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Sin, History, and Liberty: Milton, Anna Letitia Barbauld, and Anne Grant in the Eighteen Hundreds

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SIN, HISTORY, AND LIBERTY: MILTON, ANNA LETITIA BARBAULD, AND
ANNE GRANT IN THE EIGHTEEN HUNDREDS

A Dissertation

Submitted to the McAnulty College and Graduate School
of Liberal Arts

Duquesne University

In partial fulfillment of the requirements for
the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

By

Justin J. Stevenson

August 2015

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Justin J. Stevenson

2015

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ANNE GRANT IN THE EIGHTEEN HUNDREDS

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Justin J. Stevenson

Approved July 14, 2015

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ABSTRACT

SIN, HISTORY, AND LIBERTY: MILTON, ANNA LETITIA BARBAULD,
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Justin J. Stevenson

August 2015

Dissertation supervised by Susan K. Howard, Ph.D.

My study examines the relationship between Anna Letitia Barbauld's Eighteen Hundred and Eleven, A Poem and Anne Grant's Eighteen Hundred and Thirteen, A Poem as well as Milton's presence in both texts. I argue that Grant does not merely offer a conservative counter to Barbauld's liberal condemnation of English politics during England's military engagement with Napoleonic France; rather, Grant provides a nuanced and balanced response to Barbauld in which Grant both acknowledges the faults of England and defends England as the source of liberty. Between these two positions is Milton, a towering cultural figure in England. Milton is not only a critic of English politics

but also a champion of liberty. Thus, politically and poetically, Milton is the link between Barbauld's and Grant's prophetic poems.

In the first section of my study, I sketch Milton's Augustinian theology and politics with particular attention given to the Judeo-Christian paradigm of sin in Paradise Lost; I also chart his position within England's history and culture from the time of Milton through the period of Barbauld and Grant. In my second chapter, I examine Barbauld's religion and politics and how they are manifested in her poem, a poem that positions England as a fallen nation with no hope for regeneration. Finally, I examine Grant's theology and politics via her poetic response to Barbauld; Grant adopts Milton in her positioning of England as the fallen Christian hero and torch of liberty for the world.

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All of you are responsible for whatever virtues I or my project may claim. For those, I cannot thank you enough. Of course, whatever faults within me or my work are entirely my responsibility.

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INTRODUCTION

The seed for this project was planted in a graduate seminar on Regency writing when I was assigned the double-edged sword of an obtuse text, that text being Anne Grant's Eighteen Hundred and Thirteen, A Poem.¹ I say a double-edged sword because, on the negative side, secondary sources on the author were sparse, and substantive sources concerning the poem itself could not be found; I had no starting point other than the poem itself to begin my project. On the positive side, there was little written about the author and no scholarship on the poem; therefore, without a body of scholarship steering me in any one direction, my reading of the poem could really take me anywhere. Thus, since Grant's text was critically uncharted territory, I saw engaging the poem both as a challenge and as an exciting prospect.

Naturally, I bring my previous knowledge and experience with me to the text that shapes my interaction with the work. Reading Grant's poem at the time was no different as I hurriedly read, took notes, and prepared for the next week's class. So, upon reading the title, I

¹ For the sake of brevity within parenthetical citations, I will use "1813" for Grant's Eighteen Hundred and Thirteen, "1811" for Barbauld's Eighteen Hundred and Eleven, and "PL" for Milton's Paradise Lost.

immediately noticed the nod to Anna Letitia Barbauld's poem Eighteen Hundred and Eleven, A Poem, which immediately brought much to the context of Grant's poem regarding England's involvement in the Napoleonic wars and gave my critical lens an intertextual and historicist angle. Furthermore, as I do in much of my reading, I read through a Christian critical prism, particularly filtered through Genesis and the first stories of the Bible, particularly the stories of the creation and fall of humanity.

Not only did the contexts of other literary works and events of the period help me as I worked through the text, but also the moment in which I lived, that present moment in history, influenced my reading, too. At the time, the attacks of September 11, 2001 were still fresh in the minds of every American, and the country was in the midst of war with Iraq. As it did for many Americans, the war impacted my family and me intimately in that my younger brother served in the Army; he was deployed as a part of the original campaign into Baghdad and removal of Saddam Hussein from power. (My brother would later serve a second tour, as well.) Therefore, I was keenly aware of the debate surrounding the United States's military involvement in the Middle East, and I was emotionally affected by the news of the war on an almost hourly basis.

Therefore, with this thick lens of the horrific events of that Tuesday in September that prompted a war against those who terrorize and those who harbor terrorists, I could not help thinking of some of the language in England, and within Barbauld's and Grant's poems, concerning England's war against Napoleon. On one side, France was seen as a source of terror and that Napoleon must be stopped as he invaded other countries for his own thirst for glory; thus, England was a defender of liberty who would pay the price in blood for the freedom of other countries and to be a source of liberty within the world. On the other side, some within England argued that France's endeavors were of no concern for England and that the English government should, instead, worry about domestic issues; England was the unjust aggressor who ignored the needs of the people within its borders and used impassioned, patriotic pleas for its own military and economic designs. In the "Preface" to his Political Essays, William Hazlitt criticizes the English government that "with coward hearts and hollow tongues invoked the name of Liberty [. . .] to get the people once more with their unhallowed gripe" (11).

This discussion from a couple of centuries ago closely paralleled the debate I heard and read within America, even

using terms such as "terror" and "liberty" in the politically- and emotionally-charged rhetoric. Paralleling the tyrant Napoleon, the Iraqi dictator was unjustly invading surrounding countries, such as Kuwait, for his own thirst for wealth and regional power and, in so doing, legally violated treaties from the previous Gulf War; therefore, conservatives argued that the United States had to be the enforcer of the law and defender against such invading forces, forces who also nested terrorists within its borders. America must be a source of liberty to defenseless countries. On the other hand, the United States government was accused of unjustly interfering in the business of Iraq and other countries and of going to war only for its own financial gain, through the control of oil, while wrapping its doings in patriotic rhetoric in order to gain popular support while ignoring the economic and social problems of its own people within America itself.

So, much of the debate concerning the war in Iraq was refreshed daily for me, as I would read the newspapers, watch the news, and think of my brother. The historical moment in which I was living was eerily parallel to the

historical context out of which Grant's text emerged.² I could not help bringing that experience, that lens, in addition to the counter text of Barbauld's poem, to my reading of Grant's text. Responding to Barbauld's liberal condemnation of the war was Grant's conservative justification for the war. Barbauld was MSNBC vilifying George W. Bush and America; meanwhile, Grant was Fox News being fair and balanced in confronting the forces and ideologies that threatened the universal principle of liberty and moral order while considering counter-arguments, as well.

Evan Gottlieb finds similar parallels in the debates in England regarding the Napoleonic wars and in America concerning the wars following 9/11. In his comparative study of Felicia Hemans's England and Spain and Barbauld's anti-war Eighteen Hundred and Eleven, he argues that Hemans's patriotic poetry offers a global view in which England is a catalyst for progress while Barbauld's poem is pessimistically anti-British and ends in England's extinction. While Gottlieb sprinkles his study with brief, unsubstantiated parallels between England's and America's

² My project is not that of Evan Gottlieb's in his article "Fighting Words," in which he makes, in his discussion of Barbauld's and Felicia Hemans's war poetry, several general parallels between the events and discussions surrounding the Napoleonic wars and those of the terror attacks of 9/11 in America.

responses to terror, I use the events of 9/11 simply as a muse, or inspiration, for my study, and I make no efforts in my study to draw parallels between England's war against Napoleon and America's war against terror. However, like Gottlieb, I juxtapose two poems that give two views on England's military engagement with France. Whereas Gottlieb studies Barbauld's anti-war response to patriotic Hemans, I examine Grant's pro-England response to Barbauld's condemnation of England.

Not only did I see unraveling before me this debate on war and principles, both national and international, both legal and moral, but I also started to see subtle echoes in Grant's text. Having become somewhat familiar with Milton's Paradise Lost in a previous seminar, I was noting images that not only reverberate the story of the Fall within Genesis but, more particularly, seemed purposefully to allude to Milton, which seemed to fit since the blind poet did concern himself with political discussions regarding warfare. Also, I am sure Grant's epigraph, borrowed from Milton's Samson Agonistes, positioned my critical point of view.

Thus, I had my rubric to examine the poem, to prepare my seminar presentation, and, later, to write my seminar essay. Later, I was pleasantly surprised to see my

professor's kind endnote that my paper could, one day, serve as a chapter for a dissertation. Thus, several years later with my younger brother safe at home with his wife and children, here I am.

In my project here, my challenges are similar to what I faced in my seminar project: little to no scholarship exists regarding Grant's Eighteen Hundred and Thirteen, A Poem.³ Examining a poem that has been largely unexamined to date presents many yet-to-be-blazed paths that I could take. The critical path that I travel is both historicist and Christian critical. Through an historical lens, I examine Grant's poem as a response to Barbauld's liberal attack on the English government--a certain point in time in English history as well as in the English literary milieu. Within this political debate via literature, I examine the literary context out of which Grant responds to Barbauld's Eighteen Hundred and Eleven, and Grant's retort has only been briefly referenced by scholars as one of

³ In my research, I have only found a few passing references to Grant's Eighteen Hundred and Thirteen: the aforementioned Gottlieb study briefly refers to it as a "lengthy" (340) response to Barbauld; William McCarthy mentions it in his endnotes as an "epic in praise of British victory [. . . that] owes quite a bit to ALB's poem, which it meant to rebut" (ALB 665); and Duncan Wu describes it as "a long poem [. . . and a] satirical exercise inspired by Barbauld's Eighteen Hundred and Eleven" (143). Hence, in my research, I have found barely three sentences regarding Grant's poem, and all of those critical remarks refer to it as a side note to Barbauld.

several "poetic rebuttals" (Gottlieb "Fighting Words", 340) to Barbauld.

Part of this context to appreciate more fully Grant's poem and see it worthy of more than a footnote to Barbauld is brought to light through a Christian critical lens. Dennis Taylor argues that such a religious critical lens is necessary to address the complex issues of the human spirit that literature engages but cannot be fully explored through secular critical methodologies. Though other critical lenses are useful, those secular engagements appeal to the mind but leave the human spirit wanting. A religious literary methodology empowers the reader to reconcile the text with the reader's personal search for meaning within the universe. It is critically important to realize that Milton, Barbauld, and Grant all shared a Christian worldview; it follows that they used their unique religious points of view to see the world and attempt to re-shape the world via their literature according to their Christian faith. The authors' senses of right and wrong, of good and evil, of the way things are and the way things should be all centered on their religious points of view. Hence, it is not only necessary to appreciate this Christian perspective as a critic, but as a human being with an innate yearning for truth and meaning, I see a

religious critical engagement with the literature as more satisfying, as well. As the poet writes to build God's kingdom, the critic reads to discover God's design--to recognize sin, to reform oneself with God, and to seek a life of grace and peace.

More specifically than just a matter of right and wrong, of grace and sin, Barbauld and Grant are examining the results of sin though from two different perspectives. Barbauld is examining the sin of England and its pending death whereas Grant is seeing the sin of terror (the tyranny of France), and Grant posits England as the Christian hero called to act like Christ--as a liberator for those too weak to break the bonds of sin and tyranny. Grant acknowledges that England, as Christian hero, is imperfect and does so in her allusion to Milton's Christian hero of Samson, God's appointed liberator who falls to self-interest, regenerates, and returns to liberate his people from pagan forces.

This Christian perspective is focused more finely through Milton who is a function of--is a presence that imbues meaning within--both Barbauld's and Grant's texts, though he is a complex one due to his own complicated politics and views on government. While Milton has often been characterized simply as one who opposes monarchy, I

argue that this view is somewhat too narrow; though he did oppose monarchy, he more specifically opposed those forces that were in violation of hierarchy, a disordering of God's original design and order. This political perspective is positioned upon his theology which follows Augustinian theological thought that sees sin as a violation of God's design--a sin against hierarchy. Both Barbauld's and Grant's poems subtly embed Christian and Miltonic structures and imagery, particularly but not exclusively from Paradise Lost; Milton's epic not only explores Genesis' story of sin, but it is also a cultural touchstone and a source of literary authority. With Biblical and Miltonic foundations, Barbauld's and Grant's poems present prophetic visions for England and the world through their re-examination of Genesis' fall of humanity, the results of sin, and the prospects of regeneration.

The critical discussions that inform my argument follow the order of my argument. In my first chapter, I open by shaping a Miltonic critical frame from the work of other scholars. Not aiming to be an in-depth study of Milton or of Paradise Lost, my opening framework serves as a touchstone to my examination of both Barbauld's and Grant's poems in my following chapters. As I begin to fashion this context, I turn to Andrew Hadfield, David

Norbrook, Karen O'Brien, and Nigel Smith who all provide useful discussions of the seventeenth-century mind and milieu in which politics and religion were not separate; so, as Milton speaks of things political within a religious framework, so, too, will Barbauld and Grant conjoin politics and religion. Following Milton's example and invoking his authority, the two poets examine England's war with France through a prophetic vision in which each explores sin and its consequences. Barbauld asserts that sin resides within England alone and, thus, England will face the consequences of sin: death. England will suffer a type of cultural death in that civilization and Barbauld's spirit of history will abandon England for America. On the other hand, Grant will acknowledge that England is not sinless; in terms of the Miltonic Christian hero, she sees England less as the sinless Christ and more as the flawed and fallen Samson. Though flawed, Grant's England will be the mediator of salvation in the fight against the Satanic Napoleon who flies through a chaotic Europe and threatens the Eden of England.

Regarding Milton's religious paradigm that informs my study, I owe a great debt to Peter A. Fiore who explains that Milton's theology follows an Augustinian theological tradition. What is most useful to my argument is

Augustine's and Milton's optimism and view of sin; both look for redemption through the mediator of Christ and see the need for regeneration due to sin, which is a perversion of God's goodness, a disordering of God's design--a violation of hierarchy. This, too, places Milton's politics in a new light in which Milton did not simply oppose central authority and did not align himself with Satan; rather, Milton was a critic of monarchy, a government that served its own interests rather than the interests of the people. Milton stood against a government that was in violation of the divine right of kings--a disordering of God's Great Chain of Being, a violation of God's hierarchy. As B. Rajan notes, Milton is subtle in his theology and politics, and I would extend this assertion and argue that Milton's Augustinian theology is reflected in his politics, as well. Milton's theological and political subtleties are echoed in the perspectives on chaos and order in Barbauld's and Grant's poems.

To buttress my argument concerning Milton's insistence upon divine order, I offer a sketch of his politics gleaned mostly from the scholarship of Edward Wagenknecht and, again, Norbook. As in his Augustinian theology, Milton is optimistic while realistic in his political outlook, too. Wagenknecht explains that liberty is the center of Milton's

political ideology, just as God's gift of free will is at the center of humanity, and that the power of government is given by the people in order to serve the people (89). As outlined in Milton's The Tenure of Kings and Magistrates, power originates from God, is given to the citizens, and then is transferred to the government in order to serve best its people; this divinely-ordered system of governance is what ties all peoples together and re-unites them with God. Therefore, a breach of this design creates disunity, just as sin creates separation in Genesis's story of the first sin and humanity's fall from grace. Milton's optimism, both theologically and politically, allows for a means to right political breaches in which liberty is threatened. Just as his theology recognizes the bloody price the Son, as mediator, must pay to restore the relationship between God and humanity, Milton recognizes the bloody means of war England must pay to restore liberty as its ordering principle. Though blood is not desired, the shedding of it is tolerated for the greater good. As Norbrook notes, it is in these clashes, in these contradictions of order and chaos and of human will and God's design, that Milton finds his subjects to explore, and he does so on an epic level, particularly in Paradise Lost, which explores contradictions between God and

Lucifer, Satan and humanity, and Adam and Eve. Likewise, the poems of Barbauld and of Grant adopt Milton's confrontation of political and cosmic crises, in which the former will reject Milton's toleration of war and his call for structure with a just central government; the latter, akin to Milton, will tolerate the bloodshed of war for the greater cause of liberty that centers the divine design.

It follows that the final section of my opening chapter will look particularly at Paradise Lost in terms of its reception in English literary history from Milton's contemporaries through the Romantic period of Barbauld and Grant. I do so in order to sketch a reception history of Milton and his work as he and his text grew in authority in English culture up to the time of Barbauld and Grant. I rely upon the scholarship of W. R. Parker, Bernard Sharratt, and James Thorpe who examine Milton and his works and how they were viewed over the centuries. The work of these critics shows that, during his lifetime, Milton and his epic did not enjoy the fame Milton thought he and his epic deserved. However, after his death, his reputation grew as did interest in his great epic. Over the centuries since his passing, Milton became a revered voice who gave England an almost sacred text in Paradise Lost; in other words, by the Romantic age, Milton was an iconic figure in

English culture, and Paradise Lost was a common text that was familiar to almost every literate citizen. It was a touchstone of common experience and a text that was accepted as authoritative (Sharratt 33-34). Therefore, subtle nods and allusions to Milton and his epic as well as to his other works, as I argue Barbauld and Grant make, would have been readily perceived by the Romantic reader and would have carried a special significance; thus, Milton's presence in their works would give greater weight to the arguments within Barbauld's and Grant's poems. As Milton invokes the heavenly muse to elevate his arguments, Barbauld and Grant invoke Milton to elevate theirs.

It follows in my second chapter that, as I examine Milton in terms of his theology and politics in my opening chapter, I then delineate Barbauld's religious and political points of view and how they play-out and engage Milton in her Eighteen Hundred and Eleven, A Poem. As Milton and his work provide contexts that open Grant's text, Barbauld and her work are not my primary points of focus either; rather, Barbauld and her work provide a foil to understand Grant's poem. Juxtaposed against Barbauld's work, Grant's poem serves as a conservative, though not partisan, response and counterargument to its liberal counterpart.

In order to access the politics and theology of Grant who pays homage to Milton, I must first examine Barbauld's theological and political points of view and how they manifest themselves and contrast those of Milton in her poem. As Milton has a cosmic vision, Barbauld has a global point of view in which she follows, what she calls, the spirit of history as it is leaving England to bring a new age to America. This global perspective, as Evan Gottlieb explains, contributes to her political and theological points of view that center on chaos rather than on order. McCarthy traces the roots of her ideology to her intimate knowledge of scripture, both the Old Testament and New Testament, and her dissenting religious tradition in which she is repulsed by the chaos and violence of the God of the Hebrews and Israelites; instead, Barbauld focuses on the Christ of the New Testament, but she chooses to see Him as a passive sufferer in the midst of untamable chaos rather than a Christian hero who battles evil and, in so doing, must shed His own blood to restore divine order. Lisa Vargo and Daniel P. Watkins discuss Barbauld's stoic pacifism modeled on a Lamb-of-God paradigm that plays out in her politics. Marked by chaos and restrained by pacifism, this outlook emerges from her poem, a poem that engages Milton to reject him. Barbauld's poem will prompt

Grant to poetically counter; in Grant so doing, her poem restores England and its greatest poet to its rightful place in God's creation.

With a basic sketch of her theology and politics, I then proceed to see how these are manifested in her Eighteen Hundred and Eleven, a prophetic vision of England's doom, and how Barbauld's poem subtly engages and rejects Milton. I first examine the structure of Barbauld's poem in relation to Milton's epic. Rajan and Abigail Williams argue that, in Milton's choice of genre and verse, there is an embodiment of liberty both politically and poetically; McCarthy notes that past poets, namely Pope and Johnson, rejected Milton in their denouncement of blank verse, as does Barbauld in her poem (369). Furthermore regarding the poem's structure, my examination of Barbauld's text follows the rubric of sin: a pattern of separation found in Genesis's story of the Fall and expanded in Milton's Paradise Lost.

Progressing from the form and thematic structure of Barbauld's verse, I also examine the poem regarding the themes of history and liberty as well as the idea of regeneration. What emerges from a close reading of the poem is Barbauld's perspective of a chaotic and arbitrary cosmos in which her spirit of history, which she follows in

the poem, abandons one civilization and moves to the next. Robert Jones, William McCarthy, Shannon Miller, Karen O'Brien, and Nigel Smith offer useful contexts of the notions of history and of liberty that poets used to address political topics. Barbauld poetically plots the arbitrary march of history that abandons England for America and, thus, leaves Barbauld's country in a fallen state. With the spirit of history having separated itself from England, the pattern of separation as a consequence of sin emerges from the poem, a tripartite pattern found in Genesis and expanded in Paradise Lost. Barbauld echoes the Bible and Milton in seeing the fallen England separated from God, from humanity itself, and from nature. The chaos in which England finds itself is due, the poem argues, to England's military and economic pursuits that leave its own people destitute and doomed. While she echoes scripture and Milton in this damnation, she then departs from these sources. While God and Milton both allow for humanity to be regenerated, Barbauld does not. Her poem is bereft of any return to unity, whether within England itself or with other nations. Instead, she prophesies its doom while passively observing the spirit of history make its departure across the Atlantic.

After examining Barbauld's engagement of Milton in order to reject his Augustinian vision of redemption, I turn my attention to Grant's response in her Eighteen Hundred and Thirteen. Grant both counters Barbauld and engages Milton, and she does each deftly. Regarding Barbauld, it is not a simple conservative rebuttal to Barbauld's liberal condemnation of the monarchy. Engaging Barbauld, Grant is both explicit and subtle in her adoption of Milton to shape and elevate her voice; she is initially purposeful in her epigraph taken from Milton's Samson Agonistes but then is subtle in her imagery within the poem itself. Again, Grant does not idealize England; if she wanted to do so, she would exclusively focus on Milton's Paradise Lost and equate England with the sinless Son; rather, she contextualizes her poem in terms of Milton's flawed Christian hero, Samson, who is subject to human frailty but possesses the divinity within, as a vessel of God's grace, to be a vehicle of regeneration for self and others. Thus, getting to the main focus of my study, I begin where others have chosen not to explore: Grant's poem itself. A close examination of Grant's Eighteen Hundred and Thirteen reveals a nuanced adoption of Milton both directly and indirectly as well as a balanced response to Barbauld in which Grant acknowledges the shortcomings of

England but extols England's virtue, despite England's guilt as the flawed Christian hero, and identifies England as God's vehicle or source of liberty for the world.

As noted earlier, the challenge of Grant's poem is that little to no critical context exists, unlike the much-studied Eighteen Hundred and Eleven of the much-anthologized and studied Barbauld. Thus, I rely upon the relatively sparse biographical and critical work on Grant and her better known works, including Letters from the Mountains and Memoirs of an American Lady. Scholars to whom I am most indebted for this peripheral context are Pam Perkins and Kenneth McNeil. With that said, no close reading of Grant's epic exists to-date; ergo, it is my aim here to add to the little scholarship that exists on Grant and begin a discussion on her long-ignored Eighteen Hundred and Thirteen.

As a starting point for my critical study, I focus on Grant's epigraph from Milton's Samson Agonistes that initially frames the poem. The framework of the flawed Christian hero prompts an examination of Grant's poetic genre and form, which counters that of Barbauld's poem and suggests, through its long form and its uplifting meter, the theme of salvation history. Counter to Barbauld's short-lived and arbitrary spirit of history that comes and

goes, Grant's text embodies salvation history--the history of God acting in the lives of His people--in that the poem, similar to the Biblical saga in which Christ ultimately lifts humanity out of the bonds of sin, is an epic work that moves England and Europe upward toward perfect unity that was lost to the sins of political self-interest and tyranny. Useful to my argument concerning notions of history, which grow out of the theme of salvation history and are embedded in Grant's poem, are the studies of James Chandler, Pam Perkins, and Simon Gikandi. Particularly useful is Chandler's explanation of Scottish-Enlightenment history, an understanding of historical movement in which one nation can propel forward the cultural advancement of other nations; his work contextualizes my argument that Grant positions England to propel forward other nations toward liberty, which contrasts Barbauld's portrayal of England as a doomed despot guilty of military and economic injustice at home and abroad.

It is this notion of liberty, with England as the source and hope for other nations, that becomes the focus of the remainder of my study. Grant's poem posits England as the divinely-ordained liberator through the scriptural and Miltonic images of light, preternatural unity, and savior. The image of light engages Milton's Lucifer. The

brightest of all of the Father's angels, Lucifer is a figure who warns England against falling to self-interest, as did Milton's Samson, rather than governing for the good of its people. Instead of being a Satanic light, the poem posits England to be the light of the world, the torchbearer of liberty.

As England serves the needs of its own people while also defending nations against unjust tyrants in order to unite all nations under the light of liberty, this unification of peoples serves as the poem's second sacred theme of preternatural unity. In the vein of the Bible's Genesis and Milton's epic that explore the loss of paradise, Grant's poem acknowledges a fallen England--like Samson, fallen to the temptation of self-interest rather than serving the needs of the people. In the prophetic tradition, Grant's poem warns the monarchy to right its wrongs in order to become, again, the torch of liberty. As the instrument to re-create God's fallen world, the poem offers a concrete vision that, reminiscent of Milton, does not revel in the bloodshed and loss at the hands of war but, rather, tolerates military engagement as a necessary means in battling evil. In Grant's poem, we see a vision that can be realized in human experience through concrete actions; Grant's prophecy counters Barbauld's vision that

is nothing more than that--a vision, an abstract idea that is pondered while her pacifism binds her, as does Milton's sticky seat of Comus's rhetoric, to watch her nation fall and remain fallen.

Finally, rather than remain mired in sin, the England of Grant's vision acts as an instrument of redemption--as the Augustinian mediator to which Milton clings and extols in Samson Agonistes, the flawed Christian hero in Grant's epigraph. Whereas Barbauld's prophecy ends in the fall, Grant's vision encompasses all of salvation history in which sin prompts a redeemer. Unity is enjoyed again. However, Grant's vision acknowledges the bloodshed and suffering necessary to win such a victory over evil; just as Milton's Christian heroes must suffer, so do the heroes of England: the men on the battlefields and the women and children on the home front. All of England united for the purpose of the greater good, to fight the tyrant Napoleon, will win the divine gift of liberty. As Christ is an instrument of salvation for humanity, Grant's England is the instrument of liberty for the world.

In conclusion, a seed was planted one evening in my Regency seminar when I was assigned the text familiar to nobody in class. From that one assignment, my life as a student of literature took on a new direction, a path that

I am traveling over a decade later in this study. Later, the world and my family was changed that day that airliners were used as missiles to destroy and murder. The war that was declared that day continues to this very day over a decade later. Though I do not equate the two events, the two are connected. Not only did one prompt my study of the other, but the horrific attacks of that Tuesday morning in September 2001 also helped me understand that such atrocities and dangers are not new under the sun. Both events helped me better appreciate what Anne Grant appreciated. Liberty is the divinely-ordained condition of humanity and must be defended against those who threaten it. As those singular events reverberate long after the moment, I hope this study prompts other scholars to examine Grant's epic poem, to appreciate its richness, complexity, and nuance, and to open it up for further critical exploration.

CHAPTER ONE

Milton's Religion, Politics, and Authority

And know we not that from the blind have flowed
The highest, holiest, raptures of the lyre;
And wisdom married to immortal verse?

(Wordsworth, The Excursion VII.534-36)

In his thumbnail sketch of how Milton has been appropriated by writers for three centuries, Bernard Sharratt notes T. S. Eliot's assertion that John Milton is a name that carries great literary weight (Sharratt 33).¹ Not only are there layers of significance--literal, biographical, theological, political, cultural--in the verse of Milton, but writers of his age and for centuries also have layered their works with allusions and nods to the author of, most notably among many great works, Paradise Lost.

Therefore, I open my study of Anne Grant's and Anna Letitia Barbauld's poems with a discussion of Milton since

¹ Bernard Sharratt's article is admittedly not a comprehensive study and does not give a balanced sketch of how authors, over a course of three centuries, have appropriated Milton. Despite this, Sharratt's article is useful in noting the critical attention given Milton by Joseph Addison in The Spectator, attention that wove Milton's Paradise Lost into the religious and cultural fabric of the eighteenth century and beyond. Also useful is Sharratt's nod to scholars who have more rigorously examined Milton's presence in English literature for three centuries, sources that are of significant worth later in this chapter.

both Romantic poets attempt to appropriate Milton for their individual purposes. Both Barbauld and Grant ground their authority as prophets upon Milton, the blind prophet-poet, and they both speak to England at a specific moment of crisis, the time of the war against the tyrant Napoleon. To address England at that moment, a time when England was not only determining its own future but the futures of Europe and of liberty itself, such voices had to be authoritative. Consequently, Barbauld and Grant set the tenor of and amplify their voices by invoking Milton, a figure that resonates in English culture not only in terms of his literature but also in his politics and theology. Hence, I see it as appropriate to discuss briefly Milton in terms of his religious and political stances as well as quickly sketch how other writers, since the time of Milton up to the Romantic age, responded to and appropriated Milton in their work.

I. Milton's Religion and Politics: A Man Unto Himself

As both Barbauld and Grant lived in a busy time of cultural, political, and industrial revolutions, Milton's era was marked by turbulence and change, as well. The seventeenth century was a busy time: a greater reliance on

reason and scientific enquiry; the emergence of science and reason juxtaposed against a cultural worldview rooted in religion; the Puritan movement within the Church of England; political upheaval and civil war. These happenings were not distinct from one another but interlinked to form a web of causation. One cannot distinguish, categorize, and separate events and movements as solely "religious" or simply "political." As Andrew Hadfield argues, "our understanding of the early modern period has been transformed by the realization that people did not divide up [their perception of] the world and the books that represent it" (111). Rather, Hadfield explains that "people read religious tracts, literary texts, scientific treatises, legal documents and other forms of writing alongside each other" (111) and urges us, as critics far removed from the moment, not to make the mistake of making rigid distinctions between and among categories of knowledge since people of the time did not make such partitions. Rather, the seventeenth-century mind blended these sources to make a tapestry of their intellectual and cultural milieu.

This blending was true not only regarding the casual reader of the time, but also for the great minds of the age. Leading up to and during the time of Milton, the

confluence of religious reformation and humanism prompted a river of political enquiry (Norbrook, Poetry 12) for Renaissance and seventeenth-century writers, and political theorizing was also complicated by the dissolution of Parliament in 1629 that made public political discussion and critique of government foreign policy illegal through the 1630s (Norbrook, Poetry 227).² Karen O'Brien affirms this notion of "inter-generic conversation" (O'Brien 168) in which "a sustained conversation with political thought [was] conducted in other forms of writing, such as treatises, dialogues, parliamentary speeches and pamphlets" (O'Brien 168), and this interplay between and amongst genres of writing continued into the eighteenth century and beyond.

Not only was there an overlap and interplay among categories of knowledge and modes of discourse, as Barbauld and Grant use their poetry for political purposes centuries later, but technology also contributed to the cultural tapestry woven with the threads of religion, politics, and art. Explaining the explosion of print culture, Nigel

² David Norbrook explains that literature was often a veil to address not only issues of art but also of politics, religion, and other issues. He examines Milton's Comus particularly in how it engages Ben Jonson's Pleasure Reconciled to Virtue and both writers' characters with the common name of "Comus". In the masque, Milton addresses not only issues of art but also of politics and of gender (Poetry and Politics 236).

Smith notes that English literature of the 1640s responded to the crises of the 1640s. English literature underwent a transformation both in genre and in form, and literature was at the center of the cultural revolution in England as literature "played such a predominant role in public affairs" (Smith 1) unlike at any other prior time in English history.³ The explosion of print literature aided the cultural influence of English literature; no longer was the readership limited to those within political and religious circles but now was available to a broader audience (Smith 24). This abundance of print at the disposal of the general public made literature a significant influence on public opinion, and both institutions and individuals vied to manipulate the public via literature (Smith 24). Therefore, in many ways, print culture--particularly literature--became a force that held sway over all other forces including science, politics, and religion.

As the advent of printing technology made literature readily available to a wide audience, the act of writing was now resituated within English culture as literature became a powerful cultural force. Writers now wrote not

³ Like David Norbrook's Writing the English Republic, Smith offers a study of literature in England during the 1640s effectively balancing discussions of history and literature.

only to address important political, religious, and other social issues, but also to influence popular opinion on those topics (Smith 32). We will see that Milton understood the reading public and was aware of literature's function within English culture, and later Barbauld and Grant will appreciate the political impact of writing upon English culture and politics.

B. Rajan affirms that a literate populace and, thus, an informed audience is important to writers in that they must consider the audience in order to shape their rhetoric, and Milton, Barbauld, and Grant all appeal to a knowledgeable readership. A well-informed audience is not an easily persuaded audience. When composing Paradise Lost, Milton was quite aware of his audience and wrote not so much to reveal overtly his own personal points of view but, instead, to have his work read and understood in relation to its audience (Rajan 15). In other words, Milton's great epic is to be read against a background that is public rather than a background that is personal and specifically Milton's (Rajan 17). Hence, Milton fashioned Paradise Lost with his audience in mind, an audience that commonly read similar books; were intimately familiar with the Bible; conversant in a system of divinity; literary enough to have read a poem or pamphlet on a topic addressed

in Paradise Lost; and cognizant of the themes of hierarchy, order and degree, Biblical typology in relation to the two Adams, deliverance from sin and Christian liberty, and the common man battling Satan in the arena of everyday life (Rajan 17-18).

Because the culture of Milton's period poses the challenge of a melting pot of knowledge in which science blends with religion and politics, all mixed with distinct allusions to this event or that figure, it is important to try to sift through the Miltonic milieu in order to identify some of principles and philosophies woven through the fabric of Milton's works. My basic sketch of some of the tenets that characterize Milton in terms of later writers, particularly Barbauld and Grant, is limited to the English poet's religious and political tenets since both Barbauld and Grant ground their political arguments upon a moral foundation, a foundation built by the bricks of religion. What Milton believed and thought religiously and politically, we will see, is not necessarily clear on the surface of his prose and his verse; Milton had to navigate carefully his public writings through the channels of public politics and religious doctrine in order that they were not simply discarded as treasonous or heretical. Hence, his public writings cannot always be unambiguously

identified with his personal views. A clearer understanding of Milton's theology and politics will help us eventually to see and understand how subsequent writers, including Barbauld and Grant, viewed and were influenced by Milton. This brief charting of a Miltonic tradition will lay a foundation for my later argument that both Barbauld and Grant are operating within this Miltonic tradition in order to assert their authority via a Miltonic literary tradition as they prophecy their own distinct political visions.

First, an examination of Milton's verse alone does not easily reveal his religious beliefs. Even with his religious prose, we do not get a full picture of Milton's theology but discover carefully embedded religious tenets that will be a function within the arguments of both Barbauld and Grant. In examining Milton's Paradise Lost and De Doctrina Christiana to unearth Milton's buried beliefs, B. Rajan supposes that

Milton seems to go out of his way to avoid harassing the reader with his personal beliefs and that in the effort to do so he "tones down" his heresies as much as he can without becoming dishonest. (23)

Rajan goes on to list heretical thinking that Milton weaves into Paradise Lost that does not appear in the De Doctrina (Rajan 23).⁴ Milton does not confine himself to the limits of his own religious beliefs and political goals but, instead, uses the medium of the epic poem to “free [himself] to supplement, moderate or modify his beliefs” (Rajan 33). For Milton, the great epic “is not a means of expounding a theological system” (Rajan 33), but rather it is a space to explore his own religious and political tenets against a public and historical backdrop.

While Rajan focuses on the difficulty in identifying Milton’s beliefs as distinct from Milton’s poetic expression and exploration, Peter Fiore and Kenneth Palmer more specifically identify the poet’s religious profile, which is important in understanding how Barbauld differs from and how Grant converges with Milton’s Judeo-Christian vision.⁵ Fiore examines Milton’s religious beliefs via the

⁴ Some of these heresies that can be seen in Paradise Lost include the theory of creation by retraction, suspicion of Calvinism, speculation concerning the sexual nature of creation, the theory of latent evil in God, and the theory of instantaneous creation (Rajan 23). Rajan also notes that the two works are doctrinally identical on the surface level; however, Milton carefully and discreetly embeds such above-listed heresies (since the medium of epic allows for such subtle exploration that theological prose does not [35]) that the audience--depending their sophistication--may or may not detect.

⁵ See Kenneth Palmer’s three essays on Milton and Paradise Lost in English Renaissance Literature, a collection of essays (originally lectures) by Frank Kermode, Stephen Fender, and Kenneth Palmer.

theology of Augustine.⁶ Just as Palmer does (96), Fiore identifies Milton as a Protestant and Puritan in identifying the three main tenets of Protestant and Puritan worship (5): primacy of scripture (5-7), proclamation of the word of God (7-8), and conversion through religious discipline (8-10); also, the Bible is acknowledged as the ultimate authority in that it is the pure word of God (5). Following the tenet of conversion via discipline, Fiore notes that Puritans emphasized

the fear and rigidity in Augustine's conversion [. . . and] often sacrifice[d] that which makes the whole drama of his conversion so magnificent—the hope and optimism that spring from God's mercy, elements which Milton was later to adopt and develop so thoroughly within the massive structure of his two epics of Paradise. (11)

Thus, Milton broke with mainstream Puritan thought; whereas Puritans had a focus on fear and rigidity, Milton focused on hope and optimism, both of which emanate from God's mercy.

⁶ Fiore's study is a well-organized, well-supported, and quite readable examination of Milton's theology being rooted in the theology of Augustine. His cohesive treatment covers several topics including the angelic fall, preternatural life, Original Sin, and redemption and usually includes a discussion of Augustinian theology, then Milton's religious belief structure, and followed by examples of these doctrines in Paradise Lost.

Rooted in Augustinian theology, Milton's theological optimism is reflected in his depiction of the angelic fall of Lucifer. Milton agrees with Augustine who identifies nature as good since nature is created by God and explains that evil is simply an absence of goodness (Fiore 14). Augustinian theology goes on to distinguish that not all things are equally good, but the level of goodness is dependent upon the participation within God's goodness (Fiore 14). In terms of humanity's participation within God's goodness, Fiore explains that human nature is not evil--unlike Calvin's tenet of humanity's total depravity--but is compromised by original sin (Fiore 14). Such doctrine is reflected in Milton's attitude toward Satan's nature in Paradise Lost in that the fallen angel, as a creation of God, still contains the roots of goodness (Fiore 14-15).

Allowing an optimistic view of Satan, Augustine and Milton identify evil as "the perversion of a good nature by a will gone bad" (Fiore 18). Lucifer's sin of pride results from his own greater interest in himself rather than in God, and the resulting inner torment that the fallen angel experiences is the reality of hell (Fiore 18, 19). Therefore, evil, as exemplified by the angels' rebellion, is a violation of hierarchy (Fiore 17) and, the

higher one is on the hierarchy (i.e. the closer one is to God), then the greater the sin when one violates that hierarchy by placing one's own interest above an interest in God (Fiore 18).

Following this Augustinian view of sin, Milton makes central to the theological framework of Paradise Lost the doctrines of original sin and redemption (Fiore 42) as will Barbauld and Grant in addressing a fallen England. Using the authority of the Genesis narrative, Augustine and Milton both argue that two conditions are necessary for sin: first, "a command given by God, whose authority and right to command are supreme" (Fiore 42) and, second, "a deliberate and conscious transgression by the one who is bound by the command" (Fiore 42), both of which are seen in Genesis when God forbids eating from the tree of knowledge and Adam and Eve both eat the forbidden fruit (Fiore 42). Augustine teaches and Milton illustrates in his poem that the easier the command given by God the greater the offense when one violates that command (Fiore 43).

With a transgression being committed, the divine narrative allows for redemption, and Augustinian and Miltonic theology discuss redemption in terms of the Incarnation and mediation. The Incarnation, "the act whereby the Divine Word, the only begotten Son of God, took

to himself a true human nature" (Fiore 62), is prompted by two motives: the glorification of Christ and compassion for fallen humanity (Fiore 64-67). The happy fault of humanity prompts the Incarnation, "the highest act of love, [and] takes upon itself all the more glory because it is a response to permitted sin and to the needs of mankind [. . .] and provides the foundation for the doctrine of the Redemption in Paradise Lost" (Fiore 70) via the mediation of the Son.

Fiore defines mediation as "an action which serves to reunite or reconcile two alien or opposing objects or powers" (70) and notes that the mediator belongs to both (70). Thus, Christ is able to reconcile humanity to God since He belongs to both, being both God and human (Fiore 70) per the doctrine of the hypostatic union in which Christ is both fully God and fully human. Augustine's mediator has a tripartite function of prophet, priest, and king (Fiore 72-86). As prophet, the mediator is the teacher of the highest wisdom (Fiore 73). As priest, the mediator is the highest sacrifice (Fiore 74), and this sacrifice has the dual purpose of adoration and expiation (Fiore 77). The former function is independent of sin with Christ as the adoring priest; the latter function addresses a fallen world with Christ as redeeming priest (Fiore 77).

Both Augustine and Milton pay special attention to the Son as priest and argue that "Christ fully satisfied Divine Justice by fulfilling the law and paying the just price on behalf of all men" (Fiore 78). This perfect satisfaction, in Augustine's and Milton's theological doctrines, required "a substitute of one person for another, [. . .] a true bloody sacrifice, [. . . and a] debt [. . .] fully paid" (Fiore 79-80). Milton's affinity for this "ransom theory" of the Son's sacrifice made his epic poem both imminent and exciting to the audience (Fiore 81) in that Milton concretized the spiritual to explain more clearly and personally God's ways to humanity. Making abstract theology concrete for his audience, Milton is like the Son Who makes spirit flesh for the sake of humanity and pleads

hear his sighs though mute;
Unskillful with what words to pray, let mee
Interpret for him, mee his Advocate
And propitiation, all his works on mee
God or not Good ingraft, my Merit those
Shall perfect[.] (PL XI.31-36)

The Son acknowledges that humanity lacks the words to communicate its spiritual destitution and, therefore, wishes to be humanity's voice and take upon Himself humanity's woes. Similarly, Milton understood that his

audience was unskilled in terms of fleshing-out the story of Adam and Eve and its connection to the Son's Incarnation and Sacrifice; the Bible's account of the Fall is brief and its account of the Son's willingness, prior to His Incarnation, to right humanity's wrongs is non-existent.

Therefore, Milton interpreted this doctrine through his poem by fleshing-out the story literally--making the pre-Incarnate Son into a character that seems physically to see, speak, and act. In fleshing-out theology, Milton attempts to educate and spiritually better--if not perfect--his audience. Paul Stevens, too, acknowledges that "[i]n re-writing Scripture, Milton sets out to [. . .] educate his fellow countrymen and women" (author's emphasis 95), and this lesson is meant for those in government, too. In Paradise Lost, Milton offers "a vision of human life, including its politics, suffused with the presence of God [. . . and] This is what the English, according to Milton, needed to learn if the nation were to flourish and escape tyranny" (Stevens 107). Thus, Milton is prophesying that England's government must follow principles of divine law that are reflected in nature and knowable through reason, and such a model of the selfless ruler can be found in the Augustinian model of the Son as king. Milton's Augustinian model of kingship will be Grant's model for and cry to

England's government, a monarchy that must allow the bloody sacrifice of war to preserve liberty as well as act for the good of its people rather than for itself.

As Grant will appeal to the monarchy, Augustine's mediator ultimately functions as king in addition to the roles of prophet and priest. Augustine's king is Christ who rules and preserves the Church, a bride that His blood has bought (Fiore 82). Milton appropriates the principles of divine kingship that extol virtue, patience, temperance, and love as the principles necessary for Adam and Eve to find the paradise within themselves at the end of the epic (Fiore 84).

Following Augustinian doctrine of Christ-as-mediator, Milton has a theological ideal of kingship that links and gives a structure to the poet's politics. This is not to say that Milton was a supporter of monarchy; rather, he offers a critique of monarchy in terms of sin and virtue. As Michael Bryson notes when discussing Paradise Regained, "For the Son, power, authority, and reign are internal and to be exercised, not over others, but over oneself" (112); to Milton, the monarchy is external and unjustly exerts its power over others while not disciplining itself. John Rogers discusses Bryson's assertion that Milton portrays how God is imagined (as a tyrant who inspires fear) as

opposed to how God actually is (a loving father who inspires love and loyalty) (69). Rogers goes on to acknowledge that Milton's aligning the Father in the role of king complicates Milton's politics (68) but explains that Milton questions monarchy in light of theology, law, and liberty (70). Milton's Father exercises his power arbitrarily, which goes against the paradigm that divine law is reflected in natural law (i.e. God is reflected in His creation), and human law should be patterned after natural law. Rogers goes on to explain that this divinely-patterned human law is knowable through right reason; thus, the Father's arbitrariness allows humans to ignore arbitrary edicts (70). Thus, what results is the highest form of human liberty--what James A. Harris calls "the liberty of indifference" (Rogers 79). The Father's decree not to eat of a singular tree was arbitrary, and this law was not knowable to humans simply by studying nature, as would an order not to murder or to avoid gluttony (since they would have naturally occurring punishments). However, following Rogers's argument, since Adam and Eve could not reason the negative repercussions of eating of the tree of knowledge--because of the arbitrariness of the law--they exercised their ultimate liberty to follow their own reason and wills.

With an understanding of Milton's views on kingship as well as his Augustinian theology embedded in his verse, one begins to understand more fully Milton's politics as they are revealed in his works. From an Augustinian point of view in which sin can be seen as a violation of hierarchy rooted in pride, Milton simply did not reject the idea of monarchy but, rather, rejected a monarch who placed self-interest above the interests of a divinely-ordered hierarchy in which the king is to put the interests of the people ahead of his own considerations rather than to exercise power arbitrarily and selfishly. Palmer suggests this makes Milton a Platonist, idealist, and humanist (96).⁷ For instance, in his political writing, Milton sketches his ideals of government in The Tenure of Kings and Magistrates

⁷ In Writing the English Republic, Norbrook distinguishes how the term "humanist" is understood today (an anthropocentric view) as opposed to how it was then (a language-centered view). He explains that "'Humanism' in this context [of republican politics] does not mean placing the man at the centre of the universe but, more technically, the movement to give the arts of language a central place in the academic curriculum" (11). Therefore, Norbrook notes the importance of language and literature, specifically in relation to rhetoric, used to influence politics.

Furthermore, William Riley Parker comments on Milton's literary style in his pamphlets, a style in which, in Milton's humanist attention to language and rhetoric, "He wrote prose like a poet" (56). Parker explains that Milton's prose did not only resemble poetry in rhythm and imagery but that he also "writes with a constant awareness of the emotional values of words, that he appeals to logic, that he translates practical problems of the moment into universals, that he dresses reason in the robes of eloquence (56). With the voice of the poet rather than the politician, Milton "preferred Queen Truth to King Fact" (56); as a humanist, Milton addressed the debates of his day most through the medium of language, which is the most direct means to discover and disseminate universal truth.

in explaining the relationship between the government and the people in which power is given by the people to the government in order to serve the people (Wagenknecht 89). As noted earlier, when a monarch violates the divinely ordered hierarchy by serving the interests of the monarch rather than the people, this is a sin that violates the people's liberty. To Milton, nothing was more noble than the ideal of liberty (Wagenknecht 49). Milton has Adam plainly state in Paradise Lost that, within the ideal place of Eden and within their relationship itself, "force upon free will hath here no place" (IX.1174). Furthermore, as Milton's occasional verse indicates that he did not write in a vacuum but within a historical context (Wagenknecht 49), Milton understood his historical context within the larger context of God's creation and, consequently, understood that his vocation as poet mandated that he be a defender of liberty (Wagenknecht 49). Barbauld and Grant will follow Milton in using their poetry for political reform.

While Milton held these ideals tantamount in his politics and poetry, he was also a realist, firmly rooted in the material reality of his time, which marks a departure between Barbauld, whose politics reside in the realm of theory, and Grant, whose ideals can be realized

concretely.⁸ Milton understood that the divinely-modeled characteristics of kingship--virtue, patience, temperance, and love--often flew in the face of flawed human nature in which human self-interest takes precedence over the welfare of all humanity and over God's will (Wagenknecht 22-23). This practicality, Milton's materialism that eschews pie-in-the-sky theory and principles that can be applied to the material world, is echoed in his attitude toward knowledge in which he is only interested in practical knowledge (Wagenknecht 40-41). Milton extols Augustine's studiositas--knowledge that has a practical application in aiding the individual towards God--while condemning curiositas--the vain pursuit of knowledge that leads one into the self rather than toward God.

Milton distinguishes between the two types of knowledge several times in Paradise Lost. The knowledge of no practical use (curiositas) is the "Knowledge so despis'd" (PL V.60) associated with the Tree of Knowledge. Furthermore, in the dialogue between Raphael and Adam, the archangel explains the difference between curiositas and studiositas and happily shares the latter since it "best

⁸ Parker explains how some may argue that Milton's political prose is idealistic but, jarred by the Restoration, Milton's vision, as prophesied in his poetry, does not lose its ideals but is, instead, rooted in practicality. (Also, see Footnote 11.)

may serve / To glorifie the Maker, and infer / Thee also
happier" (PL VII.115-17) but warns Adam about knowledge
"beyond [to] abstain / To ask, nor let thy own invention
hope / Things not reveal'd" (PL VII.120-22) by the Father.
Raphael concretizes the distinction by explaining

But Knowledge is as food, and needs no less
Her Temperance over Appetite, to know
In measure what the mind may well contain,
Oppresses else with Surfeit, and soon turns
Wisdom to Folly, as Nourishment to Wind.

(PL VII.126-30)

Raphael warns Adam against vain pursuits of knowledge
beyond practicality, beyond what can be fruitfully applied
to life on earth; humanity "might err in things too high, /
And no advantage gain" (PL VIII.121-22). Adam acknowledges
this distinction as he rejoices that he is "freed from
intricacies, taught to live, / The easiest way, nor with
perplexing thoughts, / To interrupt the sweet of Life" (PL
VIII.182-84); he is to avoid "notions vain" (PL VIII.187)
and "things remote / From use, obscure and suttle, but to
know / That which before us lies in daily life, / [which]
Is the prime Wisdom" (PL VIII.191-94).

The Creator endorses humanity's pursuit of knowledge
that has practical and beneficent use. Knowledge for any

other purpose, such as knowledge that does not go beyond the level of theory, leads to vanity and sin. We will see that this distinction will mark the separation between Barbauld's theoretical pacifistic (curiositas) and Grant's practical (studiositas) points of view regarding the state of England.

Distinguishing between the two types of knowledge, Milton is not interested in curiously examining the political realities and offering a vision that only exists in theory; rather, Milton engages political reality with a studious and material vision.⁹ Milton does not make a clear distinction between spirit and matter in his theology; matter is merely coarsened spirit and spirit refined matter (Wagenknecht 133). Correspondingly, Milton does not make a distinction between theory and reality; his political theory is rooted in material reality, and this reality is not a utopian one. David Norbrook speaks to this joining of immaterial with material and explains that Milton

viewed poetic history, like political history, in apocalyptic terms: rather than envisaging a

⁹ Parker curtails the argument that Milton was merely a visionary poet, an argument that may suggest prophecy is distinct from materiality. However, he explains that "Milton was, indeed, a visionary in his own age, but time can turn impracticality into prophecy, and time has abundantly vindicated the man who fought for human liberty without ever stating prosaically what he meant" (Parker 57). In other words, Milton's vision played out over time to a material reality--a reality that only he envisioned that others were yet to see concretized, unlike a utopian vision that could never exist.

smooth, steady progression toward perfection, he sought, in his own poetry, to make the last first and the first last. He revived elements in the old prophetic tradition that were currently unfashionable. (Poetry, 228)

Thus, in his prophetic vision in which he confronts the realities of his time and offers a path in-line with God's original divine order, Milton seeks contradiction and confrontation. Like Augustine's mediator who must be both human and divine--who must acknowledge reality in order to bring it back into the divine paradigm--Milton is not passively theoretical but actively material.¹⁰

This material ideology extends to Milton's views on warfare, and Barbauld and Grant will sharply diverge in their attitudes toward England's war with France. In examining Milton's attitudes towards war, Wagenknecht acknowledges that Milton sees war as the most effective means of the government serving Satan (91). However, despite this and Wagenknecht's basic characterization of Paradise Lost as a pacifist text (93), he concludes that

¹⁰ One could examine Milton's "Sonnet 19" ("When I consider how my light is spent") as a disavowal of theoretical pacifism and endorsement of material action. The speaker acknowledges his physical and political condition of "this dark world and wide" (2) while also famously noting that "They also serve who only stand and wait" (14). Not endorsing pacifism, the poet laments his passivity but accepts it as his present material plight and his only course of physical (in)action (though it is of minimal help to his political cause at the moment) that he can take.

Milton's attitude toward warfare is ambivalent in that the poet never posits himself as a pacifist (91), has both God and the Son engage in war in his verse (97), and sees war as lawful since sacred scripture does not specifically prohibit it (97). While not endorsing or actively seeking war, Milton, instead, tolerates and acknowledges the necessity of war in an imperfect world (Wagenknecht 98).

To explain this complex relationship among Milton's visionary poetics, materialism, and seemingly ambivalent attitudes towards war, Parker offers a biographical insight that shifted Milton's thinking subtly.¹¹ Milton's youth was marked by an idealism that was fostered by his life of privilege. Later, though his opinions may not have changed, the Restoration gave Milton's ideas "depth and overtones which they had lacked before" (Parker 63); Milton

¹¹ I quote Parker in its entirety:

Milton's ideas did not greatly change after 1660, but they acquired depth and overtones which they had lacked before. One might almost say that the Restoration was good for Milton, intellectually. He was late in maturing, as he himself realized and confessed, but he was later than he thought. There is a facile idealism, an unrealistic conception of human nature, in much of his prose which hardly seems to promise a great poet. Read at a distance of three centuries, and removed from political and literary astigmatism, the early Milton is an high-minded and a plausible young man; but if we look beyond the great quotable passages, and close our ears to the background of familiar organ music, we find much to remind us that for thirty-three years (about half of his days upon this earth) he had tasted life from a silver spoon. He needed the vast illumination of a major disillusionment. He needed the terrible fire that turns knowledge into wisdom. The Restoration provided it. (63)

had to experience failure and defeat in order to reconcile his idealism with concrete, and often disappointing, reality. Rather than remaining in the ethos of theory, Milton had to mesh his principles with the realities of the world. This distinction between the idealistic (and somewhat spoiled) Milton of youth and the more experienced (and defeated) Milton of older age will parallel the distinction between the idealistic Barbauld (with a more privileged life) and the materialist Grant (with a much less privileged life). Whereas Barbauld operates in the abstractions of a pacifist philosophy, Grant will offer a paradigm in which her principles and championing of liberty still function in a less-than-ideal world.

II. Milton's Authority: A Man for the Ages

Having sketched Milton's political and religious tenets, principles that are rejected and adopted in Barbauld's and Grant's poems, I now aim to chart Milton's literary career and reputation from his own time through the early Romantic period. Plotting Milton's prominent position in English culture at the time of Barbauld and Grant explains why both writers poetically integrate Milton in their works. By either contending with or adopting

Milton poetically, both Barbauld and Grant give a tenor of gravitas to their poetic voices.

Considering the reception history of Milton's Paradise Lost from the time he wrote it to the time of Barbauld and Grant, I am fully aware of the challenge and enormity of such a project and here make the admission that Sharratt makes. We are both keenly aware that "The entangled history of the reception and reputation of Milton over three centuries obviously cannot be summarized here, but some significant continuities can be indicated" (31). Therefore, for the purposes of my study, a succinct sketch of Milton and his reputation among his contemporaries, as well as in the eighteenth century and in the early Romantic period, will provide a sense of literary and cultural tradition out of which and in which both Barbauld and Grant operate.¹²

¹² In approaching the intimidating task of plotting Milton's presence in literature from the seventeenth century to the early nineteenth century, I found useful Bernard Sharratt's "The Appropriation of Milton" that led me to other most useful studies by William Riley Parker, John T. Shawcross, James Thorpe, and Joseph Anthony Wittreich, Jr. These scholars offer a more complete plotting of Milton's reputation and presence in the literary continuum along with collections of writings about and referring to Milton by writers over the centuries.

It is not my intent to identify allusions and appropriations of Milton in other writers' texts. Even if I just limited myself to examining the works of major writers within the periods, such a project itself would be untenable. Whereas Sharratt offers a general springboard into charting Milton's influence, my purpose here (though still general) is to plot a Miltonic literary tradition that leads into the Romantic consciousness.

Charting the impact and influence of Milton upon Western literature and culture over the centuries can be an overwhelming task, especially since one may assume that Milton was always a prominent literary and cultural personality. However, it may come as some surprise, as James Thorpe admits, that "Milton cut a relatively small figure during his own lifetime" (3). The small figure that he did cut was not even a literary one but more of a political one; his reputation was not an impressive one in that Milton "may have been more notorious than famous" (Parker 39) for his political views, particularly his unpopular and scandalous pamphlets concerning divorce "that brought him nothing but grief" (Parker 17) for most of his career during which his critics questioned and lampooned his moral character. Despite his public marital woes, Milton did enjoy a political reputation since "Every literate Englishman interested in international politics must have been aware of Milton's existence" (Parker 39-40); however, among those aware of Milton in the political realm, the attitude was split since those within the Commonwealth "doubtless praised and admired him, [while]

Thus, I limit myself to plotting crudely Milton's reputation, particularly within, but not limited to, a literary tradition with which both Barbauld and Grant would be familiar via their English education and culture.

learned royalists decried" his political writings (Parker 40).

However, Parker notes that Milton was not the important political figure that he fancied himself and, ultimately, his unimportance may have given him the opportunity later to write his great epic (45).¹³ In other words, though Milton's political voice was heard, it was largely ignored or marginalized on both sides; Milton never gained a high office during Cromwell's rule nor was even deemed worthy of a death sentence during the Restoration (Parker 45). Somewhat ironically, because Milton did not enjoy the political or literary fame and importance that he fancied he did during the majority of his lifetime, his marginalization spared him execution, thus allowing Milton the opportunity to write Paradise Lost. It was not until near the time of his death that he enjoyed a reputation as a poet (Shawcross 17), a reputation initiated by an eventual interest in his epic, and "it was largely through the poetry that his growing audience came to seek his political prose" (Shawcross 17).

¹³ Parker asserts that

After the King's return [. . .] the blind rebel was conspicuous enough to be imprisoned and to have two of his books suppressed by proclamation, but inconspicuous enough to escape additional punishment. Had it not been for his inflated notion of his own prestige and influence, he might have escaped altogether. On the other hand, had the new authorities agreed with his own opinion of his reputation, he would have been among the first to be hanged. (45)

I say "eventual interest" because, when it was first published in 1667, "such a poem, appearing at such a time, probably created no sensation" (Parker 48). Parker notes that the first edition of Milton's epic "of about 1300 copies was exhausted in under two years" (48) but points out that "there is also the fact that no second edition was called for until five additional years had passed" (48). Shawcross confirms this and disappoints those who "would like to think of the publication of Paradise Lost in 1667 as a great literary event: it was not" (16). The unsold copies of the first edition were offered to the public again in 1668 and 1669 "with new title pages to give the impression that these were new editions" (Shawcross 16), and "prose arguments [. . .] were added in 1668" (Shawcross 16). Shawcross concludes that "Such bibliographic evidence makes clear that Paradise Lost did not sell well" (16) nor did it make a stir among literary critics as "One notes with disappointment [. . .] the dearth of printed allusions to Paradise Lost in the period 1667-1674" (Parker 51).

However, Paradise Lost began to draw some interest upon its second publication in 1674 (Parker 51), the year of Milton's death, and more so beginning with the third

printing in 1678 (Shawcross 16).¹⁴ Beginning with the third edition,

the work was to be accorded many printings and much commentary, with illustrations by John Baptista de Medina added to the fourth edition of 1688. This edition, commissioned by Lord Somers, inaugurated the widespread interest in Milton and his works that continued through the eighteenth century. (Shawcross 16)

As a result, during the period between 1675-1699, there was a "rise in the interest both scholarly and critical in Milton and his works" (Shawcross 18). Shawcross offers a succinct summary of Milton's rise of literary reputation in England and on the Continent during this period:

Although critics (for example, Voltaire in 1727) remark the neglect of the poet and especially Paradise Lost, there was much activity in three areas at this time: editions, biography and biographical notices, and commentary on the epic. Generally Milton and his poem are praised highly. He is viewed as the chief representative of the

¹⁴ Parker cites Dryden's desire "to 'tag' [i.e. create a rhyme scheme for] Milton's blank verse" (51) as an indicator that the poem began drawing more critical attention. Also, Thorpe notes that "It was not until about the time of Milton's death, in 1674, that he began to enjoy a general reputation as a poet" (4).

heroic tradition in England, following a line of comparison with Homer and Vergil. The translation of Longinus into English influenced the analysis of Milton's poetry during this period, and more strongly in the next. Such analysis labeled Milton the most supreme and sublime poet England ever produced. (Shawcross 18)

On the Continent, Milton's reputation as a champion of republicanism was fading due to his growing fame as the author of Paradise Lost, which was being printed in English, Latin, and German (Shawcross 18). Though Milton could not shake his awful political reputation, it was tolerated since his epic "assured his fame and high opinion" (Shawcross 18).

However, by the mid-eighteenth century, this growing interest in Paradise Lost prompted a reexamination of the poet's political writings and minor poems which continued into the latter part of the century (Shawcross 28-29). Thus, in sharp contrast to Milton and his epic's initial reception when first published, the end of the eighteenth century saw that "Milton's verse became a standard of excellence, an expression of authority, a pattern for imitation, as well as a sanction for poetical license"

(Shawcross 29), but this is not to say that it was devoid of political significance. Especially in relation to England's war with France, Milton's epic, in which Lucifer rebels against the throne of the Father and which the Son is called to restore order, would certainly carry political significance for politically-aware late-eighteenth-century readers, including both Barbauld and Grant.

To explain Milton's rise in the eighteenth century, many scholars credit Joseph Addison's critical attention to Milton's Paradise Lost in the Spectator.¹⁵ Thorpe characterizes Addison's publications on Milton as "the most prominent of several that served to crystallize and elaborate a prevalent opinion of the early eighteenth century by providing the basis of a detailed examination" (4) and goes on to note that Addison's essays were published no fewer than thirty times in English during the

¹⁵ Though there is a general consensus among scholars concerning the critical role of Addison's critical attention to Milton's epic and the resulting rise of Milton's reputation and literary stature, Thorpe maintains

that a Miltonic tradition was established in the last quarter of the seventeenth century [. . . and] for more than twenty-five years before that time [of Addison's publications] Milton had been receiving very high praise in critical asides of leading writers of the time; Dryden, Roscommon, Buckingham, Burnet, Dennis, and Gildon are representative of the levels of opinion which, though varied, generally ranked Milton as at least the equal of any other English poet. It is true that this criticism usually lacked definition and viewed Milton somewhat narrowly as the chief representative of the English heroic tradition. But it is also true that this criticism unequivocally identified Milton as a supremely great poet.

(4)

century (5) while Sharratt maintains that "It was the Whig essayist, Addison, whose papers in the Spectator (1712) did [the] most to make the poem popularly known" (32).¹⁶

Not only did Addison initiate the poem's and Milton's fame (and did so many times over through the many re-printings of Addison's papers), but his Spectator essays also turned the poem, and therefore Milton, into a cultural force--a force that continues to this moment. Sharratt explains that Addison's criticism not only framed Paradise Lost as literature but, in so doing, created the modern notion of "literature" (42). In other words,

one could suggest that while Milton himself transposed his political dilemma into a theological form, Addison's essays transformed Paradise Lost from a theological inquiry into "literary" narrative, to be read primarily for its "literary" qualities and secondarily,

¹⁶ Shawcross also notes that "Without question Addison's six general papers on Paradise Lost and the twelve papers on each book have been reprinted more often than any other work on Milton, and they have been a major influence in forming opinion since their original publication" (147). He goes on to list and reproduce Addison's essays that were Originally published in the Spectator: No. 267, 5 January 1712; No. 273, 12 January 1712; No. 279, 19 January 1712; No. 285, 26 January 1712; No. 291, 2 February 1712; No. 297, 9 February 1712; No. 303, 16 February 1712; No. 309, 23 February 1712; No. 315, 1 March 1712; No. 321, 8 March 1712; No. 327, 15 March 1712; No. 333, 22 March 1712; No. 339, 29 March 1712; No. 345, 5 April 1712; No. 351, 12 April 1712; No. 357, 19 April 1712; No. 363, 26 April 1712; No. 369, 3 May 1712. (147)

perhaps, as suitable devotional (not theological)
matter for a Sunday. (Sharratt 42)

Prior to Addison, Milton's epic was certainly seen as literature and appreciated for its literary qualities; however, Addison's study of the epic outside "of any substantially theological or political significance [. . .] encapsulates, concentrates and bequeaths to subsequent readers a notion of 'literature'" (Sharratt 42).

Therefore, Addison's essays did much to shape Milton's reputation and a Miltonic "tradition [that] consisted of a compound of three complex, interdependent, and yet distinguishable conceptions: that of the man, that of the philosopher, and that of the artist" (Thorpe 5).

In addition to these roles of man, thinker, and poet, Milton also took on a religious role of prophet-priest. Addison's "devoting his Saturday essays to Milton [. . .] indicated and encouraged the suitability of Paradise Lost for Sunday reading" (Sharratt 35), and this devotional use of the poem continued "throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries [during which] Milton's poem shared the privilege and widely influential status of [a] 'Sunday book' with those other 'Puritan' texts, Pilgrim's Progress

and Robinson Crusoe" (Sharratt 35).¹⁷ Sharratt goes on to note that Milton's epic was used as a theological text to the extent that many in England could not distinguish between what they learned from Milton and what they learned from Genesis concerning the stories of Creation and of the Fall (35), while Shawcross explains that "many people in England seem to have learned their Bible with Paradise Lost at hand, for it was considered an exposition of the orthodox creed" (25).¹⁸ Hence, it could be argued that Milton's poem not only served as a religious text but also, to some extent, gained status as religious dogma--an almost sacred scripture in English culture. Considering Milton's religious authority within English culture, one can understand why Grant will stamp her poetic defense of and prophecy for England with his imprimatur.

By virtue of his influence on theology, Milton also made an impact on English education since religious education was part of the English curriculum. The interest

¹⁷ Also, in tracking Defoe's allusions to Milton, Shawcross notes that "Defoe [. . .] noticed Milton in print seldom, but his remarks point to esteem and attentive reading" (138).

¹⁸ Thorpe confirms that

The greatest emphasis of the eighteenth-century critics of Milton was on [. . .] his religious teaching. Criticism centered on Paradise Lost, which was venerated as a principal support of the orthodox creed [. . .] and the poem appealed equally to Anglicans, Dissenters, Roman Catholics, and Deists. In 1792 it was maintained that Paradise Lost had 'contributed more to support the orthodox creed than all the books of divinity that were ever written.' (5-6)

in Paradise Lost was not limited to those who were formally educated but also extended to the masses--ordinary readers--"who were made aware of it through newsheets and magazines" (Shawcross 23-24). Not only educating the general public, Paradise Lost found its way into the schools where students were introduced to it (Shawcross 25). By the end of the century, Milton's best-known epic "had become, quite literally, the equivalent of a Latin text within the educational practices of the public schools" (Sharratt 34).¹⁹ Thus, Milton was deeply engrained in the consciousness of the English public in that his work formed the minds of English students since a young age. The English public were raised on Milton, and his words and ideas would nourish the culture, whether consciously or otherwise, and would permeate English thought, not only in letters and theology but also in politics. We will see that Milton's epic later will be a fulcrum, a point of English common experience for the authors and readers

¹⁹ Looking beyond the eighteenth century, Sharratt goes on that the Clarendon Commission of 1864 recorded that, at Shrewsbury, "fourth-formers who were excused from studying Ovid's *Fasti* [sic] were expected to memorize about twelve hundred lines from Milton." [. . .] The Taunton Commission, a few years later, was told how pupils at Liverpool school took passages from- [sic] Milton, read them backwards and forwards, and put them into other order, and they were obliged to parse them and explain them. The same faculties were exercised there in construing Milton as in construing Latin. (34)

alike, for the political ideas and visions of both Barbauld and Grant.

A factor in the epic's educational utility was in Milton's development of the sublime. Shawcross defines the Miltonic sublime as "the capacity of his poetry to enlarge the imagination of his readers" (23). The critical consensus was such that Milton's ideas and expression were both sublime (Shawcross 23), and this power to expand the reader's imagination appealed to the masses. Thus, not only did Milton expand the idea of literature and literary criticism among men of letters, but he also expanded the minds of the masses and, hence, impacted the collective consciousness of English culture. At the confluence of the availability of the printed word, Milton's appeal to the critic and general reader alike, and Milton's Paradise Lost as a standard text in English education, Milton's work inevitably flowed through the culture of England and through the mind of each English citizen. This river not only flowed, but it spread; as it grew, the minds of English men and women did, too.²⁰ Therefore, given the

²⁰ Perhaps Christian Thorpe most simply, succinctly, and entertainingly summarizes the impact of printed literature upon culture:

Europe was once full of imbeciles; then came the printing press, and there were imbeciles no more; for with print came mass literacy, and with literacy came learning, and with learning [. . .] came democratic self-fulfillment in some guise or another. (531)

critical attention given to Paradise Lost with "over a hundred editions [. . .] during the century" (Thorpe 8) that then raised interest in Milton's prose and other poetry; given Milton's critical and literary reputation as a man, poet, and visionary priest; given Milton's epic of the Fall gaining status as a religious text and basis for education; given that "a majority of eighteenth century verse can be said to have been either modeled on, imitative of, or influenced by Milton" (Thorpe 8), one can confidently assert that, by at least the middle of the eighteenth century onward, Milton was seen as a literary, if not cultural, authority--a figure to whom writers will look and will invoke, as will Barbauld and Grant, in order to ground and then elevate their own voices and visions--voices and visions that may otherwise have been dismissed or seen as less or insignificant without the implied imprimatur of Milton.²¹

With the ready availability and systematic enculturation of Milton's Paradise Lost, his epic not only planted Milton's own ideas into the reader's mind but also served to grow and nourish the reader's ideas. Though with different purposes and visions, both Barbauld and Grant will use the images and motifs of Milton to serve their own political purposes.

²¹ Shawcross offers the opening lines of Sneyd Davies's "Rhapsody to Milton" (1740) as an example of the, by then, popular acceptance and recognition of Milton's authority:

Soul of the Muses! Thou supreme of Verse!
Unskill'd and Novice in the sacred Art
May I unblam'd approach thee? May I crave
Thy Blessing, Sire harmonious! Amply pleas'd
Should'st thou vouchsafe to own me for thy Son;
Thy Son, tho' dwindled from the mighty Size,

More specifically, both Barbauld and Grant were keenly aware of Milton's place within literary tradition. Daniel P. Watkins and William McCarthy examine Barbauld's verse and note connections between Milton and Barbauld in which she adopts or rejects the blind poet. In her "A Summer's Evening Meditation," Barbauld adopts Milton's visionary poetics and idealism of Milton (Watkins 179), and she casts herself as the muse of liberty in her "Corsica" akin to Milton celebrating Cromwell (McCarthy 88). However, Barbauld only "appropriates Milton and biblical writings and ideas when they suit her visionary purposes" (Watkins 196). She rejects Milton's great poetic model in her use of satire and anti-pastoral in works such as "The Groans of the Tankard," "On the Backwardness of the Spring 1771," "Verses Written in an Alcove," and "The Mouse's Petition" (Watkins 79).

Similar to Barbauld, Grant was aware of Milton and his place in literature. Though few studies specifically examine Grant's reading and her adoption of Milton, my

And Stature; much more from the Parent's Mind.
Content and blest enough, if but some Line,
If but some distant Feature, half express'd,
Tell whence I spring. (29-30)

However, not all would share in the adulation of Milton, including Samuel Johnson who scolded Milton for not adhering to the rules of classical poetry while "portraying Milton as a singularly unlikable man" (Wittreich 10). Wittreich notes that the Romantics would offer a "massive response to Johnson's critical biography of Milton" (Wittreich ix) and ordain Milton as their poet-priest.

examination of her epic poem will show her adoption of Milton's verse and imagery. More specifically, her epigraph of Milton's Samson Agonistes points to her use of Miltonic imagery to elevate her Miltonic theme of liberty.

Just as Barbauld and Grant wrote into the next century, Milton's influence did not wane after the eighteenth century, but the spirit of the revolutionary poet continued into the Romantic period, as well. His authoritative reputation simply continued to grow through the end of the century into the nineteenth century. While Romantic critics began examining more closely Milton's style, Milton's religious authority began to wane (Thorpe 9).²²

Two primary factors played in Milton's decline as a religious authority. First, the aforementioned Romantic focus on Milton's style largely ignored Milton's theology which, prior to this point, was often the focus of Milton's epic (Thorpe 9). Second, the nineteenth century's rise of

²² Thorpe discusses key Romantic figures' assessments of Milton:

[T]he technical excellence and highly sophisticated nature of Milton's verse were pointed out and emphasized by Coleridge, Hazlitt, Keats, and many others [. . . while] Shelley, Wordsworth, Byron, and Lamb recognized skillful artistry in Milton, but they praised it in vague terms somewhat reminiscent of eighteenth-century criticism; Keats inserted a note of condemnation into his sincere approbation of Milton's technique; Coleridge placed high on the credits side of the Milton ledger artificial and musical qualities [. . .] and Hazlitt observed laboriously successful stylistic effects. (9)

the cult of Satan led by several Romantics undercut, if not inverted, Miltonic theology (Thorpe 9). Thorpe primarily points to William Blake and Percy Bysshe Shelley who leaned "toward crystallizing in Satan's character the impact of the poem or even toward commending the moral and ethical codes that he represented" (Thorpe 9). It is in this vein of criticism that Milton is aligned with and a party of the revolutionary Satan. Though popular and a sometimes-useful critical paradigm to use within Romantic studies, it does obscure Milton's theology and cosmic hierarchy that, I will later argue when examining Grant's poem, is at the heart of Paradise Lost.

Though the Romantics did not focus on Milton's theology in an orthodox sense, they did hold him up as a poet-priest. Wittreich best explains how and why the Romantics viewed Milton as their spiritual leader: as a "daring individualist who took his place outside the circle of conformists" (11). Milton's ideas and those ideas reflected in his art were not only seen by the Romantics as outside the scope of popular thought but also as above it, which separated Milton from his fellow writers (Wittreich 11). Wittreich goes on to explain that

his epic form, wherein historical distance is paramount, forced Milton to dissociate himself

from the local so that he might travel in the region of the universal. Milton's aloofness, moreover, was thought to imply a kind of spirituality; thus Milton becomes not so much the prime mover behind the deist culture as the force that tried to avert it. Commonly represented as the priest of poetry during the Romantic period, Milton is equally compelling as a symbol of the spiritual life and the man who has attained it in full measure. (11)

Hence, the Romantics appreciate Milton as a lens into the spiritual through which one can see, and therefore then address, disorder within the Great Chain both spiritually and politically, as Barbauld and Grant will do when addressing the state of England at points in history. Thus, the Romantics revered and elevated Milton as their literary prophet-priest (Wittreich 11).

Not merely a poetic and spiritual leader, Milton was the prototypical figure who embodied all things to the Romantics. The Romantic critic was able to "bring every conceivable approach to bear on [. . . Milton's] poetry--biographical, historical, generic, new-critical, archetypal, and comparative" (Thorpe 20) and, consequently, Romantic criticism "uncovers the full complexity of

Milton's art, apprehends the profound implications of his themes, and grasps the central problems that inhere in his poems" (Wittreich 20).²³ Understanding that Milton's poetry touches upon every facet of human experience--in which neither Milton nor the Romantics separated the natural and supernatural--with special attention to the interplay between the physical and the spiritual (or, to use a more Romantic term, imagination), the Romantics' poetics are firmly built upon Milton's poetics.²⁴

Thus, the Romantics appreciated what Milton brought to poetry--especially the breadth of knowledge and the expansiveness of human experience in relation to the greater universe. A far cry from the nit-picky minutiae of Johnson's narrow criticism, the Romantics' ordination of

²³ In asserting that Romantics used new-critical methods to appreciate more fully Milton's art, Thorpe is not being anachronistic in the sense of asserting that eighteenth- and nineteenth-century critics used twentieth-century critical methods, since new criticism is a more modern critical lens. Rather, I believe that Thorpe is suggesting that Romantic critics did examine Milton's work through a prism that only later would be described as "new-critical."

²⁴ Wittreich makes this connection between Romantic critical theory and Miltonic poetics. He explains that

Milton's own remarks on poetry clearly lie behind those of the Romantics [. . . and that] Milton furnishes these critics with a set of congenial ideas from which they borrow freely. Milton lays down for these critics [. . .] the essentials for their poetical theory. (17)

Furthermore, Wittreich asserts that "From Milton the Romantics gleaned a theory of poetry that became a paradigm for their own" (18). Also, more specifically, Wittreich traces back to Milton the Romantics' concern over a fit audience and a shift of focus from audience to artist (14), the link between poetry and feeling (14-15), the poet as creator and the poem as created (15-16), and the relationship between learning/knowledge and inspiration/spontaneity (16-17).

Milton poised him as "a towering column of national grandeur" (Wittreich 11).

Milton would be held in such high esteem by the Romantics because he spoke to them in their time in many ways. In terms of genre of the period, the Romantic literary mind was best expressed through poetry, as evidenced by the major writers of the time: Wordsworth, Coleridge, Blake, Shelley, and Byron to name but a few. Within that list of writers, I did not include a female, though there were many female Romantic poets who did not share the bright focus of the critical spotlight but offered significant voices and points of view nonetheless: Hemans, Barbauld, Robinson, and (to an even lesser degree) Grant.

However, this speaks to Milton, too, in that he addresses issues of gender in Paradise Lost (and in other works, such as Comus) though in an indirect fashion. He marginalizes characters like Eve by dramatically portraying her as inferior to Adam; Satan preys upon Eve and "wished his hap might find / Eve separate" (PL IX.421-22) when the "fairest unsupported flower, / From her best prop so far" (PL IX.432-33) since "Her husband [. . .] higher intellectual more I shun, / And strength, of courage haughty, and of limb / Heroic built" (PL IX.482-85).

However, Milton has Satan characterize Eve as intellectually, morally, and physically inferior to Adam in order to highlight the virtues of the woman when she, with equal if not better mind and tongue, later rebuffs Adam and his scolding her for her wanderings and transgressions. Though Shannon Miller concludes that Milton ultimately maintains the status quo regarding seventeenth-century gender hierarchies, she acknowledges that he plays with and blurs the line, at least, to question such a paradigm (Miller, "Gender" 152-53, 162).

Milton does the same, if not more clearly, in Comus in which he makes the female protagonist a bastion of virtue and a model for all. Thus, Milton portrays women as seemingly weak and inferior to men but does so in order to draw attention to their equal, if not superior, virtue and their marginalization by male figures of power. In his portrayal of women in relation to men, and with varying degrees of subtlety, Milton not only speaks to the male Romantic poet but also particularly appeals to the female Romantic poet in his subversive portrayal of women. Though portrayed as weak, Milton's woman equals if not betters her male counterpart in virtue, speech, and action.

In addition to Milton's appeal through the genre of poetry and to both sexes, he most significantly addresses

the Romantics in terms of religion and politics. As the seventeenth-century mind did not distinguish between the spiritual and the earthly, the Romantics urged people to marry the two realms again since institutional religion would not, and its platitudes could not serve the everyday lives of English citizens.²⁵ Understanding that institutions both religious and political were not serving their citizens, of course the Romantics would turn to Milton. As earlier discussed, some Romantics were of the cult of Satan and saw Milton aligned with the party of Lucifer in his rebellion against the Father and, therefore, appropriated Milton as a force against authority. However, other Romantics, as I will discuss in Grant's work particularly, understood Milton not simply as a rebel against monarchy but rather respected Milton's appreciation of hierarchy. Milton understood that hierarchy required submission to authority but also that such authority has a responsibility to those it ruled. If that responsibility was not being met, if monarchy did not meet the needs of

²⁵ William Blake speaks to such themes of oppression by political and religious institutions that have forgotten their spiritual roots and authority given by the loving God particularly. In "The Little Vagabond," Blake's speaker laments that "the Church is cold" (1) while rejoicing that "the Ale-house is healthy & pleasant & warm" (2), the latter being the place of the common people who are enjoying the fruits of the earth that meet their human needs, unlike the cold, empty religious institutions that leave their faithful just as cold and empty.

its people, then the hierarchy was violated and must be corrected.

Therefore, in an age when politics and literature influenced one another, it is only natural that Milton's politics and poetry appealed to the Romantics. Milton offers both male and female voices through which he speaks of rulers' responsibilities to the needs--both material and spiritual--of the people. Therefore, the Romantics, particularly Grant in her Eighteen Hundred and Thirteen, invoke Milton as their heavenly muse who will give authority to their own prophetic voices.

III. Conclusion

This thumbnail sketch of Milton's theology, politics, and reputation within the seventeenth century when he was writing, through the eighteenth century, and into the early nineteenth century, allows us to see a man who initially wrote in relative obscurity but who eventually became an archetype within English culture. By charting the reputation of Milton and how he and his writings, along with his systems of thought and expression, were embedded both consciously and subconsciously into the individual and collective British mind (as Grant was Scottish by

nationality), I hope to have set the stage for an examination of the works of two competing Romantic voices--those of Anna Letitia Barbauld and Anne Grant--who participate within the Miltonic tradition. We will see that the two poets, in their seemingly political opposition poetically expressed, wrestle for authority and do so by subtly invoking "the towering column of national grandeur" that is Milton.

CHAPTER TWO

Anna Letitia Barbauld: Theology, Politics, and Prophecy

O Dastard whom such foretaste doth not chear!
We shall exult, if They who rule the land
Be Men who hold its many blessings dear,
Wise, upright, valiant; not a venal Band,
Who are to judge of danger which they fear,
And honour which they do not understand.

(William Wordsworth, "November, 1806" [9-14] from
Poems, 1807)

When reading Barbauld's Eighteen Hundred and Eleven and considering the general historical moment in which it was written, it is perhaps natural that the reader's thoughts may drift to Milton. To wit, Barbauld is addressing the state of England, a country at war in which terms like "terror" and "liberty" are used in the public debate in the war against Napoleonic France, and she discusses her nation in global terms as she compares England to Asia and Europe (1811 126) and to the upstart America (1811 79). Turning to Milton, one would note that Milton is a poet who wrote during a time of war and revolution in England, who is considered a poetic champion

of liberty, and who wrote poetry that often reached a cosmic scale joining topics both earthly and heavenly such as in Paradise Lost "to justify the wayes of God to men" (PL I.26). Acknowledging that Milton was not only deeply rooted in English culture, and certainly within more literary minds such as Barbauld's, one should, at least, entertain the thought that Barbauld's poem is worthy of discussion in light of Milton.

Furthermore, a critical connection between Barbauld and Milton is clear since critics, such as Robert W. Jones who examines her earlier poetry, have noted that she appropriates and responds to Milton's works in her own poetry.¹ William McCarthy notes Barbauld's familiarity with Milton's Comus (ALB 60), the thematic link of liberty to Milton in her poem "Corsica" (ALB 88), her shared view with Milton on the Bible's psalms being analogous to Greek odes (ALB 207), and her writings on the topics of liberty and blank verse that are both subjects indigenous to Milton's Paradise Lost (ALB 368).² Also, Watkins acknowledges that, at the very least, "Milton figures marginally in her

¹ See Robert W. Jones's "Barbauld, Milton, and the Idea of Resistance". Also, Daniel P. Watkins directly asserts that "Barbauld certainly knew the work of Milton" (195).

² For brevity's sake, I will abbreviate William McCarthy's Anna Letitia Barbauld: Voice of the Enlightenment as "ALB".

writing" (xiv) but that she does not seriously engage his vision nor counter it.

As critics have linked Barbauld and Milton, I wish to explore the connections between her last poem, Eighteen Hundred and Eleven, and Milton--a connection that scholars have yet to discuss critically. Prompting my examination of Barbauld's long poem in relation to Milton is Grant's Eighteen Hundred and Thirteen. As Grant's poem invokes Milton both directly (via the epigraph) and indirectly (within her imagery) in order to counter Barbauld, one can see, upon re-examination of Eighteen Hundred and Eleven, that Barbauld subtly engages Milton, too.

Thus, this trinity of poets is worthy of further examination, and I contend that Milton can be understood as a function within both Barbauld's and Grant's poems. As all three poets write at an historical moment of crisis in England, moments of unrest whether civil or international, Milton will prove to be a middle ground between Barbauld and Grant. I would suggest that Milton is at the midpoint between Barbauld's and Grant's visions in that he is critical of English government but still expresses faith in and hope for the regeneration of England. This stance is between Barbauld, who criticizes England and prophesies its doom, versus Grant who, like Milton, acknowledges the

imperfections of English monarchy but still envisions England as the world's best defender and source of liberty.

Hence, in this chapter, I will examine Barbauld in terms of her ideology, a stoic pacifism that sets the stage for her utopian vision, and how it plays out in her poem Eighteen Hundred and Eleven. In her global vision in which she embraces the mercy of Christ while rejecting the justice of God the Father, she engages Milton poetically, theologically, and politically, but radically departs from him in her prophetic vision. Before examining the poem in terms of its structure and themes of sin and regeneration, I will sketch a basic framework of her religious and political points of view, both being intimately linked by her limiting focus upon a pacifistic Christ, a frame that contextualizes her poem.

Barbauld's dissenting Puritan theology contrasts sharply with that of Milton's Augustinian Puritan theology; this theological difference reveals a striking contrast between the two poets' politics as they are voiced in their poetry. However, both poets share contentions with monarchy for differing, if not contrasting, reasons. Barbauld decries any authority that exercises force, whether just or not, and promotes only pacifistic disengagement from unjust power structures; however, Milton

tolerates violence in the name of justice and order but warns against the evils of abuse of power, especially a monarchy that acts arbitrarily and selfishly rather than justly and charitably in the interests of its people. Furthermore, the two poets' prescriptions for England equally differ in that Barbauld's theological and political ideology could be summarized as a pacifist disengagement from material history, while Milton (and later Grant) prescribes an active, material engagement within the historical moment.

I. Anna Letitia Barbauld's Religion and Politics: Look
But Don't Touch

In his article "Fighting Words," Evan Gottlieb explains "the globalization of the British imagination during the Romantic period" (327) as he argues that Britons looked beyond their own borders regarding nations' impacts upon other nations and explored this poetically. Extending Gottlieb's argument regarding Barbauld's geographical scope, I argue that Barbauld's ideology was just not global but, much like the spiritually-minded Romantics, her vision is a cosmic one that connects politics and religion, as

does Milton's.³ Gottlieb argues that in Eighteen Hundred and Eleven we see Barbauld's "globe-spanning scope" (336), and this global vision emanates from a core set of values that informs Barbauld's point of view, values instilled in her since her childhood. However, I extend this argument and assert that these deeply-instilled values and how she incorporated them into her own religious and political views assumed changing contours over her career. More specifically, Barbauld's theology is at the root of her view of a chaotic history, a historical perspective that results in a deistic view of the universe that ultimately justifies her pacifist political stance.

These principles were instilled by her father, the Reverend John Aikin, who provided the young Anna with "surroundings saturated with talk about God [. . .] and learned discussions of things divine" (McCarthy 151). Her father taught at Warrington "the whole range of divinity, including Hebrew, ontology, pneumatology, ethics, basic jurisprudence, the Scriptures, Jewish antiquities, evidence

³ Gottlieb's "Fighting Words: Representing the Napoleonic Wars in the Poetry of Hemans and Barbauld" examines Felicia Hemans's England and Spain alongside Barbauld's Eighteen Hundred and Eleven "By putting these two poems back into their wartime contexts and also back into conversation with each other [. . . to] productively explore not only the contributions of each poet to wartime discourse, but also the globalization of the British imagination during the Romantic period" (327).

I would also note that, regarding spirituality during this period, Romantic thinkers were not necessarily proponents of institutional religion.

of revelation, and church history" (McCarthy, ALB 151).⁴ Thus, from an early age, she was steeped in religious thought both academically and personally through her father. From this early theological awareness, she developed core values that inform her ideology, values that include "justice, truth, virtue, and love" (Watkins 29), and Watkins explains that "These principles [. . .] undergird every dimension of experience, from friendship to religion to hope to politics to death" (29) for Barbauld. In line with Watkins, McCarthy also points out that Barbauld's "moral outlook combined religious conviction with political benevolence. She believed that political benevolence--generosity, good will, liberalism--was intrinsic to genuine religion" (ALB xii).

A large factor in Barbauld's theological outlook can be attributed to her knowledge of the Bible. With not only a father but also later a husband who was a minister, Barbauld had "no defect in her Scripture knowledge [. . . and] knew the Bible as intimately as any professional cleric" (McCarthy, ALB 152). Furthermore, it is this intimate knowledge and study of Scripture that shaped what would be her political ideology. One way that she acquired an intimate knowledge of the New Testament, McCarthy

⁴ For one of the most thorough studies of Barbauld biographically, see William McCarthy's Anna Letitia Barbauld: Voice of the Enlightenment.

surmises, is through her father's use of Philip Doddridge's popular text, The Family Expositor (ALB 41).⁵ Her study of the New Testament, which centers on the figure of Christ, leads to "her own understanding of love and faith" (Watkins 173) being based upon Christ in the Gospels; she particularly focuses on the suffering of Christ as an exemplar to humans who are to suffer silently while God the Father is absent from the world (Watkins 173).⁶ Barbauld interprets this boundless love of Christ, even in the face of injustice and oppression, as His endorsement of passivity and non-violence--values that she embraces.

In the Gospels, Barbauld finds an imminent Savior--a messiah who is born, lives, suffers, dies, and resurrects--

⁵ McCarthy surmises that Mr. Aiken would have used the text since, not only was the text popular, but Doddridge was Aikin's teacher. The Family Expositor; or, A Paraphrase and Version of the New Testament, with Critical Notes and a Practical Improvement of Each Section, in six volumes (1739-56)

presents a text of the new New Testament in the King James translation side by side with Doddridge's up-to-date translation, which includes his interpretive paraphrases. The text is segmented into sections; following each section comes an "Improvement," in which Doddridge comments on the Gospel text and suggests what might be learned from it or how readers might profit from thinking about it. [. . .] The way to use the book in families, Doddridge explained, was first to read the Gospel text, then to read his updated translation and paraphrase, and then to read the improvement. One would move, thus, from original text to close interpretation to application to life. (ALB 41)

⁶ I here quote Watkins fully:

[T]he example of Christ affirms the spiritual dimension of mortal existence. Christ's ability to love humanity in the face of insufferable torment by those who opposed him is evidence, for Barbauld, that faith is capable of sustaining her in the world as a human and historical example of the human capacity for love. While God may be removed from the world, Christ is in and of the world. And Christ's faith is unshakeable and his love boundless. (173)

who is located intimately within human, concrete experience. This example of the seeable and knowable Christ as the suffering servant contrasts what Barbauld finds in the Old Testament. There, in the Hebrew Scriptures, McCarthy argues that Barbauld finds a divine Father who is "sinister [, . . .] darker [, . . .] not perceptibly benevolent, not at all concerned for individual human beings" (ALB 474).⁷ Unlike Christ, Yahweh is not at all concerned for His creations, and His interests lie outside of human interests--a God that is transcendent rather than imminent. Barbauld's God of the Hebrews is inconsistent and chaotic, and she associates this understanding of God with her understanding of history. In her poem, Barbauld personifies history as an animating "Spirit" (1811 215) who

walks [. . .] o'er the peopled earth,
Secret his progress is, unknown his birth;
Moody and viewless as the changing wind,
No force arrests his foot, no chain can bind[.]

(1811 215-18)

Barbauld asserts that the events within human history are impacted by this spirit that is capricious, unpredictable,

⁷ Here, McCarthy is examining Barbauld's characterization of the Spirit in Eighteen Hundred and Eleven and, in so doing, notes Harold Bloom's view of the Old Testament's Yahweh as "a capricious God, this stern imp" (McCarthy, ALB 474).

and unstoppable. She understands that "history is the unpredictable work of an elusive character, a trickster" (McCarthy, ALB 474).

It is this incongruity between the violently chaotic God of the Old Testament and the patiently suffering Christ of the New Testament that pushes Barbauld toward a stoic pacifism modeled on Christ that is at the foundation not only of her faith but also of her politics. It is a perspective that is in-line with her tradition of religious dissent, a tradition that was associated with anarchy since dissent was viewed as a threat to the central power of the Anglican Church.⁸ By seeing the world as chaotic and anarchical, a world of the Old Testament with sinful monarchs and endless warfare in which innocent blood is spilled, Barbauld turns toward her stable model of Christ, a model of quiet suffering in the face of injustice and violence. In other words, as a way to reconcile her dissenting view of the world as a creation of a chaotic and violent Old Testament Yahweh, Barbauld finds refuge and stability in the suffering and pacifistic New Testament Christ. Rather than abandoning her faith completely, she simply rejects God the Father and embraces God the Son.

⁸ Though Abigail Williams's Poetry and the Creation of a Whig Literary Culture 1681-1714 does not focus on the Romantic period, it does suggest a link between religious dissent and anarchy (25-26).

As Jesus suffered silently in an unjust world, so will Barbauld. Christ suffered at the hands of both political and military power structures: the Jewish Sadducees, Pharisees, and King Herod, all of whom feared reprisal from the heavy hand of Rome and its mighty military. Christ suffered because of his revolutionary message centered on love, and Barbauld sees similar suffering brought upon the English citizenry by the English military as England's army "sport[s] in wars" (1811 43) in its Napoleonic campaign, suffering that includes the loss of fathers and sons and the sting of poverty as English economic resources are being directed toward war rather than toward England's citizens. However, Christ's passive suffering and death brought stability and life to His people; similarly, Barbauld promotes a pacifism that, she prophesies, will bring stability of non-engagement amidst the chaos of England and Europe as "Ruin, as with an earthquake shock, is here" (1811 49). Hence, the passively suffering Christ will serve as an anchor in her view of the world, a perspective that grew out of anarchical dissent but then was stabilized by Christ's passivity.

This Christ-as-pacifist model that centers her religious and political vision is reflected in her poetry. Watkins observes that Barbauld acknowledges suffering and

injustice in human experience but maintains that remaining true to core principles, such as love, and not engaging in violence is a strategy for social transformation (197).⁹

Furthermore, Lisa Vargo would argue that Barbauld's non-violent idealism is not only a product of her Scriptural study but also her study of philosophy, more specifically her understanding of Stoicism (87). Vargo explains that Barbauld "understood Stoicism as a means to engage with intellectual conflicts and maintain a commitment to ideals of virtue and citizenship" (87). Quoting Martha C. Nussbaum, Vargo identifies three stoic tenets that shaped Barbauld's philosophy. First, such a stoic philosophy required the use of reason to critique popular belief; second, the critic must eliminate the passions from one's life; and third, the philosopher must adopt an ideology that creates or envisions a "just and humane society" (Vargo 87). Not only should one theoretically subscribe to these principles, but also "the

⁹ Waktins asserts that

In her poems, Barbauld recognizes the hard realities of human experience, but at the same time she envisions love and kindness as guiding spirits, welcomes subservience as a transformative possibility in the face of injustice, and expresses faith that freedom is possible and life purposeful. For her, the world cannot be remade through conflict or violent engagement but only by embracing and living fully those values and principles that stand at the center of one's idealism. (197)

Hellenistic Stoics saw philosophy as a practice that must be integrated with daily life" (Vargo 87-88).

Barbauld integrates these principles into the daily work of her writing in which she "reflect[s] upon how to critique social injustice through reason and offer a vision of tranquility and self-sufficiency for individuals in their practice of the activities of daily life" (Vargo 88). Furthermore, as Watkins notes, it is in her poetry that we can find Barbauld's stoic pacifism (197). More specifically, Watkins succinctly summarizes this philosophical idealism, this "transformative sensibility that does not rely on force or power" (144-45) in her poetry. He explains that by

[r]efusing to embrace any oppositional form of power to fight against a prevailing structure of authority on the grounds that doing so simply perpetuates an ideology of domination, she instead articulates her visionary ideals from a position of subservience and pacifist (and conscientious) refusal of conflict[.] (145)

Watkins goes on to explain that she does so because by avoiding engagement, at any level, in "struggles for domination [. . .] assure[s] that those ideals remain uncorrupted and sustainable once a dominant structure of

authority has disappeared (145).¹⁰ In terms of her ideology in relation to the prophetic tradition of Milton, Watkins further observes, as noted earlier, that Barbauld "has divorced herself from what Wittreich calls 'The Milton tradition' of vision [. . .] (Blake's Sublime Allegory 25)" (145). This Miltonic tradition demands that the poet directly address cultural and ideological ills as well as actively engage the power structures that perpetuate them; this "intellectual and imaginative warfare" is what engages and transforms the perspective of the reader and, ultimately, the culture (Watkins 145).

In Eighteen Hundred and Thirteen, Barbauld clings to her "utopian principles" (Watkins 292) of pacifistic non-engagement. She sees the war machine of England as a "Colossal power" (1811 7) that achieves its political goals "with overwhelming force [of war that] / Bears down each foot of Freedom in its course" (1811 7-8). The marching soldiers of England not only are a prop for monarchy but also trample upon freedom itself. For Barbauld, freedom cannot be gained by war, since such an engagement forces one to become what one opposes; in other words, the fighter against tyranny ultimately becomes the tyrant. Instead,

¹⁰ Watkins's Anna Letitia Barbauld and 18th-Century Visionary Poetics primarily focuses on her volume Poems (1773; 1792) but lays important foundational principles for studying her later poem Eighteen Hundred and Eleven, a poem Watkins touches upon occasionally in his study.

she calls for a disengagement, to be "distant" (1811 47), from England's ills. To Barbauld, any kind of activity, even "low murmurs" (1811 47) or "whispered fears" (1811 48), participate in "creating what they dread" (1811 48). Thus, Barbauld calls for a disengaged pacifism that allows England to destroy itself so, out of its ruins, a new system can emerge.

As a pacifist, Barbauld breaks from Milton's tradition as revolutionary prophet, a choice that may have led to the critical failure of the poem and her ultimate downfall as a poet. The reading public was faced with her naked vision in the poem, a vision in which she sounds "the loud death drum" (1811 1), and the reader ultimately realizes that she sounds it not for dead soldiers but for their dead nation. Barbauld's vision is no longer disguised in the contours of her collections of poetry, such as in Poems (1773; 1792), in which poems engage and counterbalance one another. In this volume, she explores themes with balance and nuance and does so among several of her poems rather than within a singular poem. Barbauld examines freedom of the mind in "A Summer Evening's Meditation," spiritual insight in "Hymns," material engagement with the world in "Corsica"; intertextually, these poems singularly express aspects to Barbauld's vision and collectively give a greater depth and

understanding of Barbauld's appreciation of the complexity and beauty of God's creation (Watkins 29). However, Barbauld lacks such nuance and balance in her singular Eighteen Hundred and Eleven. Instead, the reader hears plainly the bell that Barbauld tolls for England. There is no ambiguity in which she prophesies to England that "Ruin [. . .] is here" (1811 49) and their nation will "sit in dust, as Asia now" (1811 126); her only prescription is to passively wait for this ruin and look to the Americas.¹¹

Barbauld's theology and prophetic political vision is thus distinct from Milton's in that Milton engages injustice and offers hope for transformation whereas Barbauld's stoic pacifism offers nothing but a front-row seat to watch England destroy itself. Milton operates within an Augustinian theological tradition that is structured by hierarchy and allows him to speak against the sins of monarchy in which the ruler violates the king's hierarchical obligation to serve the needs of the people. Barbauld, on the other hand, embraces a dissenting theology that prompts her to recognize chaos within history and a

¹¹ See Watkins for the interrelationship between and among poems that balance and counterbalance one another in her volume Poems (1773; 1792), a method that allowed for buffer and nuance that the singular Eighteen Hundred and Eleven does not. Also, for the overwhelmingly negative critical reception of Barbauld's poem, see Simon Bainbridge (152-53); Nicholas Birns (545); Christopher Bode (76-77); and William McCarthy (ALB 476-77). McCarthy offers the most complete listing and summary of reviews.

world of meaningless violence. Amidst England's war with France, this violence is felt both domestically where "the Soldier gleans the scant supply" (1811 19) that leaves "The helpless Peasant [. . .] to die" (1811 20) from want as well as abroad in the "ensanguined field" (1811 22) of battle due to England's military engagement with Napoleonic France. She recognizes that her historical moment of 1811, which is marked by the chaos of war and its attendant suffering both abroad in the "ensanguined field" (1811 22) and domestically to "The helpless Peasant" (1811 20), parallels the constant warfare of God's people as they conquer their foes such as the Philistines (1 Sam) and are conquered by empires such as the Babylonians (2 Kings) in the Old Testament in which a loving God is not present.

This historical moment, after which Barbauld will entitle her poem of Eighteen Hundred and Eleven, prompts her to retreat to stoic pacifism, a passive disengagement from violence and injustice that she sees in the suffering Christ of the Gospels. Thus, in her poem that subtly engages Milton in terms of its versification and themes of sin and regeneration, Barbauld's Eighteen Hundred and Eleven sets itself upon the blind poet's cultural authority but, then, ultimately rejects it in order to present her own prophetic vision of England's doom; as Milton's

Lucifer, the brightest of the angels, is "Hurl'd headlong flaming from th' Ethereal Skie" (PL I.45) in order to purge heaven of the rebel, Barbauld prophesies that "westward streams the light that leaves thy shores" (1811 79) and leaves England in darkness.

II. Barbauld's Eighteen Hundred and Eleven: England's Unhappy Fault

1. Verse and Form

Barbauld first engages Milton both poetically and politically in her choices of poetic genre and versification. In so doing, she breaks away from the Miltonic prophetic tradition in which the epic elevates and preserves English culture via the Judeo-Christian myth of humanity's fall. However, in order to understand what Barbauld rejects in the form of her poem, we must first examine what Milton does in his choice of genre and form.

In Paradise Lost, Milton works to capture and retain not only English but all Western Judeo-Christian culture for his age and all posterity. He chooses the genre of the heroic epic to align his poem with the epics of classical literature. While operating within such an established

genre, Milton creates "Things unattempted yet in Prose or Rime" (PL 16) in terms of re-writing the Judeo-Christian Scripture, more specifically the fall of both Lucifer and Adam and Eve. He re-writes Scripture as an epic while interweaving the allegory of his own political moment in English history, a moment that addresses issues of government and revolution. Kenneth Palmer explains the heroic poem was a kind of national assertion of maturity (Kermode, Fender, Palmer 114); thus, Milton is asserting England's place within a context of Christian myth, making England a model of humanity "That with no middle flight intends to soar / Above th' Aonian Mount" (PL I.14-15). He asks the "heavenly muse" (PL I.6) for divine assistance to elevate his own poetic powers, to take what is "dark [and], Illumin, what is low raise and support" (PL I.22-23). Milton petitions the powers of heaven to elevate his argument, his poem that not only explores issues of theology but also of English politics and culture; he begins his epic with this prayer so that he can "assert Eternal Providence" (PL I.25) not only to his poem but also to his politics. With the guidance of the divine muse in his poetry, Milton not only can theologically "justifie the wayes of God to men" (PL I.26) but also justify his own

political vision for England. Thus, Milton poetically connects the story of God with the story of England itself.

In connecting the traditional Judeo-Christian stories of Lucifer's rebellion and of humanity's fall to England's present moment of political turmoil, Milton is asserting the breadth of his project that was "meant to provide a grand, transcendental expression for [. . . his] time" (Smith 203). However, Milton also was aware that within the context of the English civil war, the epic became "internalized" (Smith 203). It underwent "a process of transformation in which epic and heroic language was made to refer to inward states of human constitution and consciousness" (Smith 203). The epic no longer simply told a story of a nation or of a protagonist--both subjects outside of the reader--but gave insight into the minds and souls of the individual readers. Though the citizen may identify with that nation, the individual sees oneself in relation to the nation outside of the self; however, the epic became a tool that empowered the reader to look inward and to see oneself in relation to one's mind and the divine soul within. The pilgrimage of each human soul to union with God is the pilgrimage of all humanity. Thus, the epic took on a psychological component in becoming a prism into

both the individual and the collective psyche of its audience.

The story of Adam and Eve is the story of every human being and explains the human phenomenon of sin within a divine paradigm; one can understand Original Sin as the knowledge that a particular action is wrong, the knowledge that acting wrongly will result in suffering, and the decision to act wrongly nonetheless. Furthermore, as it tells the story of each human being's propensity for sin, it follows that Genesis's story of Adam and Eve, and thus Milton's epic, tells the story and peers into the mind and soul of each person and of all of humanity, as well. It follows that Milton addresses issues both macrocosmically and microcosmically--both universally and individually--as well as within both a religious and historical-political context. Milton's focus is both the individual pilgrim journeying the winding road to salvation while also an allegory of government and his own historical, revolutionary moment in England, as many scholars since Milton's time have discussed. Paradise Lost gives religious insights within the larger context of the origin of sin and its effects upon all of history as humanity awaits the Son for redemption. His poem also explores the effect of sin upon the individual, as Milton poetically

goes beyond Genesis in the glimpse he offers of the domestic squabbling between the fallen first couple in Book IX.

Also concerning history and broken relationships, Milton explains the nature of government via the juxtaposition of the Father's heaven and Satan's Pandemonium, a relationship that speaks not only to the English monarchy of the poet's time but also to governance in all times and contexts. The Father reigns above "The happier state / In Heav'n, which follows dignity" (PL II.24-25) in which dignity is bestowed upon the Father's creation through His justice and mercy; the Father gives His creatures the dignity of free will, is just in punishing Adam and Eve's transgression against the law, and is then merciful in permitting the Son to be humanity's redeemer. This paradigm contrasts that of Lucifer's Pandemonium in which the highest seat is not a source of dignity but, rather, is the source of and "condemns to greatest share / Of endless pain" (PL II.28-29). When the highest seat of government is a source of pain rather than dignity and justice, then there must be a change of government, if not internally then externally. Thus, Milton, a well-established critic of English monarchy and advocate of liberty, sees neither Charles I nor Charles II

as a ruler in the heavenly paradigm that bestows the dignity of liberty upon their subjects. Hence, Milton is a supporter of revolution, including Oliver Cromwell's overthrow and execution of Charles I, in the interests of restoring a system of governance more in-line with the heavenly paradigm in which the values of dignity, justice, and liberty are central, values that Adam acknowledges in his assertion that "force upon free will hath here no place" (PL IX.1174) in paradise. Later, I will examine how Barbauld follows and departs from Milton as she agrees that a government that is a source of pain cannot stand. I will also explore how she diverges from him in her passive disengagement from tyrannical structures rather than Milton's concrete revolution against unjust monarchy.

Barbauld will reject Milton's notions of England's place in history, a notion he asserts via the epic form; however, Milton also makes assertions regarding his nation through his verse form, which Barbauld, too, will reject. Within his religious-political heroic epic, Milton writes the story of "the wayes of God" (PL 26) in relation "to man" (PL 26) in blank verse. B. Rajan asserts that "Paradise Lost is the first English Heroic poem to be written in blank verse" (109) and that, in so doing, Milton identifies himself as "the man who stood for free speech

[in that he] is determined to stand for free verse" (108). While he does poetically align himself with Homer and other ancient poets, Milton also distinguishes his epic from others, such as Spenser who wrote his epic with a specific rhyme pattern; in freeing himself from such a structure, Milton's epic rejects "rhyme [. . . as] both a recent shackle to be thrown off and an obstacle to modern politeness" (A. Williams 178). The freedom of Milton's lines, in their "rejection of rhyme[, . . . is] a way of restoring poetry to a prelapsarian purity" (A. Williams 178). Hence, Milton's verse sounds his call to remove modern, artificial, man-made conventions of rhyme and return to an ancient and timeless poetic freedom and liberty that is reflective of divine design. It follows from this rejection of limiting structures and a return to a pure (if not Puritan) time that his lines are the battle cry for Cromwellian revolution against a monarchy that denies liberty. However, his verse is also a lamentation of the restored monarchy that leaves Milton hoping for a regeneration of government with individual liberty as its governing principle.

Along with his choice of genre and verse, Milton will discuss the state of England and speak against the evils of monarchy. We will see that though Barbauld departs from

Milton in form, she will follow him, for different purposes, in prophesying against an unjust government.

Milton offers a religious and political vision in which he explores the nature of sin within a divine paradigm and speaks against the reigns of Charles I and, later, his son who violate the heavenly model of governance. In Eikonoklastes, Milton argues that the law reigns above the king and that earthly kingship ultimately results in tyranny. To illustrate the just punishment of tyrannical rulers, Milton offers a litany of kings, such as the ancient rulers of Argos, Sparta, and Rome, all of whom placed themselves above the law and were justly punished. Responding to Eikon Basilike in order to demythologize Charles I and justify his execution, Milton argues that kings who have violated the law deserve just punishment under the law and that all kings are capable of tyranny. At the root of this propensity toward evil is humanity's flawed nature and tendency to sin, as evidenced in the myth of humanity's fall. Unlike the sinless Father who justly reigns in heaven over his people, earthly kings, all of whom are tainted by Original Sin, are potential threats to liberty. Milton both criticizes monarchy and offers hope for a political revolution and offers the vision of a commonwealth with liberty at its center.

Barbauld follows Milton in this tradition of the prophet--the poet who speaks against the king. However, Barbauld's poem departs from Milton and his ultimate vision in which he addresses political evils and lauds individual human liberty. While Milton elevates his argument in Paradise Lost via the genre of epic, Barbauld does not place England on such a poetic pedestal. Rather, she simply writes "a Poem" as she specifically notes in the subtitle of Eighteen Hundred and Eleven: "a Poem." Though the subject matter presents a topic broad enough to be treated at the level of epic, she discusses "the spirit of the age" (Chandler 105) and examines England's place in history in relation to its own past and future as well as the histories of other nations.¹² Barbauld's undertaking is wide in that it encompasses the "golden" (1811 62) times of England's past; the loud battle drums of England's present (1811 1); the "ruin" (1811 124) in England's future; the histories of the rest of "Europe [. . . ,] Asia" (1811 125), and other "transatlantic realms" (1811 111) of the Americas; and the world of "Columbus" (1811 334). Such a wide scope seemingly presents poetic material enough to write an epic--the story of England in relation to Western history as told from the historical perspective of her

¹² See James Chandler's England in 1819 for a discussion of the Romantic notion of "the spirit of the age."

present moment. Though a long poem, her poem is nothing more than a poem per the author's titular definition. The limits of Barbauld's poem limit her topic. Though both works address moments of political crisis (Milton's age of civil war and revolution versus Barbauld's age of the Napoleonic wars) and though both give voices to prophets who speak against monarchy, the genres and structures of Milton's and Barbauld's poems comment on their subject matter. By virtue of the epic tradition in which grand poems immortalize their subjects, Milton aims to "assert Eternal Providence, / And justifie the wayes of God" (PL I.25-26) in addressing England's moment of crisis framed within the divine story of heavenly and earthly rebellion. However, in simply writing "a poem," Barbauld does not place England on a poetic pedestal.¹³

Furthermore, Barbauld's poem is distinct from Milton's in the ultimate visions they offer for England. Milton ends his epic with Adam and Eve viewing "The World [. . .] all before them [with . . .] Providence thir guide: / [and] They hand in hand [. . .] Through Eden took thir solitarie

¹³ McCarthy notes that Barbauld's "career resembled that of a male writer in her time. In its range of subjects and genres--poems, essays, literary criticism, political argument, and association with a large publication project--her work resembled Samuel Johnson's, and contemporaries were not slow to compare her to Johnson" (ALB x). Thus, I would suggest that Barbauld was not limited in her poetic powers and was fully capable of writing an epic. However, I cannot argue that she consciously chose not to write Eighteen Hundred and Eleven as an epic.

way" (PL XII.646-49), a scene in which the first couple is banished from paradise but is not abandoned by the spirit of their Creator. Providence provides the possibility for a future. However, while Milton's vision suggests a future, a chance for advancement, Barbauld's does not. Barbauld sees England's culture as chronologically advanced, as a culture at the end of its historical timeline and on the brink of death.

Not only does Barbauld see England as beyond its golden years whose "Midas dream is o'er" (1811 61) and on its deathbed due to the economic injustice and loss of human life prompted by the England's military engagement with France, but she also diverges from Milton's notion of liberty. Paul Stevens quotes Milton who argued, in The Tenure of Kings and Magistrates, that "'No man who knows ought, can be so stupid to deny that all men naturally were born free, ... born to command and not obey' (YP 3:198-9)" (Stevens 106). Milton understands this inherent liberty within humanity "is so because we are made in 'the image and resemblance of God himself' (198)" (Milton qtd. in Stevens 106). Milton primarily understands that liberty is a notion that is inherent within the individual, implanted within the soul by divine design, and grows outward from each person. Barbauld understands liberty as a principle

that resides outside of the individual. She portrays and personifies liberty as an external power, as a "Spirit [that walks] o'er the peopled earth" (1811 215) and that comes and goes from civilization to civilization, an agent that is outside of human experience, is outside each individual, and is outside collective humanity. Her stoic pacifism and view of a passive, suffering Christ require some outside force first to act to destroy the oppressive structures before renewal can take place. This philosophy is manifested in her poem as an external "Spirit" (1811 215) of liberty that wanders from nation to nation, and where this power goes, liberty follows.

As he locates liberty within the individual, Milton elevates humanity to have agency located within itself and to be able to find within itself a degree of regeneration.¹⁴ Milton has the Father "place within them as a guide / My Umpire Conscience, whom if they will hear, / Light after light well us'd they shall attain, / And to the end persisting, safe arrive" (PL III.194-97); humans are given

¹⁴ The idea of regeneration for humanity in Paradise Lost is a point of discussion among scholars. David Quint acknowledges that though Milton establishes a pattern by the end of the poem of human failure (13), "he provides the supplement of inner light and imagination" (13) that allows humans the opportunity to "always start over, and the last lines show Adam and Eve with the world all before them" (14). Also, Mary C. Fenton argues similarly that the bleak view of humanity in Books XI and XII set-up a vision of hope for humanity and "elucidate why Adam and Eve are able to discover resources they have for joy, comfort, and regeneration in the face of the sorrow and loss they will have to bear" (180).

the divine voice within and, thus, can hope to find regeneration by looking within themselves. They are reminded of this in Book XII when "The Spirit of God, [is] promis'd alike and giv'n / To all Beleevers; and from that pretense, / Spiritual Laws by carnal power shall force / On every conscience" (519-22). In other words, every human being created by God is promised to be a reflection of the divine creator in that the voice of God--the conscience--is placed within the human heart, a voice that reveals divine law that is reflected in the natural law perceived through the flesh. Barbauld does not allow the individual that divine quality. Rather, Barbauld's humanity, alone and helpless, suffers silently and hears "the loud death drum" (1811 1) while the spirit of liberty goes where it may.

As Barbauld's and Milton's choices of genre reveal their distinct visions, their versification within their poems further illustrate two divergent prophetic voices, too. Though it was a means to align himself with ancient epic poets, Milton's blank verse also was an assertion of liberty. However, Milton's choice of verse was criticized by Alexander Pope and Samuel Johnson who both were proponents of another verse form: the couplet.¹⁵ Unlike in

¹⁵ Though the relationship between Johnson and Milton is outlined thoroughly by many scholars, their relationship in relation to Barbauld

her earlier career, such as when composing "Corsica," a poem that addresses the issue of liberty, Barbauld now "disapproved of not rhyming" (McCarthy, ALB 368). McCarthy explains Barbauld's belief that "The ear demands rhyme; the prevailing iambic meter of English verse demands rhyme; experiments in doing without rhyme, or rejections of it as unclassical, fly in the face of the language itself" (ALB 368).¹⁶

Thus, Barbauld chooses to write her poem in couplets. Juxtaposed against Milton's choices, Barbauld diverges from Milton not only poetically but thematically, as well. Barbauld's form speaks against liberty in that her choice of a poetic form of a lesser stature (i.e. not an epic) and her choice of couplets, which are more poetically restrictive, speak against Milton's prayer to elevate England and make it the seat liberty; his heroic blank verse embodies his theme of liberty in charting humanity's fall from divine grace to humanity's finding a state of regeneration. Milton's verse, free of restrictive rhyme, can plumb the depths of Pandemonium, travel through Chaos,

is best discussed by McCarthy in his volume on Barbauld and is most useful for my purposes here (ALB 368-69).

¹⁶ McCarthy surmises that Barbauld's attitudes towards liberty and rhyme changed "having lived through a genuine crisis of civil liberty and into a time of seriously unjust legislation, [and so] she now saw her early enthusiasm for liberty as naive" (McCarthy, ALB 369). McCarthy then relates an anecdote concerning her meeting "the hero of 'Corsica,' General Pasquale Paoli [. . . and] The experience had not thrilled her" (McCarthy, ALB 369).

and soar the heavens, whereas Barbauld's lines are restricted by a poetic form of the rhymed couplet.

The lines of Barbauld's and Milton's poems delineate the flight or plight of each individual. Milton's reader enjoys lines not restricted by rhyme, lines that reflect the divine gift of liberty. Raphael's instruction to Adam suggests this link between form and theme:

[. . .] what surmounts the reach
Of human sense, I shall delineate so,
By lik'ning spiritual to corporal forms,
As may express them best, though what if Earth
Be but shaddow of Heav'n, and things therein
Each t' other like, more then on earth is
thought? (PL V.571-76, emphasis mine)

The archangel's delineation requires that he joins the heavenly to the earthly--the limitless to the limited--in order to empower humanity to greater thought. Embodying Raphael's instruction, the ends of Milton's lines are not limited by rhyme, and, as Adam wonders about the stars beyond the limits of the earth, Milton's earthly musings "speak / The Makers high magnificence, who built / So spacious, and his Line stretcht out so farr" (emphasis mine, PL VIII.100-02). Milton's epic lines stretch over the span of twelve books, and his themes stretch from

earthly Eden to the paradise of heaven and to the hellish Pandemonium.

Conversely, Barbauld's reader is constricted to lines with forced rhyme--limiting structures that reflect humanity's lack of agency. Barbauld's lines tell of a youth who must find knowledge not directly from God but, instead, is limited to physical spaces

Beneath the spreading Platan's tent-like shade
Or by Missouri's rushing waters laid
"Old father Thames" shall be the Poets' theme,
Of Hagley's woods the enamoured virgin dream,
And Milton's tones the raptured ear enthrall,
Mixt with the roar of Niagara's fall[.] (1811 91-
96)

The lines, themselves, are paired by rhyme, two by two, and marched forward by the poet, much as Noah marches forward the animals, two by two, in anticipation of disaster. In the same way, the youth within these lines is dragged from place to place and limited to specific, earthly locations in order to find inspiration. The child can only be disappointed to learn that even Milton's lines that hearken divine rapture are drowned by the crash of plummeting water. The youth makes "With fond adoring steps to press the sod / By statesmen, sages, poets, heroes trod" (1811

131-32) as he travels through the ruins of Europe (1811 126). Milton's verse is unrestricted in that it creates a connection to the divine; Barbauld's lines are limited by rhyme, and her couplets embody the cycle of beginnings and endings. As the couplet begins, it is then ended by the next line. Thus, the reader faces endings and destruction every other line.

Having examined Barbauld's choice of form and how it engages Milton, I will next examine Barbauld's themes developed in Eighteen Hundred and Eleven. In these themes, she lays bare her ideology of history and liberty and how her understanding departs from Milton's notion of liberty within the salvation history of humanity. Unlike Milton, who sees an orderly creation in which human liberty allows for both its fall and possible regeneration, Barbauld offers a contrasting vision. Her poem will portray a chaotic universe at the whim of her arbitrary spirit of history in which a pattern of decline will leave England with no hope for renewal.

2. The Fall: History and Liberty

In Barbauld's and Milton's poems, we will see a distinct difference between each poet's notion of history

and its movements as well as humanity's place and power (or powerlessness) within the universe. These differences are attributable to each poet's perspective and understanding of Scripture. Whereas Milton sees and presents an orderly universe directed toward perfection through humanity's reunification with God, Barbauld views a chaotic universe that is bleak and, as will her humanity that lacks agency, ends in destruction.

Milton's thinking that leaned toward revolution meshes with a traditional Judeo-Christian conception of the cosmos in terms of reversals and revolution. He "viewed poetic history, like political history, in apocalyptic terms: rather than envisaging a smooth, steady progression toward perfection, he sought, in his own poetry, to make the last first and the first last" (Norbrook, Poetry 228). Though such a view seems chaotic, it is still an orderly one. Though Milton's conception of order requires disruptions and reversals, it is a perspective that falls in-line with the paradoxical teachings of Christ.¹⁷ There is a paradoxical order in the cycle of disruption in which destruction is necessary for renewal; death is a means for new life. Milton's epic offers a Christian vision in which

¹⁷ Jesus teaches that "But many that are first shall be last; and the last shall be first" (Matt 19:30) and, again, "So the last shall be first, and the first last" (Matt 20:16a).

the individual can experience death and then experience the hope for new life, which we will not see in Barbauld's poem where death is final and the animating spirit of history moves elsewhere. In Milton, we can see a pattern--though a disruptive one--within the divine order of the universe and history. Again, this perspective is Christ's perspective, the Christ who came "to send fire on the earth" (Luke 12:49) and not "to give peace on earth [. . .] Nay; but rather division" (Luke 12:51). Hence, Milton's Christ is not Barbauld's Christ who meekly responds with love. Rather, Milton appears to align himself with the Christ who warns the world to "Think not that I am come to send peace on the earth: I came not to send peace, but a sword" (Matt 10:34). Using the Scriptural Christ-as-sword model as a lens, one can understand that Milton's cosmos sometimes requires violence--divine justice--that, along with loving mercy, restores God's creation.

Such a perspective of an orderly (though not utopian) cosmos can be gleaned from Scripture, not only from the Gospels but from the Hebrew Scriptures, as well. The first story of creation in Genesis reflects a divine order through both its plot and structure in the pattern for each day of creation: God speaks; God's word becomes material creation; God affirms His creation usually by confirming

“that it was good” (Gen 1:4, 10, 12, 18, 21, 25) and finally confirming that all of His creation “was very good” (Gen 1:31); finally, closure is indicated by noting the cycle of “the evening and the morning” (Gen 1:5, 8, 13, 19, 23, 31) for each day.

The editors of Genesis carefully crafted this myth in response to their cultural surroundings at the time of the Babylonian exile when many of the oral traditions of the Israelites were first being written by those displaced but still faithful to Yahweh. The Babylonian creation story, the Enuma Elish, taught that the universe was a result of chaotic warfare between gods; the resulting carnage, gore, and bloodshed are the origins of the material universe including humanity. Therefore, humans were understood within the Babylonian culture as mere by-products of chaotic warfare and death; people were no more than slaves to the warring gods. The Babylonians’ conception of the universe was chaotic and negative. Exiled within this cultural milieu, the Israelites wished to preserve their understanding of a benevolent God who created all out of love and, thus, all being good. The God of Abraham created a divine order that is reflected in His creation, ultimately creating humans in His own divine image, which gives humans inherent dignity and liberty.

Milton's epic reflects Genesis and the Judeo-Christian theology of creation, a creation that is understood as both positive and orderly. For example, in Book V, we see a heavenly ordering of the angels, of "Hierarchs in orders bright" (PL V.587) who "serve / Of Hierarchies, of Orders, and Degrees" (PL V.590-91). As Paradise Lost follows the basic tenets of the traditional Judeo-Christian stories of order, rebellion, and sin, we see that the nature of sin is, basically, the violation of this divine order, a violation of human dignity, divine liberty, and divinely-mandated hierarchy.

We first see this violation of hierarchy described in Book I of Milton's epic where Lucifer rebels against God. The highest of the angels desires to be the highest of all beings, and "his Pride / Had cast him out from Heav'n, with all his Host / Of Rebel Angels, by whos aid aspiring / To set himself in Glory above his Peers, / He trusted to have equal'd the most High" (PL I.36-40). Thus, Lucifer "with ambitious aim / Against the Throne and Monarchy of God / Rais'd impious War" (PL I.41-43), which ultimately leads to the fallen angel's "hideous ruin and combustion down / To bottomless perdition, there to dwell / In Adamantine Chains and penal fire" (PL I.46-48). Hence, in Lucifer's and his fellow angels' unjust rebellion rooted in pride and the

desire to be greater than God--a violation of divine order and hierarchy--they find themselves fallen and, therefore, suffering the consequences of divine justice.

On the earthly plane, the first humans commit the same sin of violating divine hierarchy.¹⁸ After entering the garden and taking on the body of a serpent, Satan decides to tempt the solitary Eve to eat of the forbidden tree of knowledge. In his sophistic skills of speech, Satan explains that God forbids Eve and her partner from eating of the tree to keep them subservient to their Creator, but, by eating of the tree, the serpent promises that "ye should be as Gods" (PL IX.710) since "what are Gods that Man may not become / As they, participating God-like food" (PL IX.716-17). Satan presents himself as an example and implores Eve to "look on mee, / Mee who have touch'd and tasted, yet both live, / And life more prefect have attained then Fate / Meant mee, by ventring higher then my Lot" (emphasis mine, PL IX.687-90); he implores her to follow him in gaining faculties beyond God's design and,

¹⁸ See John Rogers's "The political theology of Milton's Heaven" for a discussion of governance and the arbitrary nature of the Father's rule. Rogers suggests that humanity is not at fault since their act does not violate natural law that is knowable via human reason. Rather, the Father is guilty of exercising power arbitrarily, and this model of the Father as a tyrant--one who subjects others to arbitrary power--complicates Milton's poem from both a theological and political perspective. However, exploring the many avenues of this discussion is outside of the scope of my argument.

thus, going above one's ordered place in God's hierarchy.¹⁹ Consequently, in her vain pride, Eve acknowledges her "want" (PL IX.755) and, therefore, desires "to know" (PL IX.758), "to be wise" (PL IX.759), and, hence, to be like God--to rise above her place within the divinely-ordered hierarchy. In Adam's subsequent willful following of his partner in sin, humanity finds itself fallen.²⁰

¹⁹ The topic of temptation in Paradise Lost is a topic of discussion among critics. W. Gardner Campbell offers a discussion of temptation in Milton's epic. In the discussion he explains Stanley Fish's assertion that God makes plain the distinctions between right and wrong in the story, and Milton simply is highlighting the fallen nature of humanity in its inability to see such clear distinctions. Fish says that the reader participates in this phenomenon in the critical act of seeing the temptation as problematic; in other words, our fallenness is evidenced by our questioning if Lucifer and the first humans were wrong in their choices to defy God (165-66). Campbell goes on to examine the ability God gave humans to think and reach beyond their station which is morally ambivalent since, in attempting to morally perfect ourselves, we are trying to achieve union with the divine (167). Hence, listing the moments of temptation that precede Eve and Adam's fall, Campbell questions if God created humanity with an inherent propensity to sin (168).

Peter C. Herman discusses sin in legal terminology of Milton's time, especially considering that Milton's father was a scrivener and his brother was a lawyer and that Milton owned almost a dozen law books at the time of his death (49-50). In his argument, Herman suggests that Lucifer, Adam, and Eve are not solely responsible, and Milton's poem "spreads blame both wider and deeper than either God or the Muse allow" (50). Herman suggests that Milton frames God and His angels as legally negligent in the fall of Lucifer and of humanity (64).

²⁰ One could examine the story of humanity's fall within Paradise Lost much more closely and complexly. In terms of gender, much has and still can be discussed concerning the relationship and responsibilities between Adam and Eve, such as Adam's violating a patriarchal hierarchy in that the true sin is his in allowing Eve to wander away independently, thus exposing her frailty and inability to fend off the tempting serpent. Concerning this and other issues, I defer to other scholars and other studies since such considerations fall outside the scope of my project. For example, see studies by Shannon Miller and Charlotte Sussman.

More specifically and referencing Paula R. Backscheider, Watkins best expresses why I specifically am not addressing issues of gender in Milton and, more pointedly, in neither Barbauld's nor Grant's texts because

In Genesis, the result of sin is a trinity of separation in which humanity is separated from nature, from fellow humanity, and from God. Adam and Eve's separation from nature is established not only when they are expelled from the garden but also when God places "enmity between [the serpent] and the woman [. . . so that she] will bruise thy head, and [it] shalt bruise h[er] heel" (Gen 3:15); when sin introduces pain to childbirth since "in sorrow thou shalt bring forth children" (Gen 3:16); last, when God pits Adam against the soil in decreeing "cursed is the ground for thy sake" (Gen 3:17) and "In the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread" (Gen 3:19). Following the tripartite separation from nature, humans suffer separation from themselves when, having eaten of the tree of knowledge, Adam and Eve "knew that they were naked; and they sewed fig leaves together" (Gen 3:7), thus each

to view these writers and their works only through the lens of gender or to consider gender as the first principle of their poetic interest would greatly limit understanding of the reach of their imaginations. [. . .] By moving beyond the singular emphasis on gender, and beyond the idea that gender is a necessary leverage point for reading women's poetry against the grain of their male counterparts, scholars have begun to place the poetry of women more richly into conversation with the broader culture in which it was produced. (4-5)

It is not that examining the texts through the lens of gender is unimportant or unfruitful, but I prefer to examine the poems on their merits alone, regardless of gender. I choose to approach all three works through the same lens rather than reserving a separate lens for Barbauld's or Grant's texts, in which using distinct lenses based on gender would suggest an inherent inequality divided by gender. In my study, I hope to give Barbauld's and Grant's texts the same critical attention as Milton's.

covering or hiding herself and himself from the other. The trinity of disunion is complete in their separation from God; where before they would walk freely with God in Eden, they now "hid themselves from the presence of the Lord God amongst the trees of the garden" (Gen 3:8).

As Barbauld will for different purposes, Milton follows the Genesis pattern closely while creating poetic space to explore each consequence. As Milton does so in his Arguments, I, too, will summarize Adam and Eve's consequences for their sin. Immediately after both have eaten of the forbidden fruit in Book IX, Adam and Eve "seek to cover thir nakedness" (PL IX.Argument) and "then fall to variance and accusation of one another" (PL IX.Argument). Here, the poet expands Genesis's account to explore the relationship between Adam and Eve in which each transgressor blames the other after their pride-driven and wanton trespass against God. Next, humanity's separation from God and nature is signified in Book X when "He sends his Son to judge the transgressors, who descends and gives sentence accordingly" (PL X.Argument) as well as when the first couple "the voice of God they heard / Now walking in the Garden, [. . .] And from his presence hid themselves among / The thickest Trees, both Man and Wife" (PL X.97-98, 100-01). Hiding and separating themselves from God, they

eventually face their creator and their punishment. To the serpent it is told that "Between Thee and the Woman I will put / Enmitie, and between thine and her Seed; / Her Seed shall bruise thy head, thou bruise his heel" (PL X.179-81). To Eve the punishment is "Thy sorrow I will greatly multiplie / By thy Conception; Children thou shalt bring / In sorrow forth" (PL X.193-95). The sentence upon Adam is that he must toil for his sustenance since

Curs'd is the ground for thy sake, thou in sorrow
Shalt eat thereof all the days of thy Life;
Thorns and Thistles it shall bring thee forth
Unbid, and thou shalt eat th' Herb of the
Field,

In the sweat of thy Face shalt thou eat Bread,
Till thou return unto the ground (PL X.201-06)

Hence, humanity finds itself, at this point, alienated from the garden and separated from the Creator. However, we will see that God is benevolent and will offer hope while, in the meantime, humanity will be able to find order and meaning within its fallen state.

As Milton's epic offers a view of history in which order is violated and then must be restored, Barbauld's long poem voices similar concerns regarding disorder and fallen humanity; however, while Barbauld's poem engages

these Miltonic themes, it also refutes them. Barbauld does not offer a vision of a divinely ordered universe nor of her nation as a reflection of its benevolent Creator; instead, Barbauld sees her nation marked by chaos, death, and despair due to England's war against France, which she believes has caused economic disparity amongst social classes, the bloodshed of innocent soldiers, and the domestic despair of those left in the wake of both poverty and lost loved ones.

A central concern in Barbauld's Eighteen Hundred and Thirteen is revealed in the title itself, which names a calendar year, a date, a time within history. Thus, history is one of Barbauld's primary means to develop her notion of liberty. Not only does this idea of history allow her to reveal her ideological paradigm of liberty since history was an esteemed genre of the time, but it is also a means to tap into the interest of critics and the reading public. Devoney Looser explains, especially in terms of eighteenth-century fiction, "that fiction writers likened their productions to histories in order to achieve status through association with a more respectable genre" (23).

Not only does the theme of history within her fiction give the poem more authority, but historical allusion is

used also for political purposes. As for many writers, including Anne Grant as we will later see, "For Barbauld [. . .] the question was not simply whether to recover the past, but instead to ask which elements of the nation's literary history could be best reanimated and so used for present purposes" (Jones 137). Barbauld accesses not only national history but also literary history in her poem, and her best source for both kinds of history and a source who also provides instant literary and cultural authority is Milton. In Jones's view, Milton

provided Barbauld with a language for articulating the world, one that was both rough and supple [. . .] linguistically sophisticated and politically engaged [. . . and a] style [from which] Barbauld was able to fashion her own poetic language, her own mode of subtly engaged response.²¹ (137)

As noted earlier, Barbauld's notion of history is that the events of human history over time are chaotic like the events of the Old Testament in which we find the warrior-

²¹ Here, Jones is discussing Barbauld's earlier poems with a close examination of her language, particularly the rhetorical methods of negation and questioning that Milton employs. I see his discussion useful in terms of Barbauld's close study of Milton, particularly of Paradise Lost, and her awareness of his language, both of which is subtly reflected in Eighteen Hundred and Eleven. While Jones focuses on her earlier poetry, I, instead, focus on her last published poem.

king image of Yahweh (McCarthy, ALB 474). We are presented with this notion immediately in the poem when we hear "Still the loud death drum, thundering from afar" (1811 1), and the din echoes the thunder that "O'er the vext nations pours the storm of war" (1811 2). This sound of chaotic war signals "the fierce strife" (1811 4), a strife that leaves England and Europe in a constant state of chaos. While England labors "Bravely" (1811 5) for liberty to reside throughout Europe, it does so "vainly" (1811 5) and cannot "prop each sinking state" (1811 6).

The threat to liberty is identified in the poem as the "Colossal Power" (1811 7) that is an "overwhelming force" (1811 7) that critics read narrowly as a reference to Napoleon as the French marched through Europe; however, while Barbauld does address the Napoleonic wars specifically, she is also addressing more universal interests. This "Colossal Power" is the power of history, a power that cannot be defeated and marches on from age to age and in all places. Likening history to a military power, Barbauld asserts that history "Bears down each fort of Freedom in its course" (1811 8) and leaves humanity "Prostrate [. . .] beneath the Despot's sway" (1811 9) and that humanity ultimately must "obey" (1811 10) the destructive power of history. Thus, history is a despot

that works antithetically to liberty in that it destroys freedom and enslaves humanity. Barbauld's vision personifies history marching forward as it enslaves powerless humans who lack the agency to alter its destructive path. Barbauld's history is a reality from which humanity cannot escape, a reality that is constantly operating within her chaotic universe.

For Romantic thinkers, history and literature were intimately linked. Marilyn Gaull explains that with the advent of science sparked a keen awareness of England's place within a global framework, and thus, a desire to construct England's position within a global grand narrative. With geological discoveries that made the history of the earth much older than previously thought, England suddenly found itself to be only a tiny blip on the timeline of the world; hence, English culture had to reassert itself within world history and did so via the act of writing. Chandler explains that English literary representation made history in two ways: the construction of a narrative of past events and an intervention that alters the course of future events (114). He goes on to argue that Barbauld's awareness of literature's role in relation to history, as writing both told of and directed the course of events, is important for understanding her

Eighteen Hundred and Eleven. One distinction that Barbauld makes regarding history is between the notions of temps linguistique and temps chronique in which the former marks events in relation to the time of another action and the latter marks events in relation to the time of calendars (Chandler 117). Barbauld plays with both notions in her poem.

First, Barbauld examines English history as it relates to other national histories; the poem discusses England positioned on the timeline of civilization between Asia and America, in which England is past its prime (a stage that America is beginning to enjoy) and on its way to ruin (in which Asia now sits). Though the body of her poem discusses England's place in history in relation to other countries, one cannot ignore Barbauld's title: a date. Thus, second, her title nods to the notion of temps chronique in which the year "1811" is an arbitrary construction because, in this framework of history, diachronic time is purely relative in that dates--numerical years, months, and days--are completely arbitrary constructions. What is "1811" other than a number that distinguishes 365 consecutive days from another set of 365 consecutive days perhaps called "1814" or "1975" or "2001"? These numbers only have significance in relation to the

number of chronological measures (years) from the estimated point of Christ's birth, which begs the question: Why from that particular (and estimated) event and why not another? Therefore, this calendrical method to measure time is arbitrary.

Hence, Barbauld's notions of history as both relative (temps linguistique) and arbitrary (temps chronique) are reflected in her poem. In charting the rise and fall of nations in relation to one another, she suggests that all nations will be like past civilizations that now sit in ruin. History is marked by death. Along with her prophecy of doom in the poem, her title alludes to the arbitrary, or chaotic, nature of history. Her spirit of history marches from nation to nation and leaves each civilization in ruin. With France having experienced the destruction of revolution, with England at war with Napoleon, Barbauld anticipates more destruction. She foretells that "Europe [will] sit in dust, as Asia now" (1811 126) because Barbauld understands this power that raises and destroys cultures to be the spirit of history.²²

Amidst the chaos of constant warfare at Barbauld's point in history, she identifies her nation with her Old

²² Noting the work of Chandler, I will return to contemporary notions of history in my next chapter and more sharply contrast Barbauld's notion of history with that of Grant's, especially within the context of Scottish-Enlightenment History.

Testament God of chaos and warfare. Identifying Britain as the "island Queen" (1811 40), she questions her nation that "while danger keeps aloof, / Thy grassy turf [is] unbruised by hostile hoof" (1811 43-44); here, she challenges England who sees Napoleonic France as a source of terror and destruction while her island nation washes its own hands of being guilty of destruction neither domestically nor abroad. Barbauld is implicating England in terrorizing its own citizen through poverty as it feeds its own military machine that spreads death and destruction on the Continent. She likens Britain-as-Queen to a transcendent, almost Deistic, God-as-King who removes Himself from the material chaos, a universe marked by death and destruction, a chaos that her God, Himself, has created. She chastises England as the aloof source of chaos and prophesies that "Thou who hast shared the guilt must share the woe" (1811 46). Barbauld sounds the call that "Ruin [. . .] is here" (1811 49) along with "sad death, whence most affection bleeds, / Which sickness, only of the soul, precedes" (1811 51-52). However, her cries for her God and for Britain to come down from the lofty perch are in vain.

Instead, Barbauld judges the divine and human forces behind history, the bloodthirsty God and warring Britain,

to be arbitrary in their movements and actions, having no ordering principle. The speaker of the poem sees

There walks a Spirit o'er the peopled earth,
Secret his progress is, unknown his birth;
Moody and viewless as the changing wind,
No force arrests his foot, no chains can bind;
Where'er he turns[.] (1811 215-19)

The Spirit of history cannot be found by seeking since seeking would require some method and logic; instead, this Spirit is only found by happenstance as Barbauld casually stumbles upon and notes "There walks a Spirit" (1811 215). And this wandering power is "Secret [in] his progress" (1811 216) in that one cannot know where the Spirit goes, nor can one know from whence it came since "unknown his birth" (1811 216). Lacking a point of origin, this Spirit is unchartable and goes beyond human understanding, the human logic, that requires pointing to a subject's beginning and its end in order to understand it, in order to plot its movements and predict its next step.

As in its movement, the Spirit's disposition, motives, and methods are unknowable, too. This Spirit, like Britain, is "Moody [. . .] as the changing winds" (1811 217) which make it unpredictable but is even more so since it is also "viewless" (1811 217) and invisible, thus making

it impossible to engage, "Where'er" (1811 219) it may be, and to comprehend.

Though the Spirit is chaotic and transcendent which makes it impossible to engage, the stoic Barbault still explores what prompts the movement, though arbitrary, of this power. She identifies the animating power of the Spirit as "The golden tide of Commerce" (1811 62), a wave that England is enjoying via its industrial-military complex. As the industrial revolution feeds the English military machine by the sweat and sacrifice of the laboring classes, the English economy is also fed by advancements in technology due to industry as well as by raw materials from lands abroad claimed by English military might.²³ This commercial wave not only brings great economic growth but also leaves a wake of human suffering and poverty amongst the laboring classes. Accordingly, she prophesies to Britain that, as the Spirit is chaotic, so is the power that animates it. Her personified power of commerce "leaves thy shore" (1811 62) and "Leaves [. . .], perhaps, to visit distant lands" (1811 65, emphasis mine); she

²³ Tim Blanning explains that Admiral Nelson's great naval defeat of Napoleon's Franco-Spanish fleet had "consequences [. . .] of immense importance [. . . since] British maritime supremacy was now absolute" (656). England was "safe from invasion and could continue to expand their already immense colonial and commercial empire. The wealth generated enabled them to keep on subsidizing their continental allies" (656).

anticipates that England's wealth, via the marriage of its industry and military, will be short-lived while new lands, such as America, may then be visited by the meandering power of commerce.

Barbauld prophesies that her nation that worships the golden calf of commerce will be abandoned by the arbitrary Spirit of history akin to the blood-thirsty God of the Old Testament Who leaves destruction in His wake. Barbauld has a chaotic and jaded view of her and her fellow citizens' material reality, an existence much affected by England's war with France. She sees history, and all reality, including England's fight against Napoleon, as trivial and transient.²⁴ Barbauld speaks against England's resources being poured into, in her estimation, an unjust war against France when she considers the domestic suffering the war prompts and the economic and social injustice amongst the poor that the war allows England's rulers to ignore. Barbauld prefers that England attend to its own domestic issues, to minister to the poor and outcast as Christ,

²⁴ McCarthy notes that Barbauld's poem "was not an easy read. It still isn't. It is a learned poem, thick with literary and historical references [. . .]. No previous poem by a woman known to me [. . .] and not many by men [. . .] approach it for conceptual density" (475). So, to many, the historical allusions throughout are lost upon many readers, which creates the effect Barbauld is attempting: the transience and chaotic nature of history, which makes it irrelevant to ignorant and powerless humanity, victims of such a God and nation. Furthermore, specifically identifying and explicating each of Barbauld's allusions are outside the purpose of this study.

rather than interfere abroad with other nations' issues as Napoleon marches across the Continent.

Speaking against England's folly, she observes that "the rose withers on its virgin thorns" (1811 30) in which beauty comes and goes, beauty that is inaccessible, untouched and blotted out by England's constant warfare. She envisions the pages of history, marked by people and places, as constantly changing and stained by blood and death:

Frequent, some stream obscure, some uncouth name
By deeds of blood is lifted into fame;
Oft o'er the daily page some soft-one bends
To learn the fate of husband, brothers, friends,
Or the spread map with anxious eye explores,
Its dotted boundaries and penciled shores (1811
31-36)

Unlike in Genesis where God identifies his creations and Adam gives names to creatures under his dominion, Barbauld's creation has "obscure" (1811 31) geographical features with ill-fitting "uncouth name[s]" (1811 31) that only are known "By deeds of blood" (1811 32). The nameless places on Barbauld's map are only known by the chaos of war

and death.²⁵ She does not give names to the battles, towns, and generals in order to avoid specificity, since such specifics would allow one to chart the course of the war. Such a cataloguing of places and peoples would suggest immortalizing them and, therefore, glorifying war. In responding to Barbauld's lack of specificity, Grant immortalizes military history as she sprinkles specific allusions to times and places throughout her poem, including references to "Graham [. . . Marquis of] Montrose" (1813 45), "Marlborough" (1813 48), the battle of

²⁵ Blanning painstakingly examines the Napoleonic Wars, and his study reflects the war's complexity. For example, when summarizing only the events of 1806-1807 in terms of territorial shifts, Blanning explains that

the map of Europe had been redrawn and recoloured. In the process a great new dynasty had been created. The Netherlands had been changed into a kingdom, ruled by Napoleon's brother Louis. The Bourbons had been ejected from the Kingdom of Naples, in favour of another Bonaparte brother, Joseph. Among the beneficiaries of the destruction of the Holy Roman Empire (laid to rest in 1806) was yet another Bonaparte brother, Jerome, who became the ruler of the newly created Kingdom of Westphalia. Another new creation, the Grand Duchy of Berg, was given to Joachim Murat, married to Napoleon's sister Caroline. Napoleon reserved northern Italy for himself, creating the 'Kingdom of Italy' there and installing his stepson Eugene de Beauharnais, as his viceroy. The Duchy of Guastalla he gave to his favourite sister, Pauline, and her husband Prince Camillo Borghese, although they sold it to Parma for 6,000,000 francs. Another sister, Elisha, and her husband, Prince Bacciochi, were given Tuscany in 1808. In the same year Napoleon promoted his brother Joseph to King of Spain, transferring Murat to the vacancy thus created at Naples. (659)

Thus, Barbauld, like me in this study who leaves such military historiography to other scholars like Blanning, does not wish to get bogged-down in the specifics of war, but is speaking more broadly about war and the path of England and wishes her topic to reflect her understanding of the Creator and of history--chaotic and unknowable.

"Hohenlinden" (1813 106), and Admiral "Nelson's banner e'er the Baltic fly" (1813 106).²⁶ Whereas Grant honors military actions for reasons I will discuss later, Barbauld wishes to sanctify neither the soil of battlefields that drank men's blood nor those generals who ordered the spilling of it through canonizing them in verse. Instead, Barbauld posits war in more universal terms. The names and places are not important to Barbauld here since the Napoleonic war reflects all wars, all of history, and the Old Testament Creator: chaotic, unchartable, and unknowable.

Furthermore, this geography, like its Creator, is arbitrarily moving and unknowable. Nations' borders, in the midst of constant war, are only "dotted" (1811 36) and "penciled" (1811 36) since they change from battle to battle, from day to day, from treaty to treaty, from moment to moment. The map of Europe, as territories are gained and lost, given and taken, is constantly and chaotically changing. This geographical shifting and uncertainty

²⁶ The Marquis of Montrose was a seventeenth-century Scottish poet and soldier who fought in the Scottish civil war to defend the king (Buchan). I assume Grant is referring to John Churchill, The First Duke of Marlborough (1650-1722) who was an English soldier and statesman. The Battle of Hohenlinden was fought 03 December 1800 during the French Revolution. Horatio Nelson was a British naval hero during the late eighteenth century.

My purpose is not to identify every allusion Grant makes. Such an endeavor, in itself, would be a separate and monumental project. Rather, I offer only a small sample of Grant's particular identifications of persons and places that contrast Barbauld's generalities.

mirrors the whim of Barbauld's chaotic God of the Old Testament as well as the chaos within her nation centered on warfare for economic gain.

Not only is inanimate geography devoid of meaning and significance, but human life is insignificant, as well. The lives "of husband, brothers, friends" (1811 34) are knowable only by their demise, which, too, is only knowable through "the daily page" (1811 33) of the news, events printed on paper which will be discarded, decayed, and forgotten just like the dead and ashen beauty of the virgin rose.²⁷

Again, it is the chaotic and arbitrary Spirit--Barbauld's conception of God and of history--that leaves a path of destruction and meaninglessness. The speaker later tries to access and engage this spirit on the imaginative level through the faculty of "Fancy" (1811 113) only to be left in the destructive wake again. This time, Barbauld's imagination encounters "Fond moody Power" (1811 115) that "is seated, [. . .] where Science reigns" (1811 122) while "Time may tear the garland from her [Fancy's] brow" (1811

²⁷ Shannon Miller, in examining Milton and particularly Paradise Lost in terms of the seventeenth century's debate concerning women, notes that literature situated within the domestic sphere (such as the relationship between Adam and Eve, husband and wife) is "thus engaging a central political issue within the seventeenth century as they map alternate images of male and female relations [. . . that] serves as the underpinning for government structure" (63). Thus, Barbauld continues this tradition from Milton of addressing national politics via the domestic sphere by examining the impact of war upon families.

125). Thus, the speaker's imaginative engagement is destroyed by the unholy trinity of Power, Science, and Time just as Enlightenment principles of reason and science exert their force upon the Romantic imagination. The power of an unjust monarchy, the science of industry that feeds the military machine, and the chaotic march of history destroy the imagination. The English citizen becomes a casualty on the battlefield of England's military machine or is relegated to being a cog within the gears of industry. Both consequences are unavoidable in Barbauld's model in which the chaotic spirit of history moves where it may. These roles to which humanity is relegated destroy the individual mind, the seat of conscience that, as Milton expressed in Paradise Lost, is God's gift to humanity that makes regeneration possible. The destruction of the individual mind is the destruction of conscience, and conscience is a prerequisite for liberty since, theologically and morally, people are bound to follow right or correct consciences (i.e. a conscience in-line with God's divine law) and reject unjust laws.

It is important to briefly examine the relationship among the individual, law, and liberty. Nigel Smith explains that the seventeenth-century religio-political mindset understood that the individual was bound to

conscience but that conscience had to be tuned to the will of God and not simply to the whim of the person (125).²⁸ Smith goes on to explain the Puritan sublime as "the expression of differences in church discipline and personal regulation within a culture of shared assumptions and shared words [. . . and also] differing interpretations of biblical signs" (126). In other words, Milton participates in the Puritan sublime as he exercises his individual liberty to explore and push the boundaries of his faith by expanding, in Paradise Lost, the Biblical account of the Fall. However, Milton does so not simply at the whim of his human intellect, but he personally interprets Scripture within the parameters of and without violating his Judeo-Christian conscience.

Therefore, Smith supports my assertion that Barbauld and Milton understand and utilize liberty in two radically different ways. Milton sees liberty within the Judeo-Christian framework of law (which gives expression to order and hierarchy) that promotes individual freedom (though Milton speaks out against monarchy because it serves itself

²⁸ Nigel Smith explains that liberty went hand in hand with an ordering structure which made that liberty possible (such as law and personal discipline) was [. . .] a widely held assumption. That human sinfulness was at the heart of nearly every theology also goes without saying. Thus, 'liberty of conscience meant submission to God, therefore, and not to self', since to locate liberty purely in the self is to make it sinful. (125)

rather than the people and offers a different model of government). On the other hand, Barbauld sees law and central power (i.e. the English monarchy) as a confining power that destroys individual freedom.

Also, Karen O'Brien identifies that, in the eighteenth-century mind, liberty was often seen "as a stimulus and agent, rather than as an end in itself" (170). We will see that Barbauld and Grant differ greatly in their views on the relationship between England and Liberty. Whereas Barbauld sees English monarchy as a threat to individual liberty, Grant not only acknowledges liberty as divinely implanted in the individual but also sees it as an agent in England's mission to rekindle the torch of liberty within each soul in nations around the world.

A threat to the individual conscience and, therefore, to liberty, this interrelationship among Power, Science, and Time echoes the unholy trinity within Paradise Lost of Satan, Sin, and Death of Book X. It is a type of inverse relationship in that Barbauld's Science (knowledge) feeds into the constant of Time (a force invisible and unstoppable) that creates the overarching Power (the power of the chaotic and destructive Spirit that animates Britain). The unholy trinity within Barbauld's poem is the inverse of that within Milton's epic; in Milton the larger

one has two offspring, while in Barbauld one feeds into the larger two. Satan, through Lucifer's original transgression that leads to the Serpent's temptation of Eve, creates Sin. The incestuous relationship between Satan and Sin results in Satan's child and, simultaneously, grandchild Death. Thus, as the progenitor and overarching power, Satan creates his own accomplices of Sin and Death.

Barbauld does not only subtly appropriate Milton's unholy trinity in terms of progeneration but also in terms of their actions. Barbauld's reader imaginatively travels "down the lapse of years" (1811 113) and, in this journey, finds "Where Power is seated, and where Science reigns" (1811 122) over the "Gothic night" (1811 121) of "England, [that was] the seat of arts, [but] be only known / By the gray ruin and the mouldering stone" (1811 123-24). There, Power and Science join Time (1811 125) and, with the unholy trinity complete and with England ruined, see "Europe sit in dust" (1811 126).

This path in Barbauld's poem follows Milton's Satanic trinity in that Sin and Death "found a path / Over this Main from Hell to that new World / Where Satan now prevails" (PL X.256-58). Sin and Death, "To Paradise first tending, [. . .] behold / Satan" (PL X.326-27) and the target of their father's envy, Adam and Eve, "the hapless

Pair [who] / Sate in thir sad discourse, and various
plaint" (PL X.342-43). Milton subtly weaves the linguistic
thread of "power" (or forms of it such as "impowered"
[X.369] or "powers" [X.395]) eight times through this
passage (230-409) in which Satan joins his offspring.
Thus, Sin, Death, and Satan, shadowed by the presence of
power, are joined together and view the destroyed paradise
of Eden on Earth. Milton's scene is the same image
Barbauld offers as her Time, Science, and Power join
together to witness a ruined England that sits in the dust
of Europe.

Barbauld patterns her trinity of Power, Time, and
Science after Milton's Satan, Sin, and Death in order to
explain the destructive nature of Power (her spirit of
history) that moves chaotically and utilizes Science
(knowledge) for destructive purposes, just as Satan
traverses Chaos and utilizes Eden's tree of knowledge to
bring ruin on earth.

As Barbauld subtly interweaves these images of Satan,
England, war, and sin, she also examines the fruit of the
tree of knowledge or, more specifically, the consequences
of England gorging itself on science in its economic
revolution of industry that feeds its military efforts to
quell revolutionary France. Barbauld examines England's

position within history and the result of England's choice of war, a war fed by industrial expansion; her examination reflects, but also subtly departs, from the three-fold result of sin found in Genesis and in Paradise Lost.

Barbauld engages Milton and Scripture by appropriating images and paradigms from both; thus, she places her work to form a literay trinity. Her placement of her poem in relation to Paradise Lost and to holy Scripture would suggest that she is giving immediate authority to her work as a prophetic text, but her prophecy of doom is distinct from both Milton's and the Bible's that both offer hope.

In order to explore the sin of England, Barbauld invokes the authority of and uses the familiar template within Genesis's and Milton's pattern of sin resulting in humanity's separation from nature, fellow humanity, and from God. Under the chaos of a warring England, Barbauld positions English politics and military action as sinful in that the speaker is threatened by and therefore suffering a separation from nature as one sees and hears "The tempest blackening in the distant West" (1811 60). Not only separated from nature, humanity is separated from one another since "No more on crowded mart or busy street / Friends, meeting friends, with cheerful hurry greet" (1811 55-56) but, instead, "Sad, on the ground thy princely

merchants bend / Their altered looks [. . .] and fold their arms, and watch with anxious breast" (1811 57-59).

Not only does the tempest portend the stormy relationship between humanity and nature, but we also see a directly adversarial relationship. Barbauld offers a litany of the battles between humanity and nature. Human science creates power that is exercised over creation. There are the "crystal walls the tenderer plant confine, / The fragrant orange and the nectared pine; / The Syrian grape there hangs" (1811 295-97). Fruits of the tree of knowledge, the human creations of the hot-house conservatories imprison nature's "rich festoons" (1811 297). Humanity replaces the creator as "Science [. . .] urge[s] on the useful toil, / New mould a climate and create the soil" (1811 299-300), and humanity gives itself dominion over the beasts. However, instead of caring for them as God mandates in Genesis, Barbauld's story of creation has humanity "Subdue the rigour of the northern Bear" (1811 301) and pervert nature so that humanity "O'er polar climes shed aromatic air" (1811 302) and such power over the winds creates "summer ices and [. . . a] winter rose" (1811 306). Along with Science, "London exults" (1811 305) in this war against nature, and, therefore, the

seat of English monarchy (London) is implicated in the chaos of war and universal disorder.

Echoing Genesis, Barbauld's humanity has downcast eyes of shame rather than the pure joy of social interaction. Furthermore, the joyful citizen has been replaced by the material merchants who look and treat one another with distrust in their bartering. Now, the English citizens "Pensive and thoughtful shall the wanderers greet" (1811 169), just as Milton's Adam and Eve view one another with distrust and "Thus they in mutual accusation spent / The fruitless hours, but neither self-condemning, / And of thir vain contest appeer'd no end" (PL IX.1187-89).

To this point, Barbauld engages Milton's Scripture-based pattern of sin's results in which humans are separated from one another and are separated from nature in Barbauld's vignettes from the English marketplace and conservatories. However, she departs from those sources in that she stops short of the tripartite pattern of separation. Humans are separated from fellow humanity and nature, but not from God. She highlights her departure of Milton through her own sin of omission. Barbauld's paradigm breaks Genesis's and Milton's trinity of separation as she does not include humanity's separation from God as a result of sin; rather, Barbauld does not

display such a consequence because she is not only rejecting Milton's cosmic conception of creation but also because she asserts that there is no God from whom to be separated.²⁹ As discussed earlier, Barbauld rejects the God of the Old Testament and, thus, her God is not within material existence; her vision of the Father is more in the deistic tradition in which He resides outside of human material experience and, thus, that vacuum is filled by chaos and evidenced in history. Therefore, humanity's natural state, in her paradigm, is one of separation from God. Milton provides the agency of conscience in the human breast as well the Son, and both conscience and the Son guide humanity to and reconcile individuals with the Father. However, Barbauld's humanity lacks any agency. This lack of human agency justifies her stoic pacifism, and her humanity is in and remains in a state of sin and despair with, as we will see, no hope for regeneration.

This fallen state is indicative of Barbauld's notion of history as not only chaotic but also one that is in

²⁹ As noted earlier (see Footnote 9), Barbauld's poem was received with almost universal condemnation. Though the most vocal reviews could be seen in conservative periodicals, those were far from balanced by equal praise from liberal critics. McCarthy suggests that the main reason for the rejection of her poem is its anti-war and unpatriotic theme; Barbauld's nuanced rejection of trinities found within Milton and Genesis (i.e. the pattern of separation due to sin) and of the Christian trinity (i.e. her rejection of the God of the Hebrew Scriptures) seems to have gone unnoticed. For a more detailed litany of reviews, see McCarthy's ALB (476-77).

decline, one that only rises in order ultimately to fall. She provides a type of evolutionary chart of humanity that, rather than showing humanity's steady progress and upward movement, shows humanity's repeated decline.

Initially, within this timeline, "the human brute awakes, / And, roused to better life, his sordid hut forsakes: / He thinks, he reasons, glows with purer fires" (1811 219-21) but the progress of humanity from brute to rational being begins to reverse. The rational being now "Feels finer wants, and burns with new desires" (1811 222), and these appetites lead to the temptation to assert self-interest over nature so that "Obedient Nature follows where he leads; / The steaming marsh is changed to fruitful meads; / The beasts retire from man's asserted reign" (1811 223-25). Not only subduing both the plant and animal kingdoms, which Barbauld sees as sinful, humanity's focus is then on plundering the earth so "Then from its bed is drawn the ponderous ore" (1811 227) which is all done so that "Then Commerce pours her gifts on every shore" (1811 228). Worshipping Milton's Mammon who constructed Pandemonium "with impious hands / [and] Rifl'd the bowels of thir mother Earth / For Treasures better hid" (PL I.686-88), humanity falls further into sin in constructing a monument reflecting human pride--the source of sin.

Consequently, we see "Then Babel's towers and terraced gardens rise" (1811 229), as they do in Genesis, and humanity becomes enslaved to materialism as "pointed obelisks invade the skies [. . .] And Egypt's virgins weave the linen vest" (1811 230, 232). Hence, gradually over time, "Saints, Heroes, Sages [. . .] Seem rather to descend than to be born" (1811 237, 238); the great and noble figures are no longer appearing but, rather, are falling and suffering the consequences of the sins of pride and hedonism. The decline and disappearance of these great figures leave only "History, midst the rolls of consigned fame, / With pen of adamant inscribes their name" (1811 239-40, emphasis mine), which echoes the fate of Satan who is constrained "with Pinns of Adamant / And Chains" (PL X.318-19) rather than with the pen of history. Thus, all of humanity follows the example of its father Adam: to be subject to sin and death and only to reside within penned stories.³⁰

For Barbauld, this story of humanity is the story of civilizations. It is a story "By Time's slow finger written in the dust" (1811 214), a nod toward the Gospel of

³⁰ Concerning this theme of ruined and desolate humanity, Simon Bainbridge explains that, specifically during the period of the Napoleonic wars, "Poets also used the 'ruined cottage' form to represent the more general social and economic crisis caused by conflict" (40).

John's account of Christ writing the sins of the Pharisees in the dirt as they cast judgment on the adulteress whom they are about to stone (John 8:8). As John records the finger of Christ that expresses judgment in the dirt, Barbauld's power of Time points its finger toward England in judgment of its sins. Hence, England will soon sit in dust as will all of Europe. Again, Barbauld shatters the trilogy; she keeps the images of the finger and the dirt but removes God again. Barbauld removes Christ as judge since such an image does not fit her model of Jesus whom she sees as simply merciful and pacifist and ignores the divine component of justice, which sometimes requires action that divides and functions as a sword. Instead of seeing a divine judge, she sees the constant of time recording this pattern of transgression since sin is the constant and inescapable milieu of humanity and of doomed England due to the monarchy's bloody self-interest in warring against France and in its colonial projects.

Thus, this power that moves history "with extended hands / Holds forth the book of life to distant lands" (1811 311-12). Here, Barbauld uses apocalyptic language from the Book of Revelation, the last book of the Bible, in referring to the book of life (Rev 3:5, 13:8, 21:27) in order to speak of England's last chapter in history. Just

as John of Patmos, within a specific historic moment, writes in deeply symbolic language a message to the early Christians who are suffering oppression under the Roman Empire, Barbauld, in a specific moment noted in the poem's title, is here offering her prophetic vision to her fellow citizens who feel the crush of the English Empire. She is both warning the English power structure as well as encouraging those from distant lands that "there shall in no wise enter into it any thing that defileth, neither whatsoever worketh abomination, or maketh a lie: but they which are written in the Lamb's book of life" (Rev 21:27). John admonishes those who defile Christ through violence, greed, and lies, as Barbauld deems the monarchy to do as England spills the blood of its soldiers abroad, starves its poor domestically, feeds its own coffers through its industrial-military complex, and does so under the banner of fighting terror in its campaign against Napoleon--a patriotic banner that hides its own self-serving interests. John and Barbauld prophesy that the guilty are an abomination and will not be saved for they will be blotted out by the destructive sweep of John's Redeemer and Barbauld's spirit of history respectively. This prophecy remains true to her pacifist stance, where she does not

call for action but simply waits for the oppressive system to collapse.

As this apocalyptic story of civilization's decline and eventual destruction is playing out its final scenes in England, Barbauld prophesies again that the chaotic spirit of history will abandon Albion's shores and move on. She surmises that "[T]he vagrant Power" (1811 259) perhaps "Northward he throws the animating ray / O'er Celtic nations" (1811 261-62). I say "perhaps" since Barbauld sees that history moves "as some playful child the mirror turns" (1811 263). In line with Barbauld's notions of the Old Testament God, the power that animates civilization and history is as arbitrary as a child playing with a mirror, reflecting light here and there so that "Now here now there the moving lustre burns" (1811 264).³¹

Thus, the English monarchy's self-interest leads to violent warfare that strips the nation of its resources both natural and human; therefore, Barbauld prophesies that the light of history will be extinguished in England and

³¹ I note that Barbauld imagines that "O'er the Celtic nations bursts the mental day" (1811 222) which may suggest a desire for a United Kingdom of England, Ireland, and Scotland, as we will see that Grant does. However, Barbauld does not endorse or, at least, predict such unification in that the light will only be shed on those nations once it has left England. Barbauld asserts that England, Ireland, and Scotland will never be illuminated together.

will move to other nations so that "The Genius now forsakes the favoured shore" (1811 241).

3. Regeneration

Just as Gottlieb describes Barbauld's Eighteen Hundred and Eleven as a poem with global concerns, he also characterizes Barbauld's poem as globally pessimistic, as well. Her damnation is global, or general, in that she "makes no reference or allusions to specific battles, people, or events, and this lack of identifying detail immediately makes her descriptions [. . .] seem both more abstract and more timeless" (Gottlieb 337). Thus, though her title suggests that she is focusing on a historical moment for England, Barbauld is speaking not only specifically to her England of the moment but also speaking on a larger scale that encompasses a time and place that goes beyond dates and beyond national borders.

In her poem that speaks both specifically to a moment in English history and universally that encompasses all time and place, Barbauld mirrors Milton who speaks not only to the England of his time but also on a divine level that addresses all of God's creation. While I argue that Barbauld's vision is quite pessimistic, I would also argue

that Milton's is, basically, optimistic. As discussed in the last chapter, Milton's theology provides his reader, in a post-lapsarian world, a mediator in Christ who is a wisdom-giving prophet, self-sacrificial high priest, and church-establishing king, while also acknowledging that God implanted in fallen humanity His own voice--the voice of conscience--within the human breast that can lead each back to the Creator. Milton's theological optimism is at the root of his politics that remains steadfast to an England that is the seat of liberty. However, this optimism is also placed squarely in reality, a reality that includes flawed human beings who have a propensity towards sin--most notably a monarch, as he argues in Eikonoklastes. In other words, Milton's system of monarchy works on the divine level in which the Father (the heavenly king) is perfect and not tainted by sin; however, Milton acknowledges that monarchy does not function justly on the human level since it is inevitably contaminated by sin and selfishness. Thus, Milton's religious and political systems of thought, while optimistic, are also rooted in the reality of his day in that they are critical in his addressing the discord in England. Nonetheless, Milton still offers a positive vision from which England could be regenerated via revolution, in this case political, like the lost and

blinded Samson who experiences an internal revolution in order to find his inner vision and, ultimately, to be reconciled with God.

In Scripture and in Milton, after the fall of the first humans, God simply does not dismiss the trespass of Adam and Eve but, like the theological model of Augustine discussed earlier, divine order mandates that the debt that humanity created with their sin must be reconciled in order to restore cosmic balance. And God, through His benevolence, promises salvation, and His Son answers that call as mediator. Unlike Barbauld's simply pacifistic Christ, Milton's God balances justice with mercy, punishment with redemption.

Thus, from humanity's fallen state, as a result of the felix culpa, there is hope for a new and greater creation in the second Adam, the Son as savior. This new creation in God becoming flesh, dying on the cross, and resurrecting to new life and, thus, freeing humanity from the slavery of sin is a promise of an elevated spiritual life for humanity.

However, prior to this divine salvation via Christ's self-sacrifice in Scripture and in Milton, Milton advances the notion that salvation--to some degree--can be experienced from within the human soul. Milton gives

humanity agency. Just as Adam is created in the image and likeness of his creator and Eve from Adam, the first parents have been endowed with the divine power of regeneration, though not equal to the Son's power of regeneration; this power complements the guiding voice of conscience implanted in them by God. Prior to the Son's redemptive self-sacrifice, we see the post-lapsarian couple being informed by the archangel Michael that they can "possess / A Paradise within thee, happier farr" (PL XII.586-87) if

to thy knowledge answerable, add Faith,
Add Vertue, Patience, Temperance, add Love,
By name to come call'd Charitie, the soul of all
the rest[.] (PL XII.582-85)

Charitable deeds--actions directed toward the service of others--empower Adam and Eve, who once had dominion over the earthly kingdom, so that

The World was all before them, where to choose
Thir place of rest, and Providence thir guide:
They hand in hand with wandering steps and slow,
Through Eden took thir solitarie way. (PL
XII.646-49)

We see in these final lines of the poem, at least, hope for regeneration in Paradise Lost in that Adam and Eve

look for spiritual renewal both within themselves immediately and outside themselves in the promised Messiah. Regarding what makes possible this final scene of hope and renewal, Mary C. Fenton explains that humanity's fallenness and resulting suffering is what makes possible their regeneration and a return to happiness in that pain prompts the individual to re-orient oneself toward God and work toward original unity with the Father (181-82). Though removed from the garden, Adam and Eve are still connected to the earth--soil that they must work in order to create and sustain life (Fenton 184-85). Adam and Eve grow closer to God by taking on more of the divine function of creator; no longer are they simply enjoying what God provides, but they are now becoming the providers for themselves and, ultimately, for their offspring. The first couple toil the ground until they return to that very soil in death when they "'to dust shall return' ([PL] 10.770), and that dust will become their 'final rest' and [. . .] their true 'native home' ([PL] 10.1085)" (Fenton 185, 189) as death will be a passage to perfect joy in union with God. Fenton quotes the Father who provides the gift of death as both an end to the suffering of fallen human existence and a door to an eternal joy:

I provided death, so death becomes

His final remedy, and after life
Tried in sharp tribulation, and refined
By faith and faithful works, to second life,
Waked in the renovation of the just,
Resigns him up with heav'n and Earth renewed.

([PL] 11.61-66 qtd. in Fenton 189)

Humanity's return to new and perfected life through death is made possible through the awaited messiah who will suffer, die, and resurrect.

The epic story of fallen humanity and the loss of Eden is reminiscent of the story of Milton and his England. Like Adam and Eve who are fallen and suffering, the poet finds himself physically blind and politically fallen after the collapse of Cromwell's regime and the restoration of the English monarchy in Charles II. Thus, though he sees himself as a fallen man in a fallen England akin to Adam who stands on "fitter Soil" (PL XI.262) outside of Eden and creates his own sustenance, Milton still maintains hope. Through his own suffering and literary labors, Milton creates meaning from the soil of England's fallenness. As Adam and Eve enjoy sources of regeneration both within (redemptive suffering and creative toil) and without (the Son), Milton sees England as enjoying similar regenerative gifts as he envisions a future internal political

revolution to depose a flawed monarchy and establish a commonwealth which will then make England a model of liberty.³² Barbauld rejects this paradisaical vision of Milton's that acknowledges the sin of England but allows for regeneration and hope; instead, she focuses on the sin of England and simply waits for its death never to be born again into new life.

Hence, Milton makes his final scene of Adam and Eve walking forth his same charge to England that, if England regenerates and reforms its government so that it works not under a singular monarch but according to a model in which people work hand in hand within a commonwealth, then it can be a bastion of justice and liberty.

Thus, it seems that Milton subscribes to the idea of humanity and history following a course of constant improvement in the sense that, while he acknowledges the fall of humanity, he then examines its regeneration. Milton understands that salvation is not a passive activity but one that can necessitate bloody realignment at moments along the timeline of salvation history, as Wagenknecht

³² Though I see Milton as a champion of liberty who is willing to tolerate war in order to preserve and promote freedom, I understand that the topic of Milton's politics in Paradise Lost is a complicated one. See Stevens (94) for a discussion of the problem of Milton's politics in Paradise Lost as scholars cannot all agree regarding Milton's political stance in the epic or even if Milton makes a political stance in the poem.

notes Milton's tolerance for war in a fallen world in order to restore divine order (98). This chronology of humanity ends with resurrected life and union in God. Thus, political strife and civil war are tolerated (as God tolerates war with Lucifer and the Son with Satan) in order to restore divine order globally and cosmically.

Milton had full faith in the heavenly Father as king and in humanity created by the heavenly king. The Father rules justly from His heavenly throne, and, with the divine gifts of conscience and the capacity for regeneration, humanity must join together to govern justly for the common good of the people, just as Adam and Eve must join hands to move forward. Thus, Milton did support the revolution against the monarchy because he saw the king in violation of divine hierarchy and not following the divine model of kingship. In his opposition to arbitrary and self-serving abuses of power that justified the execution of Charles I and his opposition to the restoration of the monarchy in Charles II, Milton places nothing above the principle of liberty (Wagenknecht 49); anything that threatens liberty, such as a disordered monarchy, must be opposed. In The Tenure of Kings and Magistrates, Milton explains

the contract theory of government ("the power of kings and magistrates is nothing else but what is

only derivative, transferred, and committed to them in trust from the people to the common good of them all"), from which it must follow that a king who abused his powers was "a common pest and destroyer of mankind") [. . . that] might decree his deposition and even his death. (Milton, quoted in Wagenknecht 89)

Milton saw a king and government more interested in self than in serving the people, a violation of Augustine's Christ-as-King model in which those in authority are to serve others and not self. Though critical of England, Milton offers a vision of optimism for his country through revolution and reform.

However, we do not see Barbauld sharing such a hopeful Miltonic vision. Instead, she rejects the blind bard's religious and political positive vision and offers her pessimistic worldview. We see in Eighteen Hundred and Eleven Barbauld's chaotic spirit of history, a spirit that not only leaves a fallen England in unregenerative ruin but also foreshadows the damnation of all humanity, while Barbauld offers no solution in her disengaged pacifism.³³

³³ It would be difficult to argue that Barbauld's pessimism is a view popularly shared by those who opposed the war politically and personally. Not only did her poem illicit a sharp public and critical backlash as noted earlier, but "it is important to remember that the

Barbauld's fallen England finds itself outside the good graces of the chaotic spirit of history. We see a nation that attempts to regenerate itself first through knowledge and then via memory, but both attempts fail. The speaker hopes that her "prayers may [. . .] avert [. . . England's] fate / To rank amongst the names that once were great" (1811 71-72) and appeals to "Science and the Muse" (1811 74) along with "the laws" (1811 75) to "harvest [that] of the mental year" (1811 76, emphasis mine). Here, the speaker appeals to the intellect--forms of knowledge expressed through science, art, and law--in the hope to find regeneration. However, salvation is not to be found in such forms. Such knowledge not being the source of salvation is explained by Milton who, echoing Augustine, rejects knowledge categorized as curiositas as does Byron when he later points out in Manfred, using the model of the fall in Scripture, that, more generally, "The tree of knowledge is not that of life" (12).

Moving beyond an appeal to abstract knowledge, the speaker tries again and, this time, appeals to the mental capacity of memory in which she believes, or has "feelings" (1811 157), that she sees "London's faded glories rise to view" (1811 158). She envisions in her mind's eye

majority of Britons (Whig and Tory alike) strongly supported the war against Napoleon" (Gottlieb 329).

The mighty city, which by every road
 In floods of people poured itself abroad;
 Ungirt by walls, irregularly great,
 No jealous drawbridge, and no closing gate;
 Whose merchants (such the state which commerce
 brings)
 Sent forth their mandates to dependent kings;
 Streets, where the turban'd Moslem, bearded Jew,
 And woolly Afric, met the brown Hindu;
 Where through each vein spontaneous plenty
 flowed,
 Where Wealth enjoyed, and Charity bestowed.
 Pensive and thoughtful shall the wanderers greet
 Each splendid square, and still, untrodden
 street[.] (1811 159-70)

This memory, perceived by the future visitor to London,
 shows a vivacious and unfallen London populated with
 "floods of people" (1811 160) and a city without limits
 since it is "ungirt by walls" (1811 161) and has "No
 jealous drawbridge" (1811 162). With no limiting borders
 and no limits set forth by government since the "merchants
 [. . .] / Sent forth their mandates to dependent kings"
 (1811 163-64), commerce is enjoyed by Moslems, Jews,
 Africans, and Hindus alike within England's capital.

Alas, this vision of memory is simply that--a vision, and an immaterial vision that fails, just as abstract knowledge alone could not regenerate fallen England. Even before presenting this vision of memory, the language of the speaker betokens the tension between what is desired and what is received, the opposition between what is "faded" (1811 158) against what one desires to "rise" (1811 158). Memory cannot sustain the hope for regeneration since memory is abstract, a vision, and nothing more. Milton calls for concrete action that restores cosmic balance via a commonwealth, and Grant optimistically will still rely on a regenerated monarchy; both Milton and Grant tolerate England shedding blood to defend liberty against a tyrannical monarch or an imperial Napoleon. However, unlike Milton and Grant who concretely seek solutions, Barbauld remains a pacifist. As a pacifist who simply waits for the superstructure that is England to implode upon itself so that a new system can fill the void, Barbauld is relegated to the realm of abstract theory in which no action is taken and nothing concrete is accomplished.

Having failed to restore England, the speaker's vision of memory transforms from the flood of people that marked wealth to the destructive flood of Genesis that destroys

all but Noah and his family. Like Lot's wife who looks back to her own destruction and becomes a pillar of salt (Gen 19:26), Barbauld's looking back into memory becomes an act of destruction. What is left for the future tourist to see is the "still, untrodden street; / Or [. . .] some crumbling turret, mined by time" (1811 170-71) "And, choked no more with fleets, fair Thames" (1811 175) as well as the hollow and "hallowed mansions" (1811 178). This place of destruction, decay, and ruin--a modern Sodom and Gomorrah--is populated only by "the silent dead" (1811 178) and the tombs of "chill sepulchre marbles" (1811 181) and "some sculptured urn" (1811 184), the only reminders of heroic Britons such as "Johnson", "Howard", "Chatham", "Garrick", "Nelson", "Moore", "Davy", "Franklin", "Priestley", "Reynolds", and "Alexander".

This litany of figures in English history, whether literary or military, remembered or forgotten, does not matter since these heroes are now "mute" (1811 201) and their "remains" (1811 206) are only "ashes" (1811 212) within, and symbolic of, "fallen London" (1811 211). Even if the hero is recently deceased, the heroic deeds are disregarded in that history will take its own course regardless of past great deeds. Barbauld presents historical figures that, in the context of the past, seem

alive but, now merely memories, are presently dead, creating an image in which both "fame and death [are] in view" (1811 193). Such an image is suggestive of Samuel Taylor Coleridge's image of "The Night-mare LIFE-IN-DEATH" (193) in "The Rime of the Ancient Mariner," an image that Barbauld seems to appropriate from Coleridge. A. D. Harvey names Coleridge's poem as one that is characteristic of the period that speaks to the "alienation of the individual [. . .] characteristic of essentially confused and isolated societies" (137) and asserts that "the sense of alienation arises from a perception of discrepancy between one's own view of inescapable reality and the majority view" (137).³⁴ As Coleridge suggests, as in his nightmarish image, the human condition is an intermingling of life and death, a humanity alienated amidst a sea of chaos, a Christian vision that cannot be found in human experience. While Milton acknowledges that sin prohibits replicating the divine model of monarchy on the earthly, he also offers an alternative model true to the divine principle of liberty. However, Barbauld's acknowledgment of an imperfect human existence is bleak like Coleridge's. As her fellow Romantic poet suggests of humanity, Barbauld suggests the

³⁴ In his study English Fiction of the Romantic Period, Gary Kelly makes passing remarks concerning Coleridge's poem when discussing the dark elements of other Romantic texts.

same regarding England and the universe: that humanity, abandoned by any greater power, is simply aboard a skeleton ship floating on the sea of the cosmos, a ship that is steered by nothing more than chance. We are powerless and subject to the whim of chaos. Barbauld feels as Coleridge and other disillusioned Romantics do whose poetry can be "defined in negative terms: nihilism, cynicism, and anarchism" (McGann 110).

Thus, again, Barbauld's vision of history does not allow for regeneration, as her two attempts, through science and through memory, both fail. Like the "fairest flowers [that] expand but to decay" (1811 313), England's light will be extinguished, never to be reignited again since she asserts that "The worm is in thy core, [and so] thy glories pass away" (1811 314). To explain the destructive nature of England's war with France, Barbauld borrows the image of "The invisible worm, / That flies into the night / In the howling storm" (Blake 2-4) from William Blake's "The Sick Rose," an image Blake appropriates from Milton's Satan who, at the end of Book II of Paradise Lost, flies from hell to heaven within the stormy abyss of chaos. Using Blake's and Milton's shared image, she asserts that the destructive force that resides within the heart of England is the violence and bloodshed of war--a war that,

in her view, is not one that defends liberty but rather England's material and economic interests. Thus, Barbauld "predicts that Britain and its imperial holdings are doomed to destruction regardless of the outcome of the Napoleonic Wars" (Gottlieb 340), and she passively waits for England's destruction.³⁵

With the seed of destruction firmly planted, England's fate is all but certain and need only play itself out. Barbauld positions this story of England's death in terms of Christ's passion and death. More specifically, she uses imagery from Christ's passion in the Garden of Gethsemane (Matt 27, Mark 14, Luke 22, John 18) where, just as Christ hears in the garden His approaching captors, she hears in England "The tramp of marching hosts [that] disturbs the plough" (1811 17). As Christ hears the war march of the Roman soldiers, Barbauld hears the death march of the English military. In the gardens of Gethsemane and England "The sword, not sickle, reaps the harvest now" (1811 18), whether it is the sword that Peter draws in defense of Jesus or the sword that England draws in its imperialistic motives. Barbauld echoes Jesus's rebuke to Peter to "Put up again thy sword into his place: for all they that take

³⁵ Gottlieb also suggests that Barbauld's poem and Percy Shelley's "Ozymandias" are connected in their theme of temporality and destruction (339).

the sword shall perish with the sword" (Matt 26:52). Here, Barbauld subscribes to the Christ who wishes that love, symbolized by the farmer's "sickle" (1811 18), gather a harvest of plenty rather than the soldier's "sword [. . . that] reaps the harvest now, / [. . .] the scant supply" (1811 18-19), an image that disregards Jesus's own self-characterization as a dividing sword.

The carnage of Gethsemane pales in comparison to Barbauld's England where "war's least horror is the ensanguined field" (1811 22); Christ heals the bloodshed brought by Peter's sword to the ear of the high priest's servant, but Barbauld's Christ cannot heal the bloodshed of the ensanguined fields of England. In the Gospels, Christ completes His trinity of suffering, death, and resurrection, while, in Barbauld's poem, England only suffers and dies. Her pacifism prevents her Christ and herself from taking any action, from creating a solution for the moment's crisis. As the first Adam was resigned to leave the Garden of Eden, the second Adam (Christ), shackled and passive, is resigned to leave the Garden of Gethsemane to His own death; following suit, England, being called by Barbauld to put on the shackles of pacifism, must be resigned to leave its garden of faded glories of the

past and fall into the dark tomb of history's chaotic abyss.

In this vein of New Testament language, Barbauld criticizes England and shows the results of death "explicitly and definitely from the point of view of domesticating sensibility" (Ross 224).³⁶ She takes on the voice of Simeon who, when Jesus's parents present Him in the Temple, "said unto Mary his mother, Behold, this child is set for the fall and rising again of many in Israel; [. . .] Yea, a sword shall pierce through thy own soul also" (Luke 2:34,35). Simeon's prophecy to Mary becomes Barbauld's prophecy to the women of England that "No son returns to press her widow'd hand" (1811 25). This same line looks forward to the scene of the upper room in the Acts of the Apostles where Mary is gathered with the apostles and disciples, all fearful after the execution of Jesus (Acts 1:13-14). Mary, who counts the disciples at her side but laments her dead Son, becomes a type for each English woman who suffers familial loss at the hands of war, each woman who is "Fruitful in vain, the matron counts with pride / The blooming youths that grace her honoured side; / No son returns to press her widow'd hand, / Her

³⁶ See Marlon Ross's discussion of Eighteen Hundred and Eleven in which Ross examines the poem through the lenses of gender and, more specifically, domesticating sensibility.

fallen blossoms strew a foreign strand" (1811 23-26).

Mary's sorrow that, over the centuries, has been explored in great Christian art, such as La Pieta in which she cradles her dead Son, reveals the human pain of her loss; like Mary's grief captured in Michaelangelo's sculpture, the sorrow of each woman who loses a husband, son, father, or brother at the hands of England's vain war is recorded in works of art and literature:

Fruitful in vain, she boasts her virgin race,
Whom cultured arts adorn and gentlest grace;
Defrauded of its homage, Beauty mourns,
And the rose withers on its virgin thorns[.]

(1811 27-30)

Sensitive to the loss felt by those left on the homefront of war,

Barbauld sees that, in modern warfare, civilians suffer almost as much as soldiers. This is so, not just for those who find themselves caught in the crossfire or under the necessity of hosting a regiment, but also for those--especially women--whose lives are intimately touched by a war that they experience only through the mediation of print. (Gottlieb 337)

Barbauld cries out at the suffering of the women of England who do not get to cradle the bodies of their dead sons, as Mary did, but only read of the war and of the dead in its wake. The pain felt within the home is as great as the pain felt on the battlefields.

Thus, like Mary, the English woman bears the sorrow of loss at the hands of unjust violence; however, unlike Mary whose Son will resurrect and bring new life to all, England's widows are cheated of their domestic accord with the deaths of their loved ones who will never return. It is Barbauld's prophetic voice that, again, reverses the Scriptural model of Christ who, offering Himself as an example of suffering, orders the mourning women of Jerusalem to "weep not for me, but weep for yourselves, and for your children" (Luke 23:28). Instead, Barbauld holds the women up as examples of suffering and tells us not to weep singularly for them but to weep for England, the cause of the suffering itself.

Not only does Barbauld speak for the women of England who weep for the loss of their men at the hands of war, but Barbauld also foretells the death of Europe itself as the spirit of history leaves the Continent in ruins within her poem. Her prophetic vision has us see that "Europe [will]

sit in dust, as Asia now" (1811 126).³⁷ Just as Christ bows His head and gives up His spirit on the cross, so does England resign itself to the spirit of history. However, unlike Christ who resurrects three days later, England does not. Instead, the spirit that once animated England "turns from Europe's desolated shores" (1811 322) and will now animate America. In anticipating the spirit departing Europe for America, the speaker "swears [. . . that] Thy world, Columbus, shall be free" (1811 334).

However, this ultimate prophecy of the poem is problematic for two reasons. First, Barbauld again uses the imagery of Paradise Lost, perhaps unwittingly, that her spirit--the spirit that animates history, the spirit that once gave prosperity to England and will no more, the spirit that travels globally through the chaos of history--is likened to Satan who also travels chaotically through the universe.³⁸ Hence, does her prophecy bode well for America in that it is preparing the former colony to welcome the Satan-like spirit of history? Thus, then is

³⁷ See William Stock for a discussion of William Guthrie's eighteenth-century study on geography in relation to despotism, especially regarding Asia as compared to Europe (121-22). See also Bode who likens Barbauld's geographical plotting of the sweep of civilization, in which civilization mimics the sun in that it moves within history from east to west (76).

³⁸ McCarthy discusses this imagery of "Milton's Satan up from hell through Chaos to Earth in book 2 of Paradise Lost" (95) that Barbauld appropriates in her "A Summer Evening's Meditation" which suggests that Barbauld again appropriates the Miltonic motif of "an assault on heaven" (McCarthy 95) for her assault on and abandonment of England.

begged the question of what the degree of loss and calamity is for England if such a spirit, a Satanic spirit that is the father of sin and death, is leaving its shores?

The second problem with her prophecy is Barbauld's address of Christopher Columbus. As she chastises England for its imperialistic and material enterprises that bring violence both within and outside its borders, she applauds Columbus, whose travels to the new world were for commercial purposes to find an alternate passage to the Orient in order to increase trade. Furthermore, Columbus's discovery of the new world, some would argue, led to great violence to the native populations of America and to the natural resources of the Continent. Therefore, Barbauld seems somewhat hypocritical in her damnation of England and its actions while then applauding Columbus and his enterprises.

III. Conclusion

In summary, Barbauld brings a global perspective to her poetry in terms of both religion and politics. Selectively using the Gospels of the New Testament in seeing Christ as a God who passively suffers, forgives, and redeems while rejecting the God of the Old Testament whom

she sees as a source of violence and destruction, Barbauld forms a utopian idealism rooted in Stoicism that results in her pacifism because, as noted earlier, "For her, the world cannot be remade through conflict or violent engagement but only by embracing and living fully those values and principles that stand at the center of one's idealism" (Watkins 197).

Refusing neither to engage actively the problems both within and outside England nor to present practical solutions in response to structures and ideologies that she sees as oppressive, Barbauld instead offers her Eighteen Hundred and Eleven, a damning prophecy against and critique of English politics, especially regarding England's ongoing engagement in the war against Napoleon. Within her pacifist poem, she poetically engages Milton and rejects him poetically, theologically, and politically.

Milton understands that the God of the Old Testament is the same God as the Christ of the New Testament, and this triune God created a divine order that entails a divine hierarchy. Also, this God consistently balances justice with mercy; He punishes sin and then forgives in order to maintain a divine balance and order. Thus, Milton speaks theologically and politically against those who violate the divine hierarchy, whether it is Lucifer, Eve,

or Adam who try to equate themselves with God, or if it is a monarch who serves his own self-interest rather than the interests of the people. Faithful to the heavenly king's design, Milton is just in his acknowledgment of the problem of sin in earthly kings and, hence, offers an alternative form of earthly government with liberty as the guiding principle.

Barbauld rejects such hierarchies and models that she sees as oppressive and limiting; in her rejection of them, she subscribes to a type of anarchy. Her notion of liberty does not reside within law--as it does in Milton and in the Judeo-Christian tradition of law--but rather simply, as Watkins points out, Barbauld's notion of liberty resides only in love. However, she does not offer any concrete definition of that love. She recognizes the mercy of Christ without recognizing His self-definition as a dividing sword, His righteous anger in the Temple, or His example of justice and cosmic balance that His self-sacrifice on the cross embodies. In Scripture, as Milton understands, Christ's crucifixion is not only a concrete act of His merciful love, but it is also an act of justice that restores cosmic balance within the divine order--the debt of the first Adam is repaid by the blood of the second Adam.

Thus, Barbauld's critique is simply that: criticism. She points to problems but offers no solutions. We will see in Anne Grant's poetic counterargument to Barbauld a work in which she, like Barbauld, engages Milton; however, Grant adopts rather than rejects the great epic poet and offers a politically balanced, material critique of England. Unlike Barbauld, whose pacifist vision is philosophical and abstract, Grant examines the state of England and offers a vision in concrete terms that can be actively played-out in human experience--not just in the ethereal realm of Barbauld. Like Barbauld, Grant acknowledges the fallen state of humanity and the dangers within Europe; however, unlike Barbauld who identifies England as the source of destruction, Grant sees France as the threat to liberty and to Europe at that moment in history. Unlike Barbauld who offers no hope as she awaits England to be reduced to ruins, Grant posits England as the great hope for and source of regeneration for Europe and for the world. As a prophet who warns of present dangers in order to reveal God's design for salvation, Grant acknowledges and warns against England's imperfections, as does Barbauld; however, unlike Barbauld, Grant reminds England that it is the torch bearer of liberty, the agent

to establish order in Europe and in the world, the nation
to restore the order of God's creation.

CHAPTER THREE

Anne Grant's Eighteen Hundred and Thirteen:

England and Rekindling the Torch of Liberty

Milton! thou should'st be living at this hour
England hath need of thee: she is a fen
Of stagnant waters: altar, sword and pen,
Fireside, the heroic wealth of hall and bower,
Have forfeited their ancient English dower
Of inward happiness. We are selfish men;
Oh! Raise us up, return to us again;
And give us manners, virtue, freedom, power.
Thy soul was like a Star and dwelt apart:
Thou hadst a voice whose sound was like the sea;
Pure as the naked heavens, majestic, free,
So didst thou travel on life's common way,
In cheerful godliness; and yet thy heart
The lowliest duties on itself did lay.

(William Wordsworth, "London 1802" from Poems,
1807)

In this chapter, I examine Grant's poem Eighteen
Hundred and Thirteen, which is her literary response to

Barbauld's liberal Eighteen Hundred and Eleven.¹ Though Barbauld's poem is clearly aligned with Whig politics, one cannot simply categorize Grant's text as a political converse of, or a Tory response to, Barbauld's argument. Instead, Grant offers a more nuanced perspective on the condition of England that does not narrowly adhere to neither a Tory nor a Whig political agenda. Unlike the partisan Barbauld who holds the liberal line and is willing to witness the destruction of England, Grant is not blind in her support for England and, like Milton, she criticizes her government but sees England more so as a source of good than of evil in the world. Furthermore, as Barbauld calls on Milton in order to reject him, Grant, too, writes in a Miltonic tradition; however, Grant's is a prophetic voice that adopts Milton theologically and politically in order to address poetically England's current moment within history. This moment is marked by war with Napoleon who threatens liberty on the continent, a war that is a source of hot debate within England.

¹ Simon Bainbridge notes the popularity of war poetry during the Napoleonic wars and the years surrounding that period (1798-1820) in that "there were over 3,000 short poems on the war published in newspapers, periodicals, and magazines" (3) and Over 200 individual volumes of poetry with titles referring to war, battles, or military or naval figures, were reviewed in periodicals between 1798 and 1820, a count which obviously excludes those works not reviewed and does not give any idea of the number of war poems contained in collections of verse with non-specific titles. (3-4)

With such chaos that war brings and critical discussions that focus on issues like liberty and violence, it is not uncommon to call upon England's poet who defended liberty and the greatness of England. In his "London 1802," William Wordsworth summons the blind poet and directly addresses "Milton! [. . . who] should'st be living at this hour / England hath need of thee" (1-2) to "raise [. . .] up" (7) England and make it a model of "manners, virtue, freedom, [and] power" (8). In response to Barbauld's pacifistic damnation of England, Grant, like Wordsworth, invokes Milton as a poet of liberty who champions England as she offers her prophetic vision of the regeneration of England not only to remain the torch of liberty for the world but also to be a source of regeneration for all the nations of the earth. England spreads the light of liberty through its campaign against Napoleon's terror and return to a government that reflects the divine rule of God.

Grant realizes that just wars that threaten liberty are not only fought with swords and cannons but, also, with the pen.² Grant does so in her literary response to Barbauld's scathing Eighteen Hundred and Eleven by writing

² I purposefully refrain from using the Shakespearean line about the pen and the sword, which would apply more so to Barbauld's attitudes than to Grant's concerning the roles of writing and weapons. Thus, I will spare my reader the cliché.

her own Eighteen Hundred and Thirteen, a poem that responds to Barbauld's prophecy of a doomed England as liberty leaves its shores for America. Grant operates in the Miltonic tradition of textual confrontation and debate in which, during Milton's time, a text was not read in a vacuum but was understood to engage other political texts (Norbrook, Writing 11). Especially regarding texts that directly or indirectly addressed issues of politics, these works of literature were seen together "as engagements with other texts, involved in an ongoing process" (Norbrook, Writing 11) of debate.

In her poem, Grant continues this seventeenth-century tradition of political debate and confrontation via print in offering a counter-argument to Barbauld's anti-monarchist text in which Grant maintains that England is the world's best hope to hold the torch of liberty that will alight other nations. However, her poem is not devoid of criticism of the English throne. Whereas Barbauld is reluctant to offer any kind of praise that may interrupt her vigil for England's demise, Grant is fair and balanced in her critique of England. In her analysis of England, Grant maintains her faith that the English play a central role as God's chosen people to bring liberty and order--to build God's kingdom--to all peoples of all nations.

Grant's engagement with Barbauld and her Miltonic vision for England as a torch of liberty becomes more clear when examining the poem's frames of history and Milton, as established in its title and epigraph, and Grant's chosen poetic form.

I. England's Salvation History: Paradise Lost and Regained, or England Agonistes

Looking at Grant's poem, one first notices the title page on which Grant chooses to give two important pieces of information: the title and the epigraph. In so doing, Grant immediately gives her reader two lenses through which to view her poem: the title that points to Barbauld's similarly-titled poem and the epigraph that brings Milton into focus as a function within the poem.³ The title is simply Eighteen Hundred and Thirteen with the subtitle A Poem, In Two Parts. The main title simply names a year, specifically 1813. However, more importantly, in addition to echoing Barbauld's title (and, thus, engaging her immediately), it draws our attention to a key theme of the poem: history. Like Barbauld's title that suggests her

³ See Watkins who discusses Barbauld's use of epigraphs "that draw the curious reader toward a more specific and [. . .] more profound set of political realities" (51) in her 1792 volume of Poems.

chaotic view of history discussed in the previous chapter, Grant's similar title offers a different notion of history. We will see that Grant's chronology is not arbitrary but follows the Scottish-Enlightenment notion of connections among nations and an orderly progress of civilizations.

In addition to the title that suggests an important theme (history), her epigraph also demands critical attention since it provides a key to understanding the poem. Grant quotes from Milton's Samson Agonistes, a poetic drama based in the Scriptures of the Old Testament about sin and regeneration, a foreshadowing of the greatest judge, Christ, who comes in the New Testament. In her title and epigraph, Grant introduces keys to understanding her poem and prompts the reader to examine her work through the lenses of history, including salvation history as implied in her nod to Samson Agonistes, and of Milton, more specifically his cosmic view of sin and regeneration in a divine order. Prompted by the title and epigraph and building upon the work of other scholars such as Pam Perkins and James Chandler, I will examine Grant's largely-ignored Eighteen Hundred and Thirteen in terms of her notions of history and Milton's Judeo-Christian theology. An examination of history, prompted by Grant's title, includes not only a discussion of Scottish-Enlightenment

History but also Judeo-Christian salvation history; a discussion of Milton is prompted by Grant's epigraph that brings into focus the presence of the blind poet's imagery and theology in Grants's poem. Through these frames of history and Milton, Grant's poem reveals a worldview that is both orderly and global; Grant posits England at the center of this global order as the torch-bearer of liberty—a theme that, in conjunction with the epigraph, echoes Milton's notion of regeneration via liberty. This theoretical framework will reveal Grant's rejection of Barbauld's Eighteen Hundred and Eleven and adoption of Milton who, though critical of English government, offers a vision of hope.

First, Grant's view of history is influenced by her theology and view of salvation history, both of which owe much to Milton.⁴ In a study of Grant's Memoirs of an American Lady, Perkins observes that "Grant uses specifically religious (or at least Miltonic) language" ("Paradises" 326) in charting stages through which a society progresses; for example, one latter stage of cultural progress for Grant is a society's obtaining "the

⁴ Both Grant and Barbauld lived in homes steeped in theology. Like Barbauld's husband, Grant's spouse, John Grant, was a "parish minister in Laggan, whom she met while living at Fort Augustus with her father, a British army officer" (McNeil, Scotland 151). Thus, like Barbauld from her own home life, Grant was immersed and well versed in matters theological, as well.

dangerous 'knowledge of good and evil'" (Grant, quoted in Perkins 326). Here, Grant echoes a basic turning point in both Genesis and Milton's epic "Of Mans First Disobedience, and the Fruit / Of that Forbidden Tree" (PL I.1-2). Grant also mimics Milton who, according to Norbrook, "aims [. . .] to span conventional distinctions between the political and the religious [. . . and] often approached the political issues of the time from a somewhat oblique angle" (Writing 109). Grant does this by blending religion and politics in her literary expression. In her epigraph, Grant invokes Milton and his divine theme of salvation history--of God acting in the lives of His people--in order to examine England's present moment, which she designates in her title.

Acknowledging the circumstances of England, Grant quotes from Milton's Samson Agonistes in her epigraph that points to "th' oppressor / The brute and boisterous force of violent men!" which highlights violent oppression, a force that suppresses liberty. Furthermore, the source of that quote (Milton) carries associations with his most famous poem, the epic Paradise Lost. In his best-known work, Milton writes of conflict, both of a heavenly rebellion and its reverberations down to the terrestrial level of Eden, and creates order out of the chaos of sin.

Through the course of the poem, Satan is purged from heaven, and fallen humanity is on a course to regeneration.

Grant recognizes England's moment of conflict in her time as England battles the revolutionary Napoleon whose imperialistic campaign is felt throughout Europe. Out of England's moment of chaotic war, Grant produces an orderly vision in her poem, a vision in which England is the "home of Liberty" (1813 53) but also is the source "from which the genial currents [of liberty] flow" (1813 54).⁵ This unity is extended to a united Britain (1813 53) and then globally:

Island of glory! From each chalky steep
Thy genius seems to lighten o'er the deep;
Thy strength of arm, thy magnitude of soul,
Supports and cheers the weak from pole to pole;
Wherever Sorrow weeps, or Slavery bends,
Thy pity softens, and thy power extends:
In spite of foreign force, or foreign wiles,
The mountain Goddess here serenely smiles;
Here guards that shrine which all the just
 revere,
And builds her favourite gothic temple here.

(1813 54)

⁵ Since Grant's text does not mark line numbers, I cite the page numbers.

The union of her native Scotland, Ireland, and England produces the glorious light of liberty despite foreign threats, and Britain brings a global order from pole to pole across both hemispheres.

As does Milton in envisioning a cosmic order, Grant appreciates salvation history, which entails both death and life, sin and forgiveness, fall and regeneration. Both are part and parcel of the cosmic balance found in Scripture where the sin of the first Adam wins the glory of the second Adam; the Hebrew Scriptures make necessary and are completed by the Christian Scriptures. Milton is Scripturally balanced in that his theology draws from both the New and Old Testaments (John 95). Milton not only focuses on Christ's Gospel of love in the Christian Testament but also has roots in the Hebrew Scriptures in which we see a God often engaged in battle in order to stay true to the Covenant He made with His chosen people.

In invoking Milton, Grant embraces this cosmic balance and understands that the God of the Old Testament is the same Christ of the New Testament within the divine trinity, as Milton teaches that the Son is co-eternal with God the Father in Paradise Lost. Like Milton who hears God's cosmic narrative, she understands this all-encompassing perspective and, thus, England's participation in God's

creation and place within salvation history. She sings the praises of "the potent will" (1813 9) of "the Omnipresent Deity" (1813 9) who "Triumph[s . . .] alike the warrior and the priest" (1813 10); though a caring priest that ministers to the people, Grant's God is also the warrior who conquers the unjust persecutors of His people. As God conquers those who threaten the free will, the liberty, of His people, England must fight France and all threats to human liberty.

Furthermore, concerning this cosmic point of view, Grant sees a divine order in which one can distinguish Creator from created and an orderly progression--though, of course, marked with sin and violence due to human transgression--in the course of salvation history. Timothy Dwight discusses Grant's subscription to a "social hierarchy that the author [Grant] perceived to be endangered" (184) in his study of her Memoirs of an American Lady, and I argue that Grant's sense of hierarchy, the sense of order that Dwight discusses, extends beyond the social into the realms of the religious and the political, too. Dwight's study suggests this extension, as well, as he notes that in Grant's "desire to reverse the excesses of democracy[, . . .] nature offers a counterweight, by extension, to the leveling forces of a

frontier" (185). In other words, Grant understands that political and cosmic hierarchies exist and that natural order is a reflection of divine order; hence, both natural and divine order should then be reflected in human (i.e. political) order.

Grant's perspective is rooted in Milton who, as Donald John explains, rejects the Arian heresy of Christ being created ex nihilo or from nothing (in other words, Christ self-formed Himself) but subscribes to the doctrine of Christ as ex deo, that Christ originated out of the Father. What is important here is that Milton's conception of Christ again points to the split between Barbauld's and Grant's ideologies. While Barbauld rejects a universe of order and origins (as dissent was associated with anarchy), Grant does not. Rather, Grant sees an order and hierarchy within the universe that are maintained through a divine balance of power and love, a universe mirrored by Britain "Where Justice guards, and Mercy decks the throne" (1813 146). Grant's balanced model of justice and mercy is rejected by Barbauld who favors a utopian and unbalanced vision of merciful love alone.

Following this theological understanding of hierarchy, Milton and Grant share the notion that regeneration is linked to the restoration of order. Donald John points to

Book III of Paradise Lost in which God's restoration of humanity is contingent upon restoring humanity's freedom of will--human liberty--and not simply a freedom that is anarchical but liberty that is rooted in right will (John 96). The Father couples "Will and Reason" (PL III.108) since freedom that is void of any kind of ordering principle is doomed to fall to sin, and sin enslaves humanity; however, freedom that is ordered by reason, a faculty that perceives the law of God reflected in the order of nature, empowers humanity to ascend to its preternatural state of liberty and enjoy the Father's "high Decree / Unchangeable, Eternal, which ordain'd / Thir freedom" (PL III.126-28). Milton illustrates this, too, in Samson who is free to fall but also, then, has reason and liberty to right his path, and Grant uses the epigraph to position this regenerative liberty as a foundation to her poem. As Samson is Milton's protagonist, England is Grant's protagonist. Thus, it follows that as Milton sees regeneration requiring human right will acting freely in accord with the divine order, Grant shares the same view of the individual and of England in that both, in order to enjoy regeneration from a fallen state, must fully enjoy liberty in a manner that is consistent with the divine order of creation. This order must balance justice and

mercy as well as allow for liberty to be enjoyed by all peoples both domestically and globally.

Grant prophesies her grand vision, rooted in liberty, not only for England but also for all of Britain and all of the globe; this global, if not cosmic, vision is illumined by Grant's vision of history that echoes Barbauld's notion of history--as does Grant's title--and reflects Scottish-Enlightenment History.⁶

Grant shares with Barbauld a global vision, but a radically different understanding of England's place within this globalization and along the continuum of history. As noted in the previous chapter, a global ideology developed in Britain during the Romantic period, which is illustrated in Barbauld's description of war that "seem[s] more

⁶ See, also, Perkins ("Paradises") and Gikandi (Maps), both of whom discuss the interconnection between nations, particularly between civilized/colonizer and uncivilized/colonized nations. Perkins discusses Grant's assertion in Memoirs of an American Lady that those living in a pastoral idyll are vulnerable to destruction in any encounter with representatives of more sophisticated societies, and those supposedly more sophisticated individuals are likewise imperiled if they become too entranced by the virtues of a society so very different from their own. ("Paradises" 334)

In-line with Perkins who notes Grant's understanding of the influence that each society has on the other, civilized culture upon uncivilized culture and vice versa, Gikandi makes the same observation from his personal experience and in his studies. He asserts that English culture is not something imposed upon other nations, but it is a product of the interplay between the culture of the colonizer (metropole) and the culture of the colony (Maps xii).

Additionally, see Nancy Moore Goslee for a general discussion of the Scottish use of history and religion for political purposes.

I finally here note that, however important her theory of history is in relation to the poem, the scope of my project does not allow the full attention this theoretical framework deserves.

abstract and more timeless [. . .] is one of endless, restless calamity" (Gottlieb 337). Using generalities rather than proper names of persons and places, Barbauld's portrayal of war reflects the continual and inevitable phenomenon of conflict and destruction within human history.

Whereas Barbauld sees England's torch soon being extinguished by the chaos of war and history, Grant sees England as the torch of liberty that, within the chaotic events in Europe, pushes its surrounding nations forward in history. Grant sees that "There History waits, impatient to unroll / To future times her ever-living scroll" (1813 65) in order to record "England's honoured name [. . . as] the Island-home of liberty" (1813 7). Since "From Britain how the kindling ardour [of liberty] came, / That touched the nations round" (1813 20), Grant's England, united with Scotland and Ireland, is the source of liberty to other nations.

Grant's vision in which Britain is a torch of liberty that kindles the flames of freedom in other nations follows a Scottish-Enlightenment view of history. This understanding of history notes that all nations are not at the same stage of cultural development (economy, government, technology, industry, etc.) at any given moment

in history; within this paradigm, more advanced nations can propel forward less-advanced nations into later stages of development (Chandler 130). As "the Island-home of liberty" (1813 7), Grant's England pushes forward Scotland and Ireland, and the heat of England's torch of liberty melds England, Scotland, and Ireland into Britain. As this torch, England can bring other nations into the light of liberty through its cultural heat, an energy created by key events in close proximity to one another, just as the speeding of molecules increases temperature. England creates this heat within its historical continuum via the culture-moving events of war and advancements in industry. When England's heat is conducted to stagnant or cold cultures, the transferal of this heat to such stagnant societies pushes them forward in their development (Chandler 131). Whereas Barbauld sees chaos in England, Grant sees the flux of England as a source of heat, a heat that produces the light of liberty that will illumine surrounding nations.

From this Scottish-Enlightenment perspective of history, as Grant posits history as a lens for her poem in her title, Grant's poem positions England as that advanced nation whose heat will propel other nations and cultures forward. England's heat will first meld "Fair Scotland"

(1813 80) and "sister Isle! fair Erin's green domain" (1813 88) and then England within a "threefold cord" (1813 93) of Britain, a Britain whose torch will illumine and meld all nations together in liberty--the liberty that God originally blessed and bestowed upon humanity. Hence, with a view of history that focuses on relativity (a focus on relationships), Grant's vision is a Christian paradigm in which all things are related, all things are connected, all things are one--a preternatural unity. This unity, in which all are one, can be found in Genesis's Eden, and Grant uses this model for England domestically, for Britain in a "union blest [. . .] threefold cord" (1813 93), and for the world in which all nations are unified.

However, this vision is not without stumbling blocks. Just as Grant applies her history to global relationships, she sees the danger of relativism lurking as an enemy of unity. She understands that the denial of the existence of objective truth--the denial that right and wrong, that good and evil exist--is dangerous; the belief that truth is simply relative to the individual not only is a logical fallacy but is dangerous, as well, since it leads to anarchy.⁷ Values and law become meaningless within a

⁷ Relativism's basic tenet that "Objective truth does not exist" refutes itself. In denying that any objective truth exists, the relativist

relativistic system. Grant refuses to accept the argument that one person's terrorist is simply another person's freedom fighter.

As Socrates battled the sophists of Greece, Grant battles the sophists of England who lack any constant, any foundational principle, any core belief--those who participate in the anarchy of Barbauld's vision--and criticize England for being steadfast in its fight to defend and spread the divine principle of liberty against threats such as Napoleonic France. Grant's foundation is this principle of liberty, much like Shelley's foundation is love.⁸ Grant understands liberty as God's original gift

must assert an objective truth, which contradicts the premise itself. Of course, those who do adhere to the existence of objective truth (objectivists) do not deny that locating such truths requires examining the object, situation, etc. in its entirety from several points of view.

⁸ O'Brien examines the notion of liberty from the late seventeenth to late eighteenth centuries. She notes that

A major theme of eighteenth-century poetry is how liberty-- as a stimulus and agent, rather than as an end in itself-- is related to artistic achievement, social cohesion, and commerce. Another is the need for liberty to be tempered by a proper regard for social harmony in both the domestic and colonial political contexts. It was in relation to questions of liberty and social harmony that poets aspired to the rank of philosophers, and explored the foundations of the social order in man's inner impulses to selfishness, sympathy and altruism. (170)

Particularly germane to my discussion of Barbauld and Grant, O'Brien's argument continues:

In relation to empire, poetry played an important role in bringing together a nexus of concepts, including commerce, liberty and international community, as part of a coherent national idiom, and in helping the British metropolis to imagine itself as an imperial polity. This was poetry oriented and addressed to a home audience. (170)

of free will--liberty granted to His greatest creatures in humankind. Against this principle of liberty are the sophists of Grant's time, who include politically dissenting poets and critics. These poets and critics chastise England for interfering in France's affairs and position England as the source of terror imposing its will upon the freedom-loving French, while denying the terror that Napoleon is imposing across the continent.⁹ While Grant defends the English government's actions against France in order to protect liberty, she does not turn a blind eye to the sins of England. She condemns England's monarchy for governing relative to its own interests of self-preservation at the expense of its own citizens.

Thus, Grant does not operate simply as a conservative ideologue in presenting England as a utopia, but, instead, acknowledges England in terms of human experience--material reality--and, thus, acknowledges and critiques its shortcomings, too. Like Barbauld who condemned placing the

Also, see McNeil ("Location") for a discussion of "the links in [. . . Grant's] thinking between a special sense of place and of national feeling" (214) in which "National feeling [. . .] is literally 'grounded' in an attachment to particular 'spots' hallowed by acts of piety, heroism, genius, and public spirit of one's forbearers" (214). Thus, McNeil examines the connections Grant makes among history, liberty, nationalism, and soil.

For a charting of post-Waterloo definitions of "freedom" and "liberty," see Paul Stock's article "Liberty and Independence" that also includes a discussion concerning the political and geographic connections between Europe and Asia in the Romantic mind (122).

⁹ Napoleon's invasion of neutral Switzerland in 1798 weakened French support among liberals in England.

preservation of power over the good for and of the people, Grant directs that government must function relative to the interests of the people, as does Milton. Grant demands that a ruler must govern "for his people's good alone; / With all the courage, ardour, worth, and truth" (1813 45) required of a king, and such governance will result in "united rays, / [. . .] to form one bright, distinguish'd blaze" (1813 45) of liberty. As God's purpose for His creatures was to enjoy liberty and free will, Grant argues that the purpose of an earthly ruler, ultimately, is to promote the universal principle of liberty.

This cosmopolitan unity takes shape in the epigraph that alludes to the fallen Christian hero of Samson, who ultimately restores order. Grant posits this theme even before the first line of the poem, and the embedding of this theme via the epigraph--prior to the poem proper--suggests that liberty predates all human existence and human endeavors (if we understand the poem to be representative of human thought). Grant invokes the Miltonic Christian hero of Samson, a nuance of Grant's political ambivalence, who is fallen and blind, yet a source of regeneration, a character that echoes Milton who found himself fallen and blind but still maintained hope for England to be politically regenerated. Samson loses

his liberty through sin but then breaks the chains of pagan imprisonment to become a source of liberty for his people. He falls at the feet of self-interest in ignoring his duty to his God and his people by marrying the Philistine Dalila. It is not until he feels the consequences of his sin, imprisonment and blindness, that Samson can return to his original strength and singleness of purpose in which he leads himself and his people to salvation in destroying the pagan pillars of the temple which destroys the Philistines themselves.

In invoking Milton's Samson, Grant invokes other Miltonic heroes who battle relativism, notably the heroine of Comus.¹⁰ Comus tempts the lady with his banquet set before her and entraps her in his sticky seat of misleading, relativistic language. However, despite the attractiveness of Comus's banquet and his superficial proposals, the lady does not give in to material self-interest but instead adheres to her unshakable principles. This resistance to material self-interest, dramatized in the characters of Samson and the lady of Comus, is personified in the "character" of England in the poem, in which Grant situates the country as the Christian hero. Just as the lady of Comus is tempted by, and just as Samson

¹⁰ Though the title of the play is A Masque, I will refer to it as "Comus" for clarity's sake.

falls and is blinded by, unprincipled sophistic self-interest, Grant's England is blind and fallen due to the workings of the villains of sophistry and material self-interest. The poet combines the images of the sticky film of the chair from Comus and the protagonist's blindness from Samson Agonistes to warn England against "the sensualist [who] in leaden slumber lies; / [and] The sophist [who] spreads his film o'er the curious eyes" (1813 57, emphasis mine); in other words, the sophistry of Comus that binds the lady in the enchanted chair of his palace is the same self-interest that blinds Samson. Hence, sensualism, a value system based upon materialism and self-interest, blinds England to objective truth, the foundation upon which government operates. Grant warns those who do not govern by unchanging truth by condemning rulers "mounted on opinion's opal throne, / Laugh'd at Religion's ties and Wisdom's rules, / And govern'd in the paradise of fools" (1813 130). A government that does not follow eternal truth, truth revealed in the eternal wisdom of God, loses true paradise and creates a doomed kingdom of folly.

The eternal truth that is the foundational principle for Grant is liberty. She understands that liberty, by God's eternal design, is humanity's original state in Eden where "force upon free will hath [. . .] no place" (PL

IX.1174). This blearing or blinding of England's eyes to liberty returns to relativism's affinity for self-interest (shifting perception to reach convenient conclusions) in which the English monarch has "Little thought [. . . of his] matchless powers [. . . that instead] waste in false, corrupted Pleasure's bowers" (1813 3) and who, furthermore, is "Like captive Samson, make unhallowed sport / For the vile pleasure of a godless court" (1813 4). Like Samson who becomes an object of ridicule, the English monarchy is criticized by Grant and radical critics, like Barbauld, for its abuses of power in not working toward the good (liberty) of its people, but instead uses its power for its own self-interest and gain by preparing and preserving its own political power.

Although England is blinded and fallen, Grant demands England's regeneration. She insists that it gains the inner light of liberty, just as Samson gains the inner light of God, and that England destroys the temple of "terror" (1813 145) supported by the pillars of an oppressive ideology of self-interest both within and without the borders of England. Therefore, in Eighteen Hundred and Thirteen, Grant positions England as the Miltonic Christian hero who, though fallen, is called to hearken to a cosmopolitan vision of original unity rooted

in liberty, and she subtly embeds this constructive critique of English monarchy within the themes of light, preternatural unity, and messianic salvation.

Thus, Grant's careful rhetoric and theoretical framework of both the title and the epigraph begin to bring her political vision into focus; her title nods toward her notion of history and the relationship of England to other nations, and her epigraph sets Milton, regeneration, and liberty as functions and themes of her poem. One is attuned to Grant's politically moderate voice that neither attacks the monarchy, as Barbauld's does, nor blindly defends English national policy, which critics have misunderstood the poem to do. A close examination of Grant's Eighteen Hundred and Thirteen uncovers a poem that does, indeed, respond to Barbauld, but not as most critics suggest--as a conservative counter-balance to Barbauld. Rather, convergences with Barbauld's protest will surface as Grant, too, criticizes the shortcomings of England's government, but her criticism does not prompt her to await England's doom, as does Barbauld's; instead, Grant's text diverges from Barbauld's poem, as scholars have generally noted, in Grant's poetic defense of England.

Furthermore, one will see Grant's command of a subtle, yet effective rhetorical strategy that is more effective

than Barbauld's rhetoric; whereas Barbauld dooms England in her poem, which prompted many critics to doom Barbauld and her unpatriotic poem, Grant carefully embeds criticism of England within a positive and patriotic poem that celebrates the island nation. While one hears Barbauld simply doom England as she passively awaits England's destruction, the reader encounters in Grant's poem a voice that cannot be limited by relative terms of "Tory" or "Whig" or "Reformist," but rather one that transcends the politics of the time and presents a universal return to a Biblical vision of Edenic unity in which England is the Christian hero, the fallen hero working toward regeneration. In its industry and commercial growth, England is Adam who works the earth and uses its resources to sustain itself and other nations. In its war against Napoleon who threatens liberty throughout Europe, England is the blinded and flawed Samson who fulfills God's will and destroys the temples of the Lord's enemies. Thus, Grant's England is Milton's England--a fallen nation mired in the chaos of flawed governments and scarred by civil war or Napoleonic wars but that still has hope for regeneration via God's divine design of liberty, a liberty to be enjoyed by its own people and to be spread to other nations.

II. Grant's Form and Style

Milton provides a thematic mid-point between Barbauld's and Grant's poems. He is a critic of his England in which his political revolution failed as Charles II restores the monarchy, but he still maintains hope for England in his criticism of monarchy and support for the establishment of a commonwealth. Like Milton, Barbauld is a critic of monarchy but, unlike Milton, she proposes no solution other than to await her nation's ruin. Like both Milton and Barbauld, Grant points to the flaws of monarchy that, like Adam and Samson, fall to selfish economic interests at the expense of its people; however, like Milton, Grant offers a hopeful vision for flawed England.

These thematic connections and departures are reflected in each poem's form, too. As Barbauld engages poetic tradition and, notably, Milton through the poetic convention of the prophetic voice that speaks against unjust rulers as discussed in the previous chapter, Grant does similarly in her Eighteen Hundred and Thirteen; however, we will see that Grant's purposes and prosody are distinct from Barbauld's. Grant's poetics will, like Barbauld's, engage Milton, but then Grant, unlike Barbauld who engages Milton to reject him, will instead adopt

Milton's choice of form, the epic, in singing the story of England as the torch-bearer of liberty. Wrestling with Barbauld to reclaim Milton as a champion of England and of liberty, Grant also engages Barbauld through verse--the couplet. Engaging Barbauld's poem, Grant writes her poetic response in couplets, and she does so in order to mirror Barbauld but, like a mirror that reverses the image it reflects, Grant reverses Barbauld's prophecy of England's decline.¹¹

First, and most obviously, Grant chooses the form of epic to respond to Barbauld, with her published poem spanning approximately 143 pages. As Barbauld rejects Milton's form and, therefore, his theme, Grant works in the Miltonic tradition of choosing the highest form of poetry to celebrate the salvation history of England.¹² As Milton and his contemporaries who, "In adopting literary forms, narratives and modes of representation, [. . .] did not

¹¹ Linkin and Behrendt assert that "British Romanticism [is . . .] a literary and cultural phenomenon characterized by a dynamic community of ideas and voices in conversation with one another and with their audience" (6). Thus, conversations among the Romantics and the reading public via literature were common, a cultural phenomenon in which Grant participates in her poetic engagement of Barbauld.

¹² Working within poetic traditions is not foreign to Grant. As McNeil notes about her Letters from the Mountains, Grant "admits to an 'Ossianic mania'" (Scotland 153) and in "Adopting a dominant convention of the late eighteenth century, Grant invests the Highland landscape with Ossianic poetic values but also, as was the convention, makes visits to particular sites associated with the poetry" (Scotland 153). Thus, Grant embeds such traditions and associative significance in her choice of form. Similarly in Eighteen Hundred and Thirteen, Grant adopts the dominant figure of Milton and his form, the epic, in order to subtly invoke his themes of regeneration and liberty.

simply disguise their political ideas" (Hadfield 118), Grant uses poetic form to embed political significance within her text.

Like Milton's epic that signaled England's maturation, Grant's epic examines the state of England within a timeline of history that she presents in Part I of her poem; furthermore, she uses the Miltonic pattern of the fall within Genesis to do so. In her introductory note, Grant plainly states that the first part of her poem contains a "Narrative of the great events [of English history . . .] intended as a retrospective sketch" (1813 vii); Grant assembles events of history as a podium upon which she places her "view [. . .] of the present state and future prospects of" (1813 vii) England within a united Britain. Also, as Milton explores "the story of Adam and Eve [that] served as the grounding narrative of familial structure and hierarchy, and [. . .] operated as an account of [. . .] political relationships" (Miller 63), Grant visits Milton's story of the fall, among his other works that look at sin, decline, and resurgence, to serve her own political agenda of constructive criticism of England in responding to Barbauld.¹³ Like Barbauld and Milton, Grant's

¹³ Miller particularly examines the theme of hierarchy in terms of gender and politics in order to sketch "A mappable gender hierarchy [that] serves as the underpinning for government structure in the

critique is that of a prophet who speaks against the sins of the king, but, unlike Barbauld who awaits destruction, Grant continues in Milton's tradition as she brings sin to light in order for England to return to its purpose of being the torch of liberty that brings the light of freedom throughout the world. This connection to Milton, made prior to the poem itself in Grant's epigraph from his Samson Agonistes, is one strategy that she uses to establish an authoritative voice, a voice that echoes Milton's, and a thematic point of departure from her poetic counterpart, a departure more concretely visible in the difference of her poetic verse.¹⁴

Grant cleverly engages Milton in the adoption of the epic for her project but, in using the couplet rather than his blank verse, she engages Barbauld's poem specifically.¹⁵ Barbauld uses the couplet as a rejection of Milton by virtue of adopting the preferred verse of his detractors, notably Johnson and Pope; Grant uses the couplet throughout

seventeenth century" (63) and contends that "that map will become, if not entirely replotted in the course of the period, redrawn: the theory of patriarchal power was being placed under increasing pressure" (63).

Also, see Morton and Smith concerning the Romantics' revisionary use of Milton's Paradise Lost (14-15).

¹⁴ Christian Thorne references Catherine Gallagher who "argued that women writers in the eighteenth century devised a variety of complex rhetorical strategies to give legitimacy to their status as authors in the face of the marketplace and their masculinized profession" (Thorne 537).

¹⁵ Ross notes the notably poetic careers of both Barbauld and Grant, among other female poets of the period, both of whom "could conduct impressive careers that included poetic composition as a major component" (191-92).

her epic not as a rejection of Milton but, instead, as an engagement with Barbauld in order to reject and reverse her contemporary's verse. As Barbauld's engagement with Milton to reject him is subtle, Grant's engagement with both authors is not. Barbauld's theme of sin and separation in her scathing critique of England follows a Judeo-Christian theology of sin, a pattern that Milton uses in Paradise Lost; however, Barbauld stops short of Milton's entire vision in that she offers no hope of a renewed England. Grant is much more obvious in adopting Milton and rejecting Barbauld, which can be seen on the title page in which her title mimics Barbauld's poem and her epigraph quotes Milton's drama.

Furthermore, Grant dwarfs Barbauld's poem by writing an epic in response to Barbauld's long--though not epic--poem, a form that gave Grant's work greater literary authority by aligning itself with Milton's epic Paradise Lost. Grant follows Milton who used the epic to sing of topics both divine and earthly, both universal and particular to England's moment in history; both use Genesis's story of sin to speak of Milton's England that suffers under flawed monarchy and Grant's England whose king needs to atone for sins and return to a model of kingship modeled by the Father.

As Grant adopts Milton's genre of epic, Grant engages Barbauld through a common verse form. Like Barbauld, Grant writes in heroic couplets, paired lines of iambic pentameter. However, as Grant mimics Milton's form to adopt his theme, she writes in the verse form of Barbauld in order to reject Barbauld's theme. Grant follows Barbauld and writes in rhymed couplets of iambic pentameter. However, the relationship among imagery, rhyme, and metrical variation highlights distinctions between the two poems' themes, and these differences can be gleaned from the first verse sentence of each poem.¹⁶

Barbauld begins her long poem:

Still the loud death drum, thundering from afar,
O'er the vext nations pours the storms of war:
To the stern call still Britain bends her ear,
Feeds the fierce strife, the alternate hope and
fear;
Bravely, though vainly, dares to strive with
Fate,

¹⁶ I examine the first verse sentence for two reasons. The first reason is practical: I have not examined each poem metrically in its entirety. Such a detailed and extensive metrical study of the poems in relation to one another could be an avenue for further inquiry. Second, the first verse sentences of each of these lengthy poems are generally important ones that set the stage for the rest of the poem, much like the famous first twenty-six lines of Milton's Paradise Lost.

And seeks by turns to prop each sinking state.

(1811 1-6, emphasis mine to show stress)

In Eighteen Hundred and Eleven, the images of these first lines dictate the function of the rhyme. The reader is confronted with the message of "death" (1) signaled by the "thunder" (1) of "storms" (2) that echo the "strife" (4) of "war" (2), which prompts "fear" (4) of the realization that England is a "sinking state" (6). Furthermore, England's demise is its "Fate" (5), and any attempted course of actions to avert such death would be in "vain" (5). This feeling of entrapment, that England's death is a fait accompli, transforms the end rhymes as constraining and limiting structures, just as England is constrained to its fate and the nation's days are numbered.

Furthermore, these images of war and disorder highlight the metrical variations within these lines. Though the poem is predominantly written in iambic pentameter, the first five lines deviate significantly from the poem's meter. The first line begins with a trochee followed by two spondees before ending with two iambs. The second line contains a trochee and a spondee before the final three iambs. The third, Barbauld has a pyrrhic, two spondees, and then two iambs. Lines four and five both have a trochee, a spondee, and then three iambs. Finally,

the sixth line that ends the sentence finally settles into the metrical pattern and contains five iambs, and this settled pattern reflects the settled, or determined, "sinking" (6) fate of England. Also, with the exception of the sixth line, the variations of stressed to unstressed syllables do not balance in each line. The ratio of stressed to unstressed syllables in each of the first five lines is unbalanced with six stressed to four unstressed syllables in each line. Thus, Barbauld's lines are marked with chaotic variation and imbalance as is her vision of England.

On the other hand, Grant's imagery, rhyme, and metrical variation all produce a theme counter to Barbauld's. Grant's first verse sentence reads:

When Britain, freed from bonds too long deplored,
Rejoicing saw her native prince restored,
The loyal flame reviving Muses fanned,
And loose-robbed Frolic wantoned through the land.

(1813 1-4, emphasis mine to show stress)

In her Eighteen Hundred and Thirteen, Grant's unified Britain is "freed" (1) and "Rejoicing" (2) while "reviving Muses" (3) "Frolic [. . .] through the land" (4). Grant's imagery paints a much more pleasant picture than Barbauld's damning opening lines. In this scene, nature ("the land"

[4]), humanity (the "native prince" [2]), and the supernatural ("Muses" [3]) are all joined together. This unity reflects a cosmic order and balance. Thus, this imagery makes Grant's end rhymes function as an ordering principle unlike Barbauld's imagery of death that transforms her rhyme into a limiting structure.

This order is reflected in Grant's meter, as well. Though Grant writes in iambic pentameter, too, her metrical variation in her first verse sentence is more rare than Barbauld's. In Grant's first three lines, her meter is consistent: five iambs in each line. Not until the fourth line does she deviate from her pattern: an iamb, a spondee, an iamb, a pyrrhic, and an iamb. Prior to the fourth line, her consistent use of iambs continually lifts the reader through each pair of syllables. Even in the fourth line's variation, Grant does the same but to a greater degree. Like a rollercoaster increasing speed by going downhill in order to gain greater height on the next climb, the three consecutive unstressed syllables increase the line's velocity downward for it to rise all the higher with the last syllable that is stressed. Thus, the "land" (4), or Britain, is raised all the higher. In addition to this greater metrical regularity, Grant balances her meter, also, to reflect the balance within an ordered universe.

Unlike Barbauld's 6:4 ratio, Grant's ratio of stressed to unstressed syllables is 5:5 throughout. Grant's first three lines are consistently iambs, and her fourth line has three iambs along with a spondee and pyrrhic that balance one another.

Hence, Grant's choice of imagery and verse that complement one another gives a context for the major impetus and theme of her epic poem. She engages and counters Barbauld's text and damning prophecy, a prophecy that sees chaos and disorder within England and within the movement of history. At the same time, Grant further engages Barbauld via Milton; Grant writes within the epic tradition and under the authority of the blind poet, and she echoes his theology of hierarchy. Within this orderly design, she sees a divine system and cosmic order that create a universal harmony, an accord that frees humanity from the enslavement to sin and, thus, allows humanity to enjoy its preternatural state of liberty. In examining the poem, we will see that Grant appropriates Milton to position England within this cosmic hierarchy as a source of liberty that frees other nations from the threat of terror by engaging and defeating Napoleon. This examination of her poem will reveal Grant's positioning England within salvation history as a means of salvation

for other nations through her Miltonic images of light, preternatural unity, and messianic savior.

III. Grant's Miltonic Images: Light, Unity, Messiah

First, Grant embeds her critique of English monarchy in the image of light that illumines the poem throughout. This image flows naturally from the epigraph in that Samson loses the light of his sight, as did Milton, and must undergo a process of regenerating that light, even producing a brighter light that is internal.¹⁷ This generation of internal light within Samson appears in Paradise Lost, as well, when Adam and Eve come to "possess / A Paradise within thee, happier far" (PL XII.586-87).

Also within Paradise Lost, light is the focus much earlier than in the last few lines in that the image is directly related to Satan, whom the Romantics saw as a rebel against structures of authority.¹⁸ The roots of Satan's name "Lucifer," which translates as "Morning Star,"

¹⁷ Some may argue that Grant understands Milton's loss of his sight as his blindness to truth when he opposed monarchy. However, as I argued earlier, I assert that Grant sees Milton as the blind prophet who speaks against monarchy, a monarchy that is blind to the interests of those whom it governs, which constitutes true blindness, a state of sin resulting from the violation of divine hierarchy.

¹⁸ See Thorpe for a discussion of the cult of Satan, a line of criticism that understands Satan to be the protagonist of Milton's epic that Thorpe notes from the critical perspective of Dryden to the Romantics (8-10).

point to "light" itself. In the Christian tradition from which Milton works, Lucifer earned his name as he was the highest, or brightest, of God's angels; however, because of Lucifer's self-interest in desiring to equal or surpass God in the heavenly hierarchy, the "Apostate Angel" (PL I.125) is cast down into his hellish palace. From there, Lucifer realizes that "Which way I flie is Hell; my self am Hell" (PL IV.75) since his inner depravity, rooted in self-interest, affects his outer world. The only hope that he has for regeneration is an internal change of spirit, in which he commits to working for others (in this context, for God) and not for himself.

Grant's image of light progresses from Milton's Samson to the blind poet's Lucifer. As Samson experiences regeneration and as Satan has the possibility to enjoy regeneration, Grant poetically posits England both as Samson and as Satan as she hopes to enlighten the English monarchy. She does so in a subtle way, for plainly equating England and Satan more than likely would have earned her and her poem a reception similar to the one Barbauld received for her Eighteen Hundred and Eleven. Instead, Grant illumines her text constantly with images of light, which links her poem about England to Milton's poem about Satan. As Romantics, including Grant, often

interpreted Satan as the poem's protagonist, Grant positions England as the world's main character, which is in accord with her Scottish-Enlightenment vision of history in which the quickly moving or "hot history" (a period of time crowded with significant events) of England helps to heat and propel neighboring nations forward in history. From a global point of view, "Immortals leaning from each lofty sphere, / [can] Beh[o]ld the crowded glories of the year" (1813 4) about which Grant writes. The rapid historical movement and friction create this heat, and this heat creates glorious light, as the word "light" (or forms of it such as "lights" [1813 16], "lightnings" [1813 27], or "delighted" [1813 32]) appears in the poem over one hundred times. Hence, through direct and indirect repetition of the word, Grant floods her poem with light, and England is historically at a white-hot flash point. Grant asserts that England must use this light and energy not like Satan to forge the chains of hell but, instead, to light the "torch" (1813 23) of liberty.

Though Grant envisions England as the regenerated hero, this has not yet been accomplished, and Grant acknowledges that England is still fallen like the envious Satan and the imprisoned Samson by self-interest. In carefully aligning England with Milton's two characters,

Grant accuses the English monarchy, as Barbauld does, of operating within the paradigm of self-interest. The English government, in its "Insane Ambition" (1813 15), works to preserve its own power and to preserve the system that allows them to do so, rather than working for the good and welfare of the people. This ambition of self-interest makes the monarchy "to the future blind, / [and] Ne'er casts a retrospective glance behind" (1813 15) to see the wake of devastation and poverty imposed upon the people.

Though this system, adopted by the monarchy, is self-propagating in that it seemingly can only be broken by some type of revolution or some outside force exerted by an outside entity, Grant does not call for revolution among the public as so many radicals of her time did. She did not wish to risk her own voice being silenced by monarchy and its literary political supporters since George III's June 1787 royal proclamation "for the Encouragement of Piety and Virtue" (qtd. in Donelan 1) was still in effect; this proclamation eventually led to the formation in 1802 of the Society for the Suppression of Vice that led a campaign "against indecent literature and seditious and blasphemous publications" (Donelan 1) including those that spoke against the government itself. Furthermore, Grant did not wish to risk spurring a revolution against a flawed

monarchy in which the revolutionaries become what they originally resist--the source of terror--as they did in the French Revolution. Instead of risking personal ruin or a failed revolution, Grant's solution is an internal revolution of government. Like Percy Shelley, who understands the necessity of an internal revolution of the individual toward the humanitarian principle of love, Grant demands an internal regeneration of the principle of liberty that will transform England and, in her global historical vision, all the world.¹⁹

In this cosmopolitan, or global, vision illumined by liberty, Grant calls for monarchy not only to meet the needs of its people but also the needs of the world's people in that "Who rules to bless must conquer to save, / The high distinction of the truly brave" (1813 24), and she orders "Thy early friends from servile bonds to free, / And punish foes to merit and to thee" (1813 30).²⁰ England's warring with nations who deny liberty and promote terror is applauded by Grant; however, she still sees a disjuncture in that liberty is being spread outside of England but

¹⁹ Shelley's Prometheus Unbound points toward the transformative power of love as Prometheus is an Adam- and Christ-figure; Prometheus endures suffering chained to the rock and then, through a spoken act of love, breaks free from those chains and enjoys regeneration.

²⁰ Later in this chapter I will discuss Grant's cosmopolitan point of view, a global perspective that reflects her complicated nationality that links her to Scotland, America, and England.

denied inside its border. While Grant shares Barbauld's perspective on the domestic economic injustice in which citizens are divided economically and some are enslaved by poverty, she departs from Barbauld in still seeing England as the seat and best source of liberty for its own people and those of other nations, too.

Second, Milton's and Grant's images of light are suggestive of a preternatural unity to which England must lead the world. This connection is established in the first words of God in Genesis in which He orders "Let there be light" (1:3) and, thus, begins creation, which is to be perfected through the existence of all in harmony--in union. This paradisaical unity is later lost at the hands of Adam and Eve whose sin is rooted in pride and self-interest. Just like Satan, Adam and Eve wish to be on par with God; hence, the first couple violates universal hierarchy--humanity attempts to place itself on or above the level of God. This disunion is illustrated in Genesis in which sin separates humans from nature, from fellow humans, and from God, the same paradigm discussed earlier: Eve feels pain in childbirth while Adam must till the soil for food; Adam and Eve hide their nakedness from one another; and the first couple hide from God.

Though paradise is lost, God still leaves humanity with the promise of salvation in one who will save all--the Son. The Messiah will return the original light of creation that is now shrouded in darkness, and this light will be seen in the star above Bethlehem. This star will lead humanity to the One who will return light into the world, to the Savior who will free humanity from the chains of sin and death and into the light of liberty. This liberty is the preternatural state of God's creation.

Grant positions England as Edenical; however, like those within Eden, England finds itself fallen as does Adam, Eve, and even Satan. Grant subtly posits England as both the preternatural and post-lapsarian Eden in her introductory note that warns her reader that "the view [. . .] given of the present state and future prospects of this country [England . . . is] just and well founded" (1813 vii) or the reader may simply be deceived. Accordingly, in the course of her poem, Grant will posit England as the hero in the "mighty drama" (1813 vii) of history but as a flawed hero, "Like captive Sampson" (1813 4). England is the hero that can enjoy regeneration and return to being the source of liberty for Europe and the world.

In the first part of her poem, Grant charts and sings the praises of England's glorious history in her

"retrospective sketch of the passing events" (1813 vii) in England's chronology.²¹ Narrating the past, she holds up the nation as "the star of Bethlehem" (1813 55) and "The torch that kindled Freedom's holy flame / To light the western world" (1813 6). England is that original light, those first words of God, the source of perfection.

However, like God's creatures, England falls to the same sin of self-interest as does Adam, Eve, and Lucifer, and England suffers the same consequences of separation--a loss of unity. This disconnect is reflected in the structure and in theme. Grant creates a separation in her poem by dividing it into two parts: the first extols England as the carrier of "Freedom's holy flame" (1813 6), but the second part opens with a petition for the "wearied Muse, to Britain speed thy flight" (1813 53). The spirit that animated and made England a source of liberty for the world, the England that Grant celebrates in the first part of her poem, is now gone in the latter part of the poem that addresses England's "present state and future prospects" (1813 vii). The speaker beseeches this divine power that makes England the light of the world to "Return" (1813 54) so that England, unified with the spirit and in

²¹ Here, it could be argued that Grant is operating within the medieval tradition of establishing a preliminary linear history that acts as a foundation that gives legitimacy to the text or the spirit of the text.

the spirit freedom, can return to being the torch of the divine flame of liberty.

As I suggested above in noting Barbauld's criticism of English monarchy, Grant understands that England's state of disunity is rooted in the gulf that separates the monarchy from the people. She wastes no time in carefully and subtly making this point in the first line of the poem in which she envisions "When Britain, freed from bonds too long deplored" (1813 3). While this line can easily be dismissed as an introduction to England's past, it, rather, addresses the country's present state. Alluding to the time of "Dryden" (1813 3), Grant notes its contrast to the present time "when bards no longer to vain patrons bow" (1813 4); here, she blends past and present by using poets of the past to address the present disconnect between the people who no longer revere their rulers who are marked by "vain" (1813 4) self-interest. Grant laments England's and the world's loss of "bonds" (1813 3)--a disconnect--in which unity, the social sinews, does not exist between the monarchy and the people, among England, Scotland, and Ireland, and among the nations of the world.²² Furthermore, the greater tragedy, above and beyond the lack of such bonds, is that these connections are "deplored" and not

²² See Perkins ("Grant") for a discussion of Grant's desire for a united kingdom of England, Scotland, and Ireland.

even desired. Entering into relationships demands that each party act in the best interest of the other, or, in other words, that each party sublimate self-interest in favor of interest in the other. In the present state of England and the world, self-interest rules, but Grant calls for all to embrace what has been too long deplored--the bonds that connect all in liberty so that the English monarchy, the English people, Scotland, Ireland, and the world all exist in a preternatural state of oneness.

Grant understands and addresses the domestic and global difficulties that "can trouble or annoy" (1813 141) English citizens in accomplishing such unity. She shares Barbauld's domestic concerns in England's war with France in sympathizing with "he who mourns the son ultimately slain" (1813 142); however, Grant reminds the sorrowing father that his son "has not died in vain" (1813 142) because he "died to purchase honorable peace" (1813 142). She rejoices in that the soldier's "wounds and dying pangs made Europe free" (1813 142) and that these brave Englishmen, "Like stars[,] shall brighten the historic page, / The theme and boast of every future age" (1813 142).²³ Thus, she likens the fallen English soldiers to

²³ Grant admires the sacrifice of soldiers who protect and spread liberty as opposed to Barbauld's negative portrayal of war's human destruction. This contrast illustrates Bainbridge's explanation that

Christ who died to make men holy as these English soldiers died to make men free. In her grand vision of history, liberty--the ultimate truth--is marching on. As Christ dies in order to resurrect gloriously from the tomb and deliver humanity from death into new life, England's soldiers die in war to keep ablaze the torch of liberty and deliver the people of Europe and of the world from oppression into liberty. These English soldiers are like the nameless stars in the sky that bring light in darkness at which people marvel, and these selfless soldiers who fight and die for liberty are both the sun (a star) and the Son: sources of light and life.

Therefore, Barbauld's retreat into pacifism is contrasted here with Grant's validation of military engagement. While Barbauld watches the worm-infested apple rot, Grant is busy planting and harvesting. The former waits for the corpse of England to nourish the soil but fails to plant a seed out of which new life can spring; the latter is willing to plant the bodies of England's fallen fighters for freedom in the ground in order for the roots of liberty to spread and freedom to burst forth for England

The picturing of war through the poetic imagination was used by both those who sought to celebrate war and those who wished to condemn it. Depictions of war's horrors were a standard element of pro-war poetry, emphasizing the bravery of those who fought and the ability of leaders to rise above the chaos of battle. (27)

and other nations to harvest. Barbauld believes that maintaining a pacifist stance of non-engagement will lead to a collapse of the corrupt system, a disintegration that will allow for a utopian rebirth; however, Grant would argue that Barbauld's philosophy is simply a theoretical, pie-in-the-sky vision (or, as Perkins would suggest, a cotton candy utopia within "spun-sugar Arcadias" [Perkins, "Paradises" 336]). In stark contrast to Barbauld's prophecy, Grant's vision is a substantive acknowledgement and engagement with material reality, with human experience, that allows her to recognize what is less-than-ideal (e.g. war). This point of view subsequently empowers her both to understand and to direct that which is less than perfect towards an active regeneration for the individual, for England, for the world, and for all of God's creation. Grant parallels Milton in his time and in his epic about the loss of paradise and ultimate regeneration both within the human heart and within the cosmic order.

Grant's theology and resulting political ideology that are rooted in material reality are a reflection of her own material experience. McNeil uses Grant's own words to describe how she "lived like a 'rusticated Highland matron' for so long" (Scotland, 157) and how "The heavy workload

demanding of women does not allow for the leisurely contemplation and reflection" (Scotland, 158) that many writers and academics enjoyed. Grant's rustic lifestyle and birthing twelve children contrasted Barbauld's more academic and privileged existence.²⁴ Grant's everyday existence kept her hands busy and dirty while she reared children, prepared meals, and cleaned laundry--tasks of a woman who lived in the countryside, whether in colonial

²⁴ McNeil goes on to describe the demanding everyday life of Grant: [Grant] describes her frustration with her husband, whose labor allows for some "free time" in the late morning and who doesn't seem to understand the demands that the household makes of her. In its cataloging of domestic chores and its expression of resentment of her fate, Grant's account echoes other women's diaristic accounts of their workday[.] (Scotland, 158)

McNeil goes on to discuss how her material reality as a wife and mother on a Highland farm impacts her materially in terms of her production as a writer:

Grant expresses particular frustration that her duties do not allow the time she needs to reflect, to contemplate, and to write about that life. In a Christmas entry, Grant writes of the importance of yearly Highland festivals in giving her one of the few occasions she has to write at leisure, yet the cramped living quarters of the farm and the priority of her role as wife and mother require her to use the fireless nursery as her writing space. Describing the environment for her first book, which she calls her "secret work," Grant complains:

[T]he children surround me continually.--They treat me as ill as music did Johnson; interrupt my ideas and give me none in their place, when in full assembly in this bitter weather.--It is for my own sake I regret my interruption; writing at ease and leisure would help to restore me to myself again.

The domestic space [. . .] becomes in this passage a symbol of incessant distraction and the denial of an avocation that has grown increasingly important to her. (Scotland, 159)

Despite the material challenges of everyday life that she constantly faced (challenges that more privileged writers like Barbauld did not necessarily face), she fashioned herself to be a brilliant thinker and writer. With that being said, perhaps further studies of Grant in terms of gender roles and domesticity could be done, including in relation to modern domesticity and the dynamic gender roles of today.

America or in the Scottish Highlands. On the other hand, a hand which was probably much smoother and cleaner by virtue of a more privileged position within English society, Barbauld experienced such matronly duties more so by writing about them and extolling their virtues, as in "Washing Day."

Not only did Grant experience the challenges of daily responsibilities to home and to family, but she also felt domestic loss and pain. Grant's husband died in 1803, "by which time she had published her first book of poems on the Highlands and had given birth to twelve children, four of whom had died in childbirth" (McNeil, Scotland 151-52). Though Barbauld experienced death in the loss of her husband to mental illness and suicide, she never bore children nor felt the death of her own child as did Grant on four separate occasions in addition to the death of her spouse.

Thus, Grant's literary production is intimately linked with her domestic reality. In writing about Scotland, "Experience forms the basis for Grant's descriptions of the Highlands while establishing her credentials to write about them, yet, interestingly enough, her experiences also form the basis for her cultural comparisons" (McNeil, Scotland 152). When she writes of domesticity and of personal loss,

she does so with authority in that she has experienced them first-hand. Though Barbauld writes of domesticity in concrete terms in "Washing Day," her point of view is more theoretical than material in that her everyday domesticity was very different from Grant's, a perspective that is more journalistic in Grant's prose (such as in Letters from the Mountain or Memoirs of an American Lady) that gives authority to her verse.²⁵ Thus, along with her early exposure to military life as a daughter of a British army officer, it is Grant's domestic material reality that gives her equal, if not greater, authority to address issues, in response to Barbauld, of domestic impact and loss at the hands of war. Grant's military upbringing, her domestic hardships, and her familial loss form the basis of her poetic vision in Eighteen Hundred and Thirteen, a poem that is rooted in concrete human experience as opposed to the abstract theory of Barbauld's stoic pacifism.²⁶

Though Grant sings the praises of this vision of England building God's kingdom despite suffering and loss, she acknowledges that it is what it is--only a vision of

²⁵ Though Barbauld was a mother to two adopted children and a wife to a husband whom she lost to mental illness and suicide, Grant's domestic and familial duties in which she bore twelve children, four of whom died in childbirth, and had a husband who also died seem to outweigh those of Barbauld.

²⁶ See McNeil's Scotland, Britain, Empire for the relationship between Grant's life and her writing.

England as torchbearer of God-given liberty. As radicals would readily point out, Grant warns us not to "think, elated by her theme, the Muse, / In fondly flattering dreams, perfection views" (1813 138). Despite her contention that England has God on its side in her assertion that "Heaven's blessing on our glorious cause declare" (1813 141), England is still far from perfect, like God's chosen Samson. However, she is unlike those positioned against the monarchy who, like Barbauld armed with sophisticated philosophies and value systems, believe that the war would be the downfall of English civilization. Grant notes that Barbauld, among others, "Expects too soon perfection to attain" (1813 136) and should, instead, keep the course with "the gradual march of Time and Truth" (1813 136). Here, Grant has a teleological view of history that sharply contrasts Barbauld's notion of history as chaotic. Grant's England is moving through history toward a goal: to be the source of liberty for itself and the world. Concerning England's worm-like, domestic detractors' intricate systems of thought that condemn English militarism, Grant relies on simple common sense, "This happiest faculty, that bids us chuse / The simple good, the splendid ill refuse" (1813 137). Thus, the heat of England's war will move nations and history forward toward

a return to a divine unity, and the commitment to war is founded upon not convenience, ease, or sophisticated debate, but rather upon a simple matter of right (liberty) versus wrong (terror).

Though the academics can dismiss this choice of right over wrong as a gross oversimplification, Grant points to the wisdom in Genesis in which God punishes Adam and Eve out of justice and then balances that justice with mercy by providing a savior. In this balancing of justice and mercy, rather than Barbauld's pacifism that only calls for mercy, Grant unites the two virtues within the divine vision of liberty and calls for others to do so because "though dark shades of contrast intervene, / The stronger lights illustrate all the scene" (1813 67). Rather than individuals aligning themselves along adversarial party lines of Tory or Whig, Grant challenges them to align themselves with the enlightened party of England, which must be the party of humanity united--the party of God.

To illustrate England's present disunity, Grant again uses the imagery of Genesis, more particularly the waters of creation. In Genesis, there first is the abyss, and God orders "upon the face of the deep" (1:2) a "firmament in the midst of the waters, [. . . to] divide the waters from the waters" (1:6); accordingly, He "divided the waters

which were under the firmament from the waters which were above the firmament" (1:7). The division of the original, unified abyss foreshadows the disunity created by the sin of humanity. To correct this disjunction created by sin, God must re-unite the waters, and He does so in the flood from which Noah is spared. The combined waters from above and below the firmament wash the world clean so that Noah and his family can bring about a new creation. The process of renewal is destructive but necessary.

Grant's use of Genesis's flood imagery indicates that she understands the destructive element of birthing a new cosmopolitan creation, just as Christ comes to divide as a sword. Grant situates England in history in relation to "When from the abyss below and clouds above, / The meeting floods in awful conflict strove" (1813 56), and this destructive flood, constituted by the reunion of waters, overwhelms sinful "man with all his works in ruin hurled, / To wash the stains from a polluted world" (1813 56). Grant prophesies not so much a violent flood but hopes for a coming together of two bodies that originally were one. Grant orders the re-union of the monarchy above England to re-unite with the people below who are the foundation of England. Both parties must lay self-interest aside and combine for the good of the unified whole. Like the flood

that brought about a new creation, this union will be destructive, too. Domestically, Grant is advocating a type of revolution that disrupts the reigning power structure, and whether it is bloody or not, it must destroy the present system that supports self-interest. Furthermore, this flood sweeps across not only England but also the world, so that this violent wave that carries liberty is "to ope the gates of mercy to mankind, / With shouts of triumph fill each passing wind" (1813 38) that must be felt across France and across the world. This is not only a flood of violence and death (found in war); also, it is a passing wind, like God's presence that sweeps across the original abyss (Gen 1:2) and the breath of God that animates Adam (Gen 2:7). This flood brings about a new creation signaled by the breath of God, and this flood is liberty itself that England must breathe into the world.

However, the need for regeneration presupposes a fallen state and, within Milton's and Grant's shared theology, a fallen state is one of disorder and chaos (which, to Barbauld, is the natural state of the world). Thus, within the journey to regeneration, there will be imbalance, chaos, violence, and war--whether war is a symptom of the fallen state or a corrective measure, as was Christ's bloody and necessary sacrifice a balancing action,

to restore divine order. Unlike Barbauld who sees the universe as chaotic as she awaits its self-destruction, Grant views chaos as Milton does in that "Milton's Chaos is not inherently evil" (Norbrook, Writing 472). The journey through Chaos that Satan takes from his hellish palace to the earthly garden is a necessary part, a means to an end, in the grand scheme, and this journey leads to the felix culpa that wins fallen humanity its Savior in the Son. Milton "insist[s] that Chaos is essential to creation, that creation was not out of nothing but out of prime matter" (Norbrook, Writing 472); therefore, the chaos of war is not necessarily meaningless bloodshed, but it is a point within history out of which a new creation can take place, a point from which history can move forward and progress.

In embracing Milton's notion that there is "in history a process of recovery after loss" (Norbrook, Writing 490), Grant shares the view of "Milton's God [Who] is not frightened by the risk of apparent imbalance [. . . since each] knows that this can be turned into a more complicated and vital kind of balance" (Norbrook, Writing 472).²⁷ The chaos of war can restore divine order and spur the spirit of history to move forward, and to appreciate this one must

²⁷ See Norbrook's Writing the English Republic for a discussion of this pattern of loss leading to regeneration in Milton's Paradise Lost (490-91).

understand that "Chaos is [. . .] the cosmos's default mode, transformable into concord only by a continued process of careful intervention" (Norbrook, Writing 472).

Both Barbauld and Grant recognize their reality of the Miltonic state of chaos, which is rooted in England's ongoing war with France; however, the two differ in their response to that chaos. Barbauld rejects it and retreats from it; Grant embraces and recognizes it as a means to an end. As a pacifist, Barbauld sees chaos as purposeless and destructive, a reality that one must not engage and, instead, simply await its own self-destruction in order for a new system then to emerge. However, like Milton, Grant sees it as a state out of which order and progress can emerge but only via careful engagement, with one form of engagement being warfare--a means that is not desired but tolerated for the greater good within divine order.

In line with the Miltonic tradition, Grant tolerates war as an ugly, yet necessary, corrective force in history's progress and as a safeguard to liberty. This tolerance is antithetical to Barbauld's pacifist and utopian idealism. Grant rejects Barbauld's utopian vision since, as Perkins argues, Grant understands that

there is never any possibility of remaining in Eden and even the purest of human societies, set

in the most apparently idyllic and untouched landscapes, are not immune to corruption and decay, even if they do succeed in cutting themselves off from outside influences.

("Paradises" 323)

Grant rejects Barbauld's notion that if England serves its own interests domestically, all would be well. Rather, Grant contends that engaging with war against France in the interests of other nations would benefit England's international economic interests and, therefore, benefit England domestically, as well.²⁸ Therefore, Grant offers a Blakean "idea of spiritual redemption through the active building up of Jerusalem [rather] than [. . .] with the pretty, spun-sugar Arcadias of so many of her contemporaries" (Perkins, "Paradises" 336).

As Genesis's flood unifies the separated waters and brings about a restored and unified kingdom of God, the flood of liberty will bring about a new union, a united kingdom for Britain. Grant provides a picture of this regenerated England:

Enkindled more by Freedom's rising breeze,
Return'd vindictive o'er the western seas;

²⁸ Bainbridge's study "argues that poetry played a major role in the mediation of the Revolutionary and Napoleonic wars to the British public, and that the wars had a significant impact on poetic practices and theories in what we now think of as the romantic period" (vii).

To Gallia's coast, a dangerous light it came,
In many a heart it waked a secret flame,
Till bursting forth with fierce explosive force,
The general conflagration mark'd its course.
The legal scales, the crosier and the crown,
In one devoted mass were melted down;
One cry of wild distress, one mingled moan,
Alike surrounds the altar and the throne[.] (1813
124)

England must kindle the light of freedom and spread its ray overseas and across the world so that all may be united under it. Like the violent flood, this illumination is an "explosive force" (1813 124) that will burst forth, and this violence must be accepted, or at least tolerated, as a component of liberation; therefore, Grant chastises those critics who demand a world of mercy but reject a world of justice. For when all are united under the balance of justice and mercy, all will become one: the "crosier" (1813 124) and "altar" (1813 124) of the church and the "crown" (1813 124) and "throne" (1813 124) of the monarchy, and all people will harmonize in "one cry" (1813 124) and "one mingled moan" (1813 124). Signaled by these moans, the birthing of liberty is aided by the Holy "Spirit itself [who] maketh intercession for us with groanings that cannot

be uttered" (Rom 8:26, emphasis mine) and is likened to "one devoted mass" (1813 124)--the highest form of Catholic prayer of the tripartite but singular God and is performed within a unified body of the people.²⁹

As Grant's identity is global, an identity that is subsequently reflected in her political point of view, her perspective on history is also all-encompassing. Again connecting with Milton, Grant and other Romantics viewed "the English Revolution of the 1640s and 1650s [. . .] as a precedent and a means of understanding the French Revolution of the 1790s" (Kitson 185). While Barbauld chooses to focus on anti-monarchical sentiment within the uprisings of the 1640s in England and 1790s in France, Grant sees such a perspective as narrow and short-sighted. Instead, Grant again aligns herself with Milton in being pro-liberty, a political position that follows a Judeo-Christian hierarchy. Though Milton served in Cromwell's administration, Milton and Grant agree that in each revolution, as it is true within all revolutions, one must be wary of "the drift from freedom to military despotism" (Kitson 185) so that the revolutionary figure--whether it is Cromwell or Napoleon--

²⁹ The intersection of Catholicism, and other Christian denominations, with Grant's Protestantism is outside the scope of this project.

for the radicals and reformers [. . .] demonstrated the dangers of a despotic ambition that would stifle liberty, and [to] the Burkean conservatives [. . .] was the prior example of the logic of inevitability that operates in political revolutions when obedience is replaced by anarchy. (Kitson 185)

Thus, Grant, like Milton, shares a global vision that spans not only space but also time in understanding the dangers of the potential chronology of a revolution. She connects to Milton in that both poets warn England of the dangers of disorder and anarchy, conditions in which liberty cannot exist; however, these are the conditions that Barbauld awaits to embrace since the corrective measure of war necessitates chaos.

Hence, like Milton, Grant realizes that in order to maintain or realign the Great Chain of Being, material engagement is sometimes necessary. Unlike Barbauld whose pacifism prohibits material engagement, Grant, like Milton, tolerates war for the cause of liberty.³⁰ Again, war to

³⁰ Examining Milton's political tracts, Norbook asserts that Milton is far more concerned with destroying episcopancy than with the details of the order that will replace it. He aligns himself with the Presbyterians who wanted to restructure the national church with an elective clergy, and claims with them that such an order is spelt out in Scripture. (Writing 110)

Milton and Grant is not something that is sought or desired; rather, war is something that is tolerated. Barbauld's ideology prohibits violent action, even in the name of justice and liberty--a seemingly noble but quite impractical ideology, especially to those who feel the pain and who are victims of injustice and oppression, as those terrorized by Napoleon's militaristic and political ambition. However noble and Christian Barbauld's vision may seem on the surface, it is a short-sighted and imbalanced one. Whereas Barbauld focuses on Christ's mercy, Milton and Grant focus on God's mercy balanced with justice.³¹

This domestic unity will flow over the borders of England into Scotland and Ireland. Grant's vision sacramentally weds England with Scotland to "hail the reign of peace begun, / The day that joined two hostile realms in one" (1813 80), and England must lead in this marriage of

Therefore, Milton is willing to engage those whom he sees as a threat to liberty, a liberty nested within a divine order embedded in the Scriptures.

³¹ Milton did not hold this notion of mercy and justice in balance only from his theological and Scriptural studies, but also in his education. Norbrook discusses seventeenth-century education and civic humanism in which "'Humanism' in this context does not mean placing man at the centre of the universe but, more technically, the movement to give the arts of language a central place in the academic curriculum" (Writing 11), and at the center of this humanist education was "The exercise of arguing in utramque partem, on both sides of a question" (Writing 11).

Thus, from an early age, Milton's training to examine both sides of a situation allows him to make a more accurate assessment of a situation and more practical means to solve problems.

all contraries.³² Looking back on history, it must be clear that "England chose at length the wiser part, / And found a safer access to her heart; / Then softly led her like a willing bride, / To share his empire and adorn his side" (1813 80). Though this unification may require violence, it does not necessarily require blood, but instead, must entail a destruction of old philosophies of power and self-interest that are replaced with a marriage of selfless partners that models the harmonious union of prelapsarian Adam and Eve. Part of this familial union will be "sister Isle! Fair Erin's green domain" (1813 88) to form "In union blest [. . .] this threefold cord" (1813 93), which will form a divinely-ordered trinity of England, Scotland, and Ireland. Grant does not stop at a united kingdom but sees her vision completed in a united world. In this cosmopolitan plan,

The nations hail [England], merciful and just,
On her the feeble lean, to her they trust;
Her laws revered, her gentle power beloved,
By those whom Fate has from her coasts removed,
And even by those her guardian care who boast,
Though strangers ever to that favour'd coast.

³² Grant's choice of imagery that supports the prevailing patriarchal system is yet another topic for discussion that falls outside my argument.

(1813 117)

For this vision to come to fruition, England must act according to the divine attributes of mercy and justice in order to lead the world toward liberty, the original state of Eden.

Grant's complicated nationality is reflected in her international point of view, a perspective shaped by her connections to Scotland, America, and England. In addition to her domestic roles of laboring mother and grieving widow that shape Grant's perspective on war and her poetic voice, Grant's complex nationality does so, as well. We first see this in her Scottish nationality by birth, which gives her a Scottish identity but is complicated by English imperialism that also makes her "Other." McNeil explains that

the very fact of the primitiveness of the Highlands that underpins its use as exemplar of Scottish difference [. . . since it is] Situated at the very nexus of nation and empire [. . . and so] representation of the Highlands shifts constantly between Self and Other, making visible the ambiguities, tensions, and ruptures in the formation of national and imperial subjectivities. (McNeil, Scotland 3)

There is a space, a space of identity, in which Grant can position herself as Scottish self, as English subject/Other, or as an amalgam of both. Further complicating and expanding this space of national identity is her self-reference in the title of her Memoirs of an American Lady (emphasis mine). Thus, Grant's point of view is an international one in which she can be Scottish, English, or American, and she can be either native or Other while being a combination of those identities, as well, such as being a Scottish woman under English rule while in America.

In terms of Grant's personal preference, "For the most part the only national label Grant assigns to herself is 'British'" (McNeil, "Location" 215), which reflects her poetic vision of a unified England, Scotland, and Ireland. Rather than the exclusionary and limiting terms "English" or "Scottish," Grant characterizes herself as "'British' [. . .] as it is the imperial register of 'Britishness,' the bringing together of disparate nationalities under the rubric of a common interest in expansionism" (McNeil, "Location" 215).³³ Grant understands Britishness to bring

³³ For a discussion that points toward Grant's refusal to identify with and subscribe to any particular nationality and its political ideology and resulting military actions, see Perkins's article that likens the British army to the invading serpent of the garden of America, but, as

together many nations and many cultures under one common order and not in a dominating fashion but, rather, in "ways in which the Scottish 'periphery' took an active role in the construction of 'British' literature and culture" (McNeil, Scotland 8).³⁴ Simon Gikandi explains that Britishness (or, "Englishness," in his study) is not a set of values originating from England and English culture, but rather it is created within the space between England and colony, between colonizer and colonized (xii). Furthermore, Gikandi, himself once under English colonial rule, did not reject the modern comforts that English culture brought to his native land but sought for all persons to have equal access to the privileges of English culture (xix).

Gikandi's understanding of Englishness and the relationship between England and colony reflects well Grant's views on these issues. Grant does not wish stubbornly to limit herself to being "Scottish," nor does she blindly swear allegiance to the English monarchy and label herself as "English." Instead, her reluctant labeling of herself as "British" allows for an

Perkins points out, later admonishes the American revolutionaries, as well ("Paradises" 327-29).

³⁴ See McNeil (Scotland 8-9) concerning other studies that discuss intercultural influence within the idea of Britishness, one of which includes Simon Gikandi's excellent study Maps of Englishness.

inclusiveness that reflects both herself and her culture, having lived in Scotland, America, and England. Her identity and vision is one of a truly united kingdom. Furthermore, even though she felt the intrusion of English politics and military in Scotland and in America, she still acknowledges the benefits of English culture; yet, like Gikandi notes, she realizes that English culture is just as much a product of her own Scottish culture (and American culture, too) as it is of England's. Each culture influences the other to create not a binarily oppositional relationship between cultures but rather a synchronic one--an amalgam of cultures, despite what label is placed upon it.³⁵

³⁵ In his study of Memoirs of an American Lady, McNeil discusses how Grant

works consistently to undo the oppositional binary between native/colonial, Indian/European by scrambling the link between land and culture that work to solidify a binary opposition between European and Indian culture. Grant assertively writes from both within the communal space she describes and outside it. ("Location" 208)

McNeil examines this same liminality in Grant's Letters from the Mountains in which she "creates a new kind of imperial subjectivity: of one 'not absolutely a native nor entirely a stranger.' It is this liminal subjectivity [. . .] that emphasizes the interconnection between periphery and empire" (Scotland 23).

Also, in the same study, McNeil summarizes and praises Grant in that

Accommodation and adaptation in response to differing cultural contexts is the mark of a superior mind, and could be said to characterize Grant's view of herself [. . .]. As a woman who lived much of her life within a transperipheral network established by her father's military career--and who defined herself as "British" while living in North America before she defined herself as "Scottish" or "Highland" back "home" in Britain--Grant constantly seeks to work out the contradictions in her own

Therefore, we see that Grant does not determine nationality, identity, and culture simply through soil, blood, or borders--borders that Barbauld notes are often changing. Instead, Grant understands that national culture is much more complex, especially for those in and under the throne of Britain. One of the factors, in addition to the interplay between colonizer and colonized, is material experience. Examining social connectivity within Native American cultures, McNeil explains that

Despite common European assumptions concerning the importance of blood ties as the basis of kinship in tribal societies, [. . .] the ties of affection within Indian families are based not on race, or even necessarily on blood, but instead are formed through common experiences and associations based on circumstances. ("Location" 212)

identity. Her relation to the Highlands remains unsettled and indeterminate, as her writings continually explore the contingencies that shape a feeling of belonging. By staking out a position as neither one thing nor the other, Grant fashions an identity that constantly seeks to question its own certainty. (Scotland 162)

So, again, Grant understands the complex interrelationship between cultures and avoids the oversimplification of a colonizer versus colonized binary. Unlike Barbauld who tends to paint in colors of black and white, Grant instead uses a palette of colors, nationalities, and voices, which allows for a more intellectually honest examination of her subject (particularly, the Napoleonic wars that she and Barbauld are poetically debating). By being both native and other, she sees both the benefits and dangers within England's international doings from a global, rather than local and limited, perspective.

Therefore, Grant sees a culture and society not separated by blood and borders but instead sees all of humanity connected through basic human experience within a divinely designed order. Grant offers a vision that is global if not cosmic, a voice that is not biased by ideologies of any particular nation or any particular political party within any nation. Grant's voice "belongs to no place, no nation, in particular" (McNeil, "Location" 217, author's emphasis) but is a voice that is balanced and that echoes the cosmic balance of justice and mercy, the equilibrium and stability within divine hierarchy.

Third, in addition to her call to enkindle the light of liberty which will hearken a return to preternatural unity, Grant envisions England's role of leader toward Edenic liberty as one of messianic savior, and she repeatedly identifies England as such. She identifies England as the "home of Liberty, this source of light" (1813 53) and declares it the "Island of glory" (1813 99) that functions as "A warning beacon, or triumphant blaze" (1813 99) to other nations. As a source of light, England sheds "some mild star's propitious rays" (1813 7), and it is not just any star, but more pointedly the star of Bethlehem that lights the heavens "while the blackest darkness veils the skies" (1813 55). Within other nations,

such as neighboring France, and even, Grant concedes, within England itself though to a lesser degree, there reigns the darkness of terror that is rooted in self-interest; therefore, she exhorts England to rise in "Bid[ding] on the soul the star of Bethlehem rise" (1813 55). As the biblical star, England signals salvation but is not salvation itself; England leads others, domestically and internationally, to the instrument of salvation. However, like the newborn Christ child who has yet to save humanity in His suffering, death, and resurrection, the saving power of liberty is not fully realized yet. Grant agrees with critics of the monarchy, like Barbauld, in noting that England is still in a dark, fallen state; however, unlike Barbauld who offers no hope and no tangible plan for improvement in her pacifist philosophy, Grant, like the wise men following the star over Bethlehem, sees and follows the light of liberty that shines over England.³⁶

For this vision to be complete, it requires England to act decisively, even engaging in war, as at the time England is engaged with France. This call to action

³⁶ It is a curious parallel that the wise men who identify and understand the significance of the star are foreigners, coming from far off countries. This, too, is the case with Grant, a Scottish writer, whose theme and focus is not in her homeland of Scotland but instead she poetically travels to England. In both cases, an outsider or an outside perspective is significant. An examination of Grant's nationality and adopted British, as opposed to Scottish, voice is a topic worthy of further study.

rebukes critics who passively call for words or thoughts alone. Among the dissenting voices are those "Who, lightly scathed by Satire's erring hand, / Hurl'd back with tenfold force a hissing brand, / And bade thy vengeance lighten through the land" (1813 98). In her choice of verb ("hissing" [1813 98]) and in the sibilance of the verse ("scathed," "Satire'ss," "force," "hissing," "vengeance" [1813 98, emphasis mine]), she likens these anti-monarchists in England to the evil Satan, the smooth-tongued snake in Eden. She also vilifies the utilitarian and ultra-rationalist thinkers, the "modern wits, with metaphysic pride, / Thy praise diminish [monarchy], and [monarchy's] power deride" (1813 113) because "Their dull cold goddess, [is] wise Utility" (1813 113). She mocks their false gods of reason and utility and notes that their sin and downfall are rooted in the same sin of Adam and Eve--in pride and wishing to eat from the tree of knowledge, the tree that Byron reminds us is not the tree of life.³⁷

³⁷ Grant goes on to challenge not only ultra-rationalist thinkers but also the poets whose key to meaning is the human imagination acting upon nature. Instead, Grant advocates a pure Christian philosophy as she questions them:

'Why wing the barren fields of boundless air,
 'When no due resting-place awaits us there;
 'Why speculate upon the depth of the mind,
 'Where none can anchor cast, or limits find;
 'Why leave the paths of useful life to trace
 'Chimeras through the boundless wilds of space;

Grant chastises all of these critics and issues the command "to give those iron throats that vomit flame, / A just direction, and a certain aim" (1813 93). She uses the language of Christ in the Book of Revelation in which He condemns the Laodiceans because they "art neither cold nor hot, [so] I will spue thee out of my mouth" (Rev 3:15).³⁸ Using the Savior's exhortation to the Laodiceans who choose neither to be for nor against God, Grant likens Barbauld and other anti-monarchical critics to those most distasteful to Christ (perhaps also including Shelley who

'Or why on Fancy's airy pinions roam,
'When certainty and profit dwell at home?'
How just reasoning, and how due the sneer,
Were man ordain'd to dwell forever here;
Well might we cling to this terrestrial ball,
If earth, so rich in wonders, were our all. (1813 114-15)

However, the limited scope of my project cannot thoroughly explore this perspective on Grant's poem.

³⁸ Also, Grant adopts the rhetoric and authority of Christ in alluding to the Beatitudes from the "Sermon on the Mount." The speaker of the poem is heard teaching that "Blest is the prince whose actions yield a theme / Of power to realize the poet's dream: / Blest is the poet whose prevailing song / To every age can princely deeds prolong" (1813 44). Along with supporting this Christian cosmic vision that I am attempting to sketch here, these lines alone can warrant a discussion centering on Grant's voice, which is elevated above those of the poet and of the prince, in terms of gender and power.

Furthermore, these lines could also shed light upon a study of the structure of the poem, especially in terms of the Christian Bible. The first part of Grant's poem, a daunting narrative of English history, can be seen as a mountain of history that lays the foundation of Grant's authority--especially since the writing of history "was jealously guarded as a male prerogative" (Chandler 114). Grant's first part is larger than her second part, which mirrors the Christian Bible; the Hebrew Scriptures (Old Testament) is larger than the Christian Testament (New Testament). Also, Grant's first section charts the history of England just as the Hebrew Scriptures charts the salvation history of God's chosen people. In both the Hebrew Scriptures and the first part of Grant's poem, the history leads toward a moment of salvation and a new message, a new system to be established. It is upon this mount of history that Grant, in the second part, can deliver her sermon of salvation.

offers a grand vision rooted in love but then never really offers a tangible plan for it to take action in everyday reality). Christ's Laodiceans and England's Whigs and Radicals are the same in that they do not take a constructive stance in offering any real solution to the problems of England; instead, they "change their fancies with the varying moon, / And to quick repartee and gay lampoon" (1813 127) and, in so doing, mount themselves "on opinion's opal throne" (1813 130) that will lead to England being only "the paradise of fools" (1813 130). In other words, Grant asserts that it is easy and perhaps even popular to criticize the monarchy; however, in order to be useful, that criticism must be followed with solvent plans. She contends that government must be founded upon principles such as liberty, not simply upon popular opinion, because a majority is not necessarily right if that majority consists of fools with foolish opinions.³⁹

Furthermore, in using the language of Christ, Grant moves England forward from the image of the star, which leads to salvation, to the figure of Christ, the savior of the world. In advancing her imagery that models how England is advancing world history toward a grand unity,

³⁹ This is the attitude that Thomas Carlyle will later adopt in noting that England, because so many of its citizens have uninformed or ill-informed opinions, is not ready for a total democracy in which all enjoy the same power to vote.

she positions England as savior of the world from tyrannical death, which parallels Christ as savior of Lazarus from death. The citizens of the world are "Fearless [as] they enter the dreary gloom, / And wait the mighty voice that bursts the tomb" (1813 55) which is a world ruled by the darkness of terror; however, all peoples will be "Assured to see that morn of glory break, / That calls the dead to higher life to wake" (1813 55), which is a risen life in liberty. Thus, like Christ who rose from the tomb and from the dead Himself and brought others from death into life, England domestically must rise out of the tomb, out of the terror of self-interest, which will then save all nations who can enter into a perfect existence of cosmic unity.

IV. Conclusion

In conclusion, Grant's Eighteen Hundred and Thirteen should not be characterized as it is subtitled: simply "A Poem" to be footnoted as a simple response to Barbault. Rather, it is a poem that addresses a myriad of issues during Grant's time and continues to speak to issues today, just as it reflected post-9/11 debates regarding terror, liberty, and war--debates that affected not only political

parties and national elections but also families, such as mine, whose sons and daughters, brothers and sisters, fathers and mothers were called to duty. Furthermore, Grant's poem, a text that engages in this debate with Barbauld regarding England's response to the terror of Napoleonic France and speaks to the same international and domestic concerns of today, is worthy of more than a mere footnote. Contrary to many scholars, I assert that it is not simply a conservative counter-punch to Barbauld's passive pummeling of English politics but a much more nuanced and complex response to Barbauld. Though generally conservative in her support of English action against France, Grant's poem is also critical of her country's government and, prophet-like, she calls England to realign itself with the Judeo-Christian value of liberty.

Unlike Barbauld who prophesies nothing but doom, Grant's prophecy calls on England to return to being the torch of liberty. These prophetic poets who address England during a time of war--a time of crisis--follow Milton who spoke of both governmental reform and revolution within a Judeo-Christian context in his poetry, as in Paradise Lost and Samson Agonistes, and in the moral grounding of his prose, such as in The Tenure of Kings and

Magistrates, holding up God as the flawless monarch Who cannot be matched by flawed human monarchs.

Both Barbauld and Grant flow from this Miltonic tradition, and one finds that Milton is between the two Romantic poets. Milton's criticism is rooted in the flaw of humanity that inherently corrupts a sovereign ruler, but he still offers the vision of a commonwealth for England to mirror the divine design of liberty. However, Barbauld is more radical than Milton in that she sees the flaws of England but wishes to eradicate the entire system--both the sin and the sinner. Since the government is corrupt, England as a whole must be destroyed. However, Grant is more in-line with Milton but has more faith in the individual, in the monarch. Like Milton, she criticizes the throne but, prophet-like, she calls for reformation of the present system--not its destruction nor replacement. Unlike Barbauld who hopes to remove both sin and sinner, Grant recognizes the failing but wishes to remove the sin and renew the sinner.

As I have attempted to argue here, a simple examination of the poetics and Christian vocabulary, both rooted in Milton and responding to Barbauld, unlocks a grand vision for England that addresses pressing political, military, moral, and religious issues that faced England in

its day and, arguably, face nations still today.⁴⁰ Her Christian vision is not Barbauld's Christian pacifism in which Christ is the silent lamb awaiting death. Rather, Grant places before us, in the carefully-embedded images of light, preternatural unity, and messiah, a vision that anoints England as Milton's ultimate Christian hero, the humbled yet triumphant Christ who came as a sword to destroy an old, oppressive system and bring about a new system rooted in the original unity of liberty.

It is my hope that my enquiry into the poem via Milton and Barbauld will prompt other scholars to re-examine Grant's much-ignored poem. I hope such a reexamination will not only explore the connections that I have here argued, but will also lead to many avenues of enquiry and an appreciation of Grant's poem in ways critics have not even yet considered.

⁴⁰ Gottlieb makes passing remarks, comments that are mostly unsubstantiated overgeneralizations, that attempt to draw parallels between the historic moments of Hemans's England and Spain and Barbauld's Eighteen Hundred and Eleven with the post-9/11 political and cultural milieu ("Fighting").

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