The Pickering Masters

Robert Southey: Later Poetical Works, 1811–1838

Shorter Poems

Edited by
Lynda Pratt, Ian Packer and Carol Bolton

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CONTENTS OF THE EDITION

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Volume 1

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CONTENTS

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Annual Anthology	R. Southey (ed.), *The Annual Anthology* (London, 1799 and 1800)
ASC	Amos Simon Cottle
BL	British Library
BL Add. MS	British Library Additional Manuscript
Cabral	*Robert Southey: Journals of a Residence in Portugal 1800–1*, ed. A. Cabral (Oxford, 1960)
Carnall	Geoffrey Carnall, *Robert Southey and His Age: The Development of a Conservative Mind* (Oxford, 1960)
CB	Caroline Bowles (later CBS: Caroline Bowles Southey)
CB	*Southey's Common-Place Book*, ed. J. W. Warter, 4 series (London, 1849–50)
CC	*The Collected Works of Samuel Taylor Coleridge*, gen. ed. Kathleen Coburn, Bollingen Series 75 (London and Princeton, 1969–2001)
CC, 1795:	*CC*, 1. S. T. Coleridge, *Lectures 1795: On Politics and Religion*, eds. L. Patton and P. Mann (London and Princeton, 1971)
CC, CPW:	*CC*, 16. S. T. Coleridge, *Poetical Works*, ed. J. C. C. Mays, 3 parts, 6 vols (London and Princeton, 2001)
CCS	Charles Cuthbert Southey
CD	Charles Danvers
CL	Charles Lamb
CL	*Collected Letters of Samuel Taylor Coleridge*, ed. E. L Griggs, 6 vols (Oxford, 1956–71)
CLRS	*The Collected Letters of Robert Southey*, gen. eds Lynda Pratt, Tim Fulford and Ian Packer, *Romantic Circles*, 8 parts (2009–): <<http://www.rc.umd.edu/editions/southey_letters/>>
CLl	Charles Lloyd
CSMP	*The Contributions of Robert Southey to the 'Morning Post'*, ed. K. Curry (Alabama, 1984)
CW	Charles Watkin Williams Wynn

Dowden	*The Correspondence of Robert Southey with Caroline Bowles*, ed. Edward Dowden (Dublin, 1881)
DS	Daniel Stuart
DW	Dorothy Wordsworth
ELH	*English Literary History*
Eng. Lett.	Bodleian Library, Oxford, MS Eng. Lett.
ES	Edith Southey (née Fricker)
GCB	Grosvenor Charles Bedford
HD	Humphry Davy
HWB	Horace Walpole Bedford
JC	Joseph Cottle
JM	John May
Joan (1796)	R. Southey, *Joan of Arc, An Epic Poem* (Bristol, 1796)
Joan (1798)	R. Southey, *Joan of Arc,* 2 vols (London, 1798)
JR	John Rickman
KESMG	Keswick Museum and Gallery
L&C	C. C. Southey (ed.), *Life and Correspondence of the Late Robert Southey*, 6 vols (London, 1849–50)
Letters (1797)	R. Southey, *Letters Written During a Short Residence in Spain and Portugal* (Bristol, 1797)
Letters (1799)	R. Southey, *Letters Written During a Short Residence in Spain and Portugal* (2nd edn, London, 1799)
LLP	*Letters from the Lake Poets to Daniel Stuart*, ed. E. H. Coleridge (London, 1889)
Madden	Lionel Madden (ed.), *Robert Southey: The Critical Heritage*, (London, 1972)
MAH	Mary Anne Hughes
Marrs	*The Letters of Charles and Mary Anne Lamb 1796–1817,* ed. E. W. Marrs Jr, 3 vols (Ithaca, New York and London, 1975–8)
Metrical Tales	R. Southey, *Metrical Tales* (London, 1805)
Minor Poems	*The Minor Poems of Robert Southey*, 3 vols (London, 1815 and 1823)
MP	*Morning Post*
NAL MS	National Art Library Manuscript
NL	*New Letters of Robert Southey*, ed. K. Curry, 2 vols (New York and London, 1965)
NLW MS	National Library of Wales Manuscript
NYPL	New York Public Library
PMLA	*Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*
Poems (1795)	R. Lovell and R. Southey, *Poems* (Bath, 1795)
Poems (1797)	R. Southey, *Poems* (Bristol, 1797)

Poems (2nd edn, 1797)	R. Southey, *Poems* (2nd edn, Bristol, 1797)
Poems (1799)	R. Southey, *Poems*, 2 vols (Bristol and London, 1799)
Poems (1806)	R. Southey, *Poems*, 2 vols (London, 1806)
PW	*The Poetical Works of Robert Southey, Collected by Himself*, 10 vols (London, 1837–8)
Ramos	*The Letters of Robert Southey to John May: 1797–1838*, ed. C. Ramos (Austin, Texas, 1976)
RES	*The Review of English Studies*
RL	Robert Lovell
Robberds	J. W. Robberds, *A Memoir of the Life and Writings of the Late William Taylor of Norwich*, 2 vols (London, 1843)
RS	Robert Southey
RSPW	R. Southey, *Poetical Works, 1793–1810*, eds Lynda Pratt, Tim Fulford, Daniel S. Roberts, 5 vols (London, 2004)
Simmons	Jack Simmons, *Southey* (London, 1945)
Schonert	Vernon L. Schonert, 'The Correspondence of Caroline Anne Bowles to Mary Anne Watts Hughes', (unpublished PhD thesis, Harvard, 1957)
SPLib	'Catalogue of the Spanish and Portuguese Portion of the Library of the Late Robert Southey Esq., LLD. Poet Laureate', *Revista do Instituto Histórico e Geográfico Brasileiro*, 178 (January–March 1943), pp. 91–154.
STC	Samuel Taylor Coleridge
Storey	Mark Storey, *Robert Southey. A Life* (Oxford, 1997)
TS	Thomas Southey
Warter	J. W. Warter (ed.), *Selections from the Letters of Robert Southey*, 4 vols (London, 1856)
WS	Walter Scott
WSL	Walter Savage Landor
WT	William Taylor
WW	William Wordsworth

PREFACE

Robert Southey (1774–1843) is now 'coming into focus as a major writer'.[1] His eclecticism, the ability to blend high and low forms, poetry and prose, local, national and international concerns, has transformed him into a key figure in unravelling the complexites of Romantic-period culture. Yet although critical interest in Southey and his impact and influence on Romantic-period writing continues to increase apace there remains a major gap in knowledge. The 2004 edition of Southey's *Poetical Works, 1793–1810*, made available for the first time scholarly texts of his early career verse. This has been supplemented by the ongoing edition of his *Collected Letters*, which gives access to a great deal of important, fresh information about his life, opinions and writings. There remain, however, significant gaps in scholarship. In particular, no detailed textual work has been done on the poetry he wrote after 1810. The last edition to pay any attention to the mid-late career poems was M. H. Fitzgerald's one volume Oxford edition of 1909. This included only a selection of Southey's output, used the revised versions published in the 1837–8 *Poetical Works*, the last authorized, lifetime edition, as copy text, and omitted virtually all of the notes to the longer poems on the grounds that they were 'not always particularly relevant to the poems to which they are attached'.[2]

The increasing numbers of scholars wishing to work on Southey's mid-late career therefore are bedevilled by the lack of a critical edition of his writings. Whereas his contemporaries have attracted the attention of modern editors, the growing number of Southey scholars has been forced to rely on the heavily revised, self-canonizing *Poetical Works* (1837–8), the selections in Fitzgerald (1909), or on earlier editions found only in major research libraries. These all have serious drawbacks. They lack the editorial apparatus of a critical edition, and therefore inhibit work on crucial areas such as Southey's sources. They ignore the fact that many of Southey's poems had long, complex histories, undergoing major thematic and textual changes before and after publication. Moreover, they overlook Southey's own habits of selection and exclusion. For example, he chose never to publish some poems and banished others from the *Poetical Works* (1837–8). As a result, knowledge about the development and publication histories of some of

Southey's most controversial, high profile writing is currently incomplete. It has therefore been impossible to assess accurately its impact on either his own career or on Romantic period culture as a whole. This lack has been more obviously felt in the case of Southey's confrontations with contemporaries such as Byron. While Byron's textual response to Southey has received due scholarly attention, Southey's has, until now, been overlooked. The result has been akin to listening to one side of a conversation. Our edition helps to transform that situation. By recuperating, editing, collating and annotating the texts of Southey's mid-late career poetry, it restores him to his rightful prominence as a poet and allows a fresh assessment of his achievements.

Notes

1. David Simpson, 'Locating Southey', *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 4 (2008), p. [565].
2. M. H. Fitzgerald (ed.), *Poems of Robert Southey* (Oxford, 1909), p. xi.

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

On 16 November 1822, the Poet Laureate, Robert Southey, confessed to Joanna Baillie: 'the truth is that I have almost ceased to be a poet; that I am so, has for many years been rather a matter of remembrance than of feeling; time has produced this sensible change, & has kindly withdrawn from me the inclination before it bereaves me of the power'.[1] This was not a unique admission. Statements about turning away from the composition of poetry are scattered throughout Southey's mid-to-late career correspondence and even – incongruously – his poems. He was, he recorded in album verses, 'to poetize now little prone' ('Album, that wilt from Derwentwater fare', l. 8). Yet such confessions should not be taken entirely at face value. Even his admission to Baillie, when put in its original letter context, radically contradicts itself, or rather reminds us of the importance of the word 'almost' in the phrase 'I have almost ceased to be a poet'. For Southey's statement about writing less poetry was itself accompanied by a poem – 'The Cataract of Lodore'.

There is no doubt that from 1811–38 poetry did not play as large a role in Southey's writing life as it had previously done. This was not a new departure, but rather a consolidation of a pattern that had commenced earlier. Southey had written hundreds of poems in the 1790s but by the mid-1800s his output – especially of shorter poems – had started to decline (see *RSPW*, Vol. V). By 1809 he described himself as a 'poor man who having written poetry till he could afford it no longer' was now 'engaged in humble' but more profitable prose (RS to Mary Barker, 24 October 1809, *CLRS*, 1700). In his final three decades, Southey produced a prodigious amount of prose. He published a three-volume *History of Brazil* (1810–19); a defence of the Madras system of Andrew Bell, *The Origin, Nature and Object of the New System of Education* (1812); *An Exposure of the Misrepresentations and Calumnies in Mr Marsh's Review of Sir George Barlow's Administration at Madras* (1813), specially commissioned by Marsh's brother; biographies of Horatio Nelson (1813 and revised through several further editions) and John Wesley (1820); a *Letter to William Smith* (1817), in response to the latter's parliamentary intervention in the *Wat Tyler* controversy; a three-volume *History of the Peninsular War* (1823–32); a *Book of the Church*

(1824); *Vindiciae Ecclesiae Anglicanae* (1825), a reply to an attack by Charles Butler; a series of *Colloquies on the Progress and Prospects of Society* (1829); *The Doctor* (1834–47), a multi-volume novel modelled on *Tristram Shandy*; and a multi-part *Lives of the Admirals* (1833–40), which was still in progress at the time of Southey's final illness. He supplemented these with new editions of the *Life of Henry Kirke White*, first published in 1807; a prose version of Mallory's *Morte d'Arthur* (1817); *The Expedition of Orsua; and the Crimes of Aguirre* (1821), an expansion of an article in the *Edinburgh Annual Register*; a life of John Bunyan (1830); an edition of the servant-poet John Jones, accompanied by a substantial 'Essay on the Lives and Works of our Uneducated Poets' (1831); an eight-volume *Select Works of the British Poets* (1831); a memoir of Isaac Watts (1834); and a 15 volume edition and biography of William Cowper (1835–7). He remained an assiduous contributor to periodicals: he wrote on contemporary history and politics in Britain, Europe and the world for the *Edinburgh Annual Register* (1810–13), contributed occasionally to the *Foreign Quarterly Review* (1827) and *Foreign Review* (1828–30), and regularly to the *Quarterly Review* (1809–39), collecting some of his writings for the latter into the two-volume *Essays, Moral and Political* (1832). A number of prose works remained fragmentary and unpublished at his death, including a multi-volume life of the educationalist Andrew Bell and a 'History of Portugal', Southey's prose magnum opus.[2] While others never got off the drawing board, including a history of the monastic orders, 'a History of English literature, beginning when Wartons Hist. of Poetry ends & ... stopping just when my own age begins' and lives of Sidney, Davenant, Richardson, Fielding and Chatterton.[3] A further set of prose writings was never intended for publication, such as journals of his tours of the Netherlands (1815), Scotland (1819) and France (1838) and numerous commonplace books.[4]

Southey's commitments to – and investment in – prose left him much less time for poetry. Yet although he wrote fewer verses in the latter half of his career, he did not cease to be a poet and in fact still published more than many poets do in a lifetime. He never quite claimed, as Coleridge did, 'The poet is dead in me' (*CL*, Vol. II, p. 714). The 'most industrious of all literary men on record', Southey was able to 'find time for everything' and usually fitted in poetry writing before breakfast.[5] He used the time very productively. Between 1811–38 he published the following new volumes of poems: *Roderick, the Last of the Goths* (1814); *Carmen Triumphale* (1814); three odes celebrating the Prince Regent, and the visit to Britain in June 1814 of Alexander I, Emperor of Russia and Frederick William III, King of Prussia; *The Poet's Pilgrimage to Waterloo* (1816); *The Lay of the Laureate* (1816); *A Vision of Judgement* (1821); *A Tale of Paraguay* (1825); and *All for Love; and The Pilgrim to Compostella* (1829). New shorter poems – odes, epitaphs, lyrics, ballads, inscriptions and occasional verses – appeared for the first time in annuals, gift books, newspapers and magazines, and in subscrip-

tion collections edited by others.[6] Moreover, Southey did not forsake his own poetic past. He revisited and reworked poems from the earlier part of his career. He published new editions of his revisionist epics *Joan of Arc* (1812, 1817) and *Madoc* (1812, 1815, 1825), and of his oriental romances *Thalaba the Destroyer* (1814, 1821) and *The Curse of Kehama* (1812, 1818, 1826) (see *RSPW*, Vols I, II, III and IV). He collected, selected and arranged his numerous shorter verses into a three volume *Minor Poems* (1815, 1823). He also planned for his poetic future. He commenced, though did not finish, a series of major new poetic projects – most notably the New England tale 'Oliver Newman', a sequence of thirty inscriptions on the British victories and heroes of the Peninsular War and, in collaboration with Caroline Bowles, an English romance, 'Robin Hood' (see Vol. IV of this edition). In addition, he produced numerous poems that remained unpublished at his death. These included a fragmentary address to Walter Savage Landor, whom Southey credited with reinvigorating his poetic career in the late 1800s when it had stalled due to financial worries and the disappointing sales and reception of *Madoc*. Southey's appointment as Poet Laureate in 1813 shaped other unpublished poems. For example, his 'first poemm [*sic*]' as Laureate was a playful squib sent to his wife:

> I have something to tell you, which you will not be sorry at,
> Tis that I am sworn into the office of Laureat.
> The oath which I took, there could be nothing wrong in,
> Twas to do all the duties to the dignity belonging.
> Keep this I charge you as a precious gem,
> For this is the Laureats first poemm [*sic*].

The formalities of his office impacted on other unpublished Laureate productions, as seen in verses composed specifically for a copy of *Roderick, the Last of the Goths* presented to the Prince Regent:

> Prince, I approach thee not with annual strain
> On temporal theme, soon framed nor lasting long,
> Nor seek I now with gratulations vain
> To win thine ear. What need the Poets song
> To join the general praise when all rejoice,
> And grateful nations with one heart & voice
> Thee & thy counsels bless? Let History pay,
> Then most extolling both when most sincere,
> The eternal meed to George & England due.
> Hither I come with this elaborate lay
> The thoughtful work of many a studious year;
> So may I best becoming sense display
> Of the high honour by thy hand conferrd
> On no unworthy servant of the Muse,

> Nor eer to thy dispraise shall it be heard
> Whom for thy Laureate thou wert pleased to chuse.
> With Heroes & with Kings the Poets name
> Is doomed to live, when Empires pass away:
> And while the glories of the Georgian age
> Endure amid the treasured rolls of Fame,
> By Art, by Science, & by Victory crownd,
> There, if it boast of aught divine, this page
> Shall with its ~~living~~<deathless> monuments be found.

Not all his writings were as deferential. The unpublished political satire 'Must the Gorman Great O' took a swipe at Charles James Patrick Mahon, an Irish MP deprived of his seat for bribery and corruption, and at the 'lads of the Roman communion' who had 'To Parliament sent you ... with the intent you/ Should get a repeal of the Union' ('Must the Gorman Great O', ll. 15–8). A late, unpublished ballad ridiculed the Cumbrian magnate, Whig and convert to temperance Sir Wilfred Lawson as 'Sir Wilbephuld'.

Whilst public events – local, national and international – continued to provide subjects for poems, Southey's mid-to-late career also saw the production of numerous occasional verses for family members and close friends. These were not intended for publication, but rather, as Samantha Matthews has shown, were composed for and survive in individual albums. These manuscript collections circulated in the private sphere and formed part of an important, but neglected, aspect of early nineteenth-century literary culture.[7] Their recipients included Southey's daughters, friends and the children of friends. Southey had mixed feelings about these verses. He once observed that 'Albums are my detestation' ('Robert Southey is my name' (1), l. 4). 'I shudder', he claimed, 'at the sight of a blank book / White paper makes me dangerous' ('"Oh for a lodge in some vast wilderness"', ll. 12–14). His 'albophobia' was exercised with good humour within his inner circle. For example, verses written for Dora Wordsworth's 'little Book' in October 1830 proclaimed:

> A smaller or a prettier Book
> I would not wish to see;
> I only wish it had been full
> Before it came to me. ('This is a little Book', ll. 5–8).

However, unsuspecting hunters of Southey's autograph were not always so politely received or dealt with. For example, during a holiday in Harrogate in June 1827 he was asked to write in the album of a lady. The book was 'full of pious effusions from all the most noted Calvinist preachers and missionaries' (RS to GCB, *L&C*, Vol. V, p. 302). Southey only just managed to restrain himself from writing 'Hurrah for Church and King' and 'down with the dissenters' ('What? will-we, nill-we, are we thrust', ll. 7–8). Frustrations at the time and

energy expended in meeting the demands of importunate autograph collectors led to Southey compiling a tariff for his services:

> Mr Southey writer of autographs in consequence of the great & unsolicited employment which he has obtained in that line of business, begs leave to lay before his friends & the public the following scale of charges.

	s.	d.	
A signature _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _		6	8
Do. in extra penmanship with date of time & place. _ _ _ _ _ _ _		13	4
Do. with a motto or text of scripture _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _	£1	1	0
Do. with an extract of the writers poetry _ _ _ _ _ _ _	£1	11	6
Do. the Poetry being unpublished. _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _	£3	3	0
Do. the poetry composed for the occasion sentimental & not exceeding six lines	£5	5	0
Do. the poetry being humorous _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _	7	17	6
Do. being complimentary _ _ _ _ _	10	10	0[8]

Only half in jest, Southey's 'scale of charges' assigns value not just to his autograph but also to the poems it produced: complimentary verses attracting the highest charge of all. The lingering sense of the worth of his poetry – both in terms of income and of reputation – had its final expression not in unpublished verse, but in Southey's last major production. This was not a collected edition or selection of his prose, but rather a career-summarizing, ten-volume *Poetical Works* (1837–8).[9]

Southey had a long and exceptionally diverse poetic career. He started writing verse as a juvenile, published his first poem in the *Morning Chronicle* in 1794, his first collection in 1795, his last periodical contribution in 1837 and his final edition in 1837–8 (*RSPW*, Vol. V, pp. 3–4). The *Poetical Works* (1837–8) was Southey's self-confessed attempt to put his 'house in order', to give structure and coherence to his writing life (RS to Margaret Holford Hodson, *NL*, Vol. II, p. 466). He thus divided his poems into the following:

Volume I: *Joan of Arc*
Volume II: Juvenile and Minor Poems, Vol. 1
Volume III: Juvenile and Minor Poems, Vol. 2
Volume IV: *Thalaba the Destroyer*
Volume V: *Madoc*
Volume VI: Ballads and Metrical Tales, Vol. 1
Volume VII: Ballads and Metrical Tales, Vol. 2
Volume VIII: *The Curse of Kehama*
Volume IX: *Roderick, the Last of the Goths*
Volume X: [untitled]
[The volume comprises: the Preface to the Present Edition of *The Vision of Judgement*; *The Poet's Pilgrimage to Waterloo*; *Carmen Nuptiale. The Lay of the Laureate*; 'Funeral Song, For the Princess Charlotte of Wales'; and *A Vision of Judgement*]

The second and third volumes were themselves further subdivided, for example, into 'Poems concerning the Slave Trade', 'Botany-Bay Eclogues', 'Sonnets', 'Monodramas', 'Love Elegies', 'Lyric Poems', 'Songs of the American Indians', and 'Occasional Pieces'. Southey claimed this 'arrangement' was 'useful to those who read critically, and desire to trace the progress of an author's mind in writings' ('Preface' to *PW* (1837–8), Vol. I). Until recently, critics trying to make sense of Southey's career have embarked on a similar activity of division and categorization. They have attempted to provide coherence and structure by bifurcating his life: separating his early radicalism from his later Toryism. In fact, as our edition shows, continuity is a key feature of Southey's poetic career. The four volumes published here continue and complete a project commenced in 2004 with the five-volume *Poetical Works, 1793–1810* and make it possible for the first time to read across the entire span of his writing life.

Although his mid-to-late career saw Southey adding new poetic forms to his repertoire, notably the epithalamium (*The Lay of the Laureate* (1816) commemorated the marriage of the Princess Charlotte of Wales), he continued to use poetic forms that had featured prominently in his earlier days: in particular, the epic, the romance, the ballad, the ode, the inscription and the vision. For example, *Roderick, the Last of the Goths* (1814) developed a line of experimental epics that had begun in 1793 when Southey wrote the first version of *Joan of Arc* and been continued in 1805 by *Madoc* (see *RSPW*, Vols I and II). Southey's contemporaries acknowledged this, the *Quarterly Review* recognizing in *Roderick* 'the same hand that produced his former works, but improved in skill and power of application'.[10] *Roderick* was generally favourably received and sold well, but not all revisitings were as successful (see Vol. 2 of this edition). The highly controversial – and damaging – *A Vision of Judgement* (1821) built on Southey's earlier use of dream visions in *Joan of Arc* (1796) and experiments with hexameters in the epic-fragment 'Mohammed' (1799) (see Vol. 3 of this edition; *RSPW*, Vol. I; and *RSPW*, Vol. V, pp. 475–8). In the 1790s Southey had repudiated both forms: excising all visionary material from the 1798 revisions of *Joan* and quickly abandoning 'Mohammed'. The critical furore surrounding *A Vision of Judgement* suggested that he had been unwise to return to them (see Vol. 3 of this edition).

Southey's earlier career had been characterized not just by his engagement with a wide range of genres, but also by his use of an eclectic subject matter. Between 1793 and 1810 he had written on subjects as diverse as: Joan of Arc, Cortez, Lord Percy, the Duke of Portland, an imaginary Arabian youth, a legendary Welsh prince, a fictitious Indian despot with many similarities to Napoleon Bonaparte, an Old Woman of Berkeley, a college cat and an old pair of shoes. His mid-late career saw the continued expansion of his range. He produced new poems on: a legendary ruler of Visigothic Spain, the outlaw Robin Hood, a family of Guarani Indians, Iberian Catholic legends (including one, 'The Young

Dragon', that centred on a 'holy thumb'), and King Philip's War. He even used a *Quarterly Review* article on Lewis and Clarke's *Travels to the Source of the Missouri River, and Across the American Continent to the Pacific Ocean* (1814) as an opportunity for humorous reflection on the profoundly unpoetic quality of the names given by the explorers to 'newly discovered country':

> Ye plains where sweet Big-muddy rolls along,
> And Tea-Pot, one day to be famed in song,
> Where swans on Biscuit and on Grindstone glide,
> And willows wave upon Good Woman's side!
> How shall your happy streams in after time
> Tune the soft lay and fill the sonorous rhyme!
> Blest bards, who in your amorous verse will call
> On murmuring Pork and gentle Cannon-Ball;
> Split-Rock, and Stick-Lodge, and Two-Thousand Mile,
> White-lime, and Cupboard, and Bad-humour'd Isle!
> Flow, Little-Shallow, flow! and be thy stream
> Their great example, as it will their theme!
> Isis with Rum and Onion must not vie,
> Cam shall resign the palm to Blowing-Fly,
> And Thames and Tagus yield to great Big-Little-Dry.

In addition, the Poet Laureateship gave Southey licence (or so he believed) to comment at length on public affairs. He reluctantly celebrated royal landmarks, including a marriage, three deaths, an accession, two birthdays and George IV's visits to Ireland and Scotland. He assumed, with much greater enthusiasm, the role of poet-prophet, charting the allies' campaign against Bonaparte and celebrating the victory at Waterloo (see Vol. 3 of this edition). As Laureate, he dwelt too on other areas of society. The 1823 ode on the king's visit to Scotland, hymned those philosophers (Hume), poets (Beattie, Thomson and Scott), engineers (James Watt), and civil engineers (Rennie and Telford) whose achievements had transformed society for the benefit of all (see Vol. 3 of this edition). Thus he added bridges and canals to the list of subjects suitable for contemporary poetry.

As his determination to give the 'works of peace' a 'voice / Which shall be heard by ages' suggests, Southey continued to place a high valuation on his role as a poet and on the importance of his poetry ('Scotland', ll. 48–50, Vol. 3 of this edition, pp. 207–15). His earliest productions had been marked by outspoken assertions of their significance. In the 'Preface' to *Joan of Arc* (1796), Southey had proclaimed his determination to act 'in direct opposition' to 'the necessary rule for the Epic, that the subject be national' and dismissed the opinions of readers who thought otherwise (*RSPW*, Vol. I, p. 5). Not all of his readers were impressed. Wordsworth, for example, described the 'Preface' as a 'very conceited performance' and Southey as a 'coxcomb'.[11] *Madoc* went even further, rejecting

the 'degraded title of Epic' (*RSPW*, Vol. II, p. 6). The revisionary claims and statements of Southey's early poetry were not abandoned later in life. Rather they underpinned and complemented his revisionist take on the role of Poet Laureate. Southey had once proclaimed himself 'No laureate' and dismissed the publicly 'prostituted Muse' that 'to adorn a king / With feeble hand has twin'd the withering bays' in favour of personal, more private celebration ('My Own Birth-Day Ode. Aug. 12. At 19', ll. 21, 3–4). In deciding to accept the office Southey sought to reinvigorate a post that had fallen into disrepute. By so doing he staked a claim for both his own role as a national poet and the importance of poetry at a time of crisis. He was, as contemporaries noted, not content to be satisfied 'with the salary, sherry, and safe obscurity of his predecessors', but instead claimed 'a real power and prerogative in the world of letters'.[12] His Laureate poems thus declaimed 'the sense which the poet entertains of the claims ... his office has upon him'.[13] They both offered direct commentary on events at home and aboard and asserted Southey's right to intervene in the public sphere. The *Poet's Pilgrimage to Waterloo*, for example, stated that the Laureateship gave him the prerogative to celebrate the defeat of Bonaparte, thus downplaying the works of all those other poets who had rushed to celebrate the victory:

> Me most of all men it behoved to raise
> The strain of triumph for this foe subdued,
> To give a voice to joy, and in my lays
> Exalt a nation's hymn of gratitude,
> And blazon forth in song that day's renown, . .
> For I was graced with England's laurel crown.
> (*The Poet's Pilgrimage to Waterloo*, I. vi. ll. 31–6; see Vol. 3, p. 253)[14]

While 'The Warning Voice', the New Year's Ode for 1820, turned attention to sedition and blasphemy at home, proffering a 'monitory strain' 'a strain severe / Of warning and of woe' ('The Warning Voice. Ode I', ll. 9–11, see Vol. 3). Southey was the product of and worked within a highly complex, conflicted culture. By imbuing the already highly controversial post of Poet Laureate with greater significance, he was laying himself open to attack and setting himself up for a fall. His own assertions about his status as a poet and the value of his writings thus paved the way for the controversies surrounding *Wat Tyler* and *A Vision of Judgement*.

Although Southey's mid-to-late poetry emerges from and is intimately connected to his earlier writing life, there is no doubt that some aspects assumed a new prominence, even urgency, in the period 1811–38. One was his reputation and its relationship to and impact upon the trajectory of his career. Southey had long been controversial, pilloried in the *Anti-Jacobin* and the *Edinburgh Review*. After 1810 his fame as a highly contentious poet increased rather than dimin-

ished. His acceptance of the Poet Laureateship provoked critical ire and ridicule in equal measure and the publication of *Wat Tyler* and *A Vision of Judgement* compounded an already inflamed situation. The image of Southey the apostate bard equally capable of writing 'praises of a regicide', 'praises of all kings' or 'whatever' was thus born and has proved to be extremely resonant.[15] 'No poet in our language, or perhaps in any other', opined one reviewer, 'has been more the object of contemporary criticism'.[16]

That criticism has resonated ever since. In the eighteen teens William Hazlitt, Leigh Hunt, William Hone and Lord Byron posed questions that later readers have also asked about Southey's career. How could the once-radical poet have become a reactionary supporter of a corrupt establishment and a man who called for the imprisonment without trial of men who published views similar to those he had himself formerly expressed? How did the Jacobin become the anti-Jacobin, the campaigner for reform and liberty become the advocate of repression?[17]

The turning point was Napoleonic imperial expansion into Spain and Portugal in 1808. Southey saw the invasion as confirmation that France was a military despotism that depended on conquest: Britain would not be safe from invasion until Bonaparte was defeated. Moreover, having lived in Portugal and being its historian, he sympathized with the uprising against French rule and was convinced the people of the Peninsula would never rest until they had liberated their countries. From this point on he would be a confirmed opponent of Napoleonic France and of those who argued that Britain should make peace with it. Since many of the advocates of peace were the Whigs and radicals whose views about domestic politics Southey had shared, he now found himself disillusioned with his former political allies. They were, he thought, naive and would leave Britain open to invasion; they were also callous and disingenuous: claiming to support popular liberty at home they would have Britain make treaties with Bonaparte, who was trampling on popular liberty in Iberia.

If Southey's break with the radicals and Whigs had principle at its heart, it was also motivated by personal enmity. The chief journal in which the peace policy was advocated was the *Edinburgh Review*, the very paper in which his poetry had been subjected to a critical ridicule so devastating that it had seriously affected his reputation. After 1808, Southey could displace his anger over the journal's reviews of his verse into attacks on its politics. In 1814 he would fill the notes of his first Laureate poem, *Carmen Triumphale*, with gleeful chapter-and-verse quotations that demonstrated how wrong the *Edinburgh* had proved to be in predicting that the Spanish, even if supported by the British, would be unable to resist Napoleonic rule (see Vol. 3 of this edition). But even before the triumphant outcome of Wellington's Peninsula campaign, Southey would take the opportunity to attack the *Edinburgh* in print whenever he could. In fact it

was his new-found determination to oppose the journal that led him to become a founding contributor to the Tory periodical set up in 1809 to counter it – the *Quarterly Review.* Despite qualms about writing for a pro-ministerial paper, and private protests when his criticisms of the government were censored by the editor, Southey relished the opportunity to oppose the Whigs' position. Although he opted to write on travel literature, history and politics rather than on verse, his contributions led him towards a more conservative and pro-establishment career in poetry too. Reviewing in this new company made him welcome in the circles of men of power – he was no longer seen as a dangerous – or trumped up – Jacobin but as a man to whom patronage might safely be extended, with the result that when Walter Scott declined the Poet Laureateship in 1813, Southey was offered the position instead.

Accepting the Laureateship was fraught with peril. It put Southey in a position where he could be accused of flattering a Regent who was notorious for self-indulgent idleness at the public's expense and who had reneged on his promise to bring the Whigs into government and promote reform. It was bound to – and did – expose him to accusations that he had signed away his independence and, for money and a butt of sack, become the toady of a venal establishment. It was, however, not money that induced him to accept, but recognition. Having had his verse pilloried for years by the *Edinburgh*, he saw the Laureateship as official endorsement of his poetic reputation. His need to receive such an endorsement was stronger than his fear of being compromised, though he wishfully thought to himself and his friends that his independence would remain untainted.

It did not stay so: it was not only his old enemies who felt that the Laureateship dirtied his hands, for he proved unable to live up to his intention of redeeming the post by using it to speak disinterestedly, for the public at large, on great national events. Almost at once, his friends had to persuade him to excise from *Carmen Triumphale* material that called for the assassination of Bonaparte (see Vol. 3 of this edition). Time and again he struggled – and frequently did not manage – to balance an objective, national voice with his desire for self-vindication over his enemies in print. To his critics, his actions appeared to be principally motivated neither chiefly by gratitude at Britain's escape from French invasion, nor by sympathy for Spanish and Portuguese patriotism, but by the need to attack men of different opinions to his own and to gloat when events proved those opinions to have been mistaken.

While many of Southey's mid-career poems dealt with the French wars, his anti-Napoleonic views had consequences for his views on domestic politics too. Because he distrusted the radicals and Whigs over the issue of France, he came to suspect their motives in their campaign for reform of parliament and for the end of the patronage system by which the ministry tried to ensure support by distributing jobs and sinecures to its supporters. Here he was, as his opponents

never failed to point out, self-interested, as the recipient first of a government pension and then of the Laureateship. At the same time, his self-seclusion in his study in Keswick raised the issue of his capacity and experience to judge the state of the nation. The prospect of that seclusion being disturbed by popular agitation – however peaceful and however similar to that for which he had once called – came to seem, from his rural fastness, a threat of rule by a semi-literate mob exploited by the Whig leaders who had been so unreliable and unpatriotic concerning the war with France.

Southey had lost his sympathy with ordinary people – the disenfranchised labouring and lower middle classes (people of a similar social background to his own). The newly literate people who lived in commercial and manufacturing regions became in his mind a monstrous mass threatening anarchy. To Hazlitt and others he was a 'changeling', one who ignored his own radical past and instead vilifed 'the people' and saw in democratic movements 'nothing but the horrors of resistance to ... abuses' of power.[18] Such charges only made Southey dig in more deeply: while he was not consciously a hypocrite he almost never engaged in self-reflection or self-analysis, and his response to criticism was almost always increased self-assertion. By 1817, self-righteousness had become second nature; to this was added a new belligerence that emerged, in private, in letters urging the Prime Minister to punish radical pressmen and, in public, in the Preface of *A Vision of Judgement* when he called for Byron and the 'Satanic School' to be pursued by the state (see Vol. 3 of this edition). There was a personal factor in this alarmist writing: in 1816 his belovedonly son died, aged nine, and Southey displaced his anger at the injustice of this terrible blow into picking fights with literary and political critics. His belligerence was often embarrassing to his allies. They advised him against going to law to try to prevent pirate publication of the Jacobin poem of his youth, *Wat Tyler*, rightly suspecting that the attempt would only exacerbate his notoriety as a turncoat. To Southey himself, however, it was a matter of enforcing his rights over his literary property against liars and thieves. What he did not acknowledge was that he gained so much vicarious satisfaction from controverting his enemies in print that he had a personal need to enter literary controversies – and so was unable to take a detached view of his chances of success. He lost the *Wat Tyler* case and much of his reputation amongst opponents of the government went with it; what remained was further compromised by his pursuit of Byron in, and after, the *Vision of Judgement*. Southey's vision of Britain seemed to his critics 'at once ludicrous and blasphemous', the work of an 'arrogant scribbler ... sitting down to deal damnation and destruction upon his fellow creatures'.[19] After the publication of the early cantos of *Don Juan* (1818–19) Southey should have known he had an opponent he could not match – Byron wielded the keenest satiric verse in the land. Southey, however, was almost immune to embarrassment and his reaction to mockery

was, perversely, to harden his stance: it was his need to show he was unmoved by the ad hominem criticism of Byron, Hone and Hazlitt that had led him, in the *Vision*, to make still more decided declarations of loyalty to the establishment and to take Laureate verse to a logical extreme – eulogizing the dead king and endorsing the living one – again, however, personalizing his poem in an attack on his poetic critics and rivals. Yet, in spite of his claims to imperviousness, the impact of critical vitriol on the trajectory of Southey's career from the early 1820s should not be underestimated. Indeed, late poems such as *A Tale of Paraguay* and *All for Love* were the product of the failure of his Laureate ambitions (see Vol. 4 of this edition).

Criticism of Southey was loud and impactful. For example, Byron's and Hone's devastating parodies of the *Vision* circulated in massive numbers in pirate editions that, ironically enough, the failure of Southey's prosecution of *Wat Tyler* had made impossible to suppress.[20] The multiple appropriation by Byron, Hazlitt, Hone, piratical publishers and their contemporaries of Southey and his writings to serve their own, radically opposed, purposes draws attention to another issue that came to prominence in his mid-to-late career – text and textual authority. Southey is far removed from the careless hack of popular myth. Throughout his writing life he demonstrated an acute awareness of text. He was both concerned with how the poems he composed by hand transferred to the printed page and interested in the book production process, including typography, binding and illustration. In 1837 he recalled his emotional response to the printing of *Joan of Arc* some four decades earlier: 'the sight of a well-printed page ... set off with all the advantages that fine wove paper and hot-pressing could impart put me in spirits' (*RSPW*, Vol. I, p. 201 n). His preoccupation with the aesthetics of publishing led to the printing of large format copies of his poems as gifts for friends. It also provoked a quarrel with the printer James Ballantyne when, in an attempt to save money, the latter increased the number of lines of *Madoc* on each page. Southey, like his fellow 'Lake' writer Wordsworth, therefore attempted to exercise as much control as possible over the production and appearance of his works. He also followed and intervened in contemporary debates about reform of copyright law. In 1819, for example, he put the case for perpetual copyright:

> The question is simply this: upon what principle, with what justice, or under what pretext of public good, are men of letters deprived of a perpetual property in the produce of their own labours, when all other persons enjoy it as their indefeasible right – a right beyond the power of any earthly authority to take away? Is it because their labour is so light, – the endowments which it requires so common, – the attainments so cheaply and easily acquired, and the present remuneration so adequate, so ample, and so certain? ... The decision which time pronounces upon the reputation of authors, and upon the permanent rank which they are to hold, is unerring and final. Restore to them that perpetuity in the copyright of their works, of which the law has deprived them, and the reward of literary labour will ultimately be in just proportion to its deserts ...[21]

Southey was speaking with the benefit of experience. His tenuous control over the products of his own pen had been exposed in 1817 by theillicit publication of *Wat Tyler* and the ensuing public controversy (see Vol. 3 of this edition for a full account). A second act of piracy followed in 1829.

In 1829 an unauthorized edition of Southey's *Poetical Works* was published in Paris by the firm of Galignani. This reprinted all of the short and longer poems included in his authorized editions: from *Poems* (1795) through to *All for Love; and The Pilgrim to Compostella* (1829). However, it went further than this. As the 'Advertisement' explained:

> ... in order to render ... [it] as complete as possible, it has been deemed advisable to insert, under a distinct head, the MINOR POEMS suppressed by the Author in the last collection given to the Public [i.e. *Minor Poems* (1823)]; to these have been added several original production with which the Publishers have been favoured by a friend of Dr. Southey. Under the same head are also given the Fugitive Pieces which have appeared in various miscellaneous publications since the last edition of his Works.[22]

The Galignani edition therefore provided a more complete and up-to-date collection of Southey's poems than the author himself had hitherto done. Indeed, it was the first sustained attempt to collect in one place many of the poems he had written as Poet Laureate and that had not been added to the three volumes of *Minor Poems* issued by Southey in 1823.[23] The 1829 pirated edition did not always get it right: for example, it misattributed to Southey a poem by Joseph Cottle – 'The Killcrop', published in the *Annual Anthology* (1799).[24] The mistake was understandable as 'The Killcrop' brought together a number of what by the late 1820s could be identified as characteristically Southeyan preoccupations: the diabolical, rustic superstition, the eclogue and plain language. However, the combination of illicit publication, misattribution and the resurrection of suppressed poems was potent and dangerous. As a 'species of piracy', Southey would earn nothing from it and because the Galignanis had 'nothing to allow for the Authors share' of the profits, they could print and sell their volume at a lower price. As Southey lamented, they had thus 'given the coup-de-grace to the little sale' the authorized, dearer editions of his poems 'still had in England' (RS to Margaret Holford Hodson, 14 August 1829, Huntington Library, HM 2875). In addition, the 1829 edition challenged and imperilled Southey's own control of his texts. By reinstating in his canon poems such as the Henry Marten inscription, which had been excised from more recent authorized editions such as *Minor Poems*, the Galignani volume reminded the public that the poet who had hymned both the regicide and assorted members of the British royal family were one and the same (*RSPW*, Vol. V, pp. 64–5).[25] Southey's last lifetime edition – *Poetical Works* (1837–8) – was therefore an attempt to reinstate control over his poems, to shape his own posterity and by adding new material in the

forms of textual revisions, notes and prefaces, to extend the term of copyright and thus secure earnings from his works for a longer period.

This Edition: Copy Text, Variants and Manuscripts

This edition addresses 150 years of editorial neglect of Southey's mid-late career poetry. It is divided into four volumes. The first deals with Southey's shorter poems. The second provides the first scholarly edition of his Hispanic-Islamic romance *Roderick, the Last of the Goths*. Volume 3 grapples with the controversial – and surprisingly neglected – subject of Southey's output as Poet Laureate. The fourth and final volume engages with longer poems published by Southey in the mid- to late 1820s and those left incomplete at his death and published posthumously by family editors. Each volume contains a dedicated introduction setting individual texts within wider contexts, and a full scholarly apparatus, including textual variants and detailed annotations.

Later Poetical Works constructs for the first time an accurate corpus of the poems written and published by Southey between 1811–38 and offers freshly edited, annotated reading texts of the writings from this crucial stage of his career. It clarifies what he wrote, when and how he wrote it, where (and if) he published it, and when and if he revised it in subsequent publications. It thus provides crucial new information on the content, shape and trajectory of his literary career during a period that was central not just to Southey, but to the development of Romantic period culture as a whole. Southey was an extremely eclectic poet and the four volumes cover all aspects of his poetic production, ranging from unpublished squibs against autograph collectors, to the Iberian epic *Roderick, the Last of the Goths*. The first modern critical edition of the mid-late career poetry, these volumes supplement the five volumes of Southey's *Poetical Works, 1793–1810* published in 2004.

With the notable exceptions of *Wat Tyler* and the 1829 Galignani edition of his poetry, Southey personally supervised the publication of the works published between 1811–38. He therefore does not present the same issues of textual authority that confront editors of writers such as John Clare and Percy Bysshe Shelley. Moreover, the lack of previous textual and critical interest in Southey means that the modern editor does not have to deal with poems encrusted with layers of earlier editorial interventions. However, this does not mean that the choice of copy text is automatic or without problems. Even in mid-late career Southey retained his habits of adding and revising. While the revisions were usually not extensive, they are still worthy of note. For example, the ballad 'The Young Dragon' was first published in *Sharpe's London Magazine* in July 1829. It did not appear again until 1838, when it was included amongst Southey's other ballads in the sixth volume of the *Poetical Works*. For this, its final authorized

publication, Southey made very few, very minor changes to the text of the actual poem. However, he added a substantial new headnote taken from a Spanish source, the *Historia del Gran Tamorlan* (1782), thus rendering the poem very different from the first published version.

With the exception of the two volumes edited by his widow, Caroline Bowles, and his son-in-law, Herbert Hill Jnr, all posthumous editions of Southey's poetry have relied for their copy text on the last lifetime edition of 1837–8. This has obscured the development of and the changes made to individual poems before 1837–8, alterations that often rendered earlier versions substantially different from later ones. In turn, lack of awareness of Southey's revisions to his poetry has inevitably hampered criticism of Southey and reinforced the view that he did not revise his writings. In fact, as this edition shows, the reverse was the case. Southey was an inveterate reviser of his poetry, both before and after its publication.

In order to facilitate scholarship on the entirety of Southey's career, this edition has chosen to base copy text on the first authorized, published edition of an individual poem. The copy text has been collated against all subsequent authorized lifetime editions (up to and including the *Poetical Works* (1837–8)) and also against surviving manuscripts, both drafts and fair copies. All textual variants are recorded at the bottom of the page. We have not noted variants in accidentals (spelling and punctuation). Southey did not punctuate the manuscripts he supplied to printers carefully, clearly expecting them to provide punctuation as appropriate. Southey and his printers were not consistent in providing line numbers to his poems. Therefore, the only other editorial intervention to the poetic text is to supply these.

There are a few exceptions to the principle for copy text set out above. Most notable are *Wat Tyler* and the *Vision of Judgement*. We have chosen the first edition of *Wat Tyler* over the authorized 1837 edition for our copy text because of its historical importance, wide circulation, and critical currency. Our copy text for *A Vision of Judgement* is the first authorized published edition, but for both *Wat Tyler* and *A Vision of Judgement* we have collated the copy text against authorized and unauthorized editions published in Southey's lifetime in order to better understand their circulation and reception and the ways in which they are enmeshed in political and cultural controversies of the day. Further exceptions to our general principle of copy text are those poems that did not appear until after Southey's death, when they were arranged and published by family editors. In these cases our copy text has been taken from the first (frequently the only) published edition. This has been collated against any surviving manuscripts. One further exception remains: the early 'Sonnet. To Mr Underwood, on his Setting Out for a Geological Excursion in Cornwall, July 1795'. Copy text for this has been taken from the only version that survives in print or manuscript, the pirated edition published by Galignani in 1829. In their treatment

of variants, accidentals and Southey's prefaces, epigraphs and notes all of these 'exceptions' follow the principles set out above.

A major feature of this edition is its inclusion of Southey's notes to his poems. Earlier in his career Southey had been inconsistent about the placing of his annotations: they had appeared both at the foot of the page and after the poetic text. By 1811 his habits had become more regular, with notes appearing at the end of the text, as in *Roderick, the Last of the Goths*. He was, however, not entirely consistent in his practice and the occasional note to a shorter poem was placed as a footnote. This edition regularizes the placement of Southey's notes, putting all of them at the back of the volume and recording any variants between different editions as footnotes. This has the important advantage of separating the notes from the textual variants, allowing for the development of the poem and of its notes to be seen both separately and also against one another. Southey was inconsistent in how his notes were keyed into the poetic text, at times expecting the reader to refer to a page number, at others to a stanza number. This edition has regularized this by referencing all Southey's notes to the relevant line number within the poetic text.

Southey's oeuvre consists of more than authorized lifetime editions or posthumously edited family collections. Several of his poems have also survived in manuscript. Each volume of our edition contains information on and makes extensive use of all relevant surviving manuscripts of individual poems. Whereas knowledge and discussion of manuscript stemma and variants is standard in work on some Romantic period poets, for example Wordsworth, the same is not true of Southey. Indeed, this edition provides the first extended engagement with the manuscript histories of Southey's mid- and late career poetry. Where there is a direct relationship between a surviving manuscript and a published version, the manuscript has been collated against the copy text and any variants recorded as noted above. In the case where no such direct relationship can be established or where the poem in manuscript was never published, we have provided a transcript of the manuscript. Further details about the treatment and presentation of the manuscripts reproduced in this edition are to be found in the 'Conventions for Manuscript Transcription' section of this volume. Any issues or problems that relate to the manuscripts or copy text of a specific poem and that are not a general feature of Southey's work are dealt with in the introduction to the individual volume containing that poem or, in the case of shorter poems, in the explanatory headnote to the poem's text.

Editorial Matter

The editorial matter in this edition includes: introductory essays setting individual works within their literary, historical and critical contexts; headnotes providing detailed information on individual shorter poems; and editorial notes. The introduction to each volume outlines the compositional and publication histories of individual poems, provides further information about their reception, and teases out the implications of this edition for future scholarship. Headnotes are used to provide further information on the development of the shorter poems and of more complex individual or groups of manuscripts. The editorial notes to each volume clarify references within the poetic texts and also illuminate material in the notes Southey added to his poems, particularly his longer poems. Critical debate about Southey's poetry, especially the epics and romances, has hitherto been seriously impeded by the fact that neither he nor later scholars accurately identified his sources. This edition is the first to accord these notes the serious scholarly attention they merit. Our editorial notes trace the sources of Southey's annotations, referencing them wherever possible to the volumes he actually read and used and indicating any adaptations he made of the original. A gifted linguist, with a particular expertise in Iberian literature and history, Southey frequently incorporated paratextual material in other languages into his poems: e.g. Latin, Greek, French, Portuguese and Spanish. He did not provide translations, thus relying on the reader to do so. This edition is the first to provide translations of these foreign language annotations, thus allowing for a more complete understanding of their meaning and their relationship to Southey's other epigraphs and notes and to the poetic text. Our editorial notes disclose the range of Southey's reading and research, and the ways in which this impacted on and shaped his poetic productions. The documenting of his sources will facilitate future scholarship on individual works, on Southey's contribution to the development of the Romantic annotated poem and on early nineteenth-century engagements with narratives of travel, conquest, disease, history, religion, literature and politics, to name but a few.

Notes

1. Royal College of Surgeons, Hunter-Baillie Collection, Vol. 4.2, no. 165.
2. The former was completed and published after RS's death by CB and CCS as, *The Life of Bell: Comprising the History of the Rise and Progress of the System of Mutual Tuition* (Edinburgh and London, 1844). The latter was never finished or published.
3. RS to [John Murray], 23 February 1830, Huntington Library, San Marino, HM 2729.
4. See, Robert Southey, *Journal of A Tour in the Netherlands in the Autumn of 1815* (London, 1902); *Journal of A Tour in Scotland in 1819*, ed. C. H. Herford (London, 1929); Cabral, pp. [181]–231; and *CB*.
5. Thomas De Quincey, 'Lake Reminiscences, from 1807 to 1830. By the English Opium Eater: No. IV – William Wordsworth and Robert Southey', *Tait's Edinburgh Magazine*,

6 (1839), p. 458; in Madden, pp. 410–11.

6. For example, 'The Cataract of Lodore' first appeared in Joanna Baillie (ed.), *A Collection of Poems, Chiefly Manuscript, And From Living Authors* (London, 1823), pp. 280–3.
7. Samantha Matthews, 'Importunate Applications and Old Affections: Robert Southey's Album Verses', *Romanticism*, 17.1 (2011), pp. 80–1.
8. Album kept by Kate Southey, Brotherton Library, Leeds University, MS 19C Southey.
9. For information on print runs of *PW* (1837–8) see *RSPW*, Vol. V, pp. xxiv–xxvi.
10. *Quarterly Review*, 13 (April 1815), p. 112; in Madden, p. 181. The reviewer was GCB at whose family home the first draft of *Joan of Arc* had been composed in 1793.
11. WW to William Matthews, 21 March 1796; Madden, p. 40.
12. *Edinburgh Review*, 26 (June 1816), p. 442; Madden, p. 216.
13. *European Magazine*, 66 (July 1814), p. 3.
14. For other commemorations of the battle see Philip Shaw, *Waterloo and the Romantic Imagination* (Basingstoke, 2002).
15. Byron, *Vision of Judgment* (1822), st. xcvii; Madden, p. 299.
16. *Quarterly Review*, 13 (April 1815), p. 83.
17. For a full account of the complexities of RS's political views see David M. Craig's *Robert Southey and Romantic Apostasy. Political Argument in Britain, 1780–1840* (Woodbridge, 2007).
18. Hazlitt, *The Examiner* (9 March 1817), in Madden, p. 234.
19. Byron, *The Two Foscari* (1821), in Madden, p. 292.
20. Byron, *Vision of Judgment* (1822). For Hone's *A New Vision* (1821), see David A. Kent and D. R. Ewen, *Romantic Parodies, 1797–1831* (London, 1992), p. 18; and John Gardner, 'William Hone's "New Vision of Judgement"', *Wordsworth Circle*, 42.1 (2011), pp. 52–6.
21. 'Inquiry into the Copyright Act', *Quarterly Review*, 21 (January 1819), pp. 211–13.
22. *The Poetical Works of Robert Southey. Complete In One Volume* (Paris, 1829), 'Advertisement', unpaginated.
23. For example, 'Funeral Song for the Princess Charlotte of Wales', 'Scotland, an Ode; written after the King's visit', and 'Ode on the Death of Queen Charlotte', *Poetical Works* (1829), pp. 717–20, 721–2.
24. *Annual Anthology* (1799), pp. 151–60.
25. *The Poetical Works of Robert Southey* (1829), pp. 706–707. The inscription had last been published by RS in 1801, see *RSPW*, Vol. V, p. 64. It was later excluded from *PW* (1837–8).

ROBERT SOUTHEY: A SELECTIVE CHRONOLOGY

The following chronology deals only with works included in this edition. There is a complete listing of Southey's published volumes (poetry and prose) in Storey, pp. 385–7. There is, however, no complete listing of his contributions to newspapers and magazines.

1804 First plan of *Robin Hood*

1809 2 December: begins work on *Roderick*

1811 plans *Oliver Newman*, which remains unfinished at RS's death

1813 November: appointed Poet Laureate

1814 1 January: *Carmen Triumphale* published; RS's first New Year's Ode as Poet Laureate
June: *Congratulatory Odes* published
14 July: finishes *Roderick*
November: *Roderick* published
begins work on *A Tale of Paraguay*

1815 February: finishes first book of *Oliver Newman*
collects and reorganizes a selection of shorter poems and publishes them in three volumes as *Minor Poems*
publishes second edition of *Roderick*
September–October: tour in the Low Countries

1816 17 April: death of Herbert Southey
The Poet's Pilgrimage to Waterloo published; second edition also in 1816
The Lay of the Laureate published
publishes third edition of *Roderick*

1817 *Wat Tyler* published, without RS's permission
May–August: Continental tour

1818 April: start of correspondence between CB and RS
publishes fourth edition of *Roderick*

1819 24 February: birth of CCS.
August–September: tour of Scottish Highlands with JR and Telford

1821 *Vision of Judgement* published
publishes second edition of *Carmen Triumphale* and *Congratulatory Odes* (renamed *Carmen Aulica*) as one book
1822 publishes second edition of the *Vision of Judgement*
RS writes his final New Year's Ode as Poet Laureate, for 1 January 1823
1823 publishes second edition of *Minor Poems* (virtually unchanged from first edition)
November: RS suggests to CB that they collaborate on *Robin Hood*
1825 June–July: tour in the Low Countries and first meeting with Willem Bilderdijk
August: *A Tale of Paraguay* published
1826 June: tour in the Netherlands
publishes fifth edition of *Roderick*
1828 publishes second edition of *A Tale of Paraguay*
March–April: writes *The Pilgrim to Compostella*
May–July: prolonged stay in London
September: death of RS's uncle, Herbert Hill
1829 May: *All for Love; and The Pilgrim to Compostella* published
Sir Thomas More: or, Colloquies on the Progress and Prospects of Society published
Unauthorized *Poetical Works of Robert Southey, complete in one volume* published in Paris
Last work on *Oliver Newman*
1831 publishes second edition of *Sir Thomas More: or, Colloquies on the Progress and Prospects of Society*
1834 15 January: RS's daughter, Edith May, marries J. W. Warter
September–March 1835: ES treated at The Retreat, Quaker asylum in York
1836 October–February 1837: prolonged visit to the West Country
1837 September: begins publication of *PW*
16 November: death of ES
November-December: revised editions of selected shorter poems published in *PW*, Vols II–III (including Laureate Odes)
1838 March: revised versions of further selected shorter poems published as *PW*, Vol. VI and *A Tale of Paraguay*, *All for Love* and the *Pilgrim to Compostella* as *PW*, Vol. VII
June: revised edition of *Roderick* published as *PW*, Vol. IX; revised editions of *The Poet's Pilgrimage to Waterloo*, *The Lay of the Laureate* and *A Vision of Judgement* published in *PW*, Vol. X
August–October: final tour in France
1839 12 March: RS's daughter, Bertha, marries Herbert Hill Jnr
4 June: marries CB. RS's health fails rapidly

1843 21 March: dies after long illness

1845 *Oliver Newman: A New England Tale (Unfinished): With Other Poetical Remains* published posthumously, edited by Herbert Hill Jr

1847 *Robin Hood: a Fragment. By the Late Robert Southey and Caroline Southey. With Other Fragments and Poems* published posthumously, edited by CB

MANUSCRIPT CONVENTIONS

Unless selection is specified, manuscripts selected for transcription are provided in full.

Folio numbers and indication of verso (abbreviated as 'v.') or recto (abbreviated as 'r.') are provided by the editor in square brackets at the head of each manuscript page. Hence [1r.] would represent the recto side of the first leaf and [1v.] would represent the verso of the same.

No attempt is made to reproduce the arrangement of the text on the page but folios may be divided into sections depending on Southey's use of columns (abbreviated as 'c.'). Hence [1r.c.1] would represent the first column on the recto side of the first leaf.

Where legible, readings of cancelled matter are provided. These are shown as scored through with a single line thus: ~~cancelled matter~~. No attempt is made to represent the nature, emphatic or otherwise, of Southey's cancellations, which are sometimes lightly scored out and at others more heavily scratched out.

Illegible characters are indicated by xxx, each x denoting an illegible character.

A stain, tear or other damage completely obliterating text is indicated thus: [stain/tear etc.].

Insertions are indicated in angle brackets thus < >.

Line endings for textual or manuscript variants shown below the reading text are indicated by a single oblique slash thus /; stanza endings by double slash thus //.

Any editorial comments or additions are signalled in square brackets thus [ ].

INTRODUCTION

This first volume of the *Later Poetical Works* is a companion to and completion of the final volume of our 2004 edition of Southey's earlier poetry (*RSPW*, Vol. V). We publish here poems from 1793–1810 omitted from the 2004 volumes because of lack of space, along with all of the shorter poems written and published by Southey between 1811–38. In order to provide the fullest possible picture of Southey's writing life we have also included selections of the juvenilia and of unpublished writings written across his entire, adult poetic career. Southey's writing life was long, diverse and complex – the contents of this volume encapsulate that longevity, diversity and complexity.

At the centre of this volume is the first ever scholarly edition of the shorter poems Southey wrote between 1811–38. Compared to the hundreds of shorter verses he produced in the 1790s and early 1800s, their number is few. Between 1811 and 1838 Southey published the following new poems: twenty-one inscriptions; one 'Epistle'; six epitaphs or memorial verses; nine occasional pieces and six ballads. He also, as this volume reveals, wrote several others that were either not published until after his death or were never published at all, including poems prompted by the death of his son Herbert in 1816, verses to fellow poets such as Walter Savage Landor, addresses to the Prince Regent, and numerous shorter, occasional pieces inscribed in the albums of family members or close friends. Lack of numbers should not detract from the potential significance of Southey's later shorter poems. Indeed, attentiveness to them can reap rich rewards. They offer important, often subtle, linkages between different, seemingly disparate, parts of Southey's writing life. They show how in the 1810s and 1820s Southey revisited and re-mined genres and subjects from much earlier in his career. They provide links between his poetry and prose: for example, the ballad 'Roprecht the Robber' (1829) both looks back to the grotesquerie of 'The Surgeon's Warning' (1799) and connects with Southey's researches in the late 1820s on the 'Water Poet' John Taylor, which culminated in *Lives and Works of Our Uneducated Poets* (1831) (*RSPW*, Vol. V, pp. 300–6).[1] Moreover, 'Roprecht's' appearance in *Sharp's London Magazine* in July 1829, alongside the 'Epitaph in Butleigh Church', is a reminder not just of Southey's continued abil-

ity to deploy a number of shorter poetic forms, but also of his status as a literary professional. In mid-late life Southey's commitments to producing more profitable prose ensured that he had less time to devote to poetry. Nevertheless, the poems from this stage of his career tell us much about changes in literary culture and in the relationship between Romantic writers and the marketplace from the 1810s through to the 1830s.

Inscriptions

Recent work on Southey's politics has revealed a more complex, nuanced trajectory than the old image of the youthful radical hardening into the Tory 'apostate' allows for.[2] The same blending and blurring is shown in his poetic career. Southey did not break with his literary past. Indeed, in his mid-late career poems he often returned to forms he had used and innovated in the 1790s. For example, the Spanish subject matter of 'King Ramiro' (1803) and 'Garci Ferrandez' (1803) is revisited in 'The Young Dragon' (1830) and 'Queen Mary's Christening' (composed in 1829, published 1837), thus providing important linkages between Southey's ballads written for the magazine and annual market of the late 1820s and his newspaper poems of the early 1800s. The shorter poetic form Southey returned to most consistently after 1810 was the inscription.

Between 1814 and 1823 Southey wrote two sequences of inscriptions and proposed, but did not complete, a third. The first was 'a series of inscriptions, recording the achievements of our army in the Peninsula, – triumphal for the battles won and fortresses taken, and monumental for the more distinguished persons who have fallen' (*CLRS*, 2345). Southey had visited the Iberian peninsula twice, was an avid proponent of its literature, and had followed events in Spain and Portugal with a keen, and far from impartial, eye. Moreover, between 1810 and 1813 he had used his position as contemporary historian for the *Edinburgh Annual Register* to propagandize for Spanish and Portuguese liberty and for Britain to commit wholeheartedly to the cause of freeing the Iberian peninsula from the French. He therefore invested a great deal of energy and ambition in his plan for a series of inscriptions to commemorate a conflict that was to him central in the struggle against Bonaparte. Begun shortly after he became Poet Laureate, the inscriptions were, moreover, directly linked to Southey's desire 'to do all in my power to render the office honourable' and therefore to his official productions on public events, including the controversial *Carmen Triumphale* (1814) and 'Ode (Who counsels peace)' (1814) (RS to Neville White, 12 December 1813, *CLRS*, 2345; see also Vol. 3 of this edition). Although they touched on events in the Iberian peninsula, these earliest Laureate pronouncements were odes, a 'worthless' and 'odeous' genre ('Preface' to *Poems* (1797); RS to TS, [17]–22 December 1814, *CLRS*, 2521). By choosing the inscription for

his Peninsular War poems he turned to a more favoured form. It was one that both signalled the seriousness of his endeavour and looked back to his earlier poetic career.

Southey had discovered the inscription as a young writer, influenced by his reading of Mark Akenside's 'For a Column at Runymede'.[3] Throughout the 1790s, he consistently used it as a vehicle for realizing the potent connections between place and history both in England and Europe. For example, a group of inscriptions on sites in the West Country written in the late 1790s mark out a series of historically and politically significant locations.[4] These include Corfe Castle, where King John imprisoned and tortured his opponents; Taunton, where the notorious 'bloody' Judge Jeffries had pronounced his verdicts on participants in Monmouth's rebellion; the landing place at Torbay, Devon, where 'by the People call'd', William of Orange 'came, to take the Crown the People gave'; and the 'Ruins of Glastonbury Abbey', whose fragments 'emblem well / The noble structure of the laws he [Alfred the Great] built, / Like this majestic scene ... ruin'd now' (*RSPW*, Vol. V, pp. 186, 358–9, 341–2, 245). The significance of Southey's endeavours and ambitions should not be underestimated. As his contemporaries acknowledged, his political inscriptions of the 1790s erected imaginary monuments 'to perpetuate the memory of any remarkable event, or deed'. They cherished patriots, upbraided tyrants and commemorated the spots 'on which any memorable struggle for the welfare, or liberty of mankind had occurred'.[5] In so doing, Southey revitalized the inscription for a time of national and international crisis. He turned it into a vehicle for political, social and cultural commentary, showing how 'powerful incentives to virtue, to patriotism, to intellectual perfection' could be found in places and landscapes appropriated for the radical cause.[6]

In need of a form that would 'perpetuate the memory' of 'Spain's arduous strife / Against the Intruder', Southey returned to the inscription in late 1813 ('Inscription for a Monument at Arroyo, in Molina', ll. 1–2). It was timely. The war in the Iberian peninsula was coming to an end. The allies had crossed into France in October and Bonaparte had accepted defeat by signing the Treaty of Valençay with Spain in December. Southey's proposed Peninsular War sequence celebrated the allies' success. It also reiterated the inscription's importance as a vehicle for commemorating struggles for the 'liberty of mankind', but with an important difference. Unlike their predecessors, who had used the past to comment on the present, the new poems would deal explicitly with contemporary or near-contemporary events. The change echoes the shift in Southey's prose history-writing that occurred at the same time. He had previously focused on writing the histories of nations, including Brazil and Portugal, from their distant past to the near present. In the mid 1810s, Southey turned to the present. His major new historical works of the period were a *History of the Peninsular War* and the planned, but never completed, 'The Age of George 3', a 'view of the revolutions ... which have taken

place during the last half-century' (RS to John Murray, 31 March 1813, *CLRS*, 2219). The impetus possibly came from his work for the *Edinburgh Annual Register*, from his experience of writing on contemporary subjects for the *Quarterly Review*, and from his biographies of eminent contemporaries, such as the *Life of Nelson* (1813). It was given added direction and urgency by his assumption of the Poet Laureateship. The result was that Southey now used his shorter poems and his prose to engage explicitly – rather than as in the 1790s in coded or historicized fashion – with contemporary events.

The inscriptions on the Peninsular War show this at work. They chart the British campaign against the 'perfidious' French, memorializing key battles and key personnel ('For a Monument at Rolissa', l. 5). They inscribe the brutality of war, the 'Seven thousand men' who 'lay bleeding' on the heights at Albuhera, and lament the loss of individual British soldiers such as Paul Burrard and Ensign Thomas. Southey is less reverent towards the fate of the enemy, recording that 'Frenchmen's bones in glen and grove, on rock/ And height ... strewn ... wash'd in torrents, bare and bleach'd' will serve as grim memorials to the mistaken 'pride' of Bonaparte and his generals ('For a Monument at Albuhera', l. 1; 'For the Deserto de Busaco', ll. 25–8, 9). Proof of 'Death's silent lesson', their muteness contrasts with the British victories given voice and permanence by Southey's poems ('For the Deserto de Busaco', l. 24).

Southey's inscriptions have a dual purpose. They justify British involvement in the peninsula, proclaiming 'how precious in a righteous cause/ Is victory, how divine the soldier's meed/ When grateful nations bless the avenging sword!' ('For the Banks of the Douro', ll. 27–9). They also look forward to the future, asserting the inscription's ability to transmit 'To after-time ... a more enduring praise' than any other monument would be capable of doing ('For the Lines of Torres Vedras', l. 4). They thus emphasize Southey's right to comment on contemporary events and proclaim the lasting nature and importance of that commentary.

However, his turn towards and investment in the contemporary caused Southey significant problems and lay behind his failure to bring the Peninsular War sequence to completion. He completed only eighteen and drafted just two more out of the proposed thirty poems. Firstly, there was the matter of source material. When writing his poems (and indeed his later *History*) he relied heavily on the accounts of the war he had written for the *Edinburgh Annual Register*. Southey had ceased writing for that journal at the end of 1813 and, as a result had not covered the later stages of the campaign (the *Register* was published two years in arrears – i.e. the volume dealing with the events of 1810 appeared in 1812). The effect of this is seen clearly in the completed inscriptions: eighteen are on events between 1808–11, a period he had already written about in the *Register*. Two further poems dealt with events of January 1812, which Southey had researched before deciding to terminate his employment with the periodical.

Moreover, Southey's ambivalence both complicates the sequence and raises questions about how he might have finished it. He was a passionate supporter of guerilla leaders in Spain, those patriots who had led the popular uprising against the French invaders.[7] In contrast, his attitude to British commanders was mixed: for example, he was critical of John Moore's conduct of the campaign that led to the latter's death at Coruna. Moore was, he told Neville White, 'utterly unequal to his situation' (21 April 1809, *CLRS*, 1617). His greatest reservations, though, were reserved for what happened after the French expulsion from the peninsula. In particular, he was deeply hostile towards the restoration of Ferdinand VII and the imposition of a reactionary regime that saw the return of the Inquisition and the maltreatment of Spanish patriots who had fought bravely against the French. The latter included the poet Quintana, who had 'moved the inmost soul of Spain' during the struggle against France, but was condemned by Ferdinand's regime to 'Chains, and the silent dungeon, and despair' (*Poet's Pilgrimage to Waterloo*, III, xv, ll. 88, 90; see Vol. 3, p. 341 of this edition). Southey's inscriptions on the early stages of the war encouraged Spaniards to

> Bear in thy soul ... the memory
> Of all thou suffered'st from perfidious France,
> Of all that England in thy cause achieved.
>
> ('Talavera. For the Field of Battle', ll. 42–4)

The events following the restoration of Ferdinand provoked Southey to change focus. Rather than addressing the Spanish, he turned to his fellow countrymen, questioning whether English sacrifice in the cause of Iberian independence had been worthwhile:

> For this hath England borne so brave a part!
> Spent with endurance, or in battle slain,
> Is it for this so many an English heart
> Lies mingled with the insensate soil of Spain!
> Is this the issue, this the happy birth
> In those long throes and that strong agony brought forth!
>
> (*The Poet's Pilgrimage to Waterloo*, III, xvi, ll. 91–6; see Vol. 3, p. 342 of this edition)

In the end, it was their acute contemporaneity that prevented Southey from completing and publishing the Peninsular War poems immediately. They, unlike the historically focused inscriptions of the 1790s, were time-limited, resonant only whilst his wider case for the need to pursue the war against Bonaparte to the bitter end was current. Southey acknowledged this. He stopped work on the poems 'during the peace' of 1814–15, 'when the French Marshals had been taken into favour' and 'there might have <been> some impropriety in applying

to them those epithets which they deserved' (RS to General Peachy, 13 April 1815, *CLRS*, 2587). The resumption of hostilities in 1815 made the campaign against Bonaparte and his supporters topical once more. He recommenced work on the poems, deciding to 'finish' them 'forthwith, & publish them as seasonable things' (RS to HHS, 7 April 1815, *CLRS*, 2583). As he explained:

> There can be no peace for Europe till the French army is destroyed: it becomes therefore highly proper that that army should be represented in its true & proper colours. (*CLRS*, 2583)

He wrote eleven new inscriptions and redrafted one further poem between early April and early May 1815, toyed with adding 'an Ode to the British people, & perhaps one to Buonaparte', and entered into negotiations with Longman about publishing them in a 'pocket size' volume complete with 'Biographical memoirs' (RS to TS, 10 April 1815, *CLRS*, 2585; RS to GCB, 10 May 1815, *CLRS*, 2597). This all came to nothing. Bonaparte's defeat at Waterloo negated the inscriptions' topicality. Instead of publishing them, Southey did something else. He toured the battlefield in October 1815 and on his return began work on a brand new poem on contemporary events – *The Poet's Pilgrimage to Waterloo*. This turned not to the inscription, but to Spenser and the dream vision, in order to celebrate 'a victory so important to the best interests of human nature' and to contemplate a post-Bonaparte world (*The Poet's Pilgrimage to Waterloo*, 'Advertisment'; see Vol. 3, p. 237 of this edition).

In spite of the problems he encountered with the Peninsular War sequence, Southey neither ceased writing inscriptions nor lost his belief in the form's utility. His three inscriptions on the Caledonian Canal commemorated the achievements of Thomas Telford, celebrating contemporary feats of engineering and their impact on the landscape:

> Athwart the island here, from sea to sea,
> Between these mountain barriers, the great glen
> Of Scotland offers to the traveller,
> Through wilds impervious else, an easy path,
> Along the shores of rivers and of lakes,
> In line continuous, whence the waters flow
> Dividing, east and west. Thus had they held
> For untold centuries their perpetual course
> Unprofited, till in the Georgian age
> This mighty work was planned, which should unite
> The lakes, control the innavigable streams,
> And through the bowels of the land deduce
> A way ... ('At Clachnacharry', ll. 1–13)

A plan for a third, never-written, set extended the inscription's reach to encompass the place of the poet in contemporary society. In a notebook entry of 6 September 1814, Southey sketched a series of

> Inscriptions for the poetical ground of this kingdom – i-e – in tribute of respect to all those poets who deserve it. This I think would be a worthy task.
>
> Chaucer – at Woodstock? ...
> Malvern . Piers Ploughman.
> Lydgate – at Bury.
> Spenser – by the Mole.
> Surry ...
> Amwell – Warner & Walton & Scott
> T. Warton. Cherwell.
> Rokeby - Mason, Walter Scott, & Morritt himself.
> Davenant – Cowes Castle
> Sylvester – Donnington, buried at Middleburg.[8]

The proposed sequence mapped out a poetical landscape, connecting individual places with poets Southey particularly admired. Planned at a time when he was increasingly besieged both by critics and by courtiers, the new poems had the potential to reaffirm Southey's belief in the importance of his poetry in demarcating and sustaining the nation's identity. As such they have tantalizing links with the *Lay of the Laureate* (1816) and *The Poet's Pilgrimage* (1816), and with other 'Lake Poet' productions, including Wordsworth's *The Excursion* and *The Prelude*.

Annuals and Gift Books

Southey's 'inscriptions for the poetical ground of this kingdom' came to nothing, the casualties, perhaps, of his increasing disillusionment with the Laureateship. Even the Peninsular War and Caledonian Canal inscriptions were not collected with his other shorter poems until 1837–8 when they were published in the third volume of his *Poetical Works*. Six of the new inscriptions, the Caledonian Canal poems and three of those on the Peninsular War, had already appeared in a piecemeal fashion in *The Literary Souvenir*, *Friendship's Offering*, and *The Anniversary* between 1826–9. Their publication in annuals, rather than in new editions of his poetry, is an indication of Southey's negotiation of the shifting literary marketplace of the 1820s.

The 1820s saw a decline in sales of volumes of Southey's poems. For example, the second edition of *Minor Poems*, published in 1823, had a print run of 500, compared to the 750 copies of the first edition of 1815.[9] Yet although entire volumes of his shorter poems were not saleable, changes in the literary economy saw the demand for individual shorter poems increase. In particular Southey, like his contemporaries, profited from the lucrative new market in annuals and

gift books. These lavishly produced volumes were often bound in silk or tooled leather, with gilt-edged leaves. They contained engravings of works by leading artists and poetry, short fiction and non-fiction prose by famous writers of the day. Aimed firmly at a middle-class, predominantly female audience these expensive books became 'must haves', part of a publishing phenomenon. Sales were enormous. It has been estimated that 100,000 copies of annuals were sold in Britain in 1828 and that one annual, the *Literary Souvenir*, edited by Alaric Watts, sold 8,000–10,000 copies per year.[10] The shorter poem was ideally suited to the annual and gift-book format, where space was often limited. Indeed, as Southey found out when he was required to lop off the final section of his 'Epistle to Allan Cunningham', writing too much was undesirable. As Poet Laureate and a literary 'name' Southey was a good catch for ambitious editors. From the mid-late 1820s he was regularly solicited for contributions to annuals and gift books. His initial policy was to send 'some little piece which happened to be at hand, which just sufficed to serve their purpose of getting my name in their list of contributors' (RS to Allan Cunningham, 13 November 1828, Warter, Vol. IV, p. 123). These included the hitherto unpublished inscriptions 'Banavie', sent to *Friendship's Offering* (1826), and 'To the Memory of Paul Burrard', which appeared in the *Literary Souvenir* for the same year. He did not request payment for these, just as he had not charged editors, including Joanna Baillie, who solicited him for contributions to subscription or philanthropic editions. However, demand from the annual and gift book market was such that Southey's 'scanty stock of such pieces' was fairly soon exhausted:

> By this time applications had become numerous enough to be troublesome; for which reason, and also because I had none but poems of more length, and consequently of a certain value by me, I then required some remuneration.
>
> (RS to Allan Cunningham, 13 November 1828, Warter, Vol. IV, p. 123)

The change came in 1827 when he sent 'Scotland', which had originated as his New Year's Ode for 1823, to *The Bijou*. Although he had 'set no price upon it', Southey received a payment of £12 (Warter, Vol. IV, p. 123). It was a turning point. From then on financial considerations came to dominate his transactions with annuals. This was driven partly by necessity as the changing market had already begun to impact on Southey's income from writing. As he explained, 'these Annuals have grievously hurt the sale of all such books as used to be bought for presents. In this way my poems have suffered greatly – to the diminution, I doubt not, of more than half their sale' (Warter, Vol. IV, p. 124). Recuperating his finances by earning money from the editors and publishers that he held responsible for his loss of income was therefore both necessary and fitting.

Southey did not have to tout for work. The editors sought him, either by correspondence or in person. On 24 February 1828 he recounted his recent

dealings with Frederic Mansel Reynolds, editor of *The Keepsake*, and Charles Heath, the illustrator, engraver and contributor to annuals. The two men had visited Southey in Keswick. Heath had

> ... proceeded expeditiously to business, presented me with a Keepsake from his pocket, said that he had been into Scotland for the express purpose of securing Sir Walter's [i.e. Scott's] aid, that he had succeeded, that he now came to ask for mine, and should be happy to give me fifty guineas for anything with which I would supply him. Money, - money you know, makes the mare go, - and what after all is Pegasus, but a piece of horse-flesh?' (RS to Allan Cunningham, *L&C*, Vol. V, p. 322).

Yet although Southey assured correspondents that his 'winged steed' was no longer 'led out, unless there be money to make her go' and that he would 'never give ... anything again' to men who prized 'most what they pay for', his dealings with Reynolds brought home the realities of trading poems for cash (RS to CB, 18 March 1828, Dowden, p. 135). After their meeting in 1828 Southey offered Reynolds the as yet unpublished 'All For Love', to be accompanied by an especially commissioned print (see 'Introduction' to Vol. 4 of this edition). Reynolds turned it down and instead requested Southey write three brand new poems: a 'light poem' of his choice and 'two pieces' to be published alongside pre-existing engravings (Warter, Vol. IV, p. 124). The 'light poem' was sent but not published. The other two, 'On a Picture by J.M. Wright' and 'Stanzas, Addressed to J.M.W Turner', appeared in *The Keepsake* for 1829. Southey dismissed them as being 'as much task-work as an exercise at school' (RS to CB, 1 January 1829, Dowden, p. 151).

His dismissal of the two *Keepsake* poems was not unique. Elsewhere he described annuals as 'picture-books for grown children' and their contents as 'trash reading' (RS to Cunningham, 21 December 1828, *L&C*, Vol. V, p. 339; RS to Henry Taylor, 30 April 1829, KESMG 299). Southey, like fellow 'canonical authors, despised [the annuals] ... but took the money'.[11] Yet catering for the demands of editors did impact positively on his own literary productions, much as writing verses to order for Daniel Stuart's *Morning Post* had in the late 1790s and early 1800s. The years 1828–9, the peak of his involvement with the annual and gift book market, saw the composition of several new shorter poems, including 'Lucy and Her Bird', 'Robert the Rhymer', 'Epilogue to the Young Dragon' and 'Queen Mary's Christening'. Although slight compared to Southey's prodigious output of the 1790s, this was significant for the 1820s. It is evidence that dealing with the annuals gave Southey new energy and new purpose for writing shorter poems. His enthusiasm was not sustained. After 1829 he contributed nothing more to annuals or gift books. He continued, though, to publish the occasional piece in periodicals. 'The Young Dragon' appeared in the newly founded, Tory *Fraser's Magazine* in 1830 and in 1837 the ballad

'Queen Mary's Christening' appeared in *The Knickerbocker*. The latter was, the editor trumpeted, Southey's 'first donation to American periodical literature'.[12] The onset of his final illness in the following year meant it was also his last.

In 1837–8 Southey published a final lifetime edition of his *Poetical Works*. His shorter – or what he preferred to term 'Minor' – poems appeared in the second, third and sixth volumes of the ten-volume set.[13] *Poetical Works* (1837–8) combines Southey's need to earn money from his writings with his preference for blending and blurring of his early, mid- and late career. Southey's profits had been badly affected by the Galignani piracy of 1829. The 1837–8 edition was a deliberate attempt to counter cheaper, unauthorized publications by providing a new collected, though not complete, authoritative, edition of his poems. By adding in material not previously collected together either by himself or by Galignani, Southey brought the *Poetical Works* up to date. He described the process of assembling the edition, collecting, editing and writing prefaces, as akin to 'setting one's house in order' (RS to Hodson, 1 March 1837, *NL*, Vol. II, p. 466). It was also an attempt to bring together and give unity and coherence to his whole writing life. In the case of the shorter poems written since 1810 he did so not by placing them in a new section but by adding them onto a classificatory framework of 'Inscriptions', 'Ballads', 'Nondescripts' and 'Odes' imported from *Minor Poems* (1815 and 1823). For example, the Peninsular War poems were not allocated their own dedicated section, but instead were added to a group of 'Inscriptions' whose first member, 'For a Column at Newbury', had been composed as long ago as 1796 (see *RSPW*, Vol. V, p. 63). By so doing Southey reaffirmed publicly and for the last time the continuity between the poet of the 1790s and the one of the 1810s, 1820s and 1830s.

This Edition

This volume is divided into two main sections plus appendices. The first comprises a selection of poems composed between 1793–1810 and excluded from the fifth volume of *Southey: Poetical Works, 1793–1810* because of lack of space. The second publishes for the first time in one place all the shorter poems Southey wrote and published between 1811–38, with the exception of his Laureate New Year's Odes, which are collected in Volume 3 of this edition. The poems are grouped into inscriptions and epitaphs, ballads and occasional pieces, an arrangement that reflects Southey's own habit of classification. This section of the volume contains also the shorter poems published after Southey's death by members of his family in *Oliver Newman* (1845), *Robin Hood* (1847), the expanded 1850 edition of *Poetical Works*, the *Common-Place Books* and early editions of his correspondence. Southey's later career is further charted by a selection of unpublished poems surviving in his hand, and a selection of

transcriptions of verses written for albums and extant only in other hands. The appendices contain a selection of juvenile verses and the prefaces and advertisements from all of Southey's collections of shorter poems, from 1795–1838.

In the case of all but one of the poems published in Southey's lifetime and those published posthumously by family editors, our copy text is the first authorized published edition, collated against subsequent authorized editions and surviving autograph manuscripts. The exception is the sonnet 'To Mr Underwood', which survives only in the version published without Southey's consent in the Galignani edition of 1829. Unpublished poems that have survived in one or more autograph versions have been transcribed in full from the earliest manuscript, as far as this can be ascertained, and collated against any other surviving autograph witnesses. In case of both published and previously unpublished poems we have recorded all verbal variants: these are placed as footnotes to the poetic text. We have not recorded variants in punctuation, as Southey did not punctuate his manuscripts carefully and clearly expected the compositor to supply appropriate punctuation.

A further group of poems exist only in other hands, mainly in the papers of Southey's second wife, Caroline Bowles, or in the albums of his daughters or members of his extended family. If more than one such family manuscript copy survives, we have chosen the earliest, as far as that can be ascertained, as copy text and not collated it against the other surviving witnesses. In the cases of all poems we have supplied line numbers to the poetic texts, in order to facilitate cross-referencing between the poetic text, variants, and Southey's notes. By 1813, Southey had long forsaken his habit, seen in *Joan of Arc* (1796) and *Thalaba the Destroyer* (1801), of having his own notes to his poems set as footnotes. Instead, they appeared after the poetic text. Here, in line with practice across this edition, Southey's notes are grouped together at the rear of the volume; and are followed by our editorial notes to the poetic texts and to Southey's notes. In order to guide the reader through the complex – sometimes controversial – histories of the works included in this volume, individual poems or groups of poems are prefaced by a headnote, which contains further information about their development, reception, and textual history.

Notes

1. *Lives and Works of Our Uneducated Poets by Robert Southey, to Which is Added, Attempts in Verse, by John Jones* (London, 1831).
2. Most notably in David M. Craig's *Robert Southey and Romantic Apostasy. Political Argument in Britain, 1780–1840* (Woodbridge, 2007).
3. Mark Akenside, *Poems* (London, 1772), pp. 397–8.
4. See Lynda Pratt, 'Southey's West Country', in *English Romantic Writers and the West Country*, ed. Nicholas Roe (Basingstoke, 2010), pp. 201–17.
5. Nathan Drake, *Literary Hours, or Sketches Critical and Narrative* (Sudbury, 1798), p. 81.

6. Ibid., p. 82.
7. See for example, *Edinburgh Annual Register, 1811*, 4.1 (1813), pp. 344–66.
8. MS Notebook, KESMG MS 165.
9. Longman Archive, University of Reading, Impression Books, Vol. VII, p. 232; ibid., Vol. V, p. 197. In comparison, STC and WW's print runs in the 1820s were usually 'from about 300 to 500 copies per edition', Akiko Sonoda, 'Coleridge's Later Poetry and the Rise of Literary Annuals', *The Coleridge Bulletin*, n.s. 26 (Winter 2005), p. 60.
10. Richard D. Altick, *The English Common Reader. A Social History of the Mass Reading Public, 1800–1900*, 2nd edn (Columbus, OH, 1998), p. 362. See also William St Clair, *The Reading Nation in the Romantic Period* (Cambridge, 2004), pp. 229–31.
11. St Clair, *The Reading Nation*, p. 230.
12. *The Knickerbocker*, 9 (February 1837), p. 198.
13. For the implications of RS's classification of his 'Minor' poems, see Nicola Trott, 'Poemets and Poemlings: Robert Southey's Minority Interest', in *Robert Southey and the Contexts of English Romanticism*, ed. Lynda Pratt (Aldershot, 2006), pp. 69–86.

POEMS PUBLISHED 1794–1810

This section contains poems published by Southey between 1794–1810 not included, for reasons of space, in the 2004 edition (*RSPW*, Vol. V). They are presented here in order of publication.

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Romance

The poem is probably related to RS's fragmentary, unpublished essay 'On Romance', Bodleian Library, Eng. Misc. e. 22, ff. 129–40 (For examples of RS's early attempts at prose romances, see 'Harold', Bodleian Library, Eng. Misc. e. 21 and 'An Improbable Tale', Eng. Misc. e. 22. See also, Carnall, pp. 15–16.). The poem was dated '1792' in KESMG 1996.5.159b. It was certainly extant by 5 May 1793 when RS offered to send a copy to GCB (*CLRS*, 48). For its 'companion', see 'Poetry'. 'Romance' was published under the signature 'Bion' in *Poems* (1795) and was praised by STC as 'the best of the Odes' in the volume (*CL*, Vol. I, p. 133). It was not republished by RS.

Text: *Poems* (1795).

What wildly-beauteous form,
High on the summit of yon bicrown'd hill,
Lovely in horror, takes her dauntless stand?
Tho' speds the thunder there its deep'ning way,
Tho' round her head the lightnings play,
Undaunted she abides the storm;
She waves her magic wand,
The clouds retire, the storm is still;
Bright beams the sun unwonted light around,
And many a rising flower bedecks the enchanted ground.

Romance! I know thee now,
I know the terrors of thy brow;
I know thine aweful mien, thy beaming eye;
And lo! whilst mists arise around
Yon car that cleaves the pregnant ground!
Two fiery dragons whirl her through the sky;
Her milder sister loves to rove
Amid Parnassus'[1] laurell'd grove,
On Helicon's harmonious side,
To mark the gurgling streamlet glide;
Meantime, thro' wilder scenes and sterner skies,
From clime to clime the ardent genius flies.

She speeds to yonder shore,
Where ruthless tempests roar,

Where sturdy winter holds his northern reign,
Nor vernal suns relax the ice-pil'd plain:
Dim shadows circle round her secret seat,
Where wandering, who approach shall hear
The wild wolf rend the air;
Thro' the cloudy-mantled sky
Shall see the imps of darkness fly,
And hear the sad scream from the grim retreat;
Around her throne
Ten thousand dangers lurk, most fearful, most unknown.

Yet lovelier oft in milder sway,
She wends abroad her magic way;
The holy prelate owns her power;
In soft'ning tale relates
The snowy Ethiop's matchless charms,
The outlaw's den, the clang of arms,
And love's too-varying fates;
The storms of persecution lower,
Austere devotion gives the stern command,
'Commit yon impious legend to the fires;' —
Calm in his conscious worth, the sage retires,
And saves the invalu'd work, and quits the thankless land;
High tow'rs his name the sacred list above,
And ev'n the priest is prais'd who wrote of blameless love.

Around the tower, whose wall infolds
Young THORA's blooming charms,
Romance's serpent winds his glittering folds;
The warrior clasps his shaggy arms,
The monster falls, the damsel is the spoil,
Matchless reward of REGNER's matchless toil.

Around the patriot board,
The knights attend their lord;
The martial sieges hov'ring o'er,
Enrapt the genius views the dauntless band;
Still prompt for innocence to fight,
Or quell the pride of proud oppression's might,
They rush intrepid o'er the land;
She gives them to the minstrel lore,
Hands down her LAUNCELOT's[2] peerless name,
Repays her TRISTRAM's woes with fame;
Borne on the breath of song,
To future times descends the memory of the throng.

Foremost mid the peers of France,
ORLANDO[3] hurls the death-fraught lance;

Where DURLINDANA aims the blow,
To darkness sinks the faithless foe;
The horn with magic sound
Spreads deep dismay around;
Unborn to bleed, the chieftain goes,
And scatters wide his Paynim foes;
The genius hovers o'er the purple plain
Where OLIVERO tramples on the slain;
BAYARDO speeds his furious course,
High towers ROGERO in his matchless force.

Romance the heighten'd tale has caught,
Forth from the sad monastic cell,
Where fiction with devotion loves to dwell,
The sacred legend flies with many a wonder fraught;
Deep roll the papal thunders round,
And everlasting wrath to rebel season sound.

Hark! Superstition sounds to war's alarms,
War stalks o'er Palestine with scorching breath,
And triumphs in the feast of death;
All Europe flies to arms:[4]
Enthusiast courage spreads her piercing sound,
Devotion caught the cry, and woke the echo around.
Romance before the army flies,
New scenes await her wondering eyes;
Awhile she firms her GODFREY's throne,
And makes Arabia's magic lore her own.

And hark! resound, in mingled sound,
The clang of arms, the shriek of death;
Each streaming gash bedews the ground,
And deep and hollow groans load the last struggling breath:
Wide thro' the air the arrows fly,
Darts, shields, and swords, commix'd appear;
Deep is the cry, when thousands die,
When COEUR DE LION's[5] arm constrains to fear:
Aloft the battle-axe in air
Whirls around confus'd despair;
Nor Acre's walls can check his course,
Nor Sarzin millions stay his force.

Indignant, firm the warrior stood,
The hungry lion gapes for food;
His fearless eye beheld him nigh,
Unarm'd, undaunted, saw the beast proceed:
Romance, o'erhovering, saw the monster die,
And scarce herself believ'd the more than wond'rous deed.

And now, with more terrific mien,
She quits the sad degenerate scene;
With many a talisman of mightiest pow'r,
Borne in a rubied car, sublime she flies,
Fire-breathing griffins waft her thro' the skies;
Around her head the innocuous tempest lowers,
To Gallia's favour'd realm she goes,
And quits her magic state, and plucks her lovely rose.

Imagination waves her wizard wand,
Dark shadows mantle o'er the land;
The lightnings flash, the thunders sound,
Convulsive throbs the labouring ground;
What fiends, what monsters, circling round, arise!
High towers of fire aloft aspire,
Deep yells resound amid the skies,
Yclad in arms, to Fame's alarms
Her magic warrior flies.

By Fiction's shield secure, for many a year
O'er cooler reason held the genius rule;
But lo! CERVANTES[6] waves his pointed spear,
Nor Fiction's shield can stay the spear of ridicule.

The blameless warrior[7] comes; he first to wield
His fateful weapon in the martial field;
By him created on the view,
ARCADIA's vallies bloom anew,
And many a flock o'erspreads the plain,
And love, with innocence, assumes his reign:
Protected by a warrior's name,
The kindred warriors live to fame:
Sad is the scene, where oft from Pity's eye
Descends the sorrowing tear,
As high the unheeding chieftain lifts the spear,
And gives the deadly blow, and sees PARTHENIA die!
Where, where such virtues can we see,
Or where such valour, SIDNEY, but in thee?
O, cold of heart, shall pride assail thy shade,
Whom all Romance could fancy nature made?

Sound, Fame, thy loudest blast,
For SPENSER[8] pours the tender strain,
And shapes to glowing forms the motley train;
The elfin tribes around
Await his potent sound,
And o'er his head Romance her brightest splendors cast.
Deep thro' the air let sorrow's banner wave!