconceptions about Iberian politics.

Bristol in the early nineteenth century

Much that has been written about Bristol's nineteenth-century history focuses on the Abolition of the Slave Trade Bill in 1807.[13] The years 1808 to 1815 are hardly

[12] Chapter Two, pp. 116-26.
[13] In 2007, BCRL celebrated the 200th anniversary of the Bill with an exhibition called: 'Bristol in 1807: A Sense of Place', funded by the Heritage Lottery Fund and Abolition 200. The exhibition was

touched upon. This is surprising, considering the opportunity to investigate the immediate economic and social consequences of Abolition to everyday life in Bristol. The loss of trade in the human trafficking that had linked Bristol's ports to West Africa, the West Indies and America, meant that in 1807, Bristol was even more dependent on its other trading partners. Commodities from the Iberian Peninsula, such as merino wool, sherry and port, were a familiar sight at the city's docks. To help protect the city's mercantile interests, regional newspapers printed a regular column on 'Ship News'. In May 1808, it was reported that a neutral ship from Oporto had arrived with a cargo of wines, 'the first vessel that has loaded for this port since Portugal has been in the power of the French'. [14] These notices suggest that in Bristol, maritime interests are likely to have added political charge to any theatrical representation of the war and its social consequences. The managers of Bristol's Theatre Royal and Regency Theatre realised that unlike their peers in other, more isolated provinces, they had to satisfy audiences with vested economic – as well as political – interests in the Iberian Peninsula.

Bristol was one of England's most opulent cities. Several of its citizens were very wealthy, mostly as a result of the city's foreign and domestic trade, or booming finance industry, which included ship and fire insurance.[15] According to *The Bristol and Hotwell Guide*, dues from customs and exports exceeded £500,000 annually.[16] The trade in raw materials also meant that Bristol was renowned for its many secondary industries, including sugarhouses, brass and iron foundries, and various manufactories for glass, cotton, china, and wool. Bristol's position in the 1800s was

---

published in book-form as *Bristol in 1807: Impressions of the City at the time of Abolition*, ed. by Anthony Beeson (Bristol: Redcliffe Press, 2009).
[14] *FFBJ*, 28 May 1808.
[15] W E Minchinton, 'Bristol – Metropolis of the West in the Eighteenth Century', The Alexander Prize Essay, *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, Vol. 4 (December 1954), 69-89 (p.86).
[16] Edward Shiercliff, *The Bristol and Hotwell Guide containing an Account of that Opulent City* (Bristol: 1805), reprinted in Beeson, p. 19.

not, however, quite as promising as it had seemed at the end of the eighteenth century. Then, Bristol had dominated the economic and social life of the West Country. During the Peninsular War, by contrast, the city was suffering rising unemployment, vagrancy, and other related social hardships. The war with France and shortfall in credit meant that while houses in the prosperous Clifton region boasted new Georgian facades, the developments at Portland Square and Cornwallis Crescents stood unfinished, open to squatters and forceful appropriation by the city's criminal underworld.

The years 1804, 1808, and 1811 saw economic distress throughout Britain. In Bristol, the local community struggled to mitigate the impact of war and beginnings of agricultural and industrial depression. Competition from the rival port city of Liverpool meant that Bristol's merchants lost out on even more valuable trade. The editors of *Felix Farley's Bristol Journal* laid much of the blame on the Bristol Dock Company, whose plans for a floating harbour, and to create what was called a 'new cut' in the river, proved expensive and poorly managed. When the new dock finally opened in 1807, its exorbitant charges made Bristol one of the most expensive port cities in Britain. This coincided with the year of Abolition and Bristolians' unease that what had once been a token of their luxury was now considered 'dirty money'. On the edge of an identity crisis, early nineteenth-century Bristol was under acute pressure to re-assert its public image. During the Peninsular War, the city's Corporation was keen to underscore Bristol's reputation as a notable centre for economic exchange, political discourse, cultural enlightenment, and sociability. Its theatrical culture was considered a crucial aspect of the city's claim to be a centre for culture and consumption.

In the eighteenth century, Bristol had joined other provincial centres in a commitment to municipal reform. This included the construction of assembly rooms and a theatre, intended to enhance the city's 'respectability' and engender a new sense of pride among its citizens. A meeting place for a gender-mixed and socially heterogeneous audience, the theatre's location near College Green made it one of the main sites of civic communality. The Green was one of the biggest open spaces in Bristol and was known as the city's principal public walk, where locals strolled among soldiers, showing off their good fashion and elegance.[17] The Theatre Royal was, therefore, advantageously placed as a venue in which audiences could initiate – and resume – political conversations and social gossiping. The practices of spectatorship and participation that took place in Bristol's theatres would bring home various different aspects of the war in the Peninsula.

Bristol's Theatre Royal

When the building of the Theatre Royal was first completed in 1766, the intention had been to model it as closely as possible on Drury Lane. Self-conscious Bristolians always kept a close eye on London fashions and were keen to ensure that the quality of their entertainments would be on par with that of the capital. When it received its royal patent twelve years later, the theatre became one of the main platforms for the city's political and cultural improvement.

Like its London counterpart, Bristol's patent theatre was rectangular. Below the stage was room for traps and other machinery, above, an attic space for the

[17] W Sheppard, *New Bristol Guide* (Bristol: 1804), reprinted in Beeson p. 118. This account compares the popularity of promenades in College Green to the busy walkways of St James's Park in London.

preparation of new scenery, which could be easily slid onstage with the help of the groove system. The theatre's capacity for scenic display was crucial. Panoramas, melodramas and pantomimes were fast becoming the main attractions of nineteenth-century theatrical culture. In Bristol, there was especial demand for the verisimilitude of scenes evoking foreign strangeness and splendour. The city's population was composed of several different nationalities, and included many merchants, sailors, and soldiers, whose experiences of travel would have resulted in demands for verisimilitude in the representation of far away places.[18]

Inside, an auditorium painted in green, gold and red made a favourable first impression. Over the doors leading to the foyer the theatre's artists had inscribed the names of the nation's leading dramatists: Cibber, Otway, Congreve, Fletcher, Jonson, Rowe, Steele, Vanbrugh, and Shakespeare. The names of popular modern dramatists, such as Garrick and Addison, adorned the nine boxes in the house.[19] These decorations signalled the theatre's election of a reputable and distinguished repertoire of national plays. Bristol's Theatre Royal was, however, more than just a copy of its London blueprint. The horseshoe curve of its balcony was an innovation in contemporary architecture that even London lacked. In the early nineteenth century, it was significant that in contrast to the London theatres, which, since the 1790s had become increasingly cavernous spaces, the physical measurements of Bristol's Theatre Royal remained relatively unchanged. This meant that while London's stars were restricted to mostly hyperbolic action, the local stock company

[18] In 1814, Jere Hill was the Spanish Vice Consul for Bristol and its neighbouring ports. In May 1814, to celebrate the sixth anniversary of the 'dos de mayo' revolt, the city's Spanish and Portuguese inhabitants met at the Montague Tavern for a celebratory dinner. The gathering was reported in detail by *FFBJ*, which reprinted the President's address in full. Several toasts were given that night which, according to the paper, 'was spent in the utmost harmony and conviviality' (7 May 1814).

[19] Kathleen Barker, *The Theatre Royal Bristol 1766-1966: Two Centuries of Stage History* (London: Society for Theatre Research, 1974), pp. 10- 14.

benefited from a greater sense of intimacy between actors and audiences. During the Peninsular War, Bristolians could continue to enjoy the kinds of highly dialogic social comedies that were no longer feasible in London's expanding theatres.

London tastes were, nevertheless, a key consideration of Bristol's theatre managers, who invariably used their playbills to draw attention to a play's favourable reception in the capital. Popularity with London audiences became a relatively reliable indicator of whether or not managers from the provincial theatres would choose to add plays to their own repertoire. This did not mean, however, that local audiences were content with slavish imitations. The early nineteenth century was a period of cultural organization and change throughout Britain, and unsurprisingly, Bristol was keen to individualise its social and cultural ambience. Audiences required that the quality of entertainments be at least equal to those presented in London, but that did not exclude the possibility that plays might be altered, improved, or altogether rejected by Bristolians' own good sense and critical judgment.

The well-kept roads connecting Bristol to London meant that popular London plays could be mounted in the province within a matter of weeks. Coleridge's *Remorse* had opened in Drury Lane in January 1813. London audiences had received it with such high acclaim that *Remorse* arrived in Bristol in time for the season's closure before the Easter holidays. Playbills lauded it as 'Mr. Coleridge's very popular new TRAGEDY…As now performing at the Theatre Royal, Drury-Lane, with the most distinguished Applause'.[20] William Dimond Jr, the manager of the Theatre Royal, had good reason to expect a crowded auditorium. In London, the play had run for twenty consecutive nights, coming second only to

[20] BTR Playbill, 5 April 1813 (Bristol Central Reference Library Collection, BCRL)

Pizarro as the most popular tragedy since 1797. Local connections added to its appeal, for Coleridge, as the *Bristol Gazette* affirmed, was, after all, 'a Gentleman well known in Bristol'.[21]

When *Remorse* premiered in the metropolis, the Drury Lane playbills had made the most of Coleridge's Spanish setting:

> *Time: The reign of Philip II, just at the close of the civil wars against the Moors, and during the heat of the persecution which raged against them, shortly after the edict which forbad the wearing of Moresco apparel under pain of Death.*[22]

By offering this précis of Spain's imperial history, the playbills encouraged audiences to tie the play's sixteenth-century Spanish theme with Napoleon's aggressive invasion of the Iberian Peninsula in 1808.[23] This topicality certainly influenced its popular appeal. *Felix Farley's Bristol Journal* reported to its readers that in London, *Remorse* had been well received by 'a full auditory'.[24] The *Bristol Gazette* also announced that Coleridge's play had received 'great applause' from the metropolis.[25] In Bristol, however, *Remorse* failed to make any real impact. It was performed on 5 April 1813, after an initial performance in Bath on 27 March. It then received a further performance for Mrs Weston's benefit on 1 August 1814. These two productions were the only times the play was staged in Bristol during the Peninsular War. Why then, did *Remorse*, which played to full houses in London, fail to impress audiences at Bristol's Theatre Royal?

The *Bristol Gazette* printed its review of *Remorse* on 8 April 1813, only a few days after the play's first local performance. From the outset, the reviewer appears sceptical about the feasibility of the playwright's literary aims. He describes

---

[21] *BG*, 8 April 1813
[22] E.g. DL Playbill, 23 January 1813.
[23] See Introduction, pp. 2-3.
[24] *FFBJ*, 23 January 1813.
[25] *BG*, 4 February 1813.

Coleridge's attempt to define the 'inward struggle of the soul' as a rare ambition for a stage more suited to the depiction of strong passions such as love and anger.[26] Coleridge, he explains, 'by some has been thought to have succeeded', but the reviewer continues to consider the play better suited to the closet than the stage. His comments suggest that the main reason for the play's failure was, above all, the result of a shameful performance. 'We never saw a Play worse presented', he claimed. Mr Bengough, who played the role of Ordonio, and Mrs Weston, who impersonated Alhadra, were singled out for their inferior acting. These two principal characters 'seemed to have tried their utmost to rant and out bawl each other'.[27] This may explain why, in 1814, when the play received its second performance, Coleridge agreed to involve himself directly with the company's rehearsal. In late July 1814, he wrote to J J Morgan explaining that he would soon be meeting with two local actors, making specific mention of an appointment to read lines with Mr Bengough, who would again play Ordonio.[28]

The company's disappointing performance in *Remorse* is likely to have been a contributing factor to the play's local unpopularity. Bristolians held their acting tradition in high regard, and may well have shared the *Gazette*'s embarrassment over the lead actors' interpretation of Coleridge's play. There were, however, other, more immediately local reasons that may help explain *Remorse*'s inconspicuousness in the Theatre Royal's repertoire. William Dimond, an actor turned theatre manager, had been responsible for Bristol's Theatre Royal from 1787 until his death in 1812. The theatre's management then passed to his son, William Dimond Jr. As a popular writer of melodrama, Dibdin Jr spent most of his time in London, often using the Bristol stage to promote his own dramatic pieces, including *The Peasant Boy* and

[26] *BG*, 8 April 1813.
[27] *Ibid*.
[28] STC to J J Morgan (late July, 1814), in Griggs, III, 520-1.

The Foundling of the Forest.[29] When *Remorse* made its debut in Bristol in April 1813, its tragic theme would, therefore, have stood out in a theatrical calendar saturated with comedies and melodramas. As the *Bristol Gazette* explained, Coleridge's play was full of nuance and psychological detailing. Bengough and Mrs Weston, more accustomed to melodrama than serious tragedy, seem to have forgotten to tone down their exaggerated histrionics when they acted in *Remorse*. It is likely that audiences may also have required a period of adjustment to make sense of Coleridge's play. In Bristol, it seems, actors and audiences were decidedly 'out of touch' with the kind of response demanded by *Remorse*.

In 1810, *The Scourge* printed an interesting account of audience response to theatrical entertainments, claiming that:

> there are not three people in the theatre, who during the representation of a new performance, abstract themselves so far from the illusions of action and scenery, as to analyze the sentiments, and balance the probabilities of incident.[30]

The unexpected anticlimax in Act III scene 3 of *Remorse* is emblematic of Coleridge's very confusing 'illusions of action and scenery'. Before *Remorse*, most plays on the Bristol stage had merely required audiences to absorb the visual aspect of performance. As the *Scourge* suggests, for some plays, audiences were happy to overlook 'sensibilities' or 'the probabilities of incident'. *Remorse* came to Bristol at a decidedly inopportune moment. In 1813 and 1814, Bristol's audiences were likely to have been too consumed by the sensations of melodrama to feel the intrigue to pause and reflect on Coleridge's subtle characterization of the deeper passions.

---

[29] After a very successful run at DL, *The Peasant Boy* was performed in Bristol on 16 December 1811. *The Foundling of the Forest* was exported from CG to BTR on 9 November 1812 (Appendix C).

[30] *The Scourge; or, Monthly Expositor of Imposture and Folly*, (February 1811), I, 169.

A springboard for local talents

Mrs Weston, who chose *Remorse* for her benefit night on 1 August 1814, had made her stage debut two years earlier. On 9 November 1812, the *Bristol Mercury* considered the actress's impersonation of Elvira, in *Pizarro*, as proof of the 'universal approbation which her debut excited'. In Bristol, *Pizarro* was as popular as in London, and frequently revived to mark the engagement of a star player. *Pizarro* was performed in Bristol thirteen times between 1808 and 1815. By comparison, *The Miller and His Men*, one of the most popular plays on the Bristol stage, was performed fourteen times during the same period.

On 11 January 1808, *Pizarro* was played to promote Mrs Siddons's Elvira, a performance that had received enthusiastic reviews a year earlier. According to the *Bristol Gazette*, Siddons's impersonation had opened up new possibilities for interpretation:

> When she is taken from Pizarro in the last act, instead of the disgusting rant, which we have been accustomed to hear, she exclaims with a firm and resolute look, (a fit subject for the chisel or the pencil) "that I have *liv'd* ignobly has been Pizarro's fault, that I shall *die* nobly shall be my own".[31]

Siddons's sympathetic readings were a hallmark of her performance, and in this instance, it seems that her confident delivery of lines imbued the character of Elvira with a much more assertive demeanour than was normally suggested. In 1808, the *Gazette* remained impressed with Siddons's impersonation of character, which made it seem as if 'Nature speaks thro' her'.[32] Fascination for Siddons also entailed a degree of local pride. The celebrated actress had started her career in Bath, and regularly performed on the Bristol stage as part of the company's circuit

[31] *BG*, 2 April 1807.
[32] *Ibid*., 14 January 1808.

arrangement. Her return to Bristol, to play one of the most famous roles on the Romantic stage, represented an important homecoming – one of the city's local talents returning to court her first audiences with even more skill and seduction.

On 22 October 1810, Miss Jameson, the stock company's lead actress, performed the role of Elvira. Usually reserved for star actors or benefit nights, this was the sole occasion when *Pizarro* was played as part of the regular repertoire.[33] The review of Miss Jameson's performance suggests, however, that the actress's talents justified the manager's choice of play. Audiences' familiarity with the various dramatic 'points' in Sheridan's play meant that *Pizarro* was an obvious choice for inviting the public to test the initiation of a new actor.[34] According to the *Gazette*, Miss Jameson was undoubtedly up to the task: 'Although she has evidently studied Mrs Siddons's mode of playing the character', the actress's ingenuity resulted in 'a beautiful and feminine Elvira, who was dauntless without being masculine, and energetic without extravagant vehemence.' This left the *Gazette* in no doubt: 'upon the whole, we have no scruple in considering her performance, as not merely honourable to her talents and industry, but as a credit to the Bristol stage'.[35] In 1807 and 1808, the *Gazette* esteemed the play for its ability to showcase the stock company's potential to become London stars. In 1810, Miss Jameson's distinctive approach to Sheridan's well-loved play placed her alongside the magnanimous Sarah Siddons.

Pizarro's patriotic inflexions made it a particularly attractive choice for Bristol theatre managers during the Peninsular War. The play's complex performance history also meant, nevertheless, that its political import was far from

[33] On 4 July 1810, for instance, *Pizarro* helped raise £150 for the acting manager, Mr Charlton's benefit, while on 25 February 1811 it was played during Elliston's engagement.
[34] This is comparable to the custom practiced by DL and CG of introducing 'a young lady' or 'gentleman' in the lead role of a canonical mainpiece, such as *Romeo and Juliet*.
[35] *BG*, 25 October 1810.

straightforward.[36] In 1810, Young chose to play the part of Rolla when he took his leave from the Bristol stage. The *Gazette* reported:

> It has been remarked of the composition of Pizarro [*sic*], that it is "English gilt on German gingerbread," but Mr. Young's abilities are of that sterling stuff which requires nothing but its own intrinsic value to give it currency. Good sense and sound judgment pervaded his representation of Rolla, and making allowance for the setting of *claptraps*, and the hollow patriotism of an echo, (defects of the author, not the actor) the working up of the feelings, was considerable.

While the review finds fault with the play's supposedly empty patriotic rhetoric, it relishes Young's capacity to reinvigorate audiences, presumably more tired and cynical than Sheridan's admirers in 1799. During the Peninsular War, Young's 'good sense and sound judgment' seemed to give new insight and meaning to a play criticised for 'the setting of claptraps' and 'hollow patriotism'. This makes it all the more significant that the *Bristol Gazette* chose to conclude with a critique of the star actor's delivery of his final lines:

> "Then was this good sword *Heavens* [*sic*] gift, not *thine*", forms an antithesis of sense and emphasis, which should not, we presume, be spoken with the flourish of a sword and arm, as if the actor would carry the applause of the gallery, by a *coup de main*, but it should be delivered with the point of the sword extended towards his pursuers, and with the breath held hard, the sinuses strained, and the firm tone of voice that nature assumes when courage is "wound up to the sticking place".

Young's convincing performance for the first four acts has caused the reviewer to revise his early hesitations about the play's essential substance. Taken in by the effects of a good performance, the reviewer develops a new appreciation for the play, and offers tips on the actor's potential for improvement. His observation that Young delivers the lines with 'the flourish of a sword and arm, as if the actor would carry the applause of the gallery', identifies the 'point' in question as one of the many 'claptraps' identified earlier in the review. At this recognised moment, where

[36] See Chapter One.

the actor expects applause, the reviewer provides criticism instead. But significantly, he also adds suggestions for a new mode of delivery. 'With the point of the sword extended', 'breath held hard' and 'firm tone of voice', he imagines Young enacting a new model of heroism. In 1810, as the war continued to rage in the Peninsula, his review is an important example of how patriotic feeling could be challenged, revived, and ultimately reclaimed in provincial theatres.

Dramatic Criticism

Bristolians' appreciation of their theatrical culture was very directly affected by the theatrical reviews published in the local newspapers. In the early nineteenth century, the main newspapers in Bristol and surrounding regions were *The Bristol Gazette*, *Bristol Mercury*, *Bristol Mirror*, and *Felix Farley's Bristol Journal*. In these papers, theatre managers found material for new productions, placed advertisements for their different performances and received theatrical reviews, both from the newspapers' editorial teams and correspondents. During the war, Bristol's newspapers engaged in theatrical criticism with surprising seriousness. The reviews from *The Bristol Gazette*, examined above, show that for the most part, newspapers printed more than just theatrical puffs. Reviewers' attention to detail and budding respect for critical objectivity attest to a recognition of the Theatre Royal's close links to the city's prosperity and socio-cultural development.

When the Theatre Royal began to privilege spectacular over more strictly dramaturgical entertainments, the local newspapers were, therefore, quick to marshal their attacks on the perceived 'debasement' of the stage. The *Bristol Mirror* reprinted a letter from 'A Lover of the Drama', who despaired:

> to see how miserably degraded the Stage is become. Rope-dancers, – horses – dogs – follow in quick succession, and are announced with all the pomposity and glorious circumstance of some mighty affair.[37]

The writer considers it outrageous that a stage that had provided the thespian training of many London stars now replaced its actors with performances by horses and dogs. 'A Lover of the Drama' is even further incensed by the fact that the Theatre Royal's managers should have the audacity to celebrate and advertise these non-dramatic spectacles with 'all the pomposity and glorious circumstance of some mighty affair'. The city's tradition of theatrical journalism offered the writer a public outlet for his frustrations, and the inherent possibility that action could be taken to preserve the Theatre Royal as a pillar of urban loyalty and identification.

In 1814, Bristolians lamented the absence of any substantial theatrical reviews in the local papers. A reader of the *Bristol Mirror* complained:

> I regard it as much a part of your duty to keep an eye on the public amusements, as upon the news of the day. The morals of the people are greatly dependent on the state of the Stage; and if the latter be suffered to run riot, the former will be debased.[38]

In his view, theatrical news was just as important as any other 'news of the day'. He thus insists that the theatre's didacticism meant newspaper editors were duty-bound to keep an intellectual check on the quality and kinds of entertainment provided. The letter serves as a useful reminder that not only did the stage refigure the latest debates in politics and society, but that what happened onstage and in the auditorium was seen to reflect upon the city's population at large.

---

[37] *BM*, 23 October 1813 (KB/ 4/4).
[38] *Ibid*., 29 October 1814, (KB/ 4/4).

A Military Presence

The numerous letters sent to the local newspapers on the subject of drama illustrate an active commitment to cultural advancement among Bristol's citizens. In the theatres themselves, audience participation provided an animating pulse for performance. In this garrison town, full of troops awaiting deployment, there was often a strong military presence in the auditorium. On 8 July 1811, Bengough's benefit night at the Theatre Royal took an impressive £179, thanks in large part to the patronage of the Officers of the Oxford Regiment. These officers formed part of the celebrated Light Division that was present during most of the conflicts in the Peninsula. In 1811, the Regiment's 2nd battalion were in Bristol awaiting installation with their main forces near Almeida.[39] By the date of Bengough's benefit, the Regiment could boast colours won in Vimeiro, Corunna, Bussaco, and Fuentes de Oñoro – battles that had all received plenty of media coverage in the London and local newspapers.[40] Patriotic flourishes naturally characterised their 'bespeak' night at the theatre. A 'Bespeak' meant that the plays performed had been chosen by the officers and a financial incentive paid to the managers, either in the form of a subsidy or through the sale of tickets.[41] The Oxford Regiment chose Shakespeare's *Coriolanus* for their mainpiece, followed by songs, including 'Graham & Glory, or The Battle of Barrosa' sung by Mr Gattie. Hook's successful melodrama of *Tekeli* was played as an afterpiece.

In the Summer of 1811, the Battle of Barrosa was still fresh in the public

[39] The regiment had returned to England from the Peninsula in 1809 and was sent on the disastrous Walcheren campaign.
[40] Indeed, the Oxford Regiment would continue a distinguished career of action in the Peninsula, where it would acquire a reputation as one of the most admirable regiments in the British army.
[41] St. Vincent Tourbridge, *The Benefit System in the British Theatre* (London: Society for Theatre Research, 1967), p. 33.

imagination. General Graham, who led a single British division, succeeded in defeating two French divisions and capturing the British army's first regimental eagle. Despite their numerical inferiority, the British were able to prevent the French from storming the siege, and even bagged the coveted French eagle into the bargain. [42] On 8 July 1810, an audience mainly composed of soldiers was certain to have cheered loudly at the end of *Coriolanus* and sung along to Gattie's patriotic song. That night, the Theatre Royal was as much extolling Graham's heroism as that of its influential military patrons, about to rejoin their British comrades on active duty.

'Bespeaks', such as that of the Oxford Regiment, were an important tradition for provincial theatres. They brought the house valuable receipts, and enabled Bristol's influential patrons to request the programme of their choice, and support their favourite actors. During the war, there were several other instances of bespeaks by the city's military community. On 9 June 1813, for example, the name of Lieutenant General Gordon Cuming was printed at the header of the playbills, indicating that the plays performed that night were of his choosing. It was also common for the military presence to cross over from the auditorium to the stage and orchestra. On 19 July 1813, the theatre announced that the band of the Longford Regiment would be present to 'play several select pieces of music' on Mr and Mrs Vinings' benefit night. It was no coincidence that the choice of afterpiece was *The Blood-Red Knights; Or, The Chieftains of Ireland*. From July 1807 to June 1813, the Longford Regiment had been stationed in Gallaway, Killarney, Rosecrea, Cork,

[42] The French eagle, which its army was sworn to protect to death, was a symbolic token of pride and glory.

Wexford, and Waterford to help quell the Catholic dissent.[43] Their presence in the theatre that summer, as audience members and military musicians, confused the disparity between the soldiers' professional and civilian identities.

Continual troop movement in and around Bristol thus had a direct influence on the constitution of local theatre audiences during the war. When the Battle of Waterloo secured Europe's long-awaited Peace settlement, the dispersal of this military presence deprived the city of a significant group of its regular theatergoers. In her study of Bristol's Theatre Royal, Kathleen Barker explains:

> Once the end of the Napoleonic Wars brought about the demobilisation of troops, the inadequacy of the true local following for the theatre was revealed; only the stimulus of a major star would bring a good audience.[44]

It seems unlikely, however, that the loss of military support was solely responsible for the theatre's declining fortunes. By 1815, Bristol's theatre was already facing a financial crisis. To make matters worse, mounting moral censure had also been directed against the Theatre Royal by Bristol's influential Quakers and non-conformist sectors.[45] Under religious pressure, all the papers, except the *Bristol Gazette*, refrained from printing theatrical reviews. This denied the stage valuable advertisement opportunities for new productions. Falling standards at the Theatre Royal were also largely to blame. Barker herself concedes that from 1812, when William Dimond suddenly died and management passed to his son, the quality of dramatic entertainments began to deteriorate quite noticeably.[46] While the military's

---

[43] See J E Cookson, *The British Armed Nation, 1793-1815* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), p. 173.
[44] *Theatre Royal*, p. 78.
[45] 'Methodism is so prevalent in Bristol, that there are no less than nine Chapels for the followers of the Doctrines and discipline of the late Rev Messrs, Whitfield and Welsey: most of which are large, and all of them crouded [*sic*] at times of meeting'. Bristoliensis, *The Bristol Guide* (Bristol: 1815), reprinted in Beeson, p. 151.
[46] *Theatre Royal*, p.73.

presence was certainly an important factor of the Theatre Royal's success, it may be somewhat misleading to place too much emphasis on 'the inadequacy of the true local following'.

Local Audiences

Barker's comments underline the danger that during that the Peninsular War the theatrical patronage offered by so many passing regiments may have masked the extent of genuinely local support for Bristol's theatrical entertainments. The 'native' element seems, nevertheless, to have enjoyed a consistently strong presence in Bristol's Theatre Royal. During the war, several plays in the repertoire testified to a pronounced interest in local geography. On 29 June 1808, a popular dance called 'Bristol Sailors & Savages' was introduced as an interlude on Mr Connor's benefit night. It was repeated on 19 June 1809 for Mr Gomery's benefit. The following month, on 7 July 1809, audiences were treated to a new comic song: 'Colin Clum's Visit to Bristol with his Account of the Play-House, & Peep at The Forty Theives'. The song, mixing the recognisably Bristolian with spectacular scenery from the pantomime of *The Forty Thieves*, was a hit with audiences. It was slightly altered to 'Cuddy Clump's first visit to London & Bristol; or, a Peep at the Forty Thieves', and performed after Act IV of *The Budget of Blunders* on 13 June 1810. The following year, the Egans celebrated their benefit night with an entertainment called 'Farmer Stump; or, a Peep at Bristol Fashions'.[47] This predilection for 'local' plays and songs underscores audiences' strong attachment to their city's unique culture and geography.

[47] See Appendix C.

References to local geography were also useful for managers devising new entertainments, allowing them to recreate a familiar world by which the action on stage could be authenticated. In March 1810, for example, the *Bristol Gazette* reserved particular praise for Mr Elliston's performance as Puff in Sheridan's *The Critic*:

> With the true magic of genius, he transferred Bristol to Tilsbury, and Tilsbury to Bristol, and occasionally gave this with "a local habitation and a name" by treating the ear with lines peculiar to the latter place, while the eye was amused with the scenery of the former.[48]

Delivering his lines with a strong West Country accent, Elliston asserted a claim of his own to Puff's play.[49] By working against the stage's pictorialism, Elliston gave audiences a new illusion of the space of action that brought it within the sphere of their own experiences. As mentioned before, the local historical tradition was an important aspect to the construction of urban identities during the wars. Adaptations of well-known plays, and peculiarly localized afterpieces and songs, were a vital aspect of Bristol's theatrical programme. Their main effect is likely to have been comic, amusing audiences at large by offering a teasing exposure of provincial follies. There was also, however, a degree of reference more specifically aimed at Bristol's native audiences. Only a 'true' Bristolian would be quick and able enough to follow the more nuanced puns and jokes that re-imagined the familiar topography of their local environment.

Playgoers' civic allegiances and familiarity with the city's sights and sounds were vital elements of the theatrical experience in the Romantic province. The

---

[48] *BG*, 15 March 1810.
[49] Elliston's acting career started in Bath's Theatre Royal, where he played a minor role in *Richard III* (14 April 1791). See Christopher Murray, "Elliston, Robert William (1774–1831)." Oxford Dictionary of National Biography. Online ed. Ed Lawrence Goldman. Oxford: OUP, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/8724> [Accessed 29 May 2010].

ability to incorporate 'strangers' into local networks of sociability was also held in high regard. This was demonstrated in early 1809, when the celebrated opera singer, Madame Catalani, was engaged at the Theatre Royal. The *Bristol Gazette* anticipated that the novelty of Italian singing would be incompatible with the limited cultural aspirations of popular theatrical audiences.[50] Catalani was, however, very well received, although the real highlight of the evening seems to have occurred when:

> After *Il Fanatico per la Musica* some of the audience called for *God Save the King*. Madame Catalani complied immediately with their wishes, and sang this national song with a distinctness of articulation truly wonderful in a foreigner. She was loudly and repeatedly applauded during the performance.[51]

The success of Catalani's 'God Save the King' turned the true novelty of the evening's entertainment on its head.[52] 'Loudly and repeatedly applauded', Catalani's opening night would be remembered for its rousing display of British solidarity, as much as the delights of fashionable Italian music. Audience spontaneity made for the forging of novel perspectives about national identity and patriotic feeling in Bristol during the Peninsular War.

In February 1809 Catalani was singing 'God Save the King' by popular request, but less than eight months later she would be branded a British traitor. As the *Gazette* was quick to recognise, the Old Price riots, 'a still more serious occasion now notorious in London', were largely to blame for this extraordinary change in the singer's fortunes.[53] The riots started in September that year when Kemble's new Covent Garden theatre was opened to the paying public. Higher

---

[50] *BG,* 23 February 1809.
[51] *Ibid*.
[52] The biographer George Raymond explains that there was a card, especially transcribed for Madame Catalani, with the lyrics to "God Save the King" written in a phonetic mix of English and Italian: 'Oh Lord avar God | Arais schaeter | Is enemis and | Mece them fol| Confond tear | Politekse frosstre | Their nevise trix | On George avar hopes | We fix God save the | Kin'. See Raymond, p. 344.
[53] *BG*, 16 November 1809.

prices of admission and new seating arrangements provoked outrage among many of the theatre's patrons. The proprietors and their supporters were known as advocates of the New Prices (NP), with the majority of the auditorium protesting for a return to the Old Prices (OP).[54] Although plays were performed as normal and audiences continued to pay for admission, the performances themselves were rarely heeded. Theatregoers hissed, whistled and danced, raised banners inscribed with messages of protest, and even sported a range of OP ephemera, including handkerchiefs, medals, and other fashionable accessories. Assuming the behaviour of patriotic citizens, the OPs defined their campaign through enthusiastic renditions of 'God Save the King' and 'Rule Britannia'.[55] They also objected to Catalani's expensive engagement with the xenophobic cry of 'no Foreigners'.[56] When the singer re-appeared in Bristol in November 1809, her reception was, consequently, very different from that she had received earlier in the year.

On 18 November, the *Bristol Mirror* recounted a few of the 'absurd and ridiculous' reports in circulation against Madame Catalani.[57] The rumours included that her husband was 'a Member of the Legion of Honour – that he was the spy of the French government' and, moreover, that Catalani herself 'contributed annually Seven Thousand Pounds to BONAPARTE'S Exchequer, towards carrying on the war against this country!'[58] In response, *The Bristol Gazette* printed an unequivocal statement of its opinions:

> The public have a right to express their approbation, or disapprobation of any performer in a place of public amusement, according to their taste or feeling on the subjects; but to hunt down a foreigner and a woman, merely because she is eminent in her profession, is unworthy of the gallantry and

[54] For the OP riots, see Introduction, pp. 12-4.
[55] *FFBJ*, 28 October 1809 – reprint of the OPs' 'National Air Humbly Submitted to the Placarding Committee', complete with a refrain of 'God Save John Bull'
[56] Baer, p. 27.
[57] By then, the unpopular singer had cancelled most of her performances in Bristol and Bath.
[58] *BM*, 18 November 1809 (KB/ 4/4).

> liberality of Englishmen. Those who *discountenance* the engagement of foreigners at our place of amusement, upon principle, will do so most effectually, by *never shewing* [*sic*] *their faces* there.[59]

Eager to promote politeness and cultured awareness among local audiences, the reviewer publicises his respect for Catalani's susceptibilities as 'a foreigner and a woman', arguing that her very 'otherness' gave occasion for audiences to prove 'the gallantry and liberality of Englishmen'. The war in the Iberian Peninsula was often described on the basis of romantic metaphors of chivalry. It is significant, then, that the reviewer appeals to a wartime audience by reminding them of their national duty to rescue and protect the maligned opera singer from such violent prejudice.

It was common for early nineteenth-century theatrical reviews to promote the stage's capacity to teach audiences to be sympathetic, patriotic citizens. Bristolians' reactions to Catalani's unpopularity could, the reviewer suggests, actually strengthen the native sense of self by defining what is and what is not acceptable behaviour for Bristol's audiences.[60] The singer's first engagement had represented a successful transgression of the borders of history, culture, and tradition. The unexpected popularity of a foreigner singing the British anthem had provided an act of difference available for appropriation, and a thinking point for audiences struggling to make sense of a new and bewildering cultural milieu. The review in the *Bristol Gazette* emphasizes that in this climate of unexpected social and political changes, audiences had to be tolerant and remain at the top of their game. In passing, the reviewer also emphasises that London is not a paradigm for imitation, and that Bristolians should exert their own cultural and political pressure in order to control the tendencies of the capital.

---

[59] *BG*, 16 November 1809.

[60] Catalani was, in fact, soon able to recover her popularity with local audiences. In June 1814 she sang to great acclaim at the 'Grand Musical Festival for the Benefit of the Infirmary'. See *FFBJ* 18 June 1814.

The repertoire system

Most of the plays presented in Bristol's Theatre Royal were stock pieces that dated from the eighteenth century. These included Robert Benson's musical entertainment *Britain's Glory; or, A Trip to Portsmouth* (1796), O'Keeffe's celebrated opera *The Castle of Andalusia* (1783), Foote's comedy *The Mayor of Garratt* (1764), Kemble's afterpiece of *The Pannel* (1788) and his equestrian drama *Lodoiska* (1794). It is significant that these stock pieces were able to survive the turbulent social and political changes of the early nineteenth century. Having already received the Lord Chamberlain's approval, these older plays were less likely to be singled out for political censure. An incongruous result of their persistence on the Bristol stage, however, is that during the Peninsular War, they filled its boards with stereotypes of ridiculously proud Spanish dons, tyrannical father figures, and Gothic manifestations of endangered female virtue. The settings and characterizations of these eighteenth-century plays testified to the long history of enmity between Spain and Britain that distinguished the nations' histories until the alliance of 1808.

Chapter One's analysis of *Pizarro*'s long stage history exemplifies that eighteenth-century plays and their often negative portrayal of the stage Spaniard, did not necessarily become 'dated' with the onset of the Peninsular War. An informed audience had an innate capacity to re-invent the plays' projected scenarios, and invest them with meaning and significance appropriate to new circumstances. Whereas in earlier decades, the negative impression of a Spanish theme could be taken at face value, in the self-conscious years of state-sponsored military action in Iberia, symbols of Spanish backwardness and limitation took on

new significance. To some of the war's supporters, who remained suspicious about Spain's religion and traditions, these shortcomings of the Spanish character seemed to showcase the very reasons why British involvement in the Peninsula was so necessary. To the war's opponents, they symbolised the folly of wasting British lives and resources in a fancifully conceived military campaign.

In Bristol, a socially and culturally aspirant city, Spanish themed comedies about disguise, exposure, and recognition reverberated with political implications that stretched beyond their immediate comic appeal. Indeed, comedy plays had special purchase in the early nineteenth century, a period in which very few new tragedies were produced. A tradition of cross-dressing and impersonation was common to most of these comedies, and was loaded with significance for audiences, who were themselves experimenting with new models of civic identity at the time of the plays' performances. In Kemble's *The Pannel*, a re-working of Calderon's *El Escondido y la Tapada*, identities are as readily put on as they are taken off. [61] The play was a favourite with audiences, and invariably chosen for performance by Dorothy Jordan, for whom the character of Beatrice had been especially written.[62]

In *The Castle of Andalusia* and Tobin's *The Honey Moon* servants are given the opportunity to dress and behave as their masters. In O'Keeffe's comic opera, it takes Fernando a moment of deliberate reflection to recognise his servant Pedrillo, '*in an elegant morning gown, cap, and slippers'*.[63] Shaken by the surprise, he re-asserts his authority by enlisting Pedrillo to fulfil his duties: 'Then Sir, if you are a gentleman of such prodigious merit, be so obliging, with submission to your cap

[61] John Philip Kemble, *The Pannel, As altered by J. P. Kemble. From Bickerstaff's translation of Calderon's El escondido y la trapada* (London: 1789), Introduction.
[62] *The Pannel* was performed on 28 January 1811, 18 January 1813, and on 24 and 31 January 1814. Mrs Jordan was engaged on all these dates (Appendix C).
[63] John O'Keeffe, *Castle of Andalusia: A Comic Opera in Three Acts* (London: 1794), II. 1, p. 39.

and gown, as to – pull off my boots'.[64] Later in Act III, Pedrillo secures his public vengeance when, richly dressed, and with an air of '*great authority'*, he rebukes Fernando, now disguised as his servant, for acting with negligence. Fernando, humbled, reflects in an aside: 'If this be my picture, I blush for the original'.[65] At this point, the intimacy of the aside would have helped normalise the play's democratic politics, reminding audiences that the inversion of roles had been carefully planned, and that they too have been complicit in its execution.

A parallel scene occurs in *The Honey Moon*, when the Duke of Aranza tries to play a trick on his young bride, Juliana, and teach her a lesson about pride. Juliana, believing that the Duke has acted as a fraud, demands justice. She is unknowingly allowed to make her suit before a mock court, presided by Jaquez, the Duke's servant. When Jaquez, dressed as the Duke, first makes his appearance at the palace, the servants '*in vain endeavour to restrain their Laughter'*.[66] Jaquez is furious, and threatens the servants for ridiculing him: ' Am I the first great man that has been made offhand by a tailor? Show your grinders again, and I'll hang you like onions, fifty on a rope.' The Duke's clothes seem to hang unnaturally from the servant's smaller frame. Jaquez himself, admits that it feels like wearing 'armour', and that the 'sword has a trick of getting between my legs, like a monkey's tail, as if it were determined to trip up my nobility. – '.[67] He is determined, however, to act the part, and parody his master to perfection. In his concern for appearances and social decorum, Jaquez threatens to 'hang' his fellow servants, and that there will be 'transportation at least', if they give any indication of already knowing him. His linguistic allusions to crime and punishment make it clear that the role of magistrate

[64] O'Keeffe, II. 1, p. 40.
[65] *Ibid*., III. 1, p. 60.
[66] John Tobin, *Honey Moon; A Comedy, As performed at the Theatre Royal, Drury Lane*, *with Remarks by Mrs Inchbald* (London: 1808), III .2, p. 42.
[67] *Ibid*.

is uppermost in his thoughts. When the real Duke appears, he is impressed by his servant's role-play. In two asides, he acknowledges that 'The rogue reproves me well!' and 'does it to the life!'[68] These intimate confessions to the audience are an important reminder that, as in *The Castle of Andalusia*, it is the master's good humour, which allows the carnivalesque to develop into a comic, rather than frightful, vision of a revised social order.

When Jaquez is alone on stage, his reflections reveal, nevertheless, that his experimental role-play has been tinged with more serious ironies:

> JAQUEZ I begin to find, by the strength of my nerves, and the steadiness of my countenance, that I was certainly intended for a great man; – for what more does it require to be a great man, than boldly to put on the appearance of it? – How many stage politicians are there, who can scarce comprehend the mystery of a mouse-trap; – valiant generals who wouldn't attack a bulrush, unless the wind were in their favour […] shining examples – that a man will never want gold in his pocket, who carries plenty of brass in his face![69]

Jaquez's new identity has taught him that power is nothing more than a convincing social performance. This gives satiric bite to Tobin's comedy about an old Spanish duke who marries a beautiful young wife. Elizabeth Inchbald claimed that Tobin's drama was didactic in its intent: 'He respected the stage as the best vehicle by which wit, poetry, and morality, could be conveyed to the good and the bad, the wise and the ignorant, of the community'.[70] In Bristol, where Tobin had received his education, *The Honey Moon* attracted a local following and was performed ten times between 1808 and 1815.[71] During this period, the play's presentation of identity as dynamic, improvised and essentially performative, carried significant political weight. Jaquez explicitly compares his acting bravado to that of the 'stage

---

[68] Tobin, III .2, pp. 43-44.
[69] *Ibid*., p. 46.
[70] *Ibid*., p. 4.
[71] Inchbald notes that Tobin was educated by Rev. M. Lee, of Bristol (*Ibid*., p. 3).

politician' and 'valiant general'. Tobin's play would have reminded audiences that the Peninsular War provided new opportunities for the re-invention of public and private identities. This was a period when political reputations were very much at stake, and even the posthumous reputation of Sir John Moore called into question.

Since the Convention of Cintra opponents of the war had become increasingly critical about the British military's apparently illusive successes in the Peninsula. In his pamphlet *Concerning The Relations of Great Britain, Spain, and Portugal, to Each Other, and to the Common Enemy at this Crisis; and specifically as affected by the Convention of Cintra* (1809), Wordsworth argued that the British Generals who signed the Convention 'mistook the counters of the game for the stake played for'.[72] The words 'rumour', 'seduced', and 'blind' crop up repeatedly in his prose. In Bristol, the *Gazette*, called for an immediate recall of the Generals who signed the Treaty.[73] Consequently, in 1809, while the local Tories promoted the view that Wellington's victory at Talavera was an example of tactical genius, the *Bristol Gazette* claimed instead: [74]

> Lord Wellington has exactly come up to what we expected of him – he has expounded some millions of money, some thousands of lives, and must return as he went. [75]

With heavy sarcasm, the editor accentuates the problems of discrimination and illusion explored more playfully in Tobin's play. The dramatic irony of Jaquez's soliloquy about identity could help audiences reimagine the heated political debates circulated in the press. Audiences' secret knowledge of the different impersonations taking place onstage pointed to the ways in which an exposure of social performance could uncover more serious gaps between perception and reality.

---

[72] *Cintra*, I, 262.
[73] *BG*, 6 October 1808.
[74] *FFBJ,* 19 August 1809.
[75] *BG*, 6 October 1808.

During the Peninsular War, Bristol's representation of the *The Pannel*, *The Castle of Andalusia*, and *The Honey Moon* – all of which were set in Spain and placed a premium on the theme of disguise – sent messages that were critical and ironic, as well as funny.

The English Fleet in 1342 *and its performance on 27 June 1810*

Relations between England and Spain were poor in 1810, but the British government remained committed to the war. It is not surprising then, that when *The English Fleet in 1342* was staged for Bennett's benefit night (27 June 1810), patriotic display was uppermost in the Theatre Royal's agenda.[76] Thomas Dibdin's comic opera had received its first performance at Covent Garden on 13 December 1803.[77] Written in the aftermath of the short-lived Peace of Amiens, it was intended as a morale-boosting piece for the renewed war against Napoleon. Its success in London was long lived and soon extended to the provinces. The play's themes of legitimate succession, popular resistance to invasion, siege warfare, female heroic agency, British naval prowess and chivalric rescue were all highly topical during the protracted war against Napoleon's aggressive and expansionist regime.

As its title indicates, a sense of historical perspective is crucial to the play's action. The list of dramatis personae ends with a suggestion that 'For the historical foundation of this Opera' the reader should consult the second volume of Hume's *History of England*.[78] *The English Fleet in 1342* dramatises the conflict between the House of Blois (supported by France) and the House of Montfort (supported by

[76] Playbills stated that at the end of the play there would be a representation of 'The British Fleet at Anchor'.
[77] Nicoll, 'Hand-List of Plays, 1800-1850', *History of English Drama*, IV, 297.
[78] Tomas Dibdin, *The English Fleet, in 1342; An Historical Comic Opera, in Three Acts* (London: 1805).

England) during the Breton War of Succession.[79] It tells the story of the Countess de Montfort who, in the absence of her captured husband, carries out the defence of Rennes. After resisting the armies of Charles de Blois, the Countess retires to the castle of Hennebone, from where she inspires the townspeople and even endures hunger and deprivation, but refuses to capitulate. In the tense timeframe of twenty-four hours, every minute registers her anxious hopes for the arrival of English aid.

In 1803, when the *English Fleet* was first performed, siege plays were particularly resonant for an island nation trying to resist France. As Chapter One explains, ideas about British liberty and keeping out the invader were particularly prevalent after 1802. The idea of a stronghold remained prominent during the Peninsular War. In his pamphlet on Cintra, Wordsworth poignantly describes the Portuguese campaign as a '[combat] for victory in the empire of reason, for strong-holds in the imagination'.[80] By the time of Bennett's benefit performance, Bristolians were familiar with several examples of siege warfare in Spain. The seaport of Cadiz, seat of the Spanish Junta and naval arsenal of southwest Spain, had been besieged by the French a few months earlier on 5 February 1810. The two sieges of Zaragoza had also attracted much attention.[81] The first siege of Zaragoza, which lasted between 15 June and 13 August 1808 had resulted in an inspiring Spanish victory. The heroism of General Palafox and defence of the Portillo Gate by Augustina Zaragoza were widely reported in the British press. The following year, when the French were successful in their second attempt on the city, *Felix Farley's Bristol Journal* remained committed to the memory of the previous summer. It advertised Charles Vaughan's recent publication of the *Narrative of the*

[79] This was one of the most important conflicts at the start of the Hundred Years War.
[80] *Cintra*, I, 261.
[81] The second siege took place between 20 December 1808 and 20 February 1809, ended in a French conquest.

Siege of Zaragoza (1809), and reprinted selected extracts of his account on 17 and 24 June 1809. Vaughan's *Narrative* recounted Augustina's impressive resolution and courage in firing a 26-pounder as the French army attempted to storm the city. In Iberia and England, Augustina's actions incited new models of heroic (and especially gendered) agency.[82] In 1810, this Spanish heroine is likely to have been at the forefront of audiences' minds as they applauded the valorous actions of the Countess de Montfort.

In the play, the Countess makes her first appearance *'in brilliant armour'*.[83] She directs herself with the composure of an accomplished military leader, without ever relinquishing her primary responsibilities as a wife and mother:

> COUNTESS Before oppression called my lord from home, the household duties, and my boy's instruction employed my happier hours; but can ye wonder, when great occasion calls for great resistance, if, in the cause of husband, prince, and people, I leave the milder manners of my sex, and, fearless, join amid the ranks of war?[84]

The exigencies of war justify the Countess's masculine comportment, while the uncertain political climate gives heightened significance to her maternal devotion. As the Countess explains in her address to the 'warriors of Brittany', it is her son who inspires her to take action, 'his infancy oppressed by those who spurn at lineal right, and lineal freedom'.[85] The bonds of mother and child had acquired urgent political resonance as a result of the French attack.

In the French camp, Charles de Blois bitterly exclaims: '[…] this is the age that female heroes thrive in! The martial governess of yonder castle has kept us hard at bay, even while her lover is captive in our camp'.[86] With begrudging irony, Blois

---

[82] Chapter Two, pp. 132-5.
[83] Dibdin, II. 3, p. 30.
[84] *Ibid*.
[85] *Ibid*., p. 31.
[86] *Ibid*., III. 1, p. 45.

concedes that the Countess has been remarkably successful in defending against the siege. Adela, his consort, reveals genuine admiration for the 'valiant' Countess, and observes that in England, 'they are proud to own a Queen, who holds the homage of her subjects, less by her rank, than by the many virtues which adorn her'.[87] While this historical comparison is not likely to have been understood by the majority of playgoers, it was up to the play's readers, with their volume of Hume's *History* by their side, to follow it up and explore the implications of comparing the Countess with the English queen-consort, Philippa of Hainault. By this approximation, Adela qualifies her lover's portrait of a 'martial governess', suggesting the Countess's compassion made her worthy of the 'homage of her subjects'. Inspired, Adela argues that prisoners should be treated with humanity, and makes her own arrangements for refreshments to be sent to the imprisoned Count.[88]

While the women in Dibdin's play are defiant and brave, they are, however, ultimately unequal to the demands of war. Towards the end of the play, even the magnanimous Countess contemplates a ceasefire. After the Lord of Leon warns her about Charles' ruthlessness and the desperate nature of her situation, the alarmed mother writes to the English king, asking protection for her son. Soon after, she hears cheers of 'Huzza' announcing the arrival of the English fleet, runs to the window, tears her letter, and cries out that there shall be 'No capitulation!'[89] The exhausted Countess then '*faints in the arms of her Attendants*'. Her physical collapse is significant, allowing the play's heroic agency to be unequivocally transferred to the approaching English fleet. '*Cannon is heard, and the flashes are seen thro' the window – The scene closes*'.[90] By this spectacular arrival, the English

[87] Dibdin, III. 1, p. 45.
[88] *Ibid*., p. 47.
[89] *Ibid*., III. 4, p. 59.
[90] *Ibid*.

fleet illuminate the stage with flashes of gunfire, and make it shake with the thunderous groan of their cannons. The Countess has acted as necessity obliged, but the true heroism of the play is reserved for the English.

From the start, the play sustains a continual engagement with the theme of English heroism. The opening act, for instance, sees the cottager Jeanette reunited with her husband, Philip, and son, Valentine, recently returned from England. Philip reveals that the English are preparing a fleet to provide succour for the Bretons. His homecoming toast is: '"Success to the arms of the King of England!" for his cause and ours are the same'.[91] He then sings a song celebratory of English values and traditions:

> In England I've seen the brave sons of roast beef,
> Rais'd high on prosperity's wings:
> Saw wealth and good humour beyond all belief;
> But travellers see strange things.
> *Chorus* Strange things!
> Strange things!
> Travellers see strange things!
>
> […]
>
> Believe me, no falsehood I wish to advance,
> From truth my authority springs,
> I've seen England can never be conquered by France,
> But travellers see strange things
> *Chorus*[92]

Philip's song, with the comic refrain of 'Travellers see strange things' offers a perspective that envisages English liberty and prosperity as exotic luxuries. Dibdin uses Philip's sense of wonder and excitement to defamiliarise cultural values, and give audiences an appreciation of the true worth of English ideals during a time of international political unrest.

---

[91] Dibdin, I. 1, p. 7.
[92] *Ibid*., p. 8.

The play's ideological underpinning was important during the Peninsular War. As hereditary enemies, English and Spanish soldiers were often suspicious of each other, and the local populace equivocal about English interference. The historian Rory Muir explains that after Talavera, Ocaña, and the loss of Andalusia, Britain's reputation in Spain was at its lowest point.[93] This would have given particular resonance to Philip's claim that the British throne never deserts its allies.[94] In 1810, Dibdin's nationalist emphasis on British solidarity and commitment to the war would have felt acutely topical.

The Peninsular War renewed the political apprehensions that had inspired Dibdin to write *The English Fleet* in 1803. This is comparable to the ways in which *Pizarro* received added charge after the collapse of Amiens, and first reports of unrest in Spain. Dibdin, like Sheridan, could not have known that historical circumstances would make his play seem so apt to Bristolians during the Peninsular War. Managers were quick to recognise, however, that *The English Fleet*'s depiction of opportunities for heroism and patriotism would make as strong an impression in the auditorium in 1810, as it had in 1803. On Bennett's benefit night, audiences would have understood that like the Countess, Spanish women in the Peninsula were also taking up arms in order to defend their homes. As early as 12 May 1808, the *Bristol Gazette* had drawn attention to the 'conspicuous part' played by women in the Madrid riots.[95]

The play's topicality was manifold. Beyond its representation of female characters, or the obvious heroism of an English Fleet, in 1810 it also seemed to speak to political unrest in Spain. The fate of the Spanish Bourbons added new inflections to the Countess's description of her husband's betrayal:

---

[93] Muir, p. 116.
[94] Dibdin, I. 2, pp. 18-19.
[95] *BG*, 12 May 1808.

> COUNTESS But when 'tis known that my lov'd husband went, on public faith, to plead his cause in France's capital, sanctioned by France's ruler, when 'tis known that, in famed Paris, spite of all promise, he was made a prisoner, and his birthright attempted in his absence, then shall future times forgive a female spirit, who throws the distaff from her hand, and, 'gainst assassins, grasps the pointed spear![96]

During the Peninsular War, the Countess's description of the French court's double-dealing could easily be interpreted as an allusion to Ferdinand VII's similar entrapment at Bayonne. Chapter Two discusses the controversy that ensued as a result of Don Cevallos's pamphlet on this subject. In *An Exposure of the Arts and Machinations which led to the usurpation of the Crown of Spain and the means pursued by Bonaparte to carry his views into effect* Cevallos explained how in1808, following orders by Napoleon, Ferdinand VII repaired to Bayonne, where the prince and his father were induced to abdicate their rights to the Spanish throne.[97] As an Opposition paper, the *Bristol Gazette* posed the question of legitimate rule in very different terms: 'What can the once proud and chivalrous Spaniards think of their Kings and Princes, when they see the son drivelling penitence before the father, and the father licking the feet of a foreign usurper […]?'[98] Regardless of political sympathies, however, was the certainty that from Bayonne, Napoleon was 'paving the way for the introduction of foreign tyranny'.[99] The Count's imprisonment by the French Charles de Blois would have made the plot of *The English Fleet* seem remarkably close to recent Spanish history.

There were, nevertheless, aspects of the play that were intrinsically related to its date of composition. The play includes, for instance, a direct representation of a Spanish officer, Don Carlos. Intended to boost morale in 1803, when England and

---

[96] Dibdin, II. 3, p. 31.
[97] For the *ER* and Don Cevallos, see Chapter Two, pp. 74, 96-8.
[98] *BG*, 2 June 1808.
[99] *Ibid*.

Spain were still at war, Dibdin's descriptions of the Spaniard are predictably cruel. His characterisation is developed in Act II scene 1, where Dibdin portrays the relationship between the leaders of the French, Spanish, and Genoese troops. In compliance with reductive national stereotypes, Carlos takes the requisite 'siesta', is described as inordinately proud, and makes pretensions to a grandiose authority that he clearly lacks. During this scene, 'Don Carlos Alonzo Alphonso Conquestador, son of the principal writing-master to the Prince of Asturias', merely amuses the French troop leader, La Valette. In response to the Spaniard's obvious feelings of self-importance, the Frenchman cynically suggests: 'Why, the worst they could say would be, that your father *flourished* in the fourteenth century, and his son was too apt to follow his example'.[100] Remarkably, during the Peninsular War, Britons' disillusionment with their new allies meant that even in these mocking references to the Spaniard's haughtiness and misplaced sense of honour, Dibdin could be seen to provide pointed political commentary, as well as comedy.

While the Anglo-Spanish alliance had exerted new pressures on negative portrayals of the Spanish character, the progress of cultural diplomacy was slow, and often without consequence. Dibdin's ridicule of the Spaniard thus remained popular on the Bristol stage, where its persistence in the repertoire between 1808 and 1815 points to the inconsistency of attempts to revise national stereotypes. In English society at large, opinions about Spain and its peoples remained relatively unchanged during the war, with many detractors of the war suggesting that their prejudices had been confirmed by recent experiences. Although the British press had originally celebrated Spain's motley army of resistance fighters, as the war progressed, the discipline of British troops came to be regarded as the Peninsula's

[100] Dibdin, II. 1, p. 23.

true source of salvation from French tyranny.[101] This fit in well with Dibdin's play, where the English were omniscient agents of rescue, both directly and indirectly.[102]

In Act V, the English fleet commanded by Sir Walter Manny arrives at the crucial hour, boasting what Philip had earlier described as 'great guns, which are just invented'.[103] The representation of the 'English Fleet' advertised in the Theatre Royal playbills (27 June 1810) gave playgoers an occasion to celebrate the Royal Navy as a paradigm of modern maritime warfare.[104] In the final scene of the play, the stage directions describe:

> *The English fleet discover'd at anchor, with splendid banners flying, the decks and shrouds mann'd and arm'd in the appropriate old English style. – A grand march plays, while the English Admiral is received in all military pomp by the Count, Countess, and all the Characters of their party*.[105]

The war in Spain and Portugal provided an additional dimension to the experience of watching *The English Fleet* in Bristol's Theatre Royal. Bennett's audiences would surely have been impressed with the accurate representation of the fleet in this final scene. Between 1808 and 1814, Spain, like fourteenth-century Brittany, was engaged in a fraught war defined by siege tactics, heroic intervention by the local community, and a resolution to uphold good governance and religious traditions. During this period, managers chose the play to highlight key dates in the Theatre Royal's calendar, including Bennett's benefit night, and the engagements of Mrs Dickons (8 January 1810) and Incledon (18 May 1812). Their dramatic programme testifies to the value that Bristol, a launching pad for so many of the regiments sent to the Peninsula, placed on Dibdin's nautical theme and morale-boosting action.

---

[101] See Isaac Cruikshank, 'The Noble Spaniards' (1808), Chapter Two, p. 103.
[102] N.B. The historic setting of Brittany ultimately belonged to the larger, heroic narrative of the Hundred Years War.
[103] Dibdin, I. 2, p. 19.
[104] E.g. *FFBJ* on the Royal Navy's 'fresh generation of youthful heroes'(28 September 1811).
[105] Dibdin, III. 6, p. 62.

Shakespeare

The Theatre Royal's artful managers did their utmost to package performances of Shakespeare's plays as symbolic social events. Bristol's capacity for elaborate stage effect may have been inferior to that of London, but managers left no doubt that when it came to Shakespeare, no expenses were spared. This chapter has already mentioned that in July 1811 *Coriolanus* was played at the Theatre Royal, under the patronage of the Oxford Regiment. Several songs that night enhanced the play's martial themes, especially 'Graham & Glory, or The Battle of Barrosa'. The Battle of Barrosa occurred on 5 March 1811, when Victor and his troops failed in their attack of the Anglo-Spanish forces attempting to lift the siege of Cadiz. The earlier description of this battle explained how the British victory was symbolically heightened by the capture of the French regimental eagle. To theatre audiences, this made the final ovation scene, in which Coriolanus enters with the 'Chief Eagle', all the more momentous. In the summer of 1811, events in the Peninsula had given new, topical inflections to Shakespeare's Roman play.

In emulation of the London spectacle, the playbills for 28 December 1812 proudly announced that at the end of Act II there would be 'A Grand Ovation, upon the return of Caius Marcius from the Conquest of Corioli'.[106] In its production of *Coriolanus*, the Theatre Royal intended that Kemble's twofold fame as leading tragedian and Covent Garden manager should be ushered to the forefront of Bristolians' theatrical experiences. The Theatre Royal's smaller stage dimensions

[106] The play was performed again in October 1813; this time, by Covent Garden's other leading talent, Charles Mayne Young. In 1814, with London audiences engrossed by the competition between Young and Kean, Kemble returned to BTR, playing the part of Coriolanus to popular acclaim.

meant, however, that there would be practical difficulties in putting on a production as technically exigent as *Coriolanus*. At its maximum capacity, the playhouse could hold an audience of one thousand spectators. In comparison, the rebuilt theatres of Covent Garden and Drury Lane could hold around three thousand each. Although Bristol could not produce stage spectacles to the same scale as the metropolitan theatres, its status as a garrison town provided theatre managers with a pool of soldiers and sailors to swell the auditorium and serve as supernumeraries onstage. When Kemble's grand ovation scene was replicated in Bristol, troops awaiting deployment were engaged to take part in the play's carefully orchestrated military procession. This kind of organised civic participation provided a good opportunity for the army and navy to impress civilian audiences.[107] On the four occasions when Bristol's Theatre Royal played *Coriolanus*, Shakespeare's play imparted messages of social control and public loyalism deemed essential for the war against Napoleon.

Intriguingly, playbills from this period suggest that local realisations of Shakespeare's plays were less dependent on the stock company than star actors from London, on tour in the region. Kemble was the lead in two performances of *Coriolanus*, while Young played the hero in the third. Bristol's urban development in the late eighteenth century had included the creation of turnpike trusts, established all over England to help create a network of well-maintained roads.[108] Improvements to the regional infrastructure permitted star actors from the metropolis to arrive in Bristol by mail coach and fulfil short engagements.

---

[107] Military parading by the Volunteer forces was popular in Bristol during the wars, which suggests the supernumeraries onstage were certainly well trained. Troops normally assembled at Queen's Square and marched to Leigh Down for inspection. On 28 July 1810, *FFBJ* reported that a regiment of 800 Volunteers was mustered. Shortly after passing the Bedminster turnpike, the men divided into two groups and enacted a sham fight. The paper praised the Volunteers for 'great steadiness and much military science', noting that the artillery '*played* with great effect'. A number of people assembled 'to see this pleasing military spectacle'.

[108] E.g. *FFBJ*, 24 March 1810 – Bristol's turnpikes to be let by auction.

Sometimes, these visits took place during the London theatre season itself. Bristol was also advantageously positioned to recruit actors making an onward journey to Dublin.[109] Between 1808 and 1815 all the Shakespearean productions put on at Bristol's Theatre Royal either marked a benefit night or the engagement of a London actor.

The New Year of 1808 opened with Mrs Siddons as Lady Macbeth, and then Queen Katharine in *Henry VIII*. In June, Cooke performed his celebrated Shylock in *The Merchant of Venice*, and Richard III in Shakespeare's play of that name. During the first year of the Peninsular War, Shakespeare clearly belonged to a larger, wartime repertoire.[110] In July 1808, the theatre showed its support for the Anglo-Spanish alliance by promoting a new afterpiece, *Whistle For It; or, The Spanish Patriots*, with 'A Patriot's Address' delivered by Miss Fisher, the stock company's leading actress. [111] Her benefit night on the following week advertised a divertissement in honour of the 'Glorious Intelligence Daily Arriving of Spanish Heroism'. This included a representation of the Naval Pillar, and several illuminations.[112] There seemed to be every cause for celebration. On 14 July 1808, the *Bristol Gazette* had announced the French fleet's surrender to the Spaniards at Cadiz, and confirmed that the British force was actively deployed in the Spaniards' defence.

During the war, the Theatre Royal presented Shakespeare as a 'special treat'. When the new theatrical season opened in October 1808, Shakespeare returned to

---

[109] E.g. BTR advertisement that Miss Smith would play at the theatre 'for a short time, previous to her return to Dublin'. *FFBJ,* 30 September 1809.
[110] See Chapter Three for the symbolic associations made between Shakespeare and the Peninsular campaign.
[111] By August, *FFBJ* was reporting that so contagious was the enthusiasm for the war, that 'the whole of the Officers and privates of the Royal Pembroke and Flint Militias, with the exception of one solitary nab in each regiment, have volunteered their services to Spain' (6 August 1808).
[112] BTR Playbill 25 July 1809 (BCRL).

the Bristol stage with Young playing lead roles in *Macbeth, Hamlet, Much Ado About Nothing, Othello* and *Lear*. Cooke, who was engaged again in December, also performed in *Lear*. In June 1809, *Othello* was performed for 'Part of the Office-keepers Benefit'. Later that summer, Abbott and Mrs Grove commemorated their benefit night with *Romeo and Juliet*. As a finale to the season, the engagement of Mr and Mrs Kemble brought audiences a performance of *Much Ado About Nothing* in July. By exploiting the mood of celebration and civic pride fostered on benefit nights and the engagement of star actors, managers encouraged audiences to associate Shakespeare's plays with the sense of occasion appropriate to the nationalist claims made by their theatre during the Peninsular War.

The prudent allocation of Shakespeare's plays within Bristol's theatrical calendar helped maintain the bard's cultural prestige and symbolic status. By bringing the talents of Siddons, Kemble, Cooke, and Young to the provinces, Bristol's Theatre Royal fostered belief in a truly national standard of Shakespearean performance. It was, after all, an actor's claim to fame that ultimately determined his/her desirability to provincial theatre managers in the first place. The sensation initially created around Master Betty made him a popular choice in both the metropolis and provinces, even after his peak of fame. In Bristol, he made appearances as Hamlet in 1812, Romeo in 1813, and Othello in 1815. The engagement of a star player to perform a Shakespearean role was representative of the symbolic mobility and export of the nation's literary culture – a clear embodiment of the sort of cultural nationalism that took place in England during the Peninsular War.

Five performances of *King Lear* were presented at Bristol's Theatre Royal between 1808 and 1815. Four of these were between 1810 and 1814, a period when

the play was not staged by the London patents in deference to George III's ill health. After his seven years of absence from Bristol, Kemble played Lear twice when he returned in December 1812.[113] This gave Bristol's audiences a privileged opportunity to see one of the Romantic stage's most celebrated actors perform in a play considered 'taboo' for the times. On 11 April 1814, Kemble performed Lear again, but it seems that although 'correct, scholar-like, and critical', his impersonation appeared to lack the 'transcendent excellence' of his King John, Macbeth, and Richard.[114] Whether this was due to the demands of the role, or less frequent opportunities for its performance, it is difficult to say. There is no doubt, however, that when it came to Shakespeare, provincial managers were keen to exploit their distance from the metropolitan centre. Bristol's Theatre Royal repertoire was not a mere copy of London's, but a selective – and at times exclusive – response to the capital's favourites.

Certain plays, especially Shakespeare's, were thus reserved for only occasional representation, with the leading roles taken by star actors. This is often thought to have been detrimental to the Theatre Royal's own acting company.[115] It is important to remember, however, that the system of recruitment worked both ways. Bristol and Bath were recognised as 'nursery schools', or springboards, for London actors. Miss Smith, Mr Abbott and Mr Egerton were all trained in Bristol before they moved on to successful careers at the grander, metropolitan theatres. It may have been unfair of managers to keep the performance of Shakespeare out of reach of the stock company's regular season, but when the recruitment of London stars meant that Shakespeare was finally played, local talents were given a privileged opportunity to learn from the foremost actors of their day and appear in

[113] 7 and 21 December 1812 (Appendix C).
[114] See *BG*, 14 April 1814 for a qualified appraisal of Kemble's impersonation of Lear.
[115] *Theatre Royal* p. 73; and Moody, 'Dictating to the Empire', p. 32.

crucial supporting roles. The two-way recruitment of actors between Bristol and London strongly suggests that the results were mutually beneficial.

Local audiences seem to have relished the opportunity to encounter star actors on their home stage. The Theatre Royal's engagement of these celebrities, to promote its Shakespearean canon, testifies to the cultural and box office benefits of Shakespeare's status as the national bard. In 1813, Coleridge's well-attended Shakespeare Lectures at the White Lion Inn took advantage of, and contributed towards, Bristol's already well-established literary interests.

Advertisements for Coleridge's lecture series stated that he had come 'at the suggestion of several gentlemen of this city'.[116] In his choice of venue, Coleridge followed John Thelwall, who had lectured at the White Lion Inn in September 1808. Then, the local papers had announced that Thelwall's lectures on senatorial and popular oratory would include 'a PHILIPPIC *against the Oppressor of Europe*, an ODE addressed to the Energies of Britain, on behalf of the Spanish, and other Recitations'.[117] A 'bumper' audience was said to have attended this last lecture on 29 September.[118] Thelwall's mix of literary and political themes was, however, problematic. It resulted in a correspondent of *Felix Farley's Bristol Journal* responding to Thelwall's final lecture by calling into question the speaker's patriotism. On 8 October 1808, the paper printed Thelwall's reply. The lecturer insisted 'the Heroism and Energy of Britain in the Cause of National Independence in General, and the noble struggle of Spanish patriotism in particular' had been genuinely felt. Although Thelwall allowed that men's views on 'the Gallic Tyrant' might differ, he maintained that there was unanimous consensus on the 'horrors' of Napoleon's designs for Britain. In a gesture of defiance, he concluded with a

[116] *FFBJ*, 23 October 1813.
[117] *BG*, 22 September 1808.
[118] *Ibid*.

promise to repeat his Farewell and Philippic, pointing out that although it would be impossible to repeat the 'precise words' of a lecture that had been improvised and spontaneous, he could not be induced 'to change once iota of sentiment, or retract any opinion' previously expressed.[119] The public excitement that surrounded Thelwall's lecturing at the White Lion Inn would certainly have been remembered by Coleridge's 1813 audiences, who had gathered to hear the one-time 'Citizen Sam' offer decidedly political readings of Shakespeare's greatest plays.

Thelwall's lecture occurred in the immediate aftermath of Cintra, when public opinion on the British campaign in Iberia reached its first ebb. In 1813, by contrast, while Coleridge delivered his Shakespearean lectures, the liberation of Portugal and advance of British troops from Spain into France encouraged renewed confidence in a successful outcome for the war. Local reviews of Coleridge's lectures were printed alongside notifications of the general illuminations held in celebration of British victories in Spain.[120] During his third lecture, Coleridge stood at the podium, comparing Macbeth to Napoleon and alluding to Allied successes in the Peninsula. By doing so, he reclaimed the White Lion Inn as a space for the discussion of literature, politics, and the changing meanings of patriotism.[121]

Coleridge's lectures also had an obvious influence on the theatrical criticism of the *Bristol Gazette*. On 4 November 1813, the *Gazette* printed a comprehensive account of Coleridge's lecture of 2 November on the subject of *Macbeth*. In that lecture, Coleridge set himself against the 'prejudiced idea of *Lady Macbeth* as a Monster' and focused considerable energy on recovering the femininity of her character. The *Gazette* recounted Coleridge's impression that throughout the play, she was determined 'to *bully* conscience'. Defining Lady Macbeth as 'a woman of a

[119] *FFBJ*, 8 October 1808.
[120] E.g. *FFBJ*, 6 November 1813.
[121] See *BG*, 11 November 1813; and Chapter Three, pp. 196-7.

visionary and day-dreaming turn of mind', Coleridge explained that 'So far is the woman from being dead within her, that her sex occasionally betrays itself in the very moments of dark and bloody imagination.' As he quoted Lady Macbeth's image of "plucking her nipple from the boneless gums of her infant", Coleridge underlined the very grotesqueness of her language as evidence of the force of its appeal. The lecturer's conclusion, the *Gazette* explained, was that the lines could only achieve such startling effect because Lady Macbeth remains solemnly attached to the bonds of maternal love.[122]

Echoes of Coleridge's lecture continued to reverberate as late as May 1814, when the *Gazette* published its review of the Theatre Royal's recent production of *Macbeth*. Significantly, the *Gazette* drew attention to the same scenes and language used by Coleridge, half a year earlier, to argue for a reassessment of Lady Macbeth's character. When the reviewer speaks of Mrs Weston's Lady Macbeth, he also quotes the lines: "I have given suck and know how sweet it is &c", recognising that the lines have often been thought to show 'a monster savageness'.[123] 'Yet the very words themselves "I know how sweet it is" betray maternal softness', he affirms, beaming with Coleridge's literary conviction.[124] Coleridge's lectures were more than a passing interest in Bristol's social calendar, and their cultural and political implications would continue to be felt long after the speaker's final farewell.

In wartime Bristol, Shakespeare was a ubiquitous cultural presence. In the public spheres of theatre and newsprint, he played a critical role in the community's sense of civic and national pride. His plays were fashionable theatrical commodities

---

[122] *BG*, 4 November 1813.
[123] *BG*, 5 May 1814.
[124] Following Coleridge's lead, the reviewer also cites Lady Macbeth's response to the murder of Duncan as a turning point in the play's portrayal of her character.

that distinguished the artistic cachet of Bristol's wartime repertoire. Limiting performances of Shakespeare to the engagement of a star actor or to mark a benefit night, managers at the Theatre Royal promoted the cultural exclusivity associated with the national bard. By distinguishing Shakespearean productions from the company's regular repertoire, they gave the impression that Shakespeare belonged to a larger, national project, dependent upon the mobility of actors and the beneficence of the local community to support its favourite players. Similarly, the success of Coleridge's lecture series was interpreted as a sign of civic amelioration and polite society in the provinces. The *Bristol Gazette* reported that 'It is much to the credit of the literary feeling of Bristol, that the room overflowed'.[125] Performances of Shakespeare in Bristol show that during the Peninsular War, the bard was a figurehead for appeals to local self-regard and cultural esteem.

Bristol's Minor theatre

The Theatre Royal may have been Bristol's dominant theatrical establishment, but it was not the only one. In 1811, Walter Jenkins purchased and converted the Assembly Rooms that would become Bristol's 'second' theatre. The once popular Assembly Rooms in Prince Street had fallen into disuse as a result of the economic depression. During the early part of the nineteenth century, they had been hired for various reasons, such as balls, music concerts, and glamorous dinners, but in 1810, they were merely used as a storehouse for iron.[126] After Jenkins's alterations, box seats replaced the old orchestra and a new portable stage was introduced, which

[125] *BG*, 4 November 1813.
[126] Beeson, p. 26.

could be mounted and dismantled at short notice. These alterations allowed the proprietor to accommodate nine hundred spectators in the pit, and six hundred in the boxes and gallery.[127] At first, the refurbished rooms were used for concerts, organised by Mr Ashe from the Bath Assembly Rooms, but in August 1812, Mr Lawler took a lease on the building and converted it into Bristol's second theatre, which came to be known as the Regency. [128] The theatre's lack of a royal patent, meant, however, that no spoken plays could be legally performed.[129]

Like the London minors, the Regency was limited to musical, mimic or spectacular performances. It was, nevertheless, still perceived to pose a significant threat to the proprietors of the Theatre Royal, who conspired to shut it down. In the early nineteenth century, audience demand was high for genres such as melodrama and pantomime, where the quick pace of action and emphasis on visual change seemed to capture societal moods.[130] As Lawler started to make his preparations for the Regency's opening, Covent Garden amazed audiences with *Harlequin Padmanaba*, its 1811 Christmas pantomime that featured a real elephant. This novelty ensured packed houses, but attracted much criticism also. *Felix Farley's Bristol Journal* included a report of the new production in its first issue for 1812. It described the young elephant as 'a sight on the boards of the *legitimate stage*, for which the town has expressed much anxiety'.[131] In Bristol, the competition between the Regency and Theatre Royal would expose the fine dividing line between legitimate and illegitimate stages. The Regency's troubled fate would also reveal

[127] *BG*, 29 August 1811; 5 September 1811.
[128] *Ibid*., 21 November 1811
[129] See Chapter Four.
[130] *Ibid*. for Hunt's opinions on pantomime, p. 211.
[131] *FFBJ*, 4 January 1812.

how, by the last years of the war, Bristol's theatres had been transformed into sites of cultural and political contestation.

Bristol had a long-established tradition of summer fairs. These brought a range of menageries, conjurors, elocutionists, and panoramic artists to the city's inhabitants. When Lawler first opened his theatre, the Theatre Royal was closed for the summer, and the fairs were still running. In order to be a success, he recognised that the Regency would have to make an immediate impression. Lawler announced that his theatre would open with the representation of a burletta: 'Founded on the glorious achievements of Earl Wellington'.[132] According to Kathleen Barker, this entertainment seems to have never 'materialised'. She blames internal squabbles and notes that Lawler's management was short lived.[133] The choice of entertainment remains significant, nonetheless. By this burletta, Lawler sought to capitalise on events in Iberia, and offer local audiences a sort of 'newsreel' of Britain's military engagements. In short, it was just the kind of entertainment likely to appeal to Bristol's large community of servicemen, allowing the manager to cash in on local patriotic sentiments.

From the outset, the Regency was keen to compare itself to the London minors. The theatre's advertisements introduced the public to 'Mr Lawler (from Mr Elliston's Theatre, London)', underscoring the fact that the Regency's voguish new manager had links to the Surrey Theatre.[134] A month later, another advertisement was printed in the *Bristol Mirror*, stating that in consideration of 'their small sphere of action, the performances at [the Regency] may safely challenge comparison with

---

[132] *FFBJ*, 15 August 1812
[133] The theatre closed on 22 October and re-opened a month later by Mr Clarke, an experienced theatre manager. See Barker, 'The Night the Statue Got Stuck!' p. 5 (KB/ 21/1).
[134] See Chapter Four, esp. p. 205.

those of the *little* theatres in the Metropolis'.[135] Lawler was well aware that his London connections could endow his theatre with extra prestige. This was also recognised by his successor, Mr Clarke, who took over the theatre's management in November 1812. Clarke drew up a new company for the Regency, specifically choosing from the metropolis's large pool of accomplished actors. He recruited the popular Harlequin actor Mr Auld, and Mr White, Miss Hatton, and Miss Bence from the Surrey Theatre.[136] Despite Bristol's self-assurance as a polite centre of sociability, its citizens were understandably keen to keep abreast of the latest London's fashions. London's minors provided a model and measure for Bristol's new illegitimate stage. It is significant, then, that during his management Lawler brought pieces from the Surrey, while Clarke contracted many actors who had made their reputations in London. These gestures served to underscore the impression that the minors' theatrical repertoire had, like the legitimate canon, come to acquire a national character.

The question of genre was a weighty consideration for any minor theatre. Lawler deliberately drew the public's attention to this as soon as he launched his opening season. Promising 'Grandeur, Interest and Comic Effect', he placed a puff in *Felix Farley's Bristol Journal* explaining:

> The more juvenile part of society will find in them that entertainment which they could not derive from the regular Drama, intended for the gratification of the mature and expanded mind; yet they will be sufficiently rational to agreeably amuse the adult, and occasionally be made the humble instrument of celebrating the glorious victories of our army and navy.[137]

[135] *BM*, 12 September 1812 (KB/ 21/1).
[136] *FFBJ*, 14 November 1812.
[137] *Ibid*., 15 August 1812.

Lawler was conscious of the snobbery his theatre would have to overcome. Chapter Four's discussion of the *Monthly Mirror*'s review of the London minors is a good example.[138] The completion of Bristol's new Commercial Rooms in September 1811 suggests that Bristol's wealthier citizens are likely to have been particularly suspicious of the city's new minor theatre.[139] In his puff Lawler takes pains, therefore, to define the Regency's entertainments as straightforward, uncomplicated pieces specifically suited to younger audiences. Their 'rationality' he claims, would not preclude the adult's enjoyment, but concedes that such pieces might not attract the 'mature and expanded mind'. These realistic and grounded claims to simplicity were, nevertheless, somewhat qualified by Lawler's final observation that there would be a variety of entertainments 'celebrating the glorious victories of our army and navy'. By adding nationalist feeling to the Regency's 'education value', the manager calls for audiences of all classes and ages to lend their patronage to the theatre. The British campaign in the Iberian Peninsula made Lawler's entertainment about Wellington's victories in Spain and Portugal an obvious choice for avoiding censure and attracting large audiences to the theatre's opening night.

For the remainder of its short but eventful existence, the Regency produced a range of spectacles that could be broadly classified as topical to the war. In November 1812, Signor Duharro, who had performed in London, Lisbon, and Madrid came to Bristol. He offered a circus-like fare of entertainments, described by

---

[138] Chapter Four, p. 207.

[139] The subscription for the New Commercial Rooms had opened in 1808. The rooms were intended to '[bring] into one focus the whole *trading*, as well as *social* intercourse of the place'. *FFBJ*, 28 September 1811. Subscribers and their guests had access to newspapers from London, the provinces, West India, America, and the Continent. Periodical reviews and maps were also available (*FFBJ*, 4 January 1812).

the playbills as 'Polanderic Exercises' of balancing chairs, ladders, sticks and hats.[140] Two nights after his first appearance, Signor Duharro performed again. This time, he shared the stage with Mr Betterton Jr who played the role of Don Guzman in the theatre's first representation of *Don Juan; or, The Libertine Destroyed*.[141] This pantomime ballet had been a huge success in London and, as Moyra Haslett explains, was one of the many variations of Tirso de Molina's *El Burlador de Sevilla*.[142] The play's Spanish story made it especially popular in the 1810s, when all eyes were on Spain, but it was also a difficult play to stage, with its famous 'statue scene' comparable to the troublesome fifth act of Shakespeare's *The Winter's Tale*. When *Don Juan* was performed for the first time in Bristol on 4 December 1812, the Regency received public notice for the auditorium's amusement when it transpired that Don Guzman's statue was too big for the stage, and could not be wheeled in from the side rooms.[143] This thesis has shown that much of the appeal excited by stage representations of the Iberian Peninsula was dependent on spectacle. The complications that affected *Don Juan* on its opening night may have been an unfortunate circumstance, but the play's conspicuous absence from the Regency's repertoire thereafter suggests awareness that the spectacles staged by the larger Theatre Royal were much more enticing. Between 1808 and 1815, *Don Juan* was performed eight times at the Theatre Royal, which included the representation of a 'sea storm and shipwreck'.[144]

In contrast to Miss Scott at the Sans Pareil, Astley at the Royal Amphitheatre, Dibdin at Sadler's Wells, or Elliston at the Surrey and Olympic,

[140] Regency Playbill, 2 December 1812 (BCRL).
[141] Regency Playbill, 4 December 1812 (BRCL).
[142] Haslett, p. 20.
[143] *BM*, 7 September 1812 (KB/ 21/1).
[144] Appendix C: 26 June 1810.

Bristol's Regency did not have the benefit of managers who doubled as actors or script writers. The entertainments staged at Bristol's minor thus lacked the distinctive lustre endowed by an in-house writer, able to cater specifically to the company's talents or unique stage conditions. Most of the plays were imported from London, and sometimes posed considerable staging difficulties. In 1812, Clarke chose Matthew Lewis's equestrian drama, *Timour The Tartar*, to mark his new role as manager. Having learnt from Lawler's difficulties with the *Don Juan* performance, Clarke curtailed his ambitions for the play's first Regency staging. He appended an extract from Lewis's Preface to his playbills:

> "I constructed the Drama in such a manner, that by substituting a combat on foot for one on horseback, the cavalry might be omitted without injury to the Plot, and I understand that the Piece has been acted in the Country with the above alteration and with much applause."[145]

To this, Clarke added the observation that 'the Author's assertion has been amply justified', making note of the 'crowded auditories [*sic*] which have nightly attended the performance of TIMOUR the TARTAR at the Theatres Royal, Edinburgh, York, &c'.[146] His comments aimed to encourage popular esteem for the piece, despite the limitations of a smaller provincial stage, in comparison to London's spectacular theatres.

The following year, on 27 July 1813, Regency audiences were invited to a performance of *Timour the Tartar* with 'the EQUESTRIAN TROOP and their Celebrated HORSES'.[147] This was the result of a series of improvements to the playhouse, and Clarke's greater willingness to dig into the Regency's theatrical funds. One of the most notable scenes in the new production involved a procession

---

[145] Regency Playbill, 27 November 1812 (BCRL).
[146] *Ibid*.
[147] Regency Playbill, 27 November 1813 (BCRL).

of real horses to escort the princess Mingrella and her Arabian charger. In the first act, the rival knights engaged in combat on horseback that ended with the wounding of Kerim's horse. An experienced performer, the animal fell and seemed to die onstage, much to the audience's excitement. A grand attack of cavalry and infantry was then reserved for the grand finale, set to the backdrop of the fortress at moonlight. Significantly, this performance of *Timour* was not provided by the stock company, but by a touring company of London actors. One-off engagements such as this proved that when it came to spectacular display, the Regency's managers were willing to compensate for their own inexperience by importing the best from London's minors.

In December 1812, Mrs Hatton, one of the main actresses from the Surrey Theatre was engaged for two nights at the Regency. She brought with her *The Land We Live In; or, Free-Born Britons*, described as 'the very popular national burletta' receiving 'unbounded applause' at the Royalty and Sadler's Wells.[148] The stock company's lead actor, Mr Betterton Jr, played the role of Captain Cleveland while Mrs Hatton impersonated Fanny Bull. The piece concluded with Mrs Hatton's delivery of an address by a Female Volunteer, and military hornpipe. It was the kind of programme that represented the Regency at its best, bringing London stars together with native talents and entertaining wartime audiences with a patriotic, funny, and morale-boosting play.

In 1812, the Regency's managers had plenty of opportunity to devise new patriotic pieces. The year marked a turning point in the war with Napoleon. As early as April, Bristolians were anxiously awaiting confirmation of the Fall of the Badajoz. By June, the city received news that the allied armies were making good

[148] Regency Playbill, 17 December 1812 (BCRL).

advances into Spain, and in September, learned that after the victory at Salamanca, the army had been able to march into Madrid and capture the Spanish capital. *Felix Farley's Bristol Journal* celebrated this new chapter in the British campaign and the 'powerful appeal which it makes to the public feeling and opinion in Spain'.[149] Even the *Bristol Gazette*, which had always considered Britain's involvement in the Peninsula to be a mistake, claimed the only fault in the dispatch from Salamanca was its modesty, which 'hardly does justice to the brilliancy of the exploit'.[150] The Regency prepared for the representation of an appropriate new spectacle called *The Battle of Salamanca; or, British Glory*, released in November 1812.

Written and adapted by Mr Male, *The Battle of Salamanca* had an appropriate music score to accompany its cast of Spanish, French, and English characters. It also included specifically designed scenery, such as a view of Lord Wellington's tent. The list of dramatis personae shows that the popular actor, Mr Gomery, played the role of Lord Wellington, and that the lead Spanish role belonged to Gabriel, a Goatherd. This suggests that similar to the Sans Pareil production of *Disappointments; or, Love in Castille*, simplifications of Spanish life dominated the play's visual economy. Playbills placed emphasis on the 'recent occurrences' upon which the play was based, and indicated that many supernumeraries would be hired to act as soldiers and guards (Figure 15)[151]. These additional characters were needed for a spectacular onstage recreation of the combat between the Allied forces and French army.[152] The fact that the scene was played by real soldiers and sailors was

[149] *FFBJ*, 12 September 1812.
[150] *BG*, 13 August 1812.
[151] Regency Playbill, 30 December 1812 (BCRL).
[152] Cf. Chapter Four, p. 234.

sure to have provided audiences with a powerful thrill.

15: Playbill for *The Battle Of Salamanca* (Regency Theatre, Bristol, 30 December 1812). The image originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA because of 'copyright'. The image was sourced at the Bristol Central Reference Library.

The play enjoyed a successful run but by 30 December 1812, audiences' initial ecstasy and confidence in Salamanca was beginning to wear off. The continuance of poor relations with the Spaniards meant that successes were more frequently attributed to the British camp, rather than an army of allies working in concert to drive out the invader. On 26 November 1813, the *Bristol Gazette* disavowed any sense of surprise at the Spaniards' 'sluggish indifference' to the cause. Convinced that Moore's doubts about the Spaniards' commitments had been 'proved correct', the paper concluded: 'In short, the tug of war in the Peninsula, is between the French and English, and the question simply is; can we drive the French out of Spain?'[153] *The Battle of Salamanca* left no doubt about its belief in British heroism. The play's subtitle was, after all, *British Glory*.

On 30 December, Mr Betterton Jr delivered, 'A Patriotic Address', in the character of a British Tar, and danced a Sailor's Hornpipe. It was his first night of dancing at the theatre, and certain to attract the attention of local playgoers, however disillusioned they may have felt about Spanish politics. That night, the play's supernumeraries were rehearsing not only the battle of Salamanca but anticipating an even more complete victory, which their own deployment to Spain and France would allow them to realise.

The high costs involved in mounting such topical and putatively accurate representations of the British army's latest actions circumscribed these spectacles' stage run, at least to some extent. Wary of too often exceeding their budget with such large-scale entertainments, the Regency's managers tended to opt for patriotic

[153] *BG*, 26 November 1813.

interludes. Topical addresses and dances thus featured prominently in the wartime repertoire. The hornpipe was especially popular in a naval city such as Bristol, where addresses delivered by actors, 'in character' as sailors, also held significant appeal. The ballet dance 'The Sailor's Return' was performed on 2 March 1813 for Mr Clarke's benefit. It is a good example of one of the Regency's many attempts to pack its auditorium with Bristol's sailors and other members of the local community, who undoubtedly had strong nautical interests.[154]

Although the Regency did not have to compete with any other local minors, which was the case in London, it had to take care not to be seen as a rival to the Theatre Royal. Lawler therefore reserved his grand opening for August 1812, when the Theatre Royal was closed for Bristol's summer fairs. Both Lawler and Clarke then scheduled their performances to avoid any clashes with the patent house. Despite their precautions, however, the proprietors of Bristol's patent theatre treated the Regency as a threat to their theatrical livelihoods and determined that the Regency's theatrical career would soon approach its sell-by date. Matters started to come to a head in December 1812, when Clarke issued complaints at the bottom of his advertisements that the Regency's large playbills, usually plastered across the city, had been 'invariably torn down and destroyed by some malicious and ill-disposed persons'.[155] The identity of these offenders was never disclosed, but it is probable that the Theatre Royal was in some way involved.

In 1813, such was the antagonism between the proprietors, that the Theatre Royal contracted an informer against the Regency. This theatrical spy paid entry to Betteron Jr's benefit night (18 January 1813). As soon as the performance was over,

[154] Regency Playbill, 2 March 1813 (BCRL).
[155] Regency Playbill, 2 December 1812 (BCRL).

he went to the authorities to denounce Betterton's 'illegal' performance, the playbills having advertised a Russian spectacle that was never put on.[156] The *Bristol Mirror* printed a vituperative attack against the Theatre Royal's petty proceedings, accusing the proprietors of exercising 'an Eastern policy' that "can bear no rival near the throne".[157] By charging the Theatre Royal with 'Eastern' despotism, the *Mirror*'s critique redirects the orientalism expected from Betterton's performance in *Timour the Tartar* to the managers of the Theatre Royal. It prompted readers to imagine the Regency theatre, famous for its production of 'national burlettas' and spectacles, as an establishment in need of defence from the patent monopoly, now a tyrannical enemy.

Conclusions

Faced with the Theatre Royal's insistent opposition and mounting administrative troubles, Clarke was forced to close the Regency before the end of 1813. It is likely, however, that the end of the Napoleonic Wars would only have increased his difficulties in running Bristol's minor theatre. The city's religious opposition to the Theatre Royal would certainly have applied to the Regency, where the predilection for sensational and spectacular entertainments, so effective in raising morale, would have been considered damaging to local morality. Borrowing from a London-based repertoire of melodramas and pantomimes, Bristol's Regency had been reliant upon a range of topical, military, and especially naval acts. Peacetime would, however, have deprived the Regency of the sailors and soldiers so often attracted to these

[156] *BM*, 14 December 1812 advertised Mr Lonsdale's forthcoming 'local sketch': 'pourtraying [*sic*] the patriotic fervour of the brave Russians, and to celebrate the retributive vengeance which has at length overtaken the atrocities of their merciless invader' (KB/ 21/1).
[157] *BM*, 23 January 1813 (KB/ 21/1).

kinds of spectacle. The years when the theatre was most active coincided with Wellington's years of greatest progress in the Peninsula. From a manager's perspective, this was a fortunate occurrence, justifying the representation of grand patriotic entertainments that infused a rich mixture of civilian, naval, and military playgoers into the Regency's auditorium.[158]

The careers of both the Theatre Royal and Regency Theatre offer a crucial counterpart to theatrical culture in London. Although managers tried to conform to London fashions, investing a considerable portion of their budget in hiring star actors and importing the latest stage success, they also took pains to distinguish their theatrical fare and make it proudly, and exclusively, Bristolian. The early nineteenth century may have marked the first downturn in the urban renaissance, but Bristolians remained committed to exploring their new sense of civic identity. Elliston played up to this when he performed the role of Puff with a West Country accent, as did the *Bristol Gazette*, when it rose to Catalani's defence and argued that audiences in Bristol should show more tolerance than their London counterparts. During the Peninsular War, Bristol's cultural relationship with London was, therefore, ambivalent. The city's popular, energetic, and celebrated theatrical milieu proves, however, that in the early nineteenth century, a certain distance from the centre of government and policy-making could be replete with advantages.

[158] To celebrate the Spanish campaign in 1813, the Regency produced a new pantomime entertainment, *Gil Blas; or, The Fools of Fortune* (*BM*, 25 January 1813, KB/ 21/1.).

Frontispiece 7: Charles Williams, ‘Extraordinary News’, 1808.

CONCLUSION

English theatre during the Peninsular War offered a range of patriotic, action-packed, visually impressive, and popular entertainments. From spoken drama at the patents to ballets and burlettas at the minors, theatregoing, in both London and the provinces, provided a form of Romantic sociability within the reach of almost everyone. This thesis has explored the resourcefulness and creativity of artistic managers, performers, and their audiences, in response to legal and other socio-political restrictions enforced against the early nineteenth-century stage. Contemporary plays and print culture related to the Peninsular War show that it was, in fact, a much more partisan conflict than suggested by Coleridge's romantic recollection that the Spanish cause 'made us all once more Englishmen'.[1] During this period, plays were frequently written, and interpreted, allegorically. These strategies applied to Sheridan's *Pizarro*, Coleridge's *Remorse*, and many of the eighteenth-century stock pieces that saturated the theatrical repertoire. Clever circumvention of the censors permitted contentious feelings about the war to be negotiated within the nation's crowded and excitable theatre auditoriums.

In response to battles that were fought, lost, and won on foreign soil, it made sense to relocate the nation's political doubts, fears, speculations, and hopes to equally distant lands. In Portugal and Spain, however, where the effects of war were much more immediate, theatregoing was an altogether different experience. Economic hardship and political censorship meant that theatres were sporadically closed, dramatic companies disbanded, and auditoriums sparsely populated. In

[1] *BL*, I, 189.

closing, this thesis turns to Portugal, where Britain's military and economic alliances were the strongest, to consider how the theatres in Lisbon responded to the Peninsular War's practical and ideological challenges.

When the French arrived in Lisbon in November 1807, they found three main theatres: the populist Salistre theatre (which had been inaugurated in 1782), the Teatro da Rua dos Condes (which specialised in comedies and ballets), and the Real Teatro de São Carlos (famous for its Italian operas). The French made swift arrangements to establish control of these venues in an attempt to normalise their military presence. In Junot's Address to the Nation, delivered from the Palacio do Quartel-Geral de Lisboa (1 February 1808), the military leader drew attention to the cultural aims of the new regime:

> As rendas públicas bem administradas segurarão a cada empregado o prémio do seu trabalho; a instrução pública, esta mãe da civilização dos povos, se derramará pelas províncias; e o Algarve e Beira Alta terão também um dia o seu Camões.[2]

The Portuguese poet Luis de Camões, author of the epic poem *Os Lusiadas* (1572), was considered the nation's greatest literary talent. Junot's acknowledgement of Camões and his professed desire to see the literary arts flourish in the Portuguese provinces, as well as the capital, is suggestive of the French army's expansive political aims. In the late eighteenth century, French-inspired Neo-Classical culture had begun to flourish in Portugal. The theatre, Junot realised, could be used to encourage liberal thought and other facets of French ideology.

A government edict from Paris forced Francisco Antonio Lodi to accept the post of artistic director at the Teatro São Carlos, the city's most glamorous cultural

[2] 'Good administration of the public revenue will safeguard the fruits of labour to each employee; public instruction, the mother of civilization, will spread throughout the provinces; and the Algarve and Beira Alta will also, one day, have their Camões'. 'Junot's Address to the Portuguese Nation, Palacio do Quartel-Geral de Lisboa, 1 Feburary 1808', reprinted in *Bibliotheca Históríca, Polítíca, e Díplomatíca da Nação Portugueza*, ed. by Joaquim Joze Ferreira de Freitas (London: 1830), pp. 82-84 [my translation].

venue. Francisco da Fonseca Benevidas notes that shortly after Junot assumed control of the city, a gala spectacle was produced at the theatre.[3] Records of the theatre's employees during this time state that Lodi undertook his charge from 4 March until 15 September 1808 – the date of the French army's 'felix [*sic*] expulção', that is, their happy expulsion.[4]

The Convention of Cintra marked a turning point in Lisbon's theatrical history. As French troops evacuated the capital, they were replaced by an Anglo-Portuguese army. The British, unlike the French, had no specific cultural briefing, and taking control of the São Carlos (Lisbon's principal theatre) was not a high priority. Most of the accounts about Portuguese theatre, written by British soldiers and officers serving in the Peninsula, suggest that the quality of entertainments was low, and generally not held in much esteem by foreign visitors. Samuel Broughton, for instance, claimed that the theatres in Lisbon were 'scarcely worthy of any notice'.[5]

Broughton, writing in 1813, explains that the São Carlos was open every night of the week, but was large, gloomy, and poorly lit. He does, nevertheless, concede that 'at one period perhaps this opera was unrivalled in Europe'. He goes on to imagine the theatre in its heyday, when it was attended by the Portuguese royal family, and 'when Catalani and several of the first singers were engaged, and the elder and the younger Vestris, and Angiolini were the principal supporters of the ballet'.[6] But, for his own part, Broughton is distinctly unimpressed. He comments, for instance, on the appearance of the Portuguese ladies, whose sombre attire of

---

[3] Francisco da Fonseca Benevidas, *O Real Theatro de São Carlos de Lisboa: desde a sua fundação em 1793 até a actualidade* (Lisboa, Castro-Irmão, [1883]), p. 101.
[4] AT 1522 (9992-114), 'Nota das Pessoas que farão Emprezarios do Real Theatro de São Carlos desde a sua primeira arbetura athe [*sic*] este presente anno de 1816 – a saber'. See 'Index da Mesa Censoria', Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo.
[5] Broughton, p. 45.
[6] *Ibid*., p. 46.

black dress is such a contrast to the 'the gay and lively exhibition which a well-filled row of boxes presents in an English theatre'. He also notes that the theatre had various sentries, 'at different points in the pit and lobbies, who controul [*sic*] every expression of approbation or discontent in the audience that affords the slightest interruption of what is going forward'.[7] This was certainly not the rowdy auditorium of Covent Garden theatre, where audiences danced, whistled, and displayed banners of protest during the OP riots. Indifferent to his new surroundings, Broughton nostalgically recollects the 'elegance' and 'beauty' of London's theatres and their 'gay', convivial audiences.[8]

As Broughton notes, Catalani and Vestris, who were so popular on the English stage during the Peninsular War, had started their careers in Lisbon.[9] His acknowledgement serves as an important reminder that during the war, many of the São Carlos's greatest stars sought exile abroad. The Lisbon theatre had little to offer them as an incentive. Indeed, as the Covent Garden managers would attempt to convince their own audiences, Italian singers demanded extraordinarily high salaries. The Teatro São Carlos, whose reputation rested on its operatic repertoire, thus faced severe difficulties during the war. Managers could barely afford to pay the stock company, and there was little remuneration for the poorly attended performances that were irregularly put on.

Lisbon's principle theatre had been built for the city's elite, and was too expensive for the lower classes. Since the theatre's opening on 30 June 1793, it had received regular visits from the Royal Court, whose members now shunned the smaller playhouses, such as the Teatro da Rua dos Condes. At the Teatro São

---

[7] Broughton, p. 47.
[8] *Ibid*.
[9] Catalani arrived in Lisbon in 1801 and performed at the Teatro São Carlos regularly until 1806, when she left Portugal. She was a star attraction in London and Bristol during the wars.

Carlos, as Broughton observed, there were no galleries. Instead, an impressive space was carved out for the 'tribuna real', or royal box, which was the equivalent of three regular boxes in length, and another three in height. During the war, an evening at the Teatro São Carlos may have remained a relatively exclusive privilege, but it was, nevertheless, a space for a very careful orchestration of social and political interaction. The Regency government issued numerous edicts in relation to Lisbon's theatres during the Peninsular War – proof that after the first exodus of French troops in September 1808, government authorities kept the city's theatres under strict regulation. The 'Avisos' sent to the Cultural Police are particularly interesting, and reveal a theatrical repertoire which, as Broughton suggests in his account of the São Carlos, was kept under careful political check.

The English public were not entirely fanciful in using images of cultural backwardness, religious superstition, and Inquisitorial oppression to characterise the Iberian Peninsula. While the 'Black Legend' grossly exaggerated these elements of the Portuguese and Spanish national character, it is true that rigorous censorship in these countries affected the exchange of ideas and literatures that defined the European Enlightenment. Censorship had been exercised in Portugal since the Middle Ages, and increased with the church's expansion in the sixteenth century. In 1768, the 'Real Mesa Censoria' was created in an attempt to transfer literary censorship from the Church to the State. By 1795, control of censorship returned to Portugal's Episcopal authorities, though final approval still belonged to the royal court. This system remained in place during the Peninsular War, regulating, for instance, the transmission of foreign texts, such as London and Spanish newspapers.[10] The theatrical repertoire at the São Carlos was also affected.

[10] Cx. 491, 'Index da Mesa Censoria', Torre do Tombo.

The censorship records for February 1809 state that the theatrical piece *Resturação dos Algarves* (*The Restoration of the Algarves*) was to be refused a license, unless changes were made to the play's portrayal of contemporary personages. In September that same year, authorities were alerted to *Palafox em Saragoça,* a play about the first siege of Zaragoza and its successful defence by the native population. While the recommendation was not that the play be prohibited, the Inspector was advised to 'suspend its representation until the political situation appeared clearer'.[11] By then, the second siege of Zaragoza had ended in a French victory, with the heroic Palafox presumed dead. Three months later, however, approval was given for *Os Patriotas de Aragão* (T*he Patriots of Aragon*). It is likely that this play was a reworking of the earlier drama about Palafox, since its full title, when performed in July 1810, was *Os Patriotas de Aragão ou o Triunfo de Palafox*.

In London, the theatres helped bring news of the war to local audiences, alerting them to the latest conflicts in the Peninsula, and commemorating important victories. The kind of spectacular ballets that were so popular in London were, it seems, also in high demand in Lisbon. David Cranmer notes that between 1809 and 1811, a series of 'bailados belicos' were staged at the Teatro São Carlos.[12] He lists, and provides performance dates for: *A Batalha de Vimeiro* (25 October 1809), *Os Patriotias de Aragão* (6 July 1810), *O Triunfo da Espanha ou o redimento de Dupont* (17 August 1810), *A Restauração do Porto ou um dos triunfos do heroi Wellesley* (5 September 1810), *A Defesa da Ponte de Amarante por Silveira* (16

[11] ATT 1521 (992-113), 'Index das Ordens Mandadas expedir pelo Governo Relativas a Theatros [*sic*]', Ministerio do Reino, Torre do Tombo.
[12] David Cranmer, 'A Batalha do Bussaco: Um retrato musical', in *Coloquio: A Guerra Peninsular, perspectivas multidisciplinarias*, ed. by Maria Leonor Machado de Sousa, 2 vols. (Lisbon: Comissão Portuguesa de História Militar/Centro de Estudos Anglo-Portugueses, 2008), II, 239-244, (p. 241).

January 1811), and *A Batalha do Bussaco* (published in 1811).[13] Each of these pieces was symbolically linked to the Peninsular Campaign.

The British generals who signed the Convention of Cintra may have underestimated Wellington's success at the Battle of Vimeiro, but at the Teatro São Carlos, a ballet commemorated the battle with a representation of the country's liberation from the French invaders. In 1809, the ballet was doubly significant as a celebration of Portugal's second liberation. In the New Year of 1809, the French had taken advantage of Britain's reduced military presence after Corunna to make a second attempt to take Lisbon. Soult and his troops advanced fast and took possession of the town of Chaves by March 1809. The ballet *A Defesa da Ponte de Amarante* was written to laud Wellington's return to Portugal and his command of the Anglo-Portuguese army. Wellington's leadership had helped the army secure the strategic bridge at Amarante, and reclaim Chaves. This forced the French army to retreat to Porto, where on 12 May 1809, they suffered heavy casualties and were coerced by Allied troops to retreat from Portugal once again. The title of the São Carlos ballet praised this recovery of the Portuguese town as 'one of Wellington's triumphs'. His greatest, was the decisive liberation of Portugal in April 1811, for which the Battles of Bussaco (27 September 1810) and Sabugal (11 April 1811) played a crucial part in the final evacuation of the French army. *A Batalha do Bussaco*, 'a military and historical piece', was written to celebrate the victory.

The musical score for *A Batalha do Bussaco* is indicative of the methods employed to stage these obviously patriotic pieces. The music for the piece was published in Lisbon in 1811, and clearly intended as a commemorative artefact. The title page has an ornate border, and uses different fonts to draw in the reader's

[13] The longer titles translate to '*The Triumph of Spain; or, Dupont's surrender*', '*The Restoration of Porto; or, one of the heroic Wellesley's triumphs'*, and '*Silveira's Defence of the Bridge of Amarante*'.

attention. Emphasis is predictably placed on the battle, the piece's dedication to the Anglo-Lusitanian army, and above all, 'The Illustrious, Excellency, Lord Viscount Wellington', whose other titles of honour are also listed (Figure 16).

16: Title page of the musical score for *The Battle of Bussaco* (Lisbon: 1811). The image originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA because of 'copyright'. The image was sourced at the Centre for Anglo-Portuguese Studies in Lisbon.

The piece opens dramatically, with a description that enemy troops have assumed an advantageous position from the heights of Bussaco. The next section describes the arrival of the 88th English Regiment commanded by Lt Colonel Wallace, the 45th Regiment under Lt Colonel Meade, and the 8th Portuguese Regiment led by Lt Colonel Douglas. A bayonet fight ensues, the French Generals Merle and Maucun are injured, and the enemy lose their strategic stronghold.[14] The description of the piece is invariably characterised by this attention to detail, which identifies specific regiments in order to accurately re-enact the successful English charge. The Portuguese theatres, like the London minors, were, it seems, also dependent on official dispatches and news reports. These documents provided critical information for managers keen to stage their entertainments with an eye for accurate battle formation and military technique.

It is significant that the 'ballets' performed at the São Carlos were represented as late as a year after the battles depicted took place. English audiences placed a premium on novelty and newsworthiness. It seems, however, that in Lisbon it took much longer to mount these patriotic, spectacular pieces, and that their perceived purpose, in any case, had a different inflection. During the Peninsular War, theatrical entertainments were specifically designed to raise morale and inspire confidence in the Anglo-Portuguese army. This thesis has shown that while the London spectacles also made prominent claims to the public's patriotic sympathies, decisions about the repertoire were often made on the basis of managerial whim and inter-theatre competition. In Portugal, by contrast, wartime entertainments received very specific, official encouragement.

---

[14] Antonio Joze do Rego, *Batalha do Bussaco: Peça Militar, e Historica para Forte-Piano, Dedicado Ao Vallor [sic], e Gloria do Exercito Anglo-Luzo, e do seu chefe o Ill.mo e Ex.mo Lord Visconde Wellington. Conde do Vimeiro, Cavalleiro da Ordem do Banho, Gram [sic] Cruz da Ordem da Torre, e Espada*, (Lisboa: 1811).

In 1812, the management of the São Carlos was ceded to the dramatic company from Lisbon's other theatre, the Teatro da Rua dos Condes. The Teatro São Carlos had closed at the end of 1811, and its new management was intended to help revive theatrical culture in the city. In recognition of the theatre's difficulties, the authorities gave managers two months to reorganise its Italian company. In the meantime, the São Carlos was permitted to incorporate Portuguese musical farces into its dramatic repertoire.[15] These concessions underscore the importance attached to theatregoing during the war. The 'Sociedade do Teatro Nacional da Rua dos Condes', was, after all, styled as the representative of a national establishment. Accordingly, the stakes were high, with Alexandre Jose Ferreira Castello, the Portuguese Cultural Secretary in 1812, insisting that theatrical representations had implications for society at large. Good management of the theatre, he contended, could correct moral vices, advance civility, and improve political and social virtues.[16]

During the Peninsular War Lisbon's theatres were invested with a series of social responsibilities. Manoel Baptista da Paula, who became the São Carlos's new manager, was given a set of official instructions for his new post. In the 'Instrucções ou Regulamento Provisòrio do Real Theatro Nacional de São Carlos' the Cultural Inspector made his expectations implicit but unmistakable. The document starts by praising Paula for his 'constant proofs of patriotism' when making his choice of programme. It also credits the manager for his commitment to a monthly lottery that helped raise funds for the military budget and provide support for the 'Portuguese

[15] ATT 1521 (Teatro 992-113), 'Index das Ordens Mandadas Expedir pelo Governo Relativas a Theatros', Lo. 39 de Avizos, 20 Mar 1812, Ministerio do Reino, Torre do Tombo.
[16] ATT 1521 (Teatro 992-113), Ministerio do Reino, Torre do Tombo.

Sufferers'.[17] The Inspector then gives recognition to Paula's impressive and costly spectacles, staged to celebrate symbolic dates in the socio-political calendar. In this acknowledgement, the British are described as 'our intimate allies', justifying the strong emphasis placed on the production of occasional pieces to celebrate the birthdays of the British royal family. It also points to the importance of a spectacular and musical programme to entertain the many British servicemen who found themselves in Lisbon, but were unfamiliar with the language.[18] This provision for the recreational activities of British troops suggests that men such as Broughton, begrudging as they were, are likely to have been the theatre's principle patrons.[19] Realistically, it was British soldiers, rather than the local population, who were most likely to attend the divertissements at the São Carlos.[20]

On 25 October 1809, British soldiers in Lisbon are likely to have been blissfully unaware of the controversy surrounding the Jubilee celebrations at home.[21] Villiers, the English Ambassador, hosted a sumptuous dinner, after which his guests attended the Teatro São Carlos to watch a performance of *A Batalha de Vimeiro*. Wellington and Beresford were present and applauded the eulogy delivered in honour of George III's fiftieth year as monarch. The British Generals, who were that night's guests of honour, would probably have enjoyed seats in the theatre's imposing royal box. At the end of the performance, the officers and

---

[17] In England, there was a nationwide subscription to raise money for the 'Relief of the Portuguese Sufferers'. Contributions were interpreted as a sign of patriotic charitableness. *Felix Farley's Bristol Journal* reported a donation of 5s. from Mary Walker, a vendor of oranges: 'her gift is as liberal and noble minded as any which we record' (25 May 1811). Profits from the sale of Walter Scott's *Vision of Don Roderick* (1811) also went to the fund.

[18] *Instrucções ou Regulamento Provisòrio do Real Theatro Nacional de S. Carlos* (Lisboa: 1812).

[19] Unimpressed with the theatres in the Iberian Peninsula, British soldiers often staged their own amateur theatricals. Large open spaces or abandoned farms served as sets, and the regimental band provided musical accompaniment. Anthony Brett-James explains that in Fuente Guinaldo, a ruined chapel 'became the theatre for an ambitious production of *Henry IV* (18 November 1811) with scenery painted by Capt John Bell, the Deputy Adjutant-General'. The play was attended by officers from other divisions, and Capt John Kent, who played Hotspur, 'became a star whenever he was billed to appear'. *Life in Wellington's Army* (London: Greg Allen & Unwin Ltd, 1972), pp. 160-175.

[20] The Garrick Club has two bilingual playbills from the São Carlos (16 January; 2 February 1811).

[21] See Chapter Three's discussion of *The Jubilee; or, John Bull in His Dotage*.

officials then moved to the Teatro das Ruas do Conde, where 'God Save the King' was sung in Portuguese. This finale, to the tune of an English hymn sung in a foreign language, must have made for a stirring moment of theatrical spectatorship.

The allegorical dramas that dominated Lisbon's theatrical repertoires during the war thus served clear political ends. Catering for an audience of British soldiers and officials, who were often unfamiliar with the Portuguese language and bewildered by the nation's social customs, managers knew that interpretative transparency was crucial. Broughton's account of the opera he watched in 1813 shows that he had no difficulty in understanding its intended meanings or mode of execution.[22] Between 1808 and 1814, Lisbon's theatres had the relatively straightforward aims of re-enacting highlights of the war, extolling the Peninsula's military heroes, and commemorating symbolic anniversaries, such as the birthday of the Prince Regent or George III's Jubilee.

The French had been quick to realise that a nation's culture could be the key to political advancement, but when Junot and his men left Lisbon they took their projects for the theatre with them. The Regency government then introduced its own measures, appointing cultural inspectors and instigating a series of regulations to ensure that this valuable platform for public address and instruction was not lost. During a period of dangerous instability and potential revolution, 'Article X' of the Theatres' Regulations Act (1812) explicitly refers to the need to 'contain the public', identifying the theatre's important role in the enforcement of social control.[23]

---

[22]Broughton, pp. 55-6.

[23] The Cultural Inspector was appointed to 'contain the populace within the limits of just liberty, and put to an end any noise or disorder that might disturb the public order'. *Instrucções ou Regulamento*, Article X.

Playing to an audience of both Portuguese and British patrons, the São Carlos was also responsible for promoting the Anglo-Portuguese alliance. The staging of allegorical and musical dramas had the express purpose of uniting an audience whose many cultural differences were represented first and foremost by a linguistic barrier. While there seems to have been no real attempts to resolve the religious and cultural prejudices that coloured, for instance, so many British accounts of the Portuguese nation, there was, at least, the magic of the 'here and now'. This brought an audience of different nationalities and customs together in a propagandist theatre devised to boost morale and encourage a sense of patriotic citizenship. The physical and psychological traumas of living in a warzone meant that performances at the Teatro São Carlos were periodic and the quality of entertainments somewhat inferior. Lisbon, however, never relinquished its belief in a theatre resplendent with social and political possibilities. Evidence of the legal provisions and personal commitment needed to ensure the São Carlos's survival have left a clear legacy of the theatre's perceived importance to a nation at war.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

(*List of Works Consulted*)

Primary Sources

PRINTS FROM THE BRITISH MUSEUM AND CURZON COLLECTION

Anon., 'A l'incomparable Don-Quichotte Prussien', 1810 (Curzon b.07 (055)).

— 'An Amateur's Dream', 1812 (BM Satires 11934).

— 'Bonaparte ciego de sobervia no sabe que Potencia ha de coger, ò el juego de la gallina ciega', 1808. Spanish Political Cartoon (Curzon b.08 (154)).

— 'Boney bringing home the truth from Spain', 1808 (Curzon b.26 (188)).

— 'Burglary and robbery!!!', 1808 (BM Satires 11020).

— 'The centaur-ian manager', 1811 (BM Satires 11773).

— 'Dramatic Personae on the Theatre of Europe', [1803-1809]. Etched by Woodthorpe (Curzon b.12 (74)).

— 'El rey de copas (Joseph Buonaparte) en el despacho trabajando para la felicidad de España/ The King of Cups (Joseph Buonaparte) in his cabinet, labouring for the happiness of Spain', 1809. Bilingual British print. Published by William Holland (Curzon b.26 (111)).

— 'Europe', 1814 (BM Satires 12234).

— 'Explanation of the arms and supporters of Napoleon Bonaparte...', 1808 (BM Satires 11057).

— 'The fame-ous enigma', [1811]. Published by Thomas Tegg (Curzon b.12 (63)).

— 'French dragoons brought to a check by a Belvoir leap; or, a Scene after Nature near Ciudad Rodrigo September 1811', 1811. Published by Hannah Humphrey (Curzon b.4 (209)).

— 'Funiculus triplex difficile rumpitur (A triple cord is difficult to break)', 1812 (BM History 1812 Portfolio).

— 'The horrid assassin is Hatfield, attempting to shoot the king in Drury Lane theatre- on the 15th of May, 1800', 1800. Published by J Garbaneli (BM Satires 9356).

— 'John Bull's defiance to Bonaparte: A parody on Shakespeare's Richard 3rd', 1803. Published by William Holland (Curzon b.11 (50)).

— ‘Jourdan and King Joe: off they go – a peep at the French commanders at the Battle of Vittoria’, 1813 (Curzon b.12 (17)).

— ‘King Joey taking leave of his capital i.e.: Madrid relieved from robbers’, 1812. Published by S W Fores (Curzon b.12 (20)).

— ‘Lecture de la nouvelle de l'entrée des Français dans Madrid par le premier ministre d'Angleterre au roi George et à son conseil’, 1809 (BM Satires French 1809 Unmounted Roy).

— ‘Little Nap. The great in a hobble; or unwelcome messengers, alias Job's comforters’, 1808 (BM Satires 11014).

— ‘Long faces at Bayonne or King Nap and King Joe in the dumps’, 1808 (BM Satires 11009).

— ‘Mad Nap breaking the armistice from the Original Picture at Dresden’, 1814 (BM Satires 12179).

— ‘The Manager in Despair’, 1802. Published by T Brown (BM Satires 9920).

— ‘Map of National Characters’, 1814 (Curzon b.5 (192)).

— ‘La menagerie de la rue Impériale’, 1815 (BM Satires French 1815 Unmounted Roy).

— ‘Military tactics for Continental service, a hint to corpulent officers’, 1810. Published by Thomas Tegg (BM Satires undescribed).

— ‘Napoleon en el año 1814’, 1814. Published in Madrid, by Gila (Curzon b.09 (096)).

— ‘Napoleon, the first, and last’, 1813. Published by R. Ackermann (Curzon b.9 (104)).

— ‘A new patriotic song’, 1803 (Curzon b.12 (3)).

— ‘Pizarro a new play or the Drury-Lane Masquerade’, 1799. Published by SW Fores (BM Satires 9402).

— ‘Political bullbaiting’, 1812 (BM Satires 11845).

— ‘A practical joke or a trick upon travellers’, 1810 (BM Satires 11657).

— ‘The Prince of Peace signing the Portugal Treaty’, 1805. Published by SW Fores (BM Satires 9724).

— ‘Public execution of a tyrant’, 1814 (BM Satires 12200).

— ‘The Royal standard of our country (with) Queen Elizabeth’s speech to her people, when threatened by the Spanish Armada’, 1803 (Curzon b.12 (6)).

— ‘A Senatus Consultum on: Bonaparte making his will before the invasion of England and conquest of the world’, 1808 (Curzon b.26 (189)).

— ‘Thieves robbing ready furnished lodgings. Scene Madrid’, 1808 (BM Satires 11012).

— ‘With rage the baron bold turned pale, a blow tremendous gave her tail, &c &c vide Satirist N° 50, page 388’, 1811 (BM Satires 11774).

Bisset, James, ‘The loyalists’ alphabet an original effusion’, 1804 (Curzon b.23 (231)).

Brooke, William Henry, ‘A congress for peace. Satirist 1st September 1813’, 1813 (BM Satires 12079).

— ‘Effects of the arrival or French eagles in England / Satirist / 1st October 1812’, 1812 (BM Satires 11905).

— ‘Tragedy’, 1813 (Curzon b.5 (100)).

— ‘Tragedy. Comedy’, 1813 (Curzon b.11 (92)).

Bunbury, Henry William, ‘Pistol Eating Fluellen’s Leak [*sic*]’, 1811 (BM Satires 11835).

Cawse, John, ‘John Bulls [*sic*] watchman neglecting his duty!!’, 1800 (BM Satires 9508).

Cruikshank, George, ‘Acts of adhesion!!! / Satirist June 1st. 1814’, 1814 (BM Satires XIXc Unmounted Roy).

— ‘The Battle of Vittoria’, 1813 (BM Satires XIXc Unmounted Roy).

— The afterpiece to the tragedy of Waterloo – or – Madame Françoise & her managers!!!’, 1815. (BM Satires XIXc Unmounted Roy).

— Boney receiving an account of the Battle of Vittoria – or, the little Emperor in a great passion’, 1813 (BM Satires XIXc Unmounted Roy).

— ‘Britannia and the Seven Champions or Modern Christendom restored’, 1814 (BM Satires XIXc Unmounted Roy).

— ‘The Coronation of the Empress of the Nairs’, 1812 (BM Satires XIXc Unmounted Roy).

— ‘The Corsican Whipping top in full spin!!!’, 1814 (BM Satires XIXc Unmounted Roy).

— ‘King Richard Burlesqued; or, King Joey’s flight from the Battle of Vittoria’, 1813 (Curzon b.4 (217)).

— ‘The land of promise!!!’, 1811 (BM Satires 11716).

— ‘The last march of the conscripts – or; Satan & his satellites hurled to the land of oblivion’, 1814 (Curzon b.5 (148)).

— ‘National Phrenzy; or, John Bull and his doctors’, 1813 (Curzon b.5 (114)).

— ‘Otium cum dignitate, or a view of Elba. Satirist May 1st 1813’, 1813 (BM Satires XIXc Unmounted Roy).

— ‘Paradise Regained!!!’, 1812 (BM Satires 11726).

— ‘The pig faced Lady of Manchester square / The Spanish mule of Madrid.-’, 1815 (BM Satires XIXc Unmounted Roy).

— ‘Princely piety, or the worshippers at Wanstead’, 1811 (BM Satires XIXc Unmounted Roy).

— ‘The Rehearsal, or the Baron and the elephant’, 1812 (BM Satires 11935).

— ‘Royal Christmas boxes and new years gifts.1815 &16’, 1816 (BM Satires XIXc Unmounted Roy).

— ‘Le Sabot corse en pleine déroute (The Corsican Whipping Top in Full Spin!!!)’, 1814 (BM Satires XIXc Unmounted Roy).

— ‘A scene after the battle of Vittoria; or, – More trophies for White-hall!!!’, 1813 (Curzon b.4 (216)).

— ‘A Sketch for the Regent’s Speech on Mad-ass-son’s insanity’, 1812 (Curzon b.5 (89)).

— ‘State of politicks at the close of the year 1815’, 1815 (BM Satires XIXc Unmounted Roy).

— ‘The Theatrical Atlas’, 1814 (BM Satires 12325).

— ‘Twelfth night or, what you will! – ’, 1815 (BM Satires XIXc Unmounted Roy).

— ‘The Vauxhall Fete’, 1813 (Curzon b.4 (210)).

— ‘Whitlock the second; or, another tarnish of British valor’, 1808 (Curzon b.4 (201)).

— Cruikshank, Isaac, ‘Apollyon the Devils Generalissimo, addressing his legions!!’, 1808 (BM Satires XIXc Unmounted Roy).

— ‘Boney stark mad; or, more chips, colonies & commerce’, 1808 (Curzon b.26 (83)).

— ‘The Curse of Spain’, 1818 (BM Satires 13009).

— ‘The disappointed King of Spain – or the downfall of the Mucheron King Joe “Bonoparte [*sic*] late pettifogging attorneys clerk!”’, 1808 (BM Satires 11001).

— ‘Easier to say, than to do!’, 1805 (BM Satires 9979).

— ‘Gulliver towing the fleet into Lilliput!’, 1807 (BM Satires 10767).

— ‘The heads of the nation in a queer situation’, 1810 (BM Satires 11564).

— ‘Frontispiece | The journey to the moon, or Munchausen on Mahomet's ass’, [c. 1809-1811] (BM Satires XIXc Unmounted Roy).

— ‘The noble Spaniards, or Britannia assisting the cause of freedom all over the world, whither friend or foe!’, 1808 (BM Satires XIXc Unmounted Roy).

— ‘The oven on fire – or Boney’s last Batch entirly [*sic*] spoiled!!!’, 1808 (BM Satires 11017).

— ‘The return from Pizarro’, 1799 (BM Satires 9399).

— ‘The Russian colossus’, 1799 (BM Satires 9408).

— ‘Spanish patriots entring [*sic*] Madrid – or the grand duke of Bergs retreat dicovered [*sic*]’, 1808 (BM Satires 11000).

de Wilde, Samuel, ‘British cookery or "out of the frying-pan into the fire”’, 1811 (BM Satires 11723).

— ‘Spanish patriots entring [*sic*] Madrid – or the grand duke of Bergs retreat dicovered [*sic*]’, 1808 (BM Satires 11000).

— ‘The opposition hydra; or, Britannia’s worst foe’, 1808 (Curzon b.26 (151)).

— ‘ Sketch for a Prime Minister; or, how to purchase a peace’, 1811 (Curzon b.11 (87)).

Elmes, William, ‘Bonaparte addressing the legislative body’, 1813 (BM Satires 12014).

— ‘The valley of the shadow of death’, 1812 (BM Satires 11921).

Field, J, ‘The royal allied oak and self-created mushroom kings’, 1815 (Curzon b.12 (60)).

Gillray, James, ‘Apotheosis of the Corsican-Phoenix’, 1808 (BM Satires 11007).

— ‘The arms of France’, 1803 (BM Satires 10090).

— ‘Boney & Talley. The Corsican carcase-butcher's [*sic*] reckoning day’, 1803 (BM Satires 10091).

— ‘Counsellor O.P, – defender of our theatric liberties’, 1809 (BM Satires 11430).

— ‘Delicious Dreams! Castles in the Air! Glorious Prospects!’, 1808 (Curzon b.26 (92)).

— ‘Le Diable-Boiteux; or, The Devil Upon Two Sticks conveying John Bull to the Land of Promise’, 1806 (BM Satires 10525).

— ‘Doctor Sangrado curing John Bull of repletion – with the kind offices of young Clysterpipe and Little Boney’, 1803 (Curzon b.3 (174)).

— ‘The Grand Coronation Procession of Napoleon the 1st, Emperor of France, from the Church of Notre Dame, Decr 2d 1804 [*sic*]’, 1805 (BM Satires 10362).

— ‘How to break-in my own horse!’, 1803 (BM Satires 10162).

— ‘Independence’, 1799 (BM Satires 9401).

— ‘John Bull and the Alarmist’, 1803 (BM Satires 10088).

— ‘The Life of William Cobbett, – written by himself. N° 7’, 1809 (Curzon b.11 (17)).

— ‘The life of William Cobbet, – written by himself. N° 8’, 1809 (BM Satires 11379).

— ‘News from Calabria! Capture of Buenos Ayres! – i.e. the comforts of an imperial dejeuné at St. Clouds’, 1806 (Curzon b.4 (147)).

— ‘Pacific-Overtures; – or – a flight from St Cloud’s – “over the water to Charley”’, 1806 (Curzon b.4 (130)).

— ‘Phaeton alarm'd!’, 1808 (BM Satires 10972).

— ‘Physical Aid, – or – Britannia recover'd from a trance; – also, the patriotic courage of Sherry Andrew: & a peep thro' the Fog’, 1803 (BM Satires 9972).

— ‘The Pillar of the Constitution’, 1807 (BM Satires 10738).

— ‘Pillars of the Constitution’, 1809 (Curzon b.3 (36)).

— ‘Pizzarro [*sic*]’, 1799. Etched by John Chapman (BM Satires 9417).

— ‘Pizarro contemplating over the product of his new Peruvian Mine’, 1799 (BM Satires 9396).

— ‘The plumb-pudding in danger: – or – state epicures taking un petit souper [*sic*], 1805 (BM Satires 10371).

— ‘The Spanish-Bull-Fight, or The Corsican-Matador in Danger’, 1808. BM Satires 10997 ‘Spanish-Patriots attacking the French-Banditti – Loyal Britons lending a lift –’ 1808 (BM Satires 11010).

— ‘Tiddy-doll, the great French-gingerbread-baker; drawing out a new batch of kings’, 1806 (BM Satires 10518).

— ‘The Valley of the Shadow of Death’, 1808 (Curzon b.26 (190)).

— ‘Very slippery-weather; St James’s street’, 1808 (Curzon b.2 (8)).

Gravelot, Hubert, ‘The Devil Upon Two Sticks’, 1741 (BM Satires 2439).

Heath, William, ‘The Corsican mad dog or the hopefull [*sic*] situation of the distroyer [*sic*] of the human specie’, 1813 (BM Satires 12100).

— ‘The daw [*sic*] stript [*sic*] of his borrowed plumes Vide gays fable of the daw [and] other birds’, 1813 (BM Satires 12098).

— ‘The flushing phantasmagoria or Kings conjurors amuseing [*sic*] John Bull’, 1809 (BM Satires 11366).

— ‘Lady P aragraph championizing – Vide Letters’, 1814 (BM Satires 12194).

— ‘The last Resource, or supernatural Committee employ’d’, 1810 (BM Satires 11555).

— ‘A Midsummer Night’s Dream’, 1812 (BM Satires 11893).

— ‘Modern Plays’, 1812 (Curzon b.5 (47)).

— ‘More teats than pigs!! A politico sitirico [*sic*] caricature’, [1805-1810] (BM Satires 11527).

— ‘The rival Richards or Shakespear [*sic*] in danger’, 1814 (BM Satires 12326).

Holland, William, ‘Continental Amusements or John Bull paying the piper’, 1801 (BM Satires 9707).

— ‘Doctor Pizarro administring [*sic*] to his patients!’, 1799 (BM Satires 9406).

— ‘The Ghost of Queen Elizabeth’, 1803 (BM Satires undescribed).

— ‘Hamlet’, 1809 (BM Satires 11446).

— ’Pizarro returning from the gold mines of Peru!’, 1799 (BM Satires 9397).

— ‘Returning from Pizarro!!’, 1799 (BM Satires 9398).

— ‘Rolla’s Address to the Peruvian Army’, 1799 (BM Satires 9407).

— ‘Spanish pills operating; or Boney on the stool of repentance!’, 1808 (BM Satires 11041).

— ‘Trying on a turn’s coat!!’, 1799 (BM Satires 9409).

Hook, James [?], ‘Joys of the drama! Or an audience with the fairy nurse’, 1810 (BM Satires 11598).

Humphrey, George, ‘A new way to enforce an argument!!!’, 1815 (Curzon b.05 (210)).

— ‘Peace and Plenty; or, good news for John Bull!!!’, 1814 (Curzon b.31 (138)).

— ‘Political Chess-players; or, Boney bewilder’d – John Bull supporting the table’, 1814 (Curzon b.30 (118)).

Lawrence, Thomas, ‘Mr Kemble in the Character of Rolla’, 1803 (BM Satires Whitman 170).

[Orme, Edward], ‘Napoleon Bonaparte as overcome by Marquis Wellington & the allies, 1814’, 1814 (BM Satires 12186).

[Monogrammist, J.B.], ‘The introduction!’, 1804 (BM Satires 10320).

Roberts, Piercy, ‘Leapfrog’, c.1803-1807 (BM Satires 10023).

Rowlandson, Thomas, ‘The beast as described in the revelations, Chap. 13. Resembling Napoleon Bonaparte’, 1808 (BM Satires 11004).

— ‘Boney's trial, sentence, and dying speech, or Europe's injuries revenged’, 1815 (BM Satires 12580).

— ‘The Borough mongers strangled in the tower’, 1810 (BM Satires 11551).

— ‘The boxes’, 1809 (BM Satires 11433).

— ‘Cochrane and Congreve sauce, for French presumption’, 1809, (Curzon b.26 (274)).

— The Corsican Munchausen-humming the lads of Paris’, 1813 (BM Satires 12113).

— ‘The Corsican spider. In his web’, 1808 (BM Satires 10999).

— ‘The Corsican Tiger at Bay’, 1808 (BM Satires 10994).

— ‘A delicate finish to a French usurper’, 1814 (BM Satires 12227).

— ‘The first night of my wedding’, 1810 (Curzon b.27 (92)).

— ‘From the desk to the throne. A new quick step by Joseph Bonaparte the bass by messrs nappy and tally’, 1808 (BM Satires 11011).

— ‘Funcking [*sic*] the Corsican’, 1813 (BM Satires 12114).

— ‘A hard passage or Boney playing base on the continent’, 1808 (BM Satires 11032).

— ‘The head of the family in good humour’, 1809 (BM Satires 11213).

— ‘John Bull arming the Spaniards’, 1808 (Curzon b.4 (204)).

— ‘King Joe and Co. making the most of their time previous to quitting Madrid’, 1808 (Curzon b.4 (199)).

— ‘King Joe on his Spanish Donkey’, 1808 (BM Satires 11018).

— ‘A long pull a strong pull and a pull altogether’, 1813 (BM Satires 12102).

— ‘Mock auction or Boney selling stolen goods’, 1813 (BM Satires 12123).

— ‘Nap and his friends in their glory’, 1813 (BM Satires 12083).

— ‘Nap and his partner Joe’, 1808 (Curzon b.4 (200)).

— ‘Napoleon le Grande’, 1813 (BM Satires 12112).

— ‘The Naumacia to commemorate a peace’, 1814 (Curzon b.05 (172)).

— ‘The Norwich bull-feast; or, glory and gluttony’, 1813 (Curzon b.5 (110)).

— ‘Plump to the devil we boldly kick'd bot [*sic*] Nap and his partner Joe’, 1813. (BM British XVIIIc Unmounted Roy).

— ‘The Political Butcher or Spain cutting up Buonaparte, for the benefit of her Neighbours’, 1808 (BM Satires 11025).

— ‘Prophecy explained’, 1814 (Curzon b.26 (187)).

— ‘Puss in boots or General Junot taken by surprise’, 1811 (BM Satires 11720).

— ‘The rising sun; or, a view of the continent’, 1809 (BM Satires 11358).

— ‘The rogues march’, 1814 (BM Satires 12222).

— ‘Scenes in a new pantomime to be performed at the Theatre Royal Paris’, 1815 (BM Satires 12538).

— ‘A Spanish Pass-port to France!!’, 1808 (BM Satires 11026).

Sauley, George, ‘[Junot disgorging his booty]’, 1808 (Curzon b.26 (231)).

Sayers, James, ‘The manager and his dog – or a new way to keep one's head above water’, 1803 (BM Satires 10172).

Schadow, Gottfried, Commencement du Finale (The Beginning of the End (The Leipzig concert))’, 1813-1814 (BM German XVIIIc Mounted Roy).

Voltz, Johann Michael, ‘Napoleon’, 1814 (BM Satires 12202).

Williams, Charles, ‘Act the 2d of the new Drury Lane brewery or a managers [*sic*] spur to progress’, 1812 (BM Satires 11936).

— ‘Boney and his horse Talley – returning to Paris with a Spanish cargo’, 1808 (BM Satires 10990).

— ‘Boney at Bayonne blowing a Spanish bubble’, 1808 (Curzon b.26 (101)).

— ‘Boney bothered or an unexpected meeting’, 1808 (BM Satires 10995).

— ‘Boney and the gay lads of Paris calculating for the next triumphant entry into Moscow’, 1813 (BM Satires 12033).

— ‘Boney returning from Russia covered with glory – leaving his army in comfortable winter quarters – ’, 1813 (BM Satires 11991).

— ‘The British Rolla’, 1803 (BM Satires 10020).

— ‘British welcome; or, a visit from the bantam to the lion’, 1812 (BM Satires 11902).

— ‘Caricature magazine: Or Hudibrastic mirror, by G. M. Woodward, Esqr. Vol. II’, 1807 (BM Satires 10917).

— ‘The coffin expedition or Boney's invincible armada half seas over’, 1804 (BM Satires 10222).

— ‘Doctor Boney – bringing the powers to pot, or Iohn Bull and his friends rather shy’, 1808 (BM Satires 10970).

— ‘The Dons outwitted or John Bull in time for once’, 1804 (BM Satires 1028).

— ‘Don Quixote – commander in chief, reviewing his troops previous to the campain [*sic*]’, 1810 (BM Satires 11528).

— ‘English curiosity or a short answer for John Bull’, 1809 (BM Satires 11333).

— ‘Extraordinary News’, 1808 (Curzon b.26 (93)).

— ‘The Genius of the Times’, 1812 (BM Satires 11941).

— ‘The ghosts of the old kings of Spain appearing to their degenerate posterity’, 1808 (BM Satires 11006).

— ‘Grasp all loose all – Atlas enraged – or the punishment of unqualified ambition’, 1813 (BM Satires 12107).

— ‘He “cannot” go to Spain, or Canning's death blow’, 1808 (BM Satires 11023).

— ‘Hoax at the Pavilion, Sloane Street. August 31. 1812 precisely at 1/2 past twelve’, 1812 (BM Satires 11944).

— ‘An Imperial vomit’, 1814 (BM Satires 12276).

— ‘John Bull amongst the Spaniards, or Boney decently provided for’, 1808 (BM Satires 11005).

— ‘Joseph’s Flight’, 1812 (Curzon b.4 (208)).

— ‘Malignant aspects looking with envy on John Bull and his satellites; or, A new planetary system’, 1807 (Curzon b.4 (170)).

— ‘Moscow’, 1813 (BM Satires 12033).

— ‘National Opinions on Bononaparte [*sic*]’, 1808 (BM Satires 10980).

— ‘The new and elegant St Giles cage. Erected on purpose for the dilettanti theatrical society’, 1802 (BM Satires 9918).

— ‘Nic alias Nap's march to Elba or the downfall of the Napolean [*sic*] dynasty’, 1814 (BM Satires 12256).

— ‘The opening of Pandora's box’, 1812 (BM Satires 11897).

— ‘A Political Fair’, 1807 (BM Satires 10763).

— ‘Political quacks, or the Erfurth co-partnership commencing business’, 1808 (BM Satires 11054).

— ‘Political quadrille – the game up’, 1808 (BM Satires 11015).

— ‘A Portugal catch for three voices’, 1808 (Curzon b.4 (205)).

— ‘Preparations for the jubilee, or theatricals extraordinary’, 1809 (BM Satires 11381).

— ‘See the conquering hero comes, sound your trumpets, beat your drums, 1812’ (BM Satires 13184 (addenda)).

— ‘The Spanish bull broke loose or Josephs flight out of Spain’, 1808 (BM Satires 11022).

— ‘Spanish-flies or Boney taking an imoderate [*sic*] dose’, 1808 (BM Satires 11016).

— ‘Spectres visiting Iohn Bull’, 1808 (Curzon b.26 (152)).

— ‘Sternhold and Hopkins at sea or a stave out of time’, 1809 (BM Satires 11355).

— ‘Theatrical doctors recovering Clara’s notes’, 1802 (BM Satires 9915).

— ‘Tom Thumb at bay or the sovereigns of the forest roused at last!!’, 1805 (BM Satires 10433).

— ‘Universal murderer of domestic happiness; or, the fraternal tyrant’, 1810 (Curzon b.5 (28)).

— ‘Wellington and glory, or the victory of Vittoria – he came, he saw, he conquer'd’, 1813 (BM Satires 12072).

— ‘Which drowns first; or, Boney’s improved bucket’, 1812 (Curzon b.28 (104)).

Woodward, George Moutard, ‘Brobdignags or Bayonne peeping over the Pyrenean mountains at the Lilliputian Spanish Army’, 1808 (Curzon b.4 (185)).

— ‘The Convention of Cintra, a Portuguese gambol for the amusement of Iohn Bull’, 1809 (Curzon b.4 (206)).

— ‘The Corsican nurse soothing the infants of Spain’, 1808 (BM Satires 10998).

— ‘A Design for a Monument to be erected in commemoration of the glorious and never to be forgotten grand expedition so ably planned and executed in the year 1809’, 1809 (Curzon b.9 (60)).

— ‘The giant commerce overwhelming the pigmy blockade!!’, 1807. (Curzon b.25 (136)).

— ‘In port and out of port; or, News from Portugal’, 1807 (Curzon b.11 (45)).

— ‘Iohn Bull exchanging news with the continent’, 1805 (BM Satires 10441).

— ‘Jack Tars conversing with Boney on the blockade of Old England’, 1806 (Curzon b.25 (135)).

— ‘King Joey’s Retreat from Madrid’, 1808 (Curzon b.4 (194)).

— ‘Long Faces; or, King Nap and King Joe in the dumps’, 1808 (Curzon b.26 (126)).

— ‘The national institute's first interview with their president’, 1802 (BM Satires 9893).

— ‘National opinions on Bononaparte [*sic*]’, 1808 (Curzon b.26 (94)).

— ‘A New Phantasmagoria for John Bull!!’, 1805 (BM Satires 10366).

— ‘Political Hoaxing!!’, 1799 (BM Satires 9416).

— ‘Pope Joe receiving a Treat of Spanish Olives’, 1808 (Curzon b.26 (124)).

— ‘Spanish Comfort’, 1805 (BM Satires 10365).

— ‘A Toast for Old England: May the British Constitution never be repaired with the plaister of Paris’, 1803 (Curzon b.4 (44)).

SKETCHES AND ILLUSTRATIONS (BRITISH MUSEUM)

Craig, William Marshal,‘Lieutenant Yeo kills the Governor & takes the fort of Muros on the Spanish Coast’ 1815 (British Masters Portfolio).

[Heaviside, John, and Dubourg, Matthew], ‘Storming the Town and Castle of St. Sebastian in Spain’ 1813 (History 1813 Portfolio).

Merke, Henry, ‘A View of Santona, in Spain’ 1813 (British XIXc Unmounted Portfolio).

Pollard, James, ‘Joseph Bonaparte's flight from the Battle of Vittoria’, book-illustration for *A New History of the Twenty Years War with France* 1815 (British Masters Portfolio).

Porter, Robert Kerr, ‘Sketchbook: "Forty two/Drawings in [Sir] John Moore’s Campaign - [...] Ker Porter"’ 1808-1809 (Location British 198.a.17 PV Bibliographic Reference Binyon 11).

— ‘Corunna and the heights on which it was fought, sketched on the morning of the explosion’ 1809 (British Masters Portfolio).

— ‘The Vale of Tancos in Portugal’ 1809 (British Masters Portfolio).

— ‘The Field of Battle at Vimeira’ 1809 (British Masters Portfolio).

— ‘Trajans bridge over the Tagus at Alcantara’ 1809 (British Masters Portfolio).

— ‘Salamanca’ 1809 (British Masters Portfolio).

L'Evêque, Henri, ‘Field Marshal Arthur Duke of Wellington’, 1815(German XVIIIc Unmounted Imp.).

Willis, Lieut. George, ‘View of Bayonne, Taken from the Sand Hills on the left of the Adour, when occupied by the British Forces on the 12 of March, 1814’ (Location XVIIIc Unmounted Portfolio).

St Clair, T S, ‘A Distant View of Ciudad Rodrigo’ 1813, View of the Principle Occurrences of the Campaign in Spain and Portugal (Location 174 c.10.)

— ‘Pena Macor, an ancient fortress on the frontier of Portugal. Portuguese troops on the march to Castello Branco, 18 March 1811 ’ 1815, View of the Principle Occurrences of the Campaign in Spain and Portugal (Location 174 c.10).

— ‘A view of the Serra de Busacco at St Antonio de Cantaro shewing [*sic*] the attack of Marshall Reigniers ... 27 Sept 1810’ 1815, View of the Principle Occurrences of the Campaign in Spain and Portugal (Location 174 c.10).

— ‘Serra de Estrella or de Neve, the march of baggage following the army, May 16 1811’ 1815, View of the Principle Occurrences of the Campaign in Spain and Portugal, Location 174 c.10.

— ‘Troops bivouack'd near the village of Villa Velha on the evening of 19 of May 1811’ 1812, View of the Principle Occurrences of the Campaign in Spain and Portugal (Location 174 c.10).

— ‘The fording of the river Mondego by the allied army on the 21 September 1810’ 1812, View of the Principle Occurrences of the Campaign in Spain and Portugal (Location 174 c.10).

— ‘The pass of the Tagus at Villa Velham into the Almentejo by the allied army on the 20 May 1811’ 1812, View of the Principle Occurrences of the Campaign in Spain and Portugal (Location 174 c.10).

— ‘Badajos during the Siege of June 1811’ 1812, View of the Principle Occurrences of the Campaign in Spain and Portugal (Location 174 c.10).

— ‘Battle of Foentes d’Onor [*sic*]’ 1812, View of the Principle Occurrences of the Campaign in Spain and Portugal (Location 174 c.10).

— ‘The village of Pombal in flames as evacuated by the French army under Marshall Massena ... 11 March 1811 ’ 1814, View of the Principle Occurrences of the Campaign in Spain and Portugal (Location 174 c.10).

— ‘City of Coimbra’ 1815, View of the Principle Occurrences of the Campaign in Spain and Portugal (Location 174 c.10).

— ‘Subugal on the river Coa’ 1815, View of the Principle Occurrences of the Campaign in Spain and Portugal (Location 174 c.10).

Landmann, Col. George, ‘Ford on the River Sever, between Montalvão in Portugal, and Herrera in Spain: Alentejo’ 1813 (British Masters Portfolio).

Flaxman, John, ‘Description for a monument in memory of those fallen in the Battle of Talavera’ 1816 (British Masters Portfolio).

Carr, John, ‘City of Granada’ 1811 (British Masters Portfolio).

Gell, William, ‘Entrance of the Mediterranean’ 1810 (Bibliographic Reference Binyon 6 (54); p.197).

OBJECTS (BRITISH MUSEUM)

Duke of Wellington finger ring (Location G47 dc7. Bibliographic reference Gere et al 984 360).

Spanish printed fans (British Museum. Fans Unmounted Roy, Schreiber).

ARCHIVES

ARQUIVO NACIONAL DA TORRE DO TOMBO, PORTUGAL

ANTT Ministerio do Reino (792) 287-384: M. Reino – Relação de Censuras – Informaçoes (287 cx. 384).

AT 1522 Teatros (992-114).

ATT Ministerio do Reino, Teatros 992-113.

Index da Mesa Censoria, General Catalogue Room L.529.

GARRICK CLUB

Covent Garden Playbills, 1807-1815.

Dramatic Annals: Critiques on Plays and Performers 1786-1806, collected by John Nixon.

Drury-Lane Playbills, 1807-1815.

Pizarro, 'Prompt Copy' [1799].

Pizarro, 'Prompt Copy' [1807]].

'Siguidillas Boleras', Villar prints purchased by J P Kemble during his visit to Spain, 1802-1803.

JOHN JOHNSON COLLECTION, UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD

London Playbills folders 1 & 6.

London Playbills folder 7.

London Playbills Covent Garden box 1, (102-153), 1810-1813.

London Playbills Covent Garden vols. 1811-1820.

Provincial Playbills folders 1-5.

The British Rolla', *Political Cartoons* 1 (195).

'John Bull Exchanging News with the Continent', December 1805, *French Wars and Revolutions* folder 6 (4).

'Horrid Visions of Nappy Napp'd at Last', August 1808, *French Wars and Revolutions* folder 6 (2).

Political General folder 1.

‘Mr Young as Rolla’, *Trade in Prints and Scraps* 13 (67).

‘The Jubilee. A New and Interesting Game’, London: Published by John Harris, 1810. *Games* 26 (4).

‘The Panorama of Europe, A New Game’, and Rules. London: Published by J E Wallis. *Games* 26 (6).

‘Illustration of North West, View of Drury Lane Theatre’, *Drury- Lane* box 1 (5).

‘Drury Lane Theatre, Westminster, Burnt Down in 1809’, *Drury- Lane* box 1 (10).

‘Theatre Royal, Drury Lane, erected 1812’, *Drury- Lane* box 1 (12).

‘Interior of Drury Lane’, *Drury- Lane* box 1 (22).

‘View of the East Front on the New Theatre Royal, Covent Garden’, *Illustrations: Covent Garden* box 1 (1(a)-1(b)).

‘Front View of Covent-Garden Theatre’, *Covent Garden* box 1 (7).

Sheridan, Richard Brinsley, ‘Sheridan’s Address to the People: Our King! our Country! And our God!’. London: 1803 (Shuttleworth 145 (1)).

Sheridan, Richard Brinsley: ‘Sheridan’s Address to the People: Our King! our Country! And our God!’. Dublin: 1803 (Shuttleworth 145 (2)).

KATHLEEN BARKER ARCHIVES, UNIVERSITY OF BRISTOL THEATRE COLLECTION

Folder KB/4/1-28: Bristol Theatre Royal, September 1805-August 1815.

Folder KB/11/1-6: Bristol at Play, 1461-1991.

Folder KB/16/1-11: Bristol Theatre Royal. Index to plays, 1766-1991.

Folder KB/18/3: Bristol Theatre Royal. Calendar of productions, May 1766-January 1827, with key to sources.

Folder KB/21: Regency Theatre, Prince Street, Bristol, 1812.

Folder KB/24: Reference to Bristol theatres in local newspapers, 1776-1846.

Folder KB/25: Transcriptions of Theatre Order & Dividend Book for the Bristol Theatre Royal, 1813-1872.

LONDON METROPOLITAN ARCHIVES

Bartholomew Fair: MS 1514.

Noble Collection:

LMA-SC/GL/MBR/2/612-648.
LMA-SC/GL/NOB/C/027-028.
SC/GL/NOB/C/028-028/5.
SC/GL/NOB/C/028/3.
SC/GL/NOB/C/028/2.

Nelson Islington: SC/GL/NEL/001/B.

Misc. Boxes: SC/GL/LMI/XI.

Playbills:

l PLAYBILLS BOX 30: Royalty/Sadler's Wells.
PLAYBILLS BOX 24: Minor/Oxford.
Minor Theatre, 1813-Catherine Street, Strand.
PLAYBILLS BOX 1-Adelphi 1806-1865.

Prints Collection:

SC/GL/PR/F1/NEW-F1/SAD.
SC/GL/PR/S3/TOW/Pla and S3/WEL/Squ.
SC/GL/PR/W2/WHI/yar- and W2/WYC.
SC/GL/PR/621/WES-621/WES (2).
SC/GL/LAU/001.

VICTORIA AND ALBERT THEATRE COLLECTION

Adelphi (Sans Pareil) 1805-1819 Box.

Drury-Lane 1799-1813 Production File.

Olympic 1807-1821 Box.

Royal Surrey 1783-1818 Box.

Royalty-Wellclose Square 1805-1830 Box.

Sadler's Wells 1773-1812 Box.

Toy Theatre Sheets, 'Frederick of Spain', Publ. 1812. Stone 24, West 218-225.

Toy Theatre Sheets, 'Libertine', Publ. 1817. Stone 25, West 339-344.

Toy Theatre Sheets, 'The Pantomime Ballet of *Don Juan*, as Performed at the Theatres Royal', Publ. 1811. Stone 24, West 186-192.

Toy Theatre Sheets, 'Pizarro', Publ. by Skelt. Stone 17, West, 750-770A.

Toy Theatre Sheets, 'The Spanish Patriots', Publ. 1812. Stone 26, West 553-557-561.

NEWSPAPERS AND PERIODICAL REVIEWS

Annual Review and History of Literature for 1808.

The Anti-Jacobin; or, Weekly Examiner, 1799.

The Anti-Jacobin Review and Magazine, 1801.

The Bristol Gazette, 1808-1814

The British Review and London Critical Journal, 1811; 1815.

The Edinburgh Review, October 1802-January 1803; 1808-1814.

The Examiner and the Theatrical Examiner, 1807-1815

Felix Farley's Bristol Journal, 1807-1815

General Index to the Edinburgh Review, 1802-1812; *1813-1830.*

The Gentleman's Magazine and Historical Chronicle, 1809; 1812.

Lloyd's Evening Post and Packet, 5-7 June 1799.

The Morning Chronicle, 1802; 1803; 1808-1815.

The Monthly Mirror: Reflecting Men and Manners: With Strictures on their Epitome, 1799; 1801; 1810-1811.

The Morning Post and Gazeteer, 25; 27; 31 May; 6 June 1799.

The Monthly Review; or, Literary Journal, Enlarged, 1796; 1800; 1813.

The New London Review; or, Monthly Report of Authors and Books, January-June 1800.

The Oracle, 11 November 1808.

The Poetical Register, and Repository of Fugitive Poetry for 1809. Second Edition. London: 1802.

The Quarterly Review, 1809; 1811; 1815.

The Scourge; or, Monthly Expositor of Imposture and Folly, 1812.

The Spirit of the Public Journals for 1799. Being an impartial selection of the most exquisite essays and jeux d'esprits...with explanatory notes.

The Times, 1786-1791; 1795; 1799; 1800; 1801; 1803; 1807-1816.

The True Briton, May-June 1799; January-March 1802.

DATABASES

The Adelphi Theatre 1806-1900: A Calendar of Performances. General Editors Alfred L. Nelson and Gilbert B. Cross <http://www.emich.edu/public/english/adelphi_calendar/acpmain.htm> [Accessed 24/08/09].

The Journal of John Waldie: Theatre Commentaries, 1799-1830, ed. by Frederick Burwick <http://repositories.cdlib.org/uclalib/dsc/waldie/>, e-Scholarship Repository, California Digital Library [Accessed 07/2009].

Old Bailey Proceedings Online <www.oldbaileyonline.org> [Accessed 08/2009].

Prints from the Curzon Collection: images of Napoleon and British Fears of Invasion, 1789-1815. < http://www2.odl.ox.ac.uk/gsdl/cgi-bin/library?site=localhost&a=p&p=about&c=politi04&ct=0&l=en&w=iso-8859-1> [Accessed 09/ 2009].

PUBLISHED MATERIAL

Anon., *An Account of the Central or Supreme Junta of Spain, its chief members, and most important proceedings*. London: Printed for J. Ridgeway, 1809.

— *An Abridgement of Geography. Adorned with cuts representing the dress of each country.* London: 1800.

— *Catalonia, A Poem; With Notes Illustrative of the Present State of Affairs In the Peninsula.* Edinburgh: Printed for John Ballantyne & Co, 1811.

— *A Collection of Correspondence Relative to Spain and Portugal, Presented to Parliament in 1810*. London: Printed by A. Strahan, 1811.

— *The Cottage Warbler; Or, New Song Book. Containing all the fashionable Songs, now singing at the Theatre Royal, Nobility's and Private Concerts, Royal Circus, Sadler's Wells, Royalty Theatre, &c. With a collection of Toasts and Sentiments*. London: Printed and Published by John Arliss, [1809].

— *The Covent Garden Journal. Embellished with four views*. London: Printed for J. J. Stockdale, 1810.

— *A Critique of the Tragedy of 'Pizarro' as represented at Drury-Lane Theatre with such uncommon applause. To which is added A New Prologue, That has not yet been spoken.* London: 1799.

— *The Entertaining and Amusing Song Book. To which is added a collection of Toasts and Sentiments*. London: Printed for T. and R. Hughes, [1808].

— *Fairburn's Comic Constellation, or Eccentric Repository for 1814. Embellished with a Comic Coloured Frontispiece*. London: Published by John Fairburn, 1814.

— *Fatal Jealousy; or, Blood Will Have Blood!* London: Printed for T. and R. Hughes, 1807.

— *The First of Two Grand Concerts of Oratorial and Miscellaneous Music, at the Theatre Royal, Bristol. On Thursday and Friday Evening in Easter Week, March 30 and 31, 1815.* Bristol: Printed for J. Stansbury, 1815.

— *A Garland of New Songs Containing 1) Yo Heave Ho, 2) Paddy's Description of Pizarro, 3) My Grandmother's Eye-Water, 4) The Thorn, 5) The Parson.* Newcastle-Upon-Tyne: 1800.

— *A History of the Campaigns of the British Forces in Spain and Portugal: Undertaken to Relieve those countries from the French Usurpation; comprehending Memoirs of the Operations of this Interesting War, characteristic reports of the Spanish and Portuguese Troops, and Illustrative Anecdotes of the Distinguished Conduct in individuals, whatever their rank in the Army.* London: Printed for T. Goddard, 1812.

— *The Jubilee; or, John Bull in his Dotage. A Grand National Pantomime; As it was to have been acted By His Majesty's Subjects, on the twenty-fifth of October, 1809. By the Author of "Operations of the British Army in Spain".* London: Printed by J. Dennett for Sherwood, Neely, and Jones, 1809.

— [An Officer], *Letters from Portugal and Spain: Written During the March of the British Troops Under Sir John Moore. With a Map of the route and appropriate engravings.* London: Printed for Longman, Hurst, Rees, and Orme, 1809.

— *The Life of Rolla: A Peruvian Tale By the author of The Siamese Twins.* London: 1800.

— *Manifesto of the Spanish Nation, to the Other Nations of Europe*. London: Printed by G. Sidney, 1808.

— *A Memoir of the Life of R B Sheridan, Esq; with a Concise Critique upon the New Tragedy Entitled Pizarro.* London: 1799.

— 'Mr Fox's Title to Patriot, and Man of the People, Disputed, and the Political Conduct of Mr. Sheridan and His Adherents Accurately

Scrutinised; in a letter to His Grace the Duke of Norfolk'. London: 1806.

— *Liberty, above all things; and Conflagrations on Theatre, Manufactories, &c prevented or greatly checked*. London: 1809.

— *The Muse's Bower for the Year 1814; Being A New Selection of Fashionable and Popular Songs. Now singing at Sadler's Wells, Theatres Royal Drury Lane and Covent Garden, Surrey Theatre, Astley's, &c &c. Together with those lately sung at Vauxhall*. London: Printed by W. Mason, 1814.

— *The Music of 'Pizarro' A Play, As now Performing at the Theatre Royal Drury Lane with unbounded applause. The Music composed and Selected by Michael Kelly.* London: [1799].

— *The Musical Olio: or, The Songster's Summer Companion. Containing all the most approved Songs and Duetts now singing at the Lyceum, Sadler's Wells, Haymarket, and Royal Circus &c Including that celebrated song of The Mail Coach*. London: Printed by J. Evans, [1811].

— *The New Sadler's Wells Songster, for 1809, Being a collection of the Newest Songs, Now singing at the above and other places of public amusement*. London: Printed and sold by J. Pitts, 1809.

— [Officer of the Staff], *Operations of the British Army in Spain: Involving Broad Hints to the Commissariat, and Board of Transports : with Anecdotes Illustrative of the Spanish Character.* London: Printed for Sherwood, Neely, and Jones, 1809.

— *Poems Founded on the Events of the War in the Peninsula*. By the Wife of an Officer. London: [1819].

— *Pizarro. A New Song.* Lincoln: 1799.

— *Pizarro and Alonzo; or, Industry Better than Gold: An Instructive Story.* York: [n.d.].

— *The pleasing songster, or, harmonic companion, for the present year. Containing the most approved, popular, and favourite New Songs, That are now singing and lately singing at Vauxhall, Sadler's Wells, and Lyceum, the Theatres Royal, Polite Concerts, Harmonic Meetings, and Convival Parties*. London: [18--].

— *The Political Dramatist of the House of Commons in 1795. A Satire.* London: 1796.

— *The Rebellion; or, All in the Wrong: A Serio-Comic hurly-burly in scenes, as it was performed for 2 months at the New Theatre Royal, Covent Garden-to which is added A Poetical Divertissement, concluding with a panoramic view of the new theatre, in prose.* London: Printed for Vernor, Hood, and Sharpe; Taylor and Hessey; and J. Booker, 1809.

— *Recitatives, duets, trios, choruses &c, with a description of the scenery, and other decorations, also the fables and arguments of the various pieces now performing at the Aquatic Theatre, Sadler's Wells*. London: Printed by W Glendinning, 1808.

— *Recitatives, duets, trios, choruses &c, with a description of the scenery, and other decorations, also the fables and arguments of the various pieces now performing at the Aquatic Theatre, Sadler's Wells*. London: Printed by W Glendinning, 1809.

— *The Regency Collection. Containing the newest songs, now singing at Covent Garden Theatre, Sadler's Wells, Astley's, &c &c*. London: Printed and sold by Jennings, [1811-1815].

— *The Sadler's Wells Harmonist for 1810, forming a Lyric Collection of English, Irish, and Scotch Songs, singing at the Theatres & other places of amusement*. London: Printed and sold by Howard and Evans, [1810].

— *A Select British theatre; Containing All the Plays Formerly Adapted to the Stage by Mr. Kemble: Revised by Him, with additional alterations*. London: Printed for John Miller, 1815.

— *A Short Description of Badajoz, and the surrounding country; With Extracts from the London Gazette Explanatory of the Picture Exhibiting in the PANORAMA, Leicester Square, Representing the Siege in 1812. Taken from the Fort La Picurina*. London: J. Adlard, 1813.

— *Smeeton's Selection of the Most Approved Songs for 1809. As Sung at Vauxhall, Hay-market, Sadler's Wells, Circus, Astley's, &c in The African; Yes, or No; Harlequin Highflyer; Spanish Patriots; England's Glory; Elfrida.* London: Published by G. Smeeton, 18 James St, Long-Acre, 1809.

— *Some Documents Respecting the History of the Late Events in Spain: Being, 1-'A Plain exposition of the reasons which occasioned the journey of Ferdinand VII to Bayonne, in April, 1808', by Don Juan de Escoiquiz, formerly tutor to His Catholic Majesty, and then his Counsellor of State &c &c. 2-'Remarks on the Preceding Work', by the Counsellor of State, Don Pedro de Cevallos.3-'A Full Abstract of A Petition Addressed to King Ferdinand VII by sixty-nine members of the Cortes of Madrid, requesting his Majesty to abolish the new Constitution of Spain, and to re-establish the Inquisition, with the old form of government, under certain amendments'.* London: Printed for Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, and Brown, 1815.

— *Songs, Duets, Trios, Chorusses &c. with a description of the scenery, and other decorations. Also fables and arguments, of the various pieced performing at the Aquatic Theatre, Sadler's Wells*. London: Printed and sold by W. Glendinning, 1810.

— *Songs, Duets, Trios, Chorusses &c with a description of the scenery &c also fables and arguments of the various pieces performed at the Aquatic Theatre, Sadler's Wells*. London: W. Glendinning, 1811.

— *The Songsters Companion. A Choice Collection, of more than two hundred modern songs. To which is added, a selection of toasts & sentiments.* London: 1800. Twelfth edition.

— *Spain! Her Patriots! And Old England! A Poem; Also An Address of Condolence.* London: Published by C. Chapple, 1808.

— 'The Struggles of Sheridan' or, the Ministry in Full Cry'. London: 1790.

— *The Theatrical Song Book for 1810. Containing all the Comic and other Songs, sung at the Theatres, Astley's, Circus, and Sadler's Wells. Including the much-admired Song, 'The Mail-Coach', Sung by Mr Matthews, with unbounded applause, To which are added Toasts and Sentiments*. London: Published by T. Hughes, [1810].

— *A tour through the principal provinces of Spain and Portugal performed in the year 1803, with cursory observations on the manners of the inhabitants.* London: 1806.

— *The warbler for 1808 : containing all the new songs sung at the Theatres Royal, Vauxhall, Astley's, Sadler's Wells, Royal Circus, &c. To which are added, those sung by Mr Incledon in his new entertainment called 'A Voyage to India'*. Lambeth: Printed by T. Romney, [1808].

— *The Whim of the Day, (For 1800). Being an Entertaining Selection of the Choicest and Most approved Songs, Now Singing at the Theatres-Royal, Anacrontic Society, the Beef-Steak Club, And Other Convival and Polite Assemblies.* London: 1800.

[Adams, John], *The History of Spain, from the First Settlement of the Colony of Gades, by the Phoenicians; to the Establishment of the Independence of the United Provinces, and death of Philip II. Collected from the most authentic documents*. London: Published by J. Goodwin, 1814. 2 vols.

Andrews, John, *Characteristical Views of the Past and of the Present State of the People of Spain and Italy. Addressed to an English Traveller*. London: Printed for C. Chapple, 1808.

Anquetil, Louis-Pierre, *A Summary of Universal History, in nine volumes. Exhibiting the rise, decline, and revolutions of the different nations of the world, from the creation to the present time.* London: 1800. 9 vols.

Baillie, Joanna, 'Introductory Discourse', *A Series of Plays: In Which It Is Attempted to Delineate the Stronger Passions of the Mind, Each Passion Being the Subject of a Tragedy and a Comedy* [1798], introduced by Caroline Franklin. London: Routledge/Thoemmes Press, 1996.

— *De Monfort* [1798], in *Seven Gothic Dramas*, ed. by Jeffrey Cox. Athens: Ohio University Press, 1992.

Bardsley, Samuel Argent, *Critical Remarks on 'Pizarro', a Tragedy, taken from the German drama of Kotzebue and adapted to the English stage by Richard Brinsley Sheridan. With incidental observations on the subject of the Drama.* London: 1800.

Barrell, John & Mee, Jon (Editors), *Trials for Treason and Sedition 1792-1794.* London: Pickering & Chatto, 2006. 8 vols.

Beaumont, Andrew, *The History of Spain, from the earliest accounts to the present times; with a geographical view of the Peninsula.* London: Printed by W. Lewis, 1809.

Benson, Robert, *Britain's glory; or, a trip to Portsmouth, a musical entertainment. As it is performed at the Theatre Royal in the Hay-Market.* London : Printed for J. Barker, 1794.

Blayney [Major-General], *Narrative of a forced journey through Spain and France: as a prisoner of war, in the years 1810 to 1814*. London: Printed for E. Kerby, 1814. 2 vols.

Boaden, James, *Cambro-Britons, an historical play in three acts.* London: 1798.

Boswell, James, *On the Profession of a Player: Three Essays* ('Now reprinted from *The London Magazine*, for August, September, and October, 1770'). Suffolk: Elkin Mathews & Marrot Ltd, 1929.

Bourgoing, J. Fr., *Post Roads of Spain, with the Distance in Spanish leagues*. *Illustrated with A Map of the Roads, In which the Posts are marked with the greatest accuracy.* London: Printed for John Stockdale, 1808.

Bourke, Thomas, *A Concise History of the Moors in Spain, from their invasion of that kingdom to their final expulsion from it.* London: Printed for F. C. and J. Rivington, 1811.

Bradford, Rev. William, *Sketches of the Country, Character, and Costume in Portugal and Spain, Made During the Campaign, and on the Route of the British Army in 1808 and 1809. Engraved and Coloured from the Drawings by the Rev William Bradford A.B. (Chaplain of the Brigade to the Expedition), with Incidental Illustration & Appropriate Descriptions of Each Subject*. London: 1809.

Brayley, Edward Wedlake, *Historical and Descriptive Accounts of the Theatres of London*. Drawn and Engraved by the Late Daniel Havell. London: Printed for J. Taylor, Architectural Library, 1826.

[Briggs, James], *The History of Don Francisco de Miranda's Attempt to Effect a Revolution in South America: In a Series of Letters. To which are annexed Sketches*

of the Life of Miranda, and Geographical Notices of Caracas. Boston: Published by Oliver and Munroe, 1808.

Britton, John, *Sheridan and Kotzebue: The Enterprising Adventures of Pizarro, Preceded by a Brief Sketch of the Voyages and Discoveries of Columbus and Cortez: To which are subjoined the Histories of Alonzo and Cora.* London: 1799.

Bromley, Walter, *Treatise on the Acknowledged Superiority of the French over the English Officer in the Field. Extract from an intended Publication called Campaigning Made Easy, Recommended to Officers going to Spain and Portugal. A Farewell Letter to the Officers of the Welch Fusiliers, and an Essay on Happiness.* London: Printed by J. Bailey, 1812.

Broughton, Samuel Daniel: *Letters from Portugal, Spain, & France, written during the Campaigns of 1812, 1813, & 1814, Addressed to a Friend in England. Describing: The Leading Features of the Provinces Passed Through, and the State of Society, Manners, Habits &c. of the People*. London: Printed for Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, and Brown, 1815.

Burke, A., *Spain! Her Patriots! And Old England! A Poem; Also An Address of Condolence*. London: Published by C. Chapple, 1808.

Burroughs, George Frederick, *A Narrative of the Retreat of the British Army from Burgos: In a Series of Letters. With an Introductory Sketch of the Campaign of 1812; and Military Character of the Duke of Wellington.* Bristol: Printed by Joseph Routh, 1814.

Byron, Lord, *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage*, in *The Complete Poetical Works*, ed. by Jerome J. McGann. Volume II. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1980. 7 vols.

— *Poetical Works*, ed. by Frederick Page. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1970; 1991.

Camden, Theophilus, *The History of the War in Spain and Portugal from Its Commencement to the Triumphal entry of Lord Wellington into the French Territory, illustrated with anecdotes, civil, military, and political, to which are added Memoirs of the Life of Lord Wellington, and Biographical sketches from imminent commanders. Embellished with elegant engravings, representing the successive victories obtained by British valour. Portraits of celebrated officers, maps, plans &c.* London: J. Stratford, 1813.

Campe, J. H., *Pizarro: or, The Conquest of Peru; Being a Continuation of The Discovery of America. For the Use of Children and Young Persons*, translated by Elizabeth Helme. Birmingham: 1800.

Carleton, George, *Memoirs of George Carleton, an English Officer; Including Anecdotes of the War in Spain under the Earl of Peterborough, and many interesting particulars relating to the Manners of the Spaniards in the beginning of the last century. Written by Himself*. Edinburgh: Printed for Archibald Constable and Co, 1809. Fourth edition.

Carr, John, *Descriptive Travels in Spain and the Balearic Isles in the Year 1809.* London: Printed for Sherwood, Neely, and Jones; Faulder and Rodwell; and J M Richardson, 1811.

Cevallos, Don Pedro, *An Exposure of the Arts and Machinations which led to the usurpation of the Crown of Spain and the means pursued by Bonaparte to carry his views into effect.* London: J. J. Stockdale, 1808.

Clinton, Henry, *A Few Remarks Explanatory of the Motives which Guided the Operations of the British Army During the Late Short Campaign in Spain.* London: Printed for T Egerton, Military Library, Whitehall, 1809.

Cobb, James, *The siege of Belgrade; a comic opera, in three acts. As it is performed at the Theatres-Royal in London and Dublin.* Dublin : Printed, and sold by the booksellers, [1791].

Cobbett, William, *The Political Proteus: A View of the Public Character and Conduct of R B Sheridan, Esq.* London: 1804.

Code, H B, *The Songs, Duetts, Glees, &c in the opera of The Spanish Patriots A Thousand Years Ago, set to music by Sir John Stevenson.* London: 1812.

— *The Spanish Patriots 1000 Years Ago* (1812) Huntington Library Larpent Collection 1733. British Library Microfiche F254/490/1 and 2.

Coleridge, Samuel Taylor, *Biographia Literaria; or, Biographical Sketches of my Literary Life & Opinions,* ed. by James Engell and W. Jackson Bate (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983).

— *Collected Letters of Samuel Taylor Coleridge,* ed. by Earl Leslie Griggs. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1956-1971. 6 vols.

— *Coleridge's Criticism of Shakespeare: A selection*, ed. by Richard A. Foakes. London: The Athlone Press, 1989.

— *Essays On His Own Times in* The Morning Post *and* The Courier*,* ed. by David V. Erdman. New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1978. 3 vols.

— *The Friend*, ed. by Barbara E. Rooke. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1969. 2 vols.

— *Lectures 1808-1819 on Literature*, ed. by R. A. Foakes. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1987. 2 vols.

— *The Notebooks of Samuel Taylor Coleridge*, ed. by Kathleen Coburn, Volume III. London: Routledge, 1957; 2002. 5 vols.

— *Osorio*, in *Poetical Works: Plays III.1*, ed. by J. C. C. Mays. New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1978; 2001.

— *Remorse*, in *Poetical Works: Plays III.2,* ed. by J. C. C. Mays. New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1978; 2001.

Collins, Francis, *Voyages to Portugal, Spain, Sicily, Malta, Asia Minor, Egypt, &c., &c., from 1706 to 1801. With Historical Sketches and Occasional Reflections, both Moral and Religious.* Philadelphia: Published by Soloman Wiatt, 1809.

Colman, George (the Younger), *Inkle and Yarico*. London: 1787.

— *The Mountaineers; a play, in three acts. And first performed at the Theatre Royal, Haymarket, on Saturday, August 3, 1793.* London: Printed for J. Debrett, 1795.

— *The Surrender of Calais. A play. In three acts. By George Coleman, Jun. Esq. as performed at the Little Theatre Hay-Market.* Dublin: Printed by P. Byrne, 1792.

Comber, Thomas, *Adultery Analyzed; An Inquiry into the Causes of the Prevalence of that Vice in These Kingdoms, at the Present Day.* By Phlippus Philaretes [pseud.] London: 1810.

Cottle, Joseph, *Reminiscences of Samuel Taylor Coleridge and Robert Southey.* London: Houlston and Stoneman, 1847.

Cowley, Hannah, *A Bold Stroke for a Husband* [1783], in *The Broadview Anthology of Romantic Drama*, ed. by Jeffrey N. Cox and Michael Gamer. Lancashire: Broadview Press, 2003.

Coxe, William, *Memoirs of the Kings of Spain of the House of Bourbon: From the Accession of Philip V to the death of Charles III. 1700…to…1788, drawn from original and unpublished documents.* London: Published for Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, and Brown, Patternoster-Row, 1815. Volume I. 5 vols. Second edition.

Crocker, John Wilson, *The Battles of Talavera: A Poem*. London: Published by Harding & Wright for J. Murray, 1810. Sixth edition, Corrected with some additions.

Cross, J.C., *Circusiana; or, A Collection of the most favourite Ballets, Spectacles, Melo-Drames, &c Performed at the Royal Circus, St George's Fields*. London: Printed for the author, by T. Burton, 1809.

— *The History, Murders, Life, and Death of Macbeth: And a Full Description of the Scenery, Action, Chorusses, and Characters of the Ballet of Music and Action of that name*. 1809. Reprinted by Professor A.C. Sprague, in *All These to Teach: Essays in Honor of C. A. Robertson*, ed. by Robert A Bryan, Alton C. Morris, A. A. Murphee, and Aubrey L. Williams. Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1965, pp. 80-101.

Cruikshank, Isaac, *Isaac Cruikshank: A Catalogue Raisonné, With a Sketch of His Life and Work*, by E B Krumbhaar. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1966.

D' Aunoy, the Countess, *The lady's travels into Spain: or, A genuine relation of the religion, laws, commerce, customs, and manners of that country. Written by the Countess d'Aunoy, in a series of letters to a Friend at Paris*. London: Printed by Wood and Innes, 1808. 2 vols.

D'Yriarte, Don Thomas, *An Abridgement of the History of Spain, from the earliest accounts of that country to the present time. With a Geographical Description of Spain and Portugal, by the same author.* London: Printed for G. Wilson, and J. Robinson, 1808.

Dacre, Barbarina Brand, *Gonzalvo of Cordoba* (wr. 1810), published in *Dramas, Translations, and Occasional Poems*. London: 1821.

— *Pedrarias* (wr. 1811), published in *Dramas, Translations, and Occasional Poems*. London: 1821.

Depons, F., *Travels in South America, during the years 1801, 1802, 1803, and 1804. Containing a Description of the Captain Generalship of Caraccas [*sic*], and an Account of the Discovery, Conquest, Topography, Legislature, Commerce, Finance, and National Productions of the Country. With a View of the Manners and Customs of the Spaniards and the Native Indians.* Translated from the French. London: Printed for Longman, Hurst, Rees, and Orme, 1807. 2 vols.

Dibdin, Charles (Jr.), *History and Illustrations of the London Theatres: Comprising An Account of the Origin and Progress of the Drama in England; with historical and descriptive accounts of the Theatres Royal, Covent Garden, Drury Lane, Haymarket, English Opera House, and Royal Amphitheatre. London: printed for the Proprietors of the 'Illustrations of London Buildings'*. London: 1826.

— *The Battle of Salamanca; and the Fall of Madrid; A Comic Sung Song by Mr Rees Junior at Sadler's Wells*. London: 1813.

— *Grand Aqua-Drame, Vive le Roi; or, The White Cockade*. London: W. Glendinning, 1814.

— *Recitatives, Duets, Trios, Chorusses etc with a description of the scenery and other decorations, also the fables and arguments of the Various pieces now performing at the Aquatic Theatre, Sadler's Wells*. London: Printed by W. Glendinning, 1809.

— *Songs, Duets, Recitatives, Chorusses, &c ad other vocal compositions; and a description of the scenery, in the New Grand Aquatic Melo-Dramatic Spectacle, called 'The White Witch; or, The Cataract of Amazonia', with the argument of the piece*. London: Printed by W. Glendinning, 1808.

— *Songs, Glees, Duettos, &c in The Rent Day, or The Yeoman's Friend*. London: Printed for the Author by R. Cantwell, 1808.

— *Songs, and other Vocal compositions, with a description of the scenery, in the New Comic Pantomime called Dulce Domum; Or, England, Land of Freedom!* London: Printed by W. Glendinning, 1811.

— *Songs and Other Vocal Compositions in the New Pantomime called 'London; or Harlequin & Times'*. London: 1813.

— *Songs, and other vocal compositions in the new splendid Aqua-drame, called 'Johnnie Armstrong, or the Caledonian Outlaw'*. London: Printed and Sold by W. Glendinning, 1812.

— *Songs and Vocal Compositions in the New Aquatic Romance, 'The Wild Man'*. London: Printed by W. Glendinning, 1809.

— *Vittoria, or Wellington's Laurels*. London: 1813.

— *Vocal Compositions in the New Grand Aquatic Romance 'The Council of Ten, or The Lake of the Grotto'*. London: 1811.

Dibdin, James C., *The Annals of the Edinburgh Stage.* Edinburgh: 1988.

Dibdin, Thomas, *The Cabinet: A Comic Opera in Three Acts. First Performed at the Theatre-Royal, Covent Garden, Tues, Feb 9th 1802.* London: Printed for Longman, Hurst, Rees, and Orme, Paternoster-Row, 1805.

— *The English Fleet in 1342: An Historical Comic Opera, in Three Acts. As performed at the Theatre Royal, Covent Garden.* London: Printed for Longman, Hurst, Rees, and Orme, 1805.

— *The Reminiscences of Thomas Dibdin, of the Theatres Royal, Covent-Garden, Drury-Lane, Haymarket, &c*. London: Published for Henry Colburn, 1834. 2 vols.

— *Songs, Duets, Chorusses &c in the New Divertissement called Orange Boven; Or, More Good News. Medley Overture and Selected Airs from the works of Dibdin, Storace, Linley, Shield, Reeve, &c &c*. London: Printed and Published by J. Barker, 1813.

Dodd, William, *The Beauties of Shakespeare. Selected from Each Play: with General Index, Digesting them under proper heads.* London: John Bumpus, Holburn Bars, 1894.

Douce, Francis, *Illustrations of Shakespeare, and of Ancient Manners: with Dissertations of the Clowns and Fools of Shakespeare; on the Collection of Popular Tales entitled Gesta Romanorum; and on the English Morris Dance.* London: Longman, Hurst, Rees and Orme, 1807. 2 vols.

Dougall, John, *España maritima, or Spanish coasting pilot; containing directions for navigating the coasts and harbours of Spain, in the Atlantic and Mediterranean, with the Balearic islands and coast of Portugal. Illustrated with twenty-eight charts and plans, drawn from the Spanish surveys of Brigadier Don Vicente Tofino de San Miguel, Director of the Spanish naval Academies, &c &c &c.* Translated from the Spanish by John Dougall. London: Published by W. Faden, Geographer to His Majesty, and to His Royal Highness the Prince Regent, 1812.

Dutton, Thomas, *Pizarro in Peru, or the death of Rolla; being the original of the new tragedy now performing at the Theatre-Royal, Drury-Lane. Translated from the last German edition of Augustus von Kotzebue, with notes, &c. by Thomas Dutton.* London: 1799. Second edition.

— 'To the Lovers of the Drama. This day, Sept. 1, 1800, is published, price one shilling number XXVIII of the Dramatic Censor; or monthly epitome of taste, fashion, and manners'. London: 1800.

Estrada, Alvaro Flórez, *An impartial examination of the dispute between Spain and her American colonies.* Translated by William Burdon. London: Printed by C. Squire for Sherwood, Neely and Jones, 1812.

Fenwick, John, *The Indian: A Farce.* London: 1800.

Foote, Samuel, *The Mayor of Garratt; a comedy in two acts: as performed at the Theatres Royal.* London: Printed for W. Lowdnes, 1797.

Genest, John, *Some Account of the English Stage form the Restoration in 1660 to 1830.* Volume II. Bath: 1832. 10 vols.

Gillray, James, *James Gillray 1756-1815: Drawings and Caricatures*. [n.p.] The Arts Council, 1967.

Glanville, John, *Iberia: with an Invocation to the Patriots of Spain, A Poem. To which is added War; an Ode.* London: 1812.

Godwin, William, *Don Antonio: A Tragedy in Five Acts*. London: 1800.

Gough, James, *Bristol Theatre: A Poem*. Bristol: Printed by S. Farley, 1766.

[Greffulhe], *The Portrait of Cervantes* (1808). Huntington Library Larpent Collection. British Library Microfiche F254/666.

Guthrie, William, *A New Geographical, Historical, and Commercial grammar: and present state of the several kingdoms of the World...To which are added, A Geographical Index.* Glasgow: 1799. Fifteenth edition.

Hamel, Nicholas, *The World in Miniature; containing a Curious and faithful account of the different countries of the world, compiled from the best authorities.* London: 1800.

[attr. Hayley], *The Stanzas of an English Friend to the Patriots of Spain*. London: Printed for Westley and Parrish, 1808.

Hansard, T.C. [Editor], *The Parliamentary History of England, from the Earliest Period to the Year 1803.* Vol. XXXIII (03 March 1797-30 November 1798).

— Vol. XXXIV (December 1798-21 March 1800). London: 1800.

— Vol. XXXVI (29 October 1801-12 August 1803). London: 1820.

— *The Parliamentary Debates from the Year 1803 to the Present Time: Forming a Continuation of the Work entitled 'The Parliamentary History of England from the Earliest Period to the Year 1803'.* Vol. XI (April-July 1808) London: 1812.

[Hawker, Peter], *Journal of a Regimental Officer During the Recent Campaign in Portugal and Spain Under Lord Viscount Wellington: With a Correct Plan of the Battle of Talavera.* London: Printed for J. Johnston, 1810.

Hazlitt, William, *Lectures on the Dramatic Literature of the Age of Elizabeth.* London: 1821. Second edition.

Hemans, Felicia*, England and Spain; or, Valour and Patriotism*. London: 1808.

Heron, Richard, *Pizarro, or The Death of Rolla; A Tragedy, in Five Acts.* London: 1799.

Hill, Mary, *The Forest of Comalva; a Novel, containing sketches of Portugal and Spain, and Part of France.* London: Printed for Richard Phillips, 1809. 3 vols.

Hobhouse, John Cam, *The Journals of John Cam Hobhouse*, ed. by Peter Cochran. <http://www.hobby-o.com/index.php> [Accessed 05.05.09].

Holland, Lady Elizabeth V. Fox, *The Spanish Journal of Elizabeth, Lady Holland.* London: Longmans; Green, 1910.

Hook, Theodore, *The Siege of St Quintin; or, Spanish Heroism* (1808). Huntington Library Larpent Collection 1559. British Library Microfiche F245/700/1 and 2.

Howard, Earl Carl Frederick, *Thoughts upon the present condition of the stage: and upon the Construction of a New Theatre*. London: Printed for W. Clarke, 1808.

Humboldt, Alexander von*, Political Essay in the Kingdom of New Spain: With Physical Selections and Maps Founded on Astronomical Observations, and Trigonometrical and Barometrical Measurements,* translated from the Original French by John Black. London: 1811. 4 vols.

Inchbald, Elizabeth, *The British Theatre; or, A Collection of Plays, which are acted by The Theatres Royal, Drury-Lane, Covent-Garden, and Haymarket*. London: Printed for Longman, Hurst, Rees, and Orme, 1808. 25 vols.

Jacob, William, *Travels in the South of Spain, in Letters Written A.D. 1809 and 1810*. London: 1811.

James, Isaac, *Providence Displayed; or, the remarkable adventures of Alexander Selkirk...on whose adventures was founded the celebrated novel of Robinson Crusoe...To which is added, a Supplement, containing the history of Peter Serrano, Ephraim How.* London: 1800.

Jephson, Robert, *Two Strings to Your Bow: A Farce in Two Acts.* London: 1791.

Jones, Stephen, *Biographia Dramatica; or, A Companion to the Playhouse*. Vol. III. London: 1812.

Kelly, Michael, *Reminiscences,* ed. by Roger Fiske. London: Oxford University Press, 1975.

Kemble, John Philip, *John Philip Kemble Promptbooks*, ed. by Charles H. Shattuck. Published for the Folger Shakespeare Library, 1974. 11 vols.

Knox, V., *Elegant Extracts: Being a Copious Selection of Instructive, Moral, and Entertaining Passages from the Most Eminent British Poets*. London: Published by John Sharpe, 1810. 6 vols.

Lamb, Charles, 'On The Tragedies of Shakespeare, Considered with Reference to their Fitness for Stage Representation' (1811), in *English Critical Essays: Nineteenth Century*, selected and ed. by Edmund D. Jones. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1971.

— *The Last Essays of Elia*. [n.p.] BiblioBazaar, 2008.

Lamb, George, *Whistle For It! A Comic Opera In Two Acts, as performed at the Theatre-Royal, Covent-Garden*. London: Printed for Longman, Hurst, Rees, and Orme, 1807.

Landor, Walter Savage, *Count Julian: A Tragedy*. London: Printed for John Murray, 1812.

Lillo, George, *The fatal curiosity. A tragedy. By Mr. George Lillo. Adapted for theatrical representation, as originally performed at the Theatre-Royal, Hay-Market. Regulated from the prompt-book.* London : Printed for, and under the direction of, George Cawthorn, 1796.

Joveallanos, Don Gaspar, *Bread and Bulls, An Apologetic Oration, on the flourishing state of Spain, in the reign of King Charles IV. Delivered in the Plaza de Toros, Madrid.* Mediterranean: Printed on board His Majesty's Ship Caledonia, Off Toulon, 1813.

Juan, Don George & Ulloa, Don Antonio, *Voyage to South America: Describing at Large the Spanish Cities, Towns, Provinces, &c. on that Extensive Continent:*

Undertaken, by Command of the King of Spain. With notes and observations, and an account of the Brazils. Translated by John Adams. Illustrated with Plates. Printed for John Stockdale, Piccadilly; R Faulder, Bond-Street; Longman & Co.; Lackington and Co; and J. Harding, 1807. Fifth edition.

Kemble, John, *Lodoiska; an opera, in three acts, performed, for the first time, by His Majesty's Servants, at the Theatre Royal, Drury-Lane, on Monday, June 9th. 1794. The music composed, and selected from Cherubini, Kreutzer, and Andreozzi, by Mr Storace.* London: Printed for G. G. and J. Robinson, [1794]. Second edition.

— *The Pannel. As altered by J. P. Kemble. From Bickerstaff's translation of Calderon's El escondido y la trapada; and first acted at the Theatre Royal in Drury Lane, November 28th, 1788.* London: Printed for T. and J. Egerton, [1789].

Lee, Sophia, *Almeyda, Queen of Granada: A Tragedy in Five Acts*. London 1796.

Lewis, Matthew, *Alfonso; King of Castile: A Tragedy in Five Acts.* London: 1801.

— *The Castle Spectre: A Drama in Five Acts* [1797], in *Seven Gothic Dramas 1798-1825*, ed. by Jeffrey N. Cox. Athens: Ohio University Press, 1992.

— *The Monk* [1796], ed. by Howard Anderson. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995.

— *Rolla; or, The Peruvian Hero: A Tragedy in Five Acts.* London: 1799. Second edition.

Lillie, John, *A Narrative of the Campaigns of the Loyal Lusitanian Legion, under Brigadier General Sir Robert Wilson, Aide-de-Camp to His Majesty, and Knight of the Order of Maria Theresa, and of the Tower and Sword. With some account of the Military Operations in Spain and Portugal during the years 1809, 1810, and 1811.* London: Printed for T. Egerton, 1812.

Livingstone, Robert R., *Essay on Sheep: Their Varieties – Account of the Merinoes of Spain, France, &c. Reflections on the Best Method of Treating Them, and Raising a Flock in the United States; Together with Miscellaneous Remarks on Sheep and Woolen Manufactures*. Published by Daniel Cooledge, 1813.

McQueen, James, *A Narrative of the Political and Military Events, of 1815; intended to complete The Narrative of the Campaigns of 1812, 1813, and 1814.* Glasgow: Printed by Edward Khull & Co, 1816.

Mackinnon, Henry, *A Journal of the Campaign in Portugal and Spain, Containing Remarks on the Inhabitants, Customs, Trade, and Cultivation, of Those Countries, from the Year 1809 to 1812.* Bath: Charles Duffield, 1812.

Malcolm, J P, *An Historical Sketch of the Art of Caricaturing. With Graphic Illustrations*. London: Printed for Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, and Brown, 1813.

Marmontel, Jean-François: *The Incas; or, the destruction of the empire of Peru.* London: 1777. 2 vols.

Merdant, Daniel, *The Abdication of Ferdinand; or, Napoleon at Bayonne: An Historical Play, in Five Acts.* London: Printed for F. C. and J. Rivington by J. Haddock, 1811. Third edition.

Montaigne, Michel de, 'On Cannibals', History 318 Week 11, 3 December 2007. <http://courses.csusm.edu/hist318ae/Montaigne%20essay.htm> [Accessed December 2008].

Montagu, Elizabeth, *An Essay on the Writings and Genius of Shakespeare, compared with the Greek and French Dramatic Poets. With some remarks on the misrepresentations of Mons. De Voltaire. To which are added, Three Dialogues of the Dead.* Sixth Edition, Corrected. London: Printed by Harding and Wright, for R. Priestley, 1810.

Moore, George, *Lives of Cardinal Alberoni, the Duke of Ripperda, and Marquis of Pombal: Three Distinguished Political Adventurers of the Last Century: Exhibiting a View of the Kingdoms of Spain and Portugal, During a Considerable Portion of that Period.* London: Printed for J. Rodwell, 1814. Second edition.

Moore, James, *A Narrative of the Campaign of the British Army in Spain Commanded by his Excellency Lieutenant-General Sir John Moore, &c &c &c. Authenticated by Official Paper and Original Letters*. London: 1809. Fourth edition.

Moore, John, *A Narrative of the Campaign of the British Army in Spain*. London: 1809.

Murphy, James Cavanah, *The Arabian Antiquities of Spain*. London: 1815.

Neale, Adam, *Letters from Portugal and Spain: An Account of the Operations of the Armies Under Sir Arthur Wellesley and Sir John Moore from the Landing of the troops in Mondego Bay to the Battle at Corunna. Illustrated with Engravings by Heath, Fittler, Warren, from the drawings made on the spot.* London: Printed for Richard Phillips, 1809.

O'Keefe, John, *The Castle of Andalusia. A comic opera in three acts. As performed at the Theatre-Royal, Covent-Garden.* London: Printed by H. Baldwin, for T. N. Longman, 1794.

— *The Poor Soldier: a comic opera, in two acts. As performed at the Theatre-Royal, Covent-Garden*. London: Printed by A. Strahan, for T. N. Longman and O. Rees, 1800.

Oldys, William (Editor), *The Harleian Miscellany: A Collection of Scarce, Curious, and Entertaining Pamphlets and Tracts, as well in manuscript as in print. Selected from the library of Edward Harley, Second Earl of Oxford. Interspersed with Historical, Political, and Critical Annotations, by the late William Oldys, Esq. and*

Some Additional Notes, by Thomas Park, FSA. London: Printed for John White, and John Murray, 1809. Volume II.

— *The Harleian Miscellany: A Collection of Scarce, Curious, and Entertaining Pamphlets and Tracts, as well in Manuscript as in Print. Selected from the Library of Edward Harley, Second Earl of Oxford, Interspersed with Historical, Political, and Critical Annotations by the late William Oldys, Esq, and some additional notes by Thomas Park, FSA.* London: Printed for White and Cochrane, and John Murray; and John Harding, 1811. Volume III.

Ormsby, Rev. James Wilmont, *An Account of the Operations of the British Army and the state and sentiments of the people of Portugal and Spain, during the campaigns of the years 1808 & 1809. In a Series of Letters. By the Rev. James Wilmont Ormsby, A.M. Chaplain on the Staff, &c.* London: Printed for James Carpenter, 1809. 2 vols.

Otway, Thomas, *Venice Preserv'd*. London: 1682.

Oulton, Walley Chamberlain, *The Beauties of Kotzebue; Containing the most interesting Scenes, Sentiments, Speeches, &c. in all his Admired Dramas Freely Translated; Corrected and Digested Under Appropriate Heads, Alphabetically Arranged: with Biographical Anecdotes of the Author; a Summary of his Dramatic Fables and Cursory Remarks.* London: 1800.

— *A History of the Theatres of London, Containing an Annual Register Of new pieces, revivals, pantomimes, &c. With Occasional Notes and Anecdotes. Being a Continuation of Victor's & Oulton's Histories from the year 1795 to 1817 inclusive.* London: Printed for C. Chapple, 1818. 3 vols.

Padron, Antonio*, The Tribunal of the Inquisition: and Bread and Bulls. The Speech of Doctor D. Antonio Joseph Ruiz de Padron, Deputy to the Cortes, from the Canary Islands, Spoken in the sitting of January 18th, 1813, relative to the Inquisition.* Mediterranean: Printed on board His Majesty's Ship Caledonia, Off Toulon, 1813.

Pasley, Charles William, *Essay on the Military policy and Institutions of the British Empire*. London: Printed for Edmund Lloyd, 1811.

[Philipi, (pseud.)], *A Peep into the Theatre-Royal, Manchester; With Some Remarks on the Merits and Demerits of the Performers.* Manchester: 1800.

Pinkerton, John, *A general collection of the best and most interesting voyages and travels in all parts of the world; many of which are now first translated into English. Digested on a new plan, by John Pinkerton, author of Modern Geography, &c &c. Illustrated with Plates.* London: Published for Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, and Brown, 1814.

Plumptre, Anne, *Pizarro. The Spaniards in Peru; or, the death of Rolla.* London: 1799.

Plumptre, James, *Discourses on the Stage: Four Discourses on Subjects Relating to the Amusement of the Stage*. London: 1808.

Pocock, Isaac, *John of Paris; A Comic Opera, in Two Acts. First Performed at the Theatre-Royal, Covent Garden, Saturday, November 12th 1814.* London: Printed for John Miller, 1814.

— *The Miller and His Men, A Melo-Drama in Two Acts, as performed at the Theatre-Royal, Covent Garden, on Thurs. Oct. 2nd 1813.* London: Printed for C. Chapple, 1813.

Poole, John, *Hamlet Travestie: In Three Acts. With Burlesque Notes, In the manner of the most celebrated commentators; And other Curious Appendices*. London: Printed for J. M. Richardson 1811.

— *Intrigue; or, The Bath Road. A Comic Interlude in One Act.* London: Thomas Hailes Lacy, [1857-1867].

— *Othello Travestie: In Three Acts. With Burlesque Notes, In the manner of the most celebrated commentators; And other Curious Appendices*. London: Printed for J. J. Stockdale, 1813.

Power, George, *The History of the Empire of the Musulmans in Spain and Portugal, from the First Invasion of the Moors, to their Ultimate Expulsion from the Peninsula.* London; Printed for J. J. Stockdale, 1815.

Preston, Thomas, *The Jubilee of George the Third. Jubilee Jottings.* London: Whittaker and Co, 1887.

Pugin, A. and Thomas Rowlandson, *The Microcosm of London; or, London in Miniature, with thirty-two illustrations by Pugin and Rowlandson*. London: Methuen & Co, 1904. 3 vols.

Puigblanch, Antonio, *The Inquisition Unmasked: Being an Historical and Philosophical Account of that Tremendous Tribunal, Founded on Authentic Documents; and Exhibiting The Necessity of its Suppression, as a means of reform and regeneration. Written and Published at a time when the National Congress of Spain was about to deliberate on this important measure*. Translated by William Walton. London: Printed for Baldwin, Cradock and Joy; J. Booth, 1816.

Raymond, George, *The Life and Enterprises of R.W. Elliston, Comedian*. Illustrated by George Cruikshank and 'Phiz'. London: Routledge & Co., 1857.

Rede, Leman Thomas, *The Road to the Stage, contains clear and ample instructions for obtaining theatrical engagements To which is added a list of the London Theatres; copies of their Rules and articles of engagement; An Account of the Dramatic Author's Society; The Members; Scale of Prices; and A Copy of the Dramatic Copyright Act*. London: Published by J. Onwhyn, 1836. New edition, Revised and Improved.

Reiman, Donald (Editor), *The Romantics Reviewed: Contemporary Reviews of British Romantic Writers: Part A: The Lake Poets*. London: Garland Publishing Inc, 1972. 9 vols.

Robinson, Henry Crabb, *Diary, Reminiscences, And Correspondence of Henry Crabb Robinson*, selected and ed. by Thomas Sadler. Volume I. London: Macmillan and Co, 1869. 3 vols.

— *The London Theatre 1811-1866: Selections form the Diary of Henry Crabb Robinson,* ed. by Eluned Brown. London: The Society for Theatre Research, 1966.

Rocca, M. de, *Memoirs of the War of the French in Spain*. Translated from the French by Maria Graham. London: Printed for John Murray, 1815.

Ryan, Richard, *Dramatic Table-Talk: or, Scenes, Situations and Adventures, Serious & Comic, in Theatrical History & Biography*. London: 1825. 3 vols.

Sarrazin, Jean, *History of the War in Spain and Portugal, from 1807 to 1814. By General Sarrazin, one of the Commanders of the Legion of Honour; and formerly Chief of the Staff in the Corps of the Prince Royal of Sweden. Illustrated with a Map of Spain and Portugal, exhibiting the routes of the various armies*. London: Printed for Henry Colburn, 1815.

Schiller, Friedrich, *Don Carlos*, translated by Georg Noehden and John Stoddart. London: 1798.

Scot, Elizabeth, *Alonzo and Cora, with other Original Poems, principally Elegiac*. London: Bunney and Gold, 1801.

Scott, Honoria, *Amatory Tales of Spain, France, Switzerland, and the Mediterranean: containing The Fair Andalusian: Rosolia of Palermo, and The Maltese Portrait: Interspersed with pieces of original poetry*. London: Published by J. Dick, 1810. 3 vols.

Scott, Jane, *Eccentricities; or, Mistakes at Madrid; or, the Witch of the Village: A Burletta* (1814). Huntington Library Larpent Collection 1836. British Library Microfiche F 254/90/1 and 2.

— *Songs, Chorusses, Duetts, Trios, &c in The Bashaw; or, Midnight Adventures of Three Spaniards. From a Spanish Tale. A Melo-Dramatic Spectacle*. London: Printed by J. Smeeton, 1809.

— *Songs, duets, and Chorusses in the New Serio-Comic Burletta, entitled 'Disappointments; or, Love in Castille'*. London: printed at the Surrey Printing Office by T. Romney, 1810.

Scott, Walter (Editor), *A Collection of Scarce and Valuable Tracts, on the Most Interesting and Entertaining Subjects: But Chiefly such as relate to the History and Constitution of These Kingdoms. Selected from an Infinite Number in Print and*

Manuscript, in the Royal, Cotton, Sion, and other Public, as well as Private, Libraries; Particularly that of the Late Lord Somers. London: Printed for T. Cadell and W. Davies, 1815. Volume XIII. Second edition.

— *A Collection of Scarce and Valuable Tracts, on the Most interesting and entertaining subjects; but chiefly such as relate to the history and constitution of these kingdoms.* London: Printed for T. Cadell and W. Davies, 1809. Volume II. Second edition.

— *The Letters of Sir Walter Scott*, ed. by H J C Grierson. London: Constable, 1932-1937. Volumes II (1808-1811) & III (1811-1814). 12 vols.

— *The Vision of Don Roderick: A Poem*. Edinburgh: Printed by James Ballantyne; London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, and Brown, 1811.

Semple, Robert, *Observations on a Journey through Spain and Italy to Naples*. London: 1808. 2 vols. Second edition.

— *A Second Journey in Spain in the Spring of 1809.With Plates – 24 Illustrative figures of the costume and manners of the inhabitants of the Spanish provinces*. London: 1812. Second edition.

— *Sketch of the present state of Caraccas [*sic*]; Including a journey from Caracas through La Victoria and Valencia to Puerto Cabello*. London: Published for Robert Baldwin, 1812.

Shakespeare, William, *King Richard II* in *The Plays of William Shakespeare*, ed. by Samuel Johnson, Edward Malone, and Isaac Reed. Volume XII. London: 1801.

Sheridan, Richard Brinsley, *The Dramatic Works of Richard Brinsley Sheridan*, ed. by Cecil Price. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1973. 2 vols.

Sotheby, William, *The Siege of Cuzco: A Tragedy, in Five Acts*. London: 1800.

— 'Song of Triumph'. London: Printed for John Murray, 1814.

Southey, Robert, 'Carmen Triumphale, for the Commencement of the Year 1814'. London: Printed for Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, and Brown, 1814.

— *Letters from England: By Don Manuel Alvarez Espriella. Translated from the Spanish.* London: Printed for Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, and Brown, 1814. 3 vols. Third edition.

— *Letters Written During a Short Residence in Spain and Portugal, with some Account of Spanish and Portugueze Poetry*. London: 1797. 2 vols.

— *Letters Written During a Journey in Spain and a Short Residence in Portugal*. London: Printed for Longman, Hurst, Rees and Orme, 1808. 2 vols. Third edition.

Smith, Adam, The Theory of Moral Sentiments. A. Millar. 1790. Library of Economics and Liberty. <http://www.econlib.org/Library/Smith/smMS1.html> [Accessed 18 October 2007].

Stockwell, Joseph, *The History of the Inquisitions: Including the Secret Transactions of those Horrific Tribunals.* London: 1810.

Stothert, William, *A Narrative of the Principal Events of the Campaigns of 1809, 1810, & 1811, in Spain and Portugal: Interspersed with Remarks on Local Scenery and Manners. In a Series of Letters*. London: Printed for P. Martin, 1812.

Thelwall, John, *The Thespian Preceptor; or, A Full Display of The Scenic Art: including Ample and Easy Instructions for Treading the Stage, Using Proper Action, Modulating the Voice, and expressing the several dramatic positions*. London: Printed for J. Roach, [179-].

Thriepland, Moncrieff, *Letters Respecting the Performances at the Theatre Royal, Edinburgh, Originally Addressed to the Editor of the Scots Chronicle, Under the Signature of Timothy Plain.* Edinburgh: 1800.

Ticken, William, *Santos de Montenos; or, Annals of a Patriot Family. Founded on Recent Facts.* London: Printed for N. L. Pannier, 1811. 3 vols.

Vaughan, Charles Richard, *Narrative of the Siege of Zaragoza*. London: Printed for James Ridgeway, 1809. Fourth edition.

Vyse, Charles, *A New Geographical Grammar: Containing A Comprehensive System of Modern Geography, After a New and Compendious Method, To which is added an Appendix.* London: 1800.

Walton, William, *An Exposé on the Dissentions of Spanish America: Containing an Account of the origin and progress of those fatal differences, which have bathed that country, in blood and anarchy. An explanation of the Social Footing of the Spanish Americans. The degradation of the Colonial system of Spain. The redress sought, and denied by the Cortes. Defects of the Spanish Constitution. Horrors of the Spanish Soldiers in Spanish America. Dreadful consequences to the British islands, from arming the Negores in Caracas. Mutual murder of prisoners there. A death war declared. Conciliation the only means of putting an end to those horrors. How England ought to establish her claims of a free trade, with Spanish America. This event advantageous to Spain. Great resources of that country. Only way of establishing a permanent government there, &c &c &c'*. London: Printed for the Author, 1814.

Weston, Stephen, *Remains of Arabic in the Spanish and Portuguese Languages. With a Sketch by Way of Introduction of the History of Spain,: With a Sketch by Way of Introduction of the History of Spain, from the Invasion to the Expulsion of the Moors: Also Extracts from the Original Letters in Arabic to and from Don Manoueel [*sic*] and His Governors in India and Africa. Appendix, containing a Specimen of the Introduction to the Hitpodesa Translated into three languages, the principal metre of which is that of the Sanscrit.* London: Printed by S. Rousseau,

1810.

Whittington, George Downing, *Travels, Through Spain and Part of Portugal: With Commercial, Statistical, and Geographical Details*. First American edition. Boston: Published by White, Burditt, and Co, 1808.

Williams, Helen Maria, *Peru, A Poem: in Six Cantos.* London: 1784.

Wilson, C. H., *The Myrtle and Vine; or, Complete Vocal Library. To which are added, biographical anecdotes of the most celebrated song writers.* Volume I. London: 1800. 4 vols.

Winston, James, The Theatric Tourist, a facsimile of the first and only edition of 1805 preceded by a facsimile of the original prospectus. London: The Society for Theatre Research and the British Library: 2008.

Wordsworth, William, *The Prose Works of William Wordsworth*, ed. by W. J. B. Owen and Jane Worthington Smyser. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1974. 3 vols.

— Gravil, Richard, and Owen, W. J. B., *William Wordsworth: Concerning the Convention of Cintra: A Bicentennial Critical Edition*. Humanities Ebooks, Tirril, 2009.

Woodley, Henry, *Portugal Delivered, A Poem. In Five Books, dedicated by permission to His Royal Highness the Duke of York.* London: Published by A. K. Newman, and Co., 1812.

Wright, F.B., *A History of Religious Persecutions From the Apostolic Age to the present time: And of the Inquisition of Spain, Portugal, and Goa*. Liverpool: Printed for Robinson and Sons, 1816.

Secondary Sources

UNPUBLISHED MATERIAL

Chandler, David, 'Norwich Literature 1788-1797: A Critical Survey' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Oxford, 1997).

Leitão, Maria do Rosario Sampaio Soares de Sousa, 'Wellington na Poesia Portuguesa' (unpublished master's thesis, University Nova de Lisboa, 1990).

O'Shaughnessy, David, 'Theatrical Discourse in the Writing of William Godwin, 1790-1807' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Oxford, 2007).

Meagher, Shelley, 'Islam in Irish Poetry: Thomas Moore and the Early Union Years' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Oxford, 2006).

Wind, Astrid, 'American Indians in National Contexts: The Politics of Literary Encounter' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Oxford. Oxford, 2002).

PUBLISHED MATERIAL

Britain's Literary Heritage: Records of the Great Playhouses. Series One: The Sadler's Wells Archives from Finsbury Central Library, London. A listing and guide to the Harvester Microform Collection. Brighton: Harvester Microform, 1988.

A Directory of Rare Book and Special Collections in the United Kingdom and the Republic of Ireland ed. by B.C. Bloomfield, with the assistance of Karen Potts. London: Library Association Publishing, 1985; 1997. Second edition.

Studies in English Theatre History – In Memory of Gabrielle Enthoven, O.B.E. First President of the Society for Theatre Research, 1948-1950. London: Printed for the Society for Theatre Research, 1952.

Alexander, Catherine M, 'Shakespeare in the Eighteenth Century: Criticism and Research', *Shakespeare Survey*, 51 (1998), 1-16.

Alford, W E, 'The Economic Development of Bristol in the Nineteenth Century: An Enigma?', in *Essays in Bristol and Gloucestershire History*, ed. by Patrick McGrath & John Cannon. Bristol: Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society, 1976, 217-251.

Almeida, Joselyn M., 'Conquest and Slavery in Robert Southey's *Madoc* and James Montgomery's *The West Indies'*, in *Robert Southey and the Contexts of English Romanticism,* ed. by Lynda Pratt. Hampshire: Ashgate, 2006, pp. 151-165.

Altree, Ann, 'The Georgian Theatre', in *Treasures of the Morrab: A Penzance library that has more than books,* ed. by June Palmer. Penzance: Penwith Local History Group, 2005.

Anderson, Benedict, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. London: Verso, 1983: rpt 2006.

Armitage, David, *Ideological Origins of the British Empire*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000.

Arundell, Dennis, *The Story of Sadler's Wells, 1683-1964*. London: Hamish Hamilton, 1965.

Arronte, M Eugenio Perojo,'Imaginative Romanticism and the Search for a Transcendental Art: Coleridge's Poetry and Poetics in Nineteenth-Century Spain', in *The Reception of S T Coleridge in Europe,* ed. by Elinor Shaffer and Edoardo Zuccato. London: Continuum Press, 2007, pp. 135-166.

Aspinall, Arthur, *Politics and the Press c. 1780-1850*. Brighton, Sussex: The Harvester Press Ltd, 1949; 1973.

Aston, Nigel. "Symmons, Charles (1749–1826)." Oxford Dictionary of National Biography. Ed. H. C. G. Matthew and Brian Harrison. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004. <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/26884> [Accessed 31 October 2008]

Atkin, Nicholas, *Priests, Prelates and People: A History of European Catholicism Since 1750*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003.

Backscheider, Paula, *Spectacular Politics: Theatrical Power and Mass Culture in Early Modern England*. London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993.

Baer, Marc. "Burdett, Sir Francis, fifth baronet (1770–1844)." In *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, ed. by H. C. G. Matthew and Brian Harrison. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004. Online ed., ed. by Lawrence Goldman, May 2009. http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/3962 (Accessed 05.08.09).

— *Theatre and Disorder in Late Georgian London*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992.

Bainbridge, Simon, *British Poetry and the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003.

— *Napoleon and English Romanticism*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995.

Banerji, Christine and Donald, Diana, *Gillray Observed: The Earliest Account of His Caricatures in 'London und Paris'*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999.

Bann, Stephen, *Romanticism and the Rise of History*. New York: Twayne Publishers, 1995.

Barker, Hannah, *Newspapers, Politics and Public Opinion in Late Eighteenth-Century England.* Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998.

Barker, Kathleen, *Bristol at Play: Five Centuries of Live Entertainment*. Wiltshire: Moonraker Press, 1976.

— The Theatre Royal, Bristol 1766-1966: Two Centuries of Stage History. London: The Society for Theatre Research, 1974.

Barrell, John, *'Exhibition Extraordinary!!' Radical Broadsides of the mid-1790s.* Nottingham: Trent Editions, 2001.

— *Poetry, Language and Politics*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1988.

— *The Spirit of Despotism: Invasions of Privacy in the 1790s.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006.

Bate, Jonathan, *The Genius of Shakespeare*. London: Picador, 1997.

— *The Romantics on Shakespeare*. London: Penguin Books, 1992.

— *Shakespearean Constitutions: Politics, Theatre, Criticism, 1730-1830*.Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989.

— 'Shakespeare, Imagination, Romanticism', in *Shakespeare and the English Romantic Imagination*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986, pp. 1-121.

Belaunde, Víctor Andrés, *Bolivar and the Political Thought of the Spanish American Revolution*. Baltimore: John Hopkins, 1938.

Benedict, Barbara M, "Roach, John (fl. 1789–1796)." Oxford Dictionary of National Biography. Ed. H. C. G. Matthew and Brian Harrison. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004. <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/23703>. [Accessed 3 March 2008]

Benítez, Rubén and Francés, María Elena, *'Introduction' to José María Blanco White: Vargas: Noevla Española.* Alicante: Instituto de Cultura Juan Gil-Albert, 1995.

Bindman, David, *The Shadow of the Guillotine: Britain and the French Revolution*. [London]: British Museum Publications, 1989.

Black, Jeremy, *Britain as a Military Power 1688-1815.* London: USL Press Ltd, 1999.

— *The British Grand Tour*. London: Croom Helm, 1985.

— *The English Press in the Eighteenth Century*. London: Croom Helm, 1987.

Bolam, Robyn, 'Richard II: Shakespeare and the Languages of the Stage', in *The Cambridge Companion to Shakespeare's History Plays*, ed. by Michael Hattaway. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 141-157.

Borsay, Peter (Editor), *The Eighteenth Century Town: A Reader in English Urban History 1688-1820.* London: Longman, 1990.

— *The English Urban Renaissance: Culture and Society in the Provincial Town 1660-1770*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989.

— *Provincial Towns in Early Modern England and Ireland. Change, Convergence and Diversion*, ed. by Peter Borsay and Lindsay Proudfoot. Oxford: Published for the British Academy by Oxford University Press, 2002.

Brewer, John, *The Common People and Politics, 1750-1790s*. Cambridge: Chadwyck-Healey, 1986.

— *The Pleasures of the Imagination: English Culture in the Eighteenth Century.* London: Harper Collins, 1997.

Broers, Michael, *Europe Under Napoleon 1799-1815.* London: Holder Headline Group, 1996.

Bromwich, David, *Hazlitt: The Mind of a Critic*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1983.

Bruhm, Steven, *Gothic Bodies: the Politics of Pain in Romance Fiction*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1994.

Bulman, James C., '*Henry IV* Parts I and II', in *The Cambridge Companion to Shakespeare's History Plays*, ed. by Michael Hattaway. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 158-176.

Burling, William J., *Summer Theatre in London, 1661-1820, and the Rise of the Haymarket Theatre.* London: Associated University Presses, 2000.

Burroughs, Catherine, *Closet Stages: Joanna Baillie and the Theater Theory of British Romantic Women Writers*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1997.

Burwick, Frederick, *Illusion and the Drama: Critical Theory of the Enlightenment and the Romantic Era.* Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1991.

— *Romantic Drama; Acting and Reacting.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press: 2009.

Carlisle, Carol Jones, *Shakespeare from the Greenroom: Actors' Criticisms from Four Major Tragedies*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1969.

Carlson, Julie, *In the Theatre of Romanticism: Coleridge, Nationalism, Women*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994.

— 'Trying Sheridan's *Pizarro*', in *Texas Studies in Literature and Language*, 38 (3/4), (Fall/Winter 1996), 359-78.

Carr, Raymond, *Spain 1808-1975*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1982. Second edition.

Cass, Jeffrey, "The Race of the Cid": Blood, Darkness, and the Captivity Narrative in Felicia Hemans's *The Siege of Valencia'*, in the *European Romantic Review*, 17:3, (2006), 315-326. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/10509580600816751> [Accessed May 2009]

Cassin-Scott, Jack, *Costumes and Settings for Historical Plays*. 'Volume 4: The Georgian Period'. London: The Anchor Press, 1979. 5 vols.

Cavanagh, Dermot; Stuart Hampton Reeves, and Stephen Longstaffe (Editors), *Shakespeare's Histories and Counter-Histories.* Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2006.

Chancellor, E. Beresford, *The Pleasure Haunts of London during four centuries.* London: Constable & Company, 1925.

Chalklin, C. W., *The Provincial Towns of Georgian England: A Study of the Building Process 1740-1820.* London: Edward Arnold, 1974.

Chandler, David, *Dictionary of the Napoleonic Wars.* Hertfordhire: Wordsworth Editions, 1979.

Chandler, James, 'History' in *The Oxford Companion to the Romantic Age: British culture, 1776-1832,* general editor Iain McCalman. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999, pp. 355-61.

Chase, Malcolm, 'From Millennium to Anniversary: The Concept of the Jubilee in Late Eighteenth- and Nineteenth-Century England', in *Past & Present*, No. 129 (November 1990), 132-147.

Child, Harold, *The Shakespearean Productions of John Philip Kemble*. London: Published for the Shakespeare Association by Oxford University Press, 1935.

Choudhury, Mita S, 'Imperial Licenses, Borderless Topographies, and the Eighteenth-Century British Theatre', in *Of Borders and Thresholds: Theatre History, Practice, and Theory*, ed. by Michael Kobialka. London: University of Minnesota Press, 1999, pp. 70-105.

Christie, Ian R., *Wars and Revolutions: Britain 1760-1815.* London: Edward Arnold, 1982.

Clark, Peter (Editor), *The Cambridge Urban History of Britain.* Volume II: 1540-1840. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000.

— The Transformation of English Provincial Towns 1600-1800. London: Hutchinson, 1984.

Clayton, Christopher. "Richardson, Joseph (1755–1803)." Oxford Dictionary of National Biography. Ed. H. C. G. Matthew and Brian Harrison. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004. Online ed. Ed. Lawrence Goldman. Jan. 2008. <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/23573> [Accessed 5 November 2008].

Coffman, Ralph J., *Coleridge's Library: A Bibliography of Books Owned or Read by Samuel Taylor Coleridge*. Boston, Mass: G K Hall & Co, 1987.

Colley, Linda, 'The Apotheosis of George III: Loyalty, Royalty and the British Nation 1760-1820', in *Past & Present*, No. 102 (February 1984), 94-129.

— *Britons: Forging the Nation, 1707*-1837. London: Yale, 1992; 2005.

Colmer, John, *Coleridge: Critic of Society.* Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1959.

Conolly, Leonard W, *The Censorship of English Drama 1737-1824*. San Marino: The Huntington Library, 1976.

Cox, Jeffrey, 'The French Revolution in the English Theatre', in *History & Myth: Essays on English Romantic Literature,* ed. by Stephen Behrendt. Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1990, pp. 33-53.

— 'Ideology and Genre in the British Revolutionary Drama of the 1790s', *English Literary History* 58:3 (Autumn 1991), 579-610.

Cox, Philip, *Reading Adaptations : Novels and Verse Narratives on the Stage 1790-1840.* Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000.

Crane, Harvey: *Playbills: A history of the theatre in the West Country*. Plymouth: Macdonald & Evans Ltd., 1980.

Cranmer, David, 'A Batalha do Bussaco: Um retrato musical', in *Coloquio: A Guerra Peninsular*, *perspectivas multidisciplinarias*, ed. by Maria Leonor Machado de Sousa. Lisbon: Comissão Portuguesa de História Militar/Centro de Estudos Anglo-Portugueses, 2008. Volume II, 239-244. 2 volumes.

— 'Opera in Portugal or Portuguese Opera? Is there Such a Thing as Portuguese Opera?' in *The Musical Times*, 135. 1821 (November 1994), 692-696.

Crawford, Robert*, Devolving English Literature.* Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992.

Crook, J. Mordaunt. "Britton, John (1771–1857)." Oxford Dictionary of National Biography. Ed. H. C. G. Matthew and Brian Harrison. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004. Online ed. Ed. Lawrence Goldman. Jan. 2008. <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/3458> [Accessed 5 May 2008].

Cruz, Manuel Ivo, *O Teatro Nacional de São Carlos*. Porto: Lello & Irmão Editores, 1992.

Cunningham, John E., *Theatre Royal: The History of the Theatre Royal, Birmingham.* Oxford: George Arnold, 1950.

Daniels, Barry, *Revolution in the Theatre: French Romantic Theories of Drama*. London: Greenwood Press, 1983.

Davies, Godfrey, 'The Whigs and the Peninsular Wars', in *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, Fourth Series, ii (1919), 113-131.

Davis, Leith; Ian Duncan, and Janet Sorensen, *Scotland and the Borders of Romanticism*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004.

Davis, Tracy C. & Holland, Peter (Editors), *The Performing Century: Nineteenth-Century Theatre's History*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007.

Demata, Massimiliano and Wu, Duncan, *British Romanticism and the 'Edinburgh Review': Bicentenary Essays*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan. 2002.

DeRochi, Jack, 'Removing the Romantic Rubric: The Dramatic Sameness of Sheridan and Coleridge', in *Restoration and Eighteenth-Century Theatre Research*, 17 (Summer-Winter 2002), 51-70.

Dobson, Michael, *The Making of the National Poet: Shakespeare, Adaptation and Authorship 1660-1769*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992.

Donohue, Joseph, "Burletta and the Early Nineteenth-Century English Theatre," in *Nineteenth Century Theatre Research* 1 (Spring 1973), 29-51.

— *Dramatic Character in the English Romantic Age*. New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1970.

Duffy, Michael, *The Englishman and the Foreigner*. Cambridge: Chadwyck-Healey, 1986.

Eagleton, Terry, *The Function of Criticism: From the Spectator to Poststructuralism.* London: Verson, 1984: rpt 1990.

Ellingson, Ter, *The Myth of the Noble Savage.* London: University of California Press, 2001.

Elliott, John, *Spain and its World 1500-1700*. London: Yale University Press, 1989.

Eberle-Sinatra, Michael, *Leigh Hunt and the London Literary Scene: A reception history of his major works, 1805-1828*. Oxon: Routledge, 2005.

Epstein Nord, Deborah: 'The City as Theatre: From Georgian to Early Victorian London', in *Victorian Studies,* 31. 2 (Winter 1988), 159-188.

Erdman, David, 'Coleridge as Editorial Writer', in *Power & Consciousness,* ed. by Conor Cruise O'Brien & William Dean Vanech. London: University of London Press Ltd. 1969, pp. 183-202.

Esdaile, Charles, *Napoleon's Wars: An International History, 1803-1815*. London: Allen Lane (Penguin), 2007.

— *The Peninsular War: A New History*. London: Penguin Books, 2002.

Everett, Barbara, 'Spanish Othello: The Making of Shakespeare's Moor', in *Shakespeare Survey,* Vol. 35 (1982), 101-12.

Findlay, Bill (Editor)*, A History of Scottish Theatre.* Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1998.

Favret, Mary, *Romantic Correspondence: Women, Politics and the Fiction of Letters*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004.

Fergus, Jan, *Provincial Readers in Eighteenth-Century England*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006.

Foakes, R A, 'Shakespeare's Other Historical Plays', in *The Cambridge Companion to Shakespeare's History* Plays, ed. by Michael Hattaway. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 214-228.

Foulkes, Richard (Editor), *Scenes from Provincial Stages: Essays in Honour of Kathleen Barker.* Essex: The Society for Theatre Research, 1994.

Franklin, Alexandra; and Mark Philp, *Napoleon and the Invasion of Britain*. Oxford: Bodleian Library, 2003.

Freeman, Lisa, *Character's Theater: Gender and Identity on the Eighteenth-Century English Stage*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002.

Fremont-Barnes, Gregory, *The Napoleonic Wars: The Peninsular Wars 1807-1814.* Oxford: Osprey Publishing, 2002.

Fulford, Tim, *Romantic Indians: Native Americans, British Literature, & Transatlantic Culture 1756-1830.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006.

Gamer, Michael, *Romanticism and the Gothic: genre, reception, and canon formation*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000.

Gates, David, *The Spanish Ulcer: A History of the Peninsular War*. Cambridge MA: Da Capo Press, 1986.

Gibson, Jeremy and Mervyn Medlycott, *Militia Lists and Musters, 1757-1876.* Birmingham: Federation of Family History Societies, 1989, 1990.

Gikandi, Simon, *Maps of Englishness, Writing Identity in the Culture of Colonialism*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1996.

Gilmartin, Kevin, *Writing Against Revolution: Literary Conservatism in Britain 1790-1832*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007.

Gill, Stephen, *William Wordsworth: A Life*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989.

Hadley, Elaine, *Melodramatic Tactics: Theatricalized Dissent in the English Marketplace, 1800-1885*. Stanford, California; Stanford University Press, 1995.

Hall-Witt, Jennifer, *Fashionable Acts: Opera and Elite Culture in London, 1780-1880.* Durham, New Hampshire: University of New Hampshire Press/London: University Press of New England, 2007.

Harris, C. A. "Walton, William (1783/4–1857)." Rev. Ian Campbell Robertson. Oxford Dictionary of National Biography. Ed. H. C. G. Matthew and Brian Harrison. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004. <http://ezproxy.ouls.ox.ac.uk:2117/view/article/28659> [Accessed 23 March 2009].

Hartnoll, Phyllis, *The Oxford Companion to the Theatre*. London: Oxford University Press, 1967. Third edition.

Haslett, Moyra, *Byron's 'Don Juan' and the Don Juan Legend*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997.

Hattaway, Michael, 'The Shakespearean History Play', in *The Cambridge Companion to Shakespeare's History Plays,* ed. by Michael Hattaway. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002, pp. 3-23.

Hayes, John, "Rowlandson, Thomas (1757–1827)." Oxford Dictionary of National Biography. Ed. H. C. G. Matthew and Brian Harrison. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004. Online ed. Ed. Lawrence Goldman. Jan. 2008. <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/24221> [Accessed 29 March 2010].

Heinowitz, Rebecca Cole, '"Thy World, Columbus, Shall Be Free": British Romantic Deviance and Spanish American Revolution', in the *European Romantic Review*, 17:2, (2006), 151-159. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/10509580600687723> [Accessed May 2009].

Heller, Janeth Ruth, *Coleridge, Lamb, Hazlitt, and the Reader of Drama*. London: University of Missouri Press, 1990.

Hembry, Phyllis, *The English Spa 1560-1815: A Social History.* London: The Athlone Press, 1990.

Higgins, David, *Romantic Genius and the Literary Magazine: Bibliography, Celebrity, Politics.* Oxon: Routledge, 2005.

Hobsbawm, Eric and Ranger, Terence, *The Invention of Tradition.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983: 12th printing 2004.

Hogan, C B, *The London Stage 1660-1800.* Illinois: Southern Illinois University Press, 1968. Part 5: 1776-1800.

Holmes, Richard, *Redcoat: The British Soldier in the Age of Horse and Musket.* London: Harper Collins, 2001.

Humphreys, R A, *Tradition and Revolt in Latin America and other essays.* London: Weidenfeld and Nicholson, 1969.

Jackson, Russell, 'Before the Shakespeare Revolution: Developments in the Study of Nineteenth-Century Shakespearean Productions', in *Shakespeare Survey* Volume 35: 'Shakespeare in the Nineteenth Century' (1982), 1-12.

Jeffares, A. Norman, "Sheridan, Richard Brinsley (1751–1816)." Oxford Dictionary of National Biography. Ed. H. C. G. Matthew and Brian Harrison. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004. Online ed. Ed. Lawrence Goldman. Jan. 2008. <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/25367> [Accessed 31 October 2007].

Jones, Robert W, 'Sheridan and the Theatre of Patriotism: Staging Dissent during the War for America', in *Eighteenth-Century Life*, 26. 1 (Winter 2002), 24- 45.

Jupp, P J, "Perceval, Spencer (1762–1812)." In *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, ed. by H. C. G. Matthew and Brian Harrison. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004. Online ed., ed. by Lawrence Goldman, May 2009. <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/21916> [Accessed 5 August 2009].

Kamen, Henry, *The Disinherited: The Exiles Who Created Spanish Culture*. London: Penguin Books, 2008.

Keymer, Thomas and Jon Mee (Editors), *The Cambridge Companion to English Literature 1740-1830.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004.

Knight, William G., *A Major London 'Minor': the Surrey Theatre 1805-1865*. [London:] The Society for Theatre Research, 1997.

Kooy, Michael John, 'Coleridge's Francophobia', in *The Modern Language Review*, 95. 4 (October 2000), 924- 941.

Kruger, Loren, 'History Plays (in) Britain: Dramas, Nations and Inventing the Present', in *TheorizingPractice: Redefining Theatre History*, ed. by W B Worthen with Peter Holland (Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), pp. 151-176.

Leask, Nigel, *Curiosity and the Aesthetics of Travel Writing 1770-1840*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002.

— "Lewis, Matthew Gregory (1775–1818)." Oxford Dictionary of National Biography. Ed. H. C. G. Matthew and Brian Harrison. Oxford: Oxford

University Press, 2004. <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/16597> [Accessed 2 November 2008].

— 'Southey's *Madoc*: Reimagining the Conquest of America', in *Robert Southey and the Contexts of English Romanticism*, ed. by Lynda Pratt. Hampshire: Ashgate, 2006. pp. 133-150.

Lee, Nicholas, 'Introduction', *The Tryal [*sic*] of the Roman Catholicks*, by Henry Brooke. Bristol: Thoemmes Press and Edition Synapse, 2000.

Leech, Clifford, and Thomas W Craik, *The Revels History of Drama in English*, ed. by Michael Booth, Richard Southern, Frederick & Lise-Lone Marker, and Robertson Davies. Volume VI, 1750-1880. London: Methuen Co. Ltd., 1975-1983. 8 vols.

Leerssen, Joep*, Remembrance and Imagination: Patterns in the Historical and Literary Representation of Ireland in the Nineteenth Century.* Cork: Cork University Press, 1996.

Lindsay, David W, 'Kotzebue in Scotland, 1792-1813', in *Publications of the English Goethe Society.* New Series, Vol. XXXIII, (1963), 56-74.

Loftis, John, 'Whig Oratory on Stage: Sheridan's *Pizarro*', in *Eighteenth Century Studies,* 1975, 8. 4, (Summer 1975), 454-72.

Lopez, John-David, 'Recovered Voices: The Sources of *The Siege of Valencia'*, in the *European Romantic Review*, 17:1, (2006), 69-87. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/10509580500520842> [Accessed May 2009].

López Ocampo, Javier, 'Juan García del Río', Biblioteca Virtual del Banco de la Republica <http://www.lablaa.org/blaavirtual/biografias/garcjuan.htm> [Accessed 28 April 2008].

McCann, Andrew, *Cultural Politics in the 1790s: Literature, Radicalism, and the Public Sphere.* Basingstoke: Macmillan Press Ltd, 1999.

McGann, Jerome, *Don Juan in Context.* London: John Murray, 1976.

McPherson, Heather, 'Caricature, Cultural Politics, and the Stage" The Case of *Pizarro*', in *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 70. 4 (December 2007), 607-631.

Mackenzie, Donald*, Scotland's First National Theatre.* Edinburgh: The Stanley Press, 1963.

MacMillan, Dougald, *Catalogue of the Larpent Plays in the Huntington Library*. San Pasqual Press: San Marino, 1939.

Macy, Peter T., *Eighteenth Century Views of Bristol and Bristolians*. Bristol: Bristol Branch of the Historical Association, 1966.

Mahoney, Charles, 'Chapter 26: Coleridge and Shakespeare', in *The Oxford Handbook of Samuel Taylor Coleridge*, ed. by Frederick Burwick. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009, pp. 499-514.

Mander, Raymond and Joe Mitchenson, *Lost theatres of London*. London: New English Library, 1968; 1976

Mason, Pamela, '*Henry V*: 'the quick forge and working house of thought', in *The Cambridge Companion to Shakespeare's History Plays*, ed. by Michael Hattaway. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 177-192.

Matlow, Myron, 'English versions of *Die Spanier in Peru*', in *Modern Language Quarterly,* Vol. XVI, No. 16, (1995), 63-9.

— 'This is Tragedy!!!: The History of *Pizarro*', in *The Quarterly Journal of Speech,* Vol. 43 (1957), 288-94.

Maxted, Ian, *The London Book-Trades 1775-1800: A Preliminary Checklist of Members*. Surrey: Unwin Brothers Ltd, 1977.

Mayer, David, *Annotated Bibliography of Pantomime and guide to study sources*. London: Commission for a British Theatre Institute, 1975.

Melvin, Peter, 'Burke on Theatricality and Revolution', in *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 36. 3 (July- September 1975), 447-468.

Messenger, Charles, *Unbroken Service: The History of Lloyd's Patriotic Fund 1803-2003.* London: Redgate Press, 2003.

Miller, Jonathan, *Subsequent Performances*. London: Faber and Faber, 1986.

Miola, Robert S., 'Shakespeare's ancient Rome: Difference and Identity', in *The Cambridge Companion to Shakespeare's History Plays*, ed. by Michael Hattaway. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 193-213.

Moody, Jane, *The Cambridge Companion to British Theatre 1730-1830*, ed. by Jane Moody and Daniel O'Quinn. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007.

— 'Dictating to the Empire: Performance and Theatrical Geography in Eighteenth Century Britain', in *The Cambridge Companion to British Theatre, 1730-1830.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007, pp. 21-41.

— *Illegitimate Theatre in London 1770-1840*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000.

— 'Romantic Shakespeares', in *The Cambridge Companion to Shakespeare on Stage*, ed. by Sarah Stanton and Stanley Wells. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002, pp. 37-57.

Moore-Scott, Terry, 'Cheltenham's Theatre Royal (1782-1839), Cheltenham Art Gallery and Museum's Playbill Collection', in *Cheltenham Local History Society Journal*, 20 (2004), 10-17.

Mori, Jennifer, *William Pitt and the French Revolution, 1785-1795*. Edinburgh: Keele University Press, 1997.

Moro, Peter, *The story of the Theatre Royal, Bristol, opened 1766*. Bristol: Published by the trustees of the Theatre Royal, 1971.

Murray, Christopher, *Robert William Elliston: Manager*. London: The Society for Theatre Research, 1975.

Nattrass, Leonora, *William Cobbett: The Politics of Style.* Cambridge University Press, 1995.

Nettleton, George, 'Sheridan's Introduction to the American Stage', in *PMLA*, 65. 2, (March 1950), 163-182.

Nicoll, Allardyce, *A History of Early Nineteenth Century Drama 1800-1850: In Two Volumes.* Volume I. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1930. 2 vols.

O'Brien, Conor Cruise, 'Politics as Drama as Politics', in *Power & Consciousness,* ed. by Conor Cruise O'Brien & William Dean Vanech. London: University of London Press Ltd. 1969, pp. 215-228.

O' Hayden, John, *The Romantic Reviewers: 1802-1824*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1969.

O'Quinn, Daniel, *Staging Governance: Theatrical Imperialism in London 1770-1800*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2005.

O'Toole, Fintan, *A Traitor's Kiss: The Life of Richard Brinsley Sheridan*. London: Granta Publications, 1997.

Oliver, Anthony, and Saunders, John, 'De Loutherbourg and *Pizarro*', in *Theatre Notebook: A Quarterly Journal of the History and Technique of the British Theatre,* Vol. XX No. 1, (Autumn, 1965), 30-2.

Pagden, Anthony, *European Encounters with the New World, From Renaissance to Romanticism.* London: Yale University Press, 1993.

Park, Roy, 'Lamb, Shakespeare, and the Stage', in *Shakespeare Quarterly*, 33. 2 (Summer, 1982), 164-177.

Parker, Mark, *Literary Magazines and British Romanticism.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000.

Paulson, Ronald, *Don Quixote in England: The Aesthetics of Laughter*. London: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1998.

— *Representations of Revolution (1789-1820).* London: Yale University Press, 1983.

Peck, Louis, *A Life of Matthew G Lewis*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1961.

Peers, E. Allison, *The Romantic Movement in Spain: A Short History.* Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1949: rpt 1968.

Pellis, Valeria, 'The Fluctuating Shape of Authority: Some Reflections on *Pizarro*, from Kotzebue's Original Text to Sheridan's Great National Drama', in *Textus*, Vol. 20 (February 2006), 403-17.

Pemberton, Thomas Edgar, *The Theatre Royal, Birmingham 1774-1901: A Record and some recollections.* Birmingham: Printed by Cond Brothers, 1901.

Penny, John, 'Is the Economic History of the Bristol Region between 1780 and 1850 a Story of Relative Decline?', in 'Bristol Past', Produced by Paul Johnson, Last Updated 17 March 2007. http://fishponds.org.uk/brisecon.html [Accessed 13 December 2008].

[Penwith Local History Group], *In and Around Penzance During Napoleonic Times.* Penwith: Penwith Local History Group, 2000.

Peter, Bruce, *Scotland's Splendid Theatres: Architecture and Social History from the Reformation to the Present Day.* Edinburgh: Polygon, 1999.

Piesse, A J, '*King John*', in *The Cambridge Companion to Shakespeare's History Plays*, ed. by Michael Hattaway. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 126-139.

Pratt, Mary Louise, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation*. London, Routledge, 1992.

Ranger, Paul, 'A Matter of Choice: A Comparison of Locations and Repertoire in Some English Provincial Theatres', in *Nineteenth Century Theatre Research,* 10.2 (Winter 1982), 61-84.

— "Thornton , Henry (bap. 1750, d. 1818)." Oxford Dictionary of National Biography. Ed. H. C. G. Matthew and Brian Harrison. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004. Online ed. Ed. Lawrence Goldman. <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/38064> [Accessed 31 October 3008].

Reid, Christopher, 'Patriotism and Rhetorical Contest in the 1790s: The Context of Sheridan's *Pizarro*', in *Essays in Honour of Peter Dixon by Friends and Colleagues*, ed. by Elizabeth Maslen (London: Queen Mary and Westfield College, University of London, 1993), 232-249.

Rhodes, R Crompton, *Harlequin Sheridan: The Man and the Legends.* Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1933.

Richards, Kenneth and Peter Thomson, *Nineteenth-Century British Theatre: The proceedings of a Symposium sponsored by the Manchester University Department of Drama.* London: Methuen & Co. Ltd., 1971.

Rogers, Nicholas, *Crowds, Culture, and Politics in Georgian Britain*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998.

Rosenfeld, Sybil, *Georgian Scene Painters and Scene Painting.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981.

— *The York Theatre*. London: The Society for Theatre Research, 2001.

Roswell, George and Anthony Jackson, *The Repertory Movement: A History of Regional Theatre in Britain.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984.

Roy, Donald (Editor), *Romantic and Revolutionary Theatre, 1789-1860*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003.

Russell, Gillian, *The Theatres of War: Performance, Politics and Society, 1793-1815*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995.

— 'Theatrical Culture', in *The Cambridge Companion to English Literature 1740-1830,* ed. by Thomas Rymer and Jon Mee. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004.

Robertson, Fiona, 'British Romantic Columbiads', in *Romanticism: Cultural Concepts in Literary and Cultural Studies*, ed. by Michael O'Neill and Mark Sandy. Vol. 2 'Romanticism and History. Abingdon: Routledge, 2006, pp. 238-252.

Saglia, Diego, 'Borderline Engagements: The Crusades in Romantic Drama', in *Romanticism's Debatable Lands*, ed. by Claire Lamont & Michael Rossington. Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007, pp. 186-196.

— '"The Illegitimate Assistance of Political Allusion": Politics and the Hybridization of Romantic Tragedy in the Drama of Richard Lalor Sheli', in *Theatre Journal* Vol. 58 (2006), 249-267.

— 'Imag(in)ing Iberia: *Landscape Annuals* and Multimedia Narratives of the Spanish Journey in British Romanticism', in *Journal of Iberian and Latin American Studies*, Vol. 12, Issue 2 & 3 (August 2006), 123-146.

— '"O My Mother Spain!": The Peninsular War, Family Matters, and the Practice of Romantic Nation-Writing', in *English Literary History*, 65.2, (1998), 363-393.

— *Poetic Castles in Spain: British Romanticism and Figurations of Iberia*. Atlanta: Amsterdam, 2000.

— '"The true essence of romanticism": Romantic theories of Spain and the question of Spanish romanticism', in *Journal of Iberian and Latin American Studies*, 3. 2 (December 1997), 127-145.

— 'War romances, historical analogies and Coleridge's *Letters on the Spaniards*', in *Romantic Wars: Studies in Culture and Conflict 1793-1822*, ed. by Philip Shaw. Hampshire, Ashgate Publishing Ltd, 2000.

Salgádo, Gámini, *Eyewitnesses of Shakespeare: First hand accounts of Performances 1590-1890*. London: Sussex University Press, 1975.

Sanchez, Juan, 'Helen Maria Williams's *Peru* and the Spanish Legacy of the British Empire', in *Romanticism's Debatable Lands*, ed. by Claire Lamont & Michael Rossington. Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007, pp. 172-183.

Scott, Matthew, 'Chapter 10: Coleridge's Lectures 1808-1819: On Literature', in *The Oxford Handbook of Samuel Taylor Coleridge*, ed. by Frederick Burwick. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009, pp. 190-202.

Scrivener, Michael, 'Romanticism and the Law: The Discourse of Treason, Sedition, and Blasphemy in the Political Trials, 1794-1820'. Romantic Circles Praxis Series <http://www.rc.umd.edu/praxis/law/scrivener/mscrv.htm> [Accessed 28 April 2008].

Sepúlveda, Christovam Ayres de Malhães, *Diccionario Bibliográfico da Guerra Peninsular: contendo a indicação de obras impressas e manuscritas em português, inglês, italiano, alemão, latim, etc.* Coimbra: Imprensa da Universidade, 1924-1930. 4 vols.

Shaffer, Elinor. "Plumptre, Anne (1760–1818)." Oxford Dictionary of National Biography. Ed. H. C. G. Matthew and Brian Harrison. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004. 31 October 2008 <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/22399>.

Shattock, Joanna (Editor), *The Cambridge Bibliography of English Literature*. Volume 4: '1800-1900'. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999. Third edition.

Shaw, Philip, 'Introduction', in *Romantic Wars: Studies in Culture and Conflict 1793-1822*, ed. by Philip Shaw. Hampshire, Ashgate Publishing Ltd, 2000.

Sherson, Erroll, *London's Lost Theatres of the Nineteenth Century: With Notes on Plays and Players seen there*. London: John Lane the Bodley Head Limited, 1925.

Shipsides, Frank and Robert Wall, *Bristol: Maritime City*. Bristol: The Redcliffe Press, 1981.

Smitten, Jeffrey, 'Impartiality in Robertson's *History of America*', in *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 19. 1 (Autumn, 1985), 56-77.

Speaight, George, *The History of the English Toy Theatre.* London: Studio Vista, 1946: rpt 1969.

Steiner, George, *After Babel: Aspects of Language and Translation.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998. Third edition.

Spencer, Jane. "Inchbald , Elizabeth (1753–1821)." In *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, ed. by H. C. G. Matthew and Brian Harrison. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004 <http://ezproxy.ouls.ox.ac.uk:2117/view/article/14374> [Accessed 3 August 2009].

Spencer, William, *Records of the Militia & Volunteer Forces 1757-1945: Including records of the Volunteers, Rifle Volunteers, Yeomanry, Imperial Yeomanry, Fencibles, Territorials and the Home Guard*. Kew, Richmond: PRO Publications, 1997.

Stern, Tiffany, *Rehearsal from Shakespeare to Sheridan*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000.

Stockwell, La Tourette, *Dublin Theatres and Theatre Customs (1637-1820).* Kingston, Tennessee: Kingsport Press, 1938.

Stratman, Carl Joseph, *Britain's Theatrical Periodicals 1720-1967: A Bibliography*. New York: The New York Public Library, 1972.

Suleri, Sara, *The Rhetoric of English India*. London: The University of Chicago Press, 1992.

Stratman, Carl Joseph, *Britain's Theatrical Periodicals 1720-1967: A Bibliography*. New York: The New York Public Library, 1972.

Taylor, David, '"A Vacant Space, An Empty Stage": *Prometheus Unbound, The Last Man*, and the Problem of Dramatic (Re)Form', in *Keats-Shelley Review*, Vol. 20 (2006), 18-31.

Taylor, George, *The French Revolution and the London Stage 1789-1805.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000.

Thomas, Gordon Kent, *Wordsworth's Dirge and Promise: Napoleon, Wellington and the Convention of Cintra*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1971.

— 'Wordsworth's Iberian Sonnets: Turncoat's Creed?', in *The Wordsworth Circle* 13. 1 (Winter 1982), 31-34.

Thomas, H., 'Shakespeare and Spain: the Taylorian lecture, 1922', in *Studies in European Literature: The Taylorian Lectures Second Series 1920-1930.* Oxford: Clarendon Press, [n.d.]

Thomson, Peter, *The Cambridge Introduction to English Theatre, 1660-1900.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006.

Troubridge, St. Vincent, *The Benefit System in the British theatre*. London: The Society for Theatre Research, 1967.

Vaughan, Virginia Mason, 'Race Mattered: *Othello* in late Eighteenth-Century England', in *Shakespeare Survey* Volume 51: 'Shakespeare in the Eighteenth Century' (1998), 57-66.

Wahrman, Dror, *The Making of the Modern Self: Identity and Culture in Eighteenth-Century England*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004.

Waller, Philip, *The English Urban Landscape*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000.

Walsh, T. J., *Opera in Dublin: 1798-1820: Frederick Jones and the Crow Street Theatre.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993.

Ward, William S., *Literary Reviews in British Periodicals 1798-1820: A Bibliography with a Supplementary List of General (Non-Review) Articles on Literary Subjects, in two volumes.* London: Garland Publishing Inc., 1972. 2 vols.

Watkins, Daniel, *A Materialist Critique of English Romantic Drama*. Florida: University of Florida Press, 1993.

Watson, J.R., *Romanticism and War: A Study of British Romanticism Period Writers and the Napoleonic Wars*. Basingstoke, Hampshire; Palgrave Macmillan, 2003.

Watson, J.S., *The Reign of George III: 1760-1815.* Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1960.

Wearing, J.P., *The London Stage: A Calendar of Plays and Players 1890-1959.* New Jersey: Scarecrow Press, 1976-1991.

Wells, Stanley, 'Shakespeare in Leigh Hunt's Theatre Criticism', in *Essays and Studies*, Vol. 33 (1980), 119-138.

West, Shearer, *The Image of the Actor: Verbal and Visual Representation in the Age of Garrick and Kemble.* New York: St Martin's Press, 1991.

Wheatley, Kim, *Romantic Periodicals and Print Culture.* London: Frank Class, 2003.

Whitehouse, F. R. B., *Table Games of Georgian and Victorian Days*. Birmingham: Priory Press, 1971.

Wiesenthal, Christine S., 'Representation and Experimentation in the Major Comedies of Richard Brinsley Sheridan', in *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 25. 3 (Spring, 1992), 309-330.

Williams, Raymond, *Culture*. Fontana Press, Glasgow, 1981.

Wiles, R.M., *Freshest Advices: Early Provincial Newspapers in England*. Ohio: Ohio State University Press, 1965.

Wilmeth, Don B., *George Frederick Cooke: Machiavel of the Stage*. London: Greenwood Press, 1980.

Wilson, Kathleen, *The Island Race: Englishness, Empire, and Gender in the Eighteenth Century*. London: Routledge, 2002.

— *The Sense of the People: Politics, Culture, and Imperialism in England, 1715-1785.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995.

Winegarten, Renee, *Writers and Revolution: The fatal lure of action.* New York, Franklin Watts Inc, 1974.

Woolf, Virginia, 'Sheridan', in *The Essays of Virginia Woolf*, ed. by Andrew McNeillie, 3 vols (London: The Hogarth Press, 1986), I, 303-314.

Womersley, D. J., 'The Historical Writings of William Robertson', in *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 47. 3 (July- September, 1986), 497-506.

Worrall, David, *The Politics of Romantic Theatricality 1787-1832: The Road to the Stage.* Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007.

— *Theatric Revolution: Drama, Censorship, and Romantic Subcultures 1773-1832.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006.

Wyndham, Henry Saxe, *The Annals of Covent Garden Theatre From 1732 to 1897*. London: Chatto & Windus, 1906. 2 vols.

Young, Penny, *Two Cocks on the Dunghill: William Cobbett and Henry Hunt: their friendships, feuds, and fights*. Norfolk: Twopenny Press, 2009.