Representations of the grave in nineteenth-century English poetry:

A selected commentary.

Ph.D. Thesis submitted for examination in October 1997

by

Samantha Matthews.

Department of English, University College London.

NB. The thesis proper occupies volume I. Volume II contains appendices and other documents which may be of assistance to the examiners, including an anthology of representative poems.
Abstract.

Representations of the grave in nineteenth-century English poetry:
A selected commentary.

The Victorian 'celebration of death' is most evident to us now in large suburban cemeteries with their ostentatious monuments; yet they show only one aspect of nineteenth-century death and burial, concealing the Romantic opposition to material memorialisation which runs through the century's poetry. In this project I present readings of grave-poetry set in the socio-historical context, and explore moments of self-reflexive anxiety about personal and literary mortality, when poets contemplate their own graves, their children's graves, and the graves of precursor poets.


Chapter 1 examines poems which reflect the social history of burial in the nineteenth century, covering issues such as the country churchyard aesthetic, body-snatching, city churchyards, suburban cemeteries and cremation. Chapter 2 is concerned with the parent-poet's representation of children's graves, specifically fathers and their anxiety about disruption of the generational order. Chapter 3 discusses representations of the graves of Keats and Shelley in the Protestant Cemetery, Rome, where for example I read Adonais in the context of premature death and a Victorian myth of poetic brotherhood. Chapter 4 examines poems about the graves of five significant poets (Hemans, Wordsworth, the Brownings and Tennyson), looking at the influence of gender on tribute verse and the Romantic rejection and Victorian recuperation of Poets' Corner and the Laureateship.

The grave is a rich and varied trope, found in elegies, eulogies, ballads, devotional and consolatory verse, poems of social criticism, suicide, marginality and political injustice. The poems I discuss were derived from a survey of the period 1800-1900 on the Chadwyck-Healey English Poetry Full-Text Database, Software Version 4.0 (1995), augmented by my own research. I present some results of this survey in an appendix, with a short account of genres and tropes where graves appear, and an anthology of representative poems.
Contents.


2 Abstract.
4 List of Illustrations.
5 Acknowledgements.
6 Notes.
7 Abbreviations.
24 Chapter 1: The country churchyard aesthetic and social history of death.
70 Chapter 2: Paternal tears and little graves: fathers' responses to their children's deaths.
116 Chapter 3: Keats, Shelley, and the Protestant Cemetery, Rome.
160 Chapter 4: Pilgrimages to poets' graves.
163 Felicia Hemans.
174 William Wordsworth.
188 Elizabeth Barrett Browning and Robert Browning.
200 Alfred Tennyson.
213 Conclusion: Great poets and small poets.
235 Bibliography 1: Poets.
308 Bibliography 2: Secondary works consulted.

Volume II: Appendices and Supporting Documents.

2 Contents.
12 Notes.
Appendix 1: Survey of incidences of search terms 'grave,' 'graves,' 'tomb,' 'tombs' and 'burial' in English poetry 1800-1900.
13 1800-1835.
106 1835-1870.
209 1870-1900.
Appendix 2: Account of tropes and poem types in which graves appear in English poetry 1800-1900.
301 Description of categories.
328 Anthology.
Illustrations.

Unsourced photographs are the author's own.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Figure</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bury St. Edmunds Cathedral churchyard, Suffolk, 1996.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Metropolitan Cemetery, West Norwood, c.1907 (Friends of West Norwood Cemetery 1994).</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ilford Crematorium, interior of Columbarium (Jones and Noble 1931, p.50).</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Facsimile of three posters issued by the Cremation Society ['Adopt Cremation,' 'Cremation prevents pollution,' 'Purification by Fire Pollution by Burial'] (Jones and Noble 1931, p.139).</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>American amateur portrait of deceased child on bed between grieving parents. c. 1920 (Ruby 1994, p.56).</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Late-Victorian amateur post-mortem portrait of an infant (Linkman 1993, p.121).</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>105</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The grave of Percy Bysshe Shelley (Beck-Friis 1956, p.27).</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>142</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The graves of John Keats and Joseph Severn in the Protestant Cemetery, Rome, with the Pyramid of Caius Cestius in the background (Beck-Friis 1956, p.16).</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>155</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15a</td>
<td>177</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Oswald's Church, Grasmere (Middleton 1910, p.11).</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15b</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Wordsworth family plot, St. Oswald's churchyard, Grasmere (Middleton 1910, p.39).</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>190</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>196</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'The late Robert Browning - the Funeral Ceremony in Westminster Abbey,' January 1890 (Flood-Jones).</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>206</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'The Last Look: A Sketch at the Funeral of Lord Tennyson at Westminster Abbey yesterday,' October 1892 (Flood-Jones).</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>212</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Tennyson and Browning's Tombs in Poets' Corner,' Holland Tringham (Flood-Jones).</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Acknowledgements.

This project would not have been done without the support of a British Academy Three-year Studentship awarded in 1993-6, and a one-year teaching fellowship in 1996-7 in the English Department at University College London. I would also like to express my gratitude to the British Library, especially the North Library staff, and the University of London Library, particularly the Middlesex South Library staff for their patience while I monopolised *English Poetry*.


Other people and organisations for whose help I am grateful include: the Friends of Nunhead Cemetery, with whom I gained first-hand experience of the history and contemporary management of a great Victorian cemetery; Dawn at the Friends of Highgate Cemetery, who sought out the grave of William Canton's daughter, Winifred; Miss Reynolds in the Westminster Abbey Library who helped locate images of Poets' Corner and the funerals of Browning and Tennyson; Frank Lalor who visited and documented Felicia Hemans's memorial plaque in St. Anne's Church, Dawson Street, Dublin; the organisers of the Romantic Grave symposium held on 23 March 1996 in conjunction with the Dulwich Picture Gallery exhibition *Soane and Death*, and Roger Bowdler and Christopher Woodward who organised several sepulchral study days in 1996-7.

I would like to thank my friends and correspondents for their tolerance and conversation, particularly Maxim Anderson, Claire Lemmon and Meike Marten. Kathrina Gilitre, Peter Swaab and David Trotter read parts of the thesis and made helpful suggestions. Danny Karlin read the thesis in various permutations and responded with valuable professional advice and friendship.

I thank Bruce and Maureen Matthews, and Rebekah and Tony Clough for support, for putting up with my moods and teaching me about families.
Notes.

This project is based almost entirely on poems that are not well known. The scale of the appended material is such that I have reluctantly decided not to give the texts of these poems; however, the majority of poems discussed appear on the Chadwyck-Healey English Poetry Full-Text Database, and are therefore accessible at present through major libraries and university computer networks. Texts not on English Poetry appear in a short appendix at the end of the main text of the thesis (volume I, pp.222-34); or exceptionally in the ‘Anthology’ (volume II, pp.328-452).

All poems discussed were examined in original volumes at the British Library, but most primary texts are referenced to their line-numbering in English Poetry because of its greater accessibility. I allude to several works made up of shorter lyrics, and these are referred to by section number and line number within that section (e.g., Eugene Lee-Hamilton’s Mimma Bella, Tennyson’s In Memoriam, and John Thelwall’s ‘Parental Tears’).

Sources are identified in short form by the author’s surname, date of publication and volume, page or line numbers as appropriate. Details of these sources are given in two reference lists: one of poetry (Bibliography 1: Poets) and another of secondary and miscellaneous materials (Bibliography 2: Secondary works consulted). Bibliographic details of the 450 poets surveyed on the Chadwyck-Healey English Poetry Full-Text Database, Software Version 4.0 (1995) are reproduced from English Poetry: A Bibliography of The English Poetry Full-Text Database (1995). The context should indicate whether I am discussing poetry or prose, but in the few cases of ambiguity (such as consolation anthologies) the reference appears in both lists. Where several titles by a single author are used, they are listed alphabetically. Bibliography 1 gives full details; Bibliography 2 gives short details only.

Volume locations of cross-references within my text are made in bold type, i.e. I (volume I: The Thesis and Reference Lists) and II (volume II: Appendices and Supporting Documents).
Abbreviations.


*WAM*: Westminster Abbey Muniments [i.e., Westminster Abbey Library].
In Memoriam

Lillian Parker, Dickie Hucks.

Dedicated to

my grandparents, Cliff and Mary Lewis.

The great body of English Poetry, ... it has been remarked is more rich on the subject of sepulture than the poetry of any other nation.

Edwin Chadwick, A Supplementary Report ... into the practice of Interment in towns, 1843.¹

He must be a churl indeed, who would refuse two feet of earth to even a doubtful fame. ... Do not fear to remember too much; only be upon your guard not to forget any thing that is worthy to be remembered.

William Godwin, 'Essay on Sepulchres,' 1809.²

When I first began using the Chadwyck-Healey English Poetry Full-Text Database (hereafter English Poetry) in 1994, my purpose was to sketch a background to famous instances of a particular image in nineteenth-century poetry: the grave. I knew about the graves in The Excursion, In Memoriam and the 'Ode on the Death of the Duke of Wellington'; I knew Arnold's 'Stanzas In Memory of the Author of Obermann,' 'Haworth Churchyard' and 'Heine's Grave,' Browning's 'The Bishop Orders His Tomb at St Praxed's Church,' Swinburne's 'Ave Atque Vale,' and Dickinson and Whitman's responses to death. Given my interest in the social history of death and changes in burial practice during the century, it was important to know whether these incidences in well-known texts were typical or idiosyncratic, whether they reflected social change or the poet's subjectivity. Searching English Poetry for key words such as 'grave,' 'graveyard,' 'churchyard' or 'sepulchre,' I was overwhelmed not only by the quantity of uses, but the diversity of genre, tone and literary sophistication. Of the 1,250 poets represented in English Poetry, 450 were active in 1800-1900, and there are around 80,000 poems from that period on the database. On an initial search of the words 'grave' and 'tomb' alone the database generated up to 9,000 poems (discounting irrelevances).³ There were literal epitaphs and grave inscriptions of a few lines, and metaphorical graves in apocalyptic multi-part epics. There were lengthy ballads which used the grave to originate or terminate storytelling, and there were limited conceits. There were sensational love affairs in tombs, beautiful corpses as the object of sexual desire, and accounts where the grave was transcended by sentiment and memory.

The range and mass of this material did not simply reinforce the received wisdom that the Romantic and Victorian poets were profoundly interested in death and its rituals;⁴ it suggested that here was a significant body of poets and texts poised at a moment of resurrection. By noting a certain poem as interesting or rejecting it as banal and unreadable, I could revive a poet or relegate him or her to pre-English Poetry obscurity; the immediate problem was what makes a poem 'worthy to be remembered.' The metaphorising of this process as salvation or damnation was prompted by the topos I was researching; but it also

¹Chadwick 1843, p.131.
²Godwin 1993, pp.27-8.
³The database generated more than a thousand examples of the homograph 'grave' meaning serious or weighty, or the tag 'grave or gay.'
expressed for me in a newly dramatic form the difficulties of canonicity. Unlike the subjective critic, *English Poetry* is incapable of distinguishing the aesthetic merits of a text; mobilised by the search for a single word or phrase, it indiscriminately generates poems by (for instance) Coventry Patmore, Joseph Noel Paton and Emily Pfeiffer. This apparent lack of discrimination comprises the tool's weakness and strength. It gives the interested reader a quantity of material in a democratic and equalising environment, without prescriptions and value-judgements, but also without a sense of context. It lists devotional writers with freethinkers, working-class protest-poets with literary dilettantes, 'poetesses' with politicised women poets, Poet Laureates with virtual unknowns. In this relatively uncritical environment, many reader-assumptions and agendas are usefully bypassed; however, the concrete historical contexts of production and reception are one group of factors among many which may be obscured.

The discovery of all these grave-poems was novel and stimulating, and made me feel like a pioneer in new country; but simultaneously it was daunting and even threatening. For as I began reading these thousands of poems tangentially relevant to my project, it became apparent that I was involved in a selective process which restored many of the critical judgements the database had discarded. To adapt Godwin's warning, my fear that there was too much to remember was making me begrudge even a brief revival to these poets of 'doubtful fame.' My agenda was pragmatic: to reduce the number of poems, to find texts which complemented or opposed the canonical works I already knew, and to identify poems which might be susceptible to critical exegesis. Over the weeks I worked through these poems, pouncing on unusual or striking representations, and discarding the repetitive or irksome, my critical assessments - and my project - fundamentally changed. I became fascinated by these unfamiliar poems and whether they would be doomed to obscure, marginal lives as documentary filler or footnotes, or whether they could be redeemed critically. Many of these poets employ a communal Romantic idiom and share assumptions about the priority of nature, feeling and the family. The stylistic banality, repetition and adherence to convention which I had dismissed initially, acquired an independent significance. The canonical poets who prompted me to make the original search were repositioned, and appear in the finished thesis as significant points of reference and concern to these less known poets, but rarely as active poetic practitioners.

In order to read these poems it was necessary, in Kathleen Hickok's restatement of Nancy K. Miller's formulation about noncanonical women's poetry, to 'attempt to encounter each text "as if it had never been read, as if for the first time";' and to exercise 'critical and evaluative forbearance' (Hickok 1995, pp.13, 21). My experience suggests that in practice this edenic condition of reading remains an attempt and an ideal, particularly when so many texts are involved; but the mood of openness and receptivity it indicates, is I think appropriate to the initial reading of all poets, although considerations of gender and status may become significant later in the interpretative process. *English Poetry* makes a vast quantity of material accessible to the general reader, but criticism is still working to make it readable.

Much of the enabling work on revalorising poetry traditionally dismissed as 'minor' has been carried out by feminist critics concerned with recuperating relatively unknown women
poets. However some recent critics in this field are interrogating the effects of certain strategies, and drawing conclusions relevant to less-read poetry in general. Hickok warns against ‘the temptation to find the text we seek’ (p.21); that is, to formulate a theory around (for instance) the woman poet’s paradoxical exclusion from and imprisonment within culture, and to find poems which illustrate that theory. Hickok also cites Isobel Armstrong’s doubt that a criticism focused on incidences of female protest in poetry ‘retrieves the protest, but not the poem’ (Armstrong 1993, p.319). I would suggest that these two views, expressed in the 1995 Victorian Poetry women’s poetry special issue, have a broader relevance to the problems of value which I encountered in searching the nineteenth-century materials on English Poetry.

After the theoretical rigidity of much recent criticism, Hickok’s recommendations appear subversive in their very simplicity. She suggests prioritising the text, and finding the critical strategies which best serve it:

I want to propose an eclectic and responsive approach that allows the potential pleasures of the reader to materialize before the operations of the critic overwhelm them. ... I want to privilege the unfamiliar text itself, at least initially, rather than the critical responses to it, and I want to defer hypotheses and generalizations until the text has been allowed to breathe. (p.21)

Potentially this non-judgemental position releases the poem from some of the burdens of critical expectation, and consciously gives it breathing space. So determined are we as critics to define what is good or bad about a poem, that less-read poems are liable to be scanned and discarded.

Reading these grave-poems, it was tempting to dismiss the Romantic idiom and conventional tropes which were used until late in the century; however doing so would have obscured the important scene of the country churchyard, made it difficult to evaluate idiosyncratic transformations, and ignored the fact that many poets chose to speak in this communal voice. This is not to deny that some texts respond much more productively than others, or that some poems deserve obscurity and will not be revived by any amount of sympathetic reading and breathing space. In any mass of material, quality and interest vary widely; but poets and poems which have been forgotten, suppressed, misrepresented or seriously affected by the circumstances of their production, respond to critical strategies which are flexible, receptive and constructive.

This condition of critical open-mindedness is of course only a beginning. What the critic desires are texts which can be written about and from which a story can be made, and I suggest that ingenious theoretical models are usually poorly adapted to making the most of less-known poems. These poems resist basic tenets such as aesthetic sophistication, or postmodern emphases on disrupted discourses and subversion, and so the critic must seek different strategies. Hickok’s ‘eclectic hermeneutics’ (p.21) of women’s poetry elects non-aesthetic criteria not necessarily predicated on a discourse of social or cultural oppression, and evokes the values of new historicism and cultural studies. It embraces a variety of approaches including biography, social and historical context, reception, genre, literary history and tradition, affect, technique and style. Hickok accepts that her criteria are subjective and provisional, and offers

---

1See Hickok 1995, p.26n, for the rejection of prejudicial terms such as ‘major’ and ‘minor.’
them as a starting point for discussion and comparison since 'No aspect of critical inquiry should be rejected, and, conversely, none by itself will be sufficient to explore these many-faceted poems fully' (p.25).

These strategies, suggesting a radical revision of new critical values under feminist and new historical pressure, retain their significance as a working model when applied to the diverse body of poetry written by both sexes in the nineteenth century. The extant traditions were less troubled and politicised for male than for female poets, but I think that we are less likely to misjudge traditions, poems and individual cases by considering the range of poetry as a whole, than by depending upon one gendered tradition or critical model.

As these interpretative strategies are provisional and pragmatic, based on what 'works' for the text, the materials provided by English Poetry are not authoritative or unproblematic. Poets covered by the database are represented fairly comprehensively; but the use of the New Cambridge Bibliography of English Literature 1800-1900 (1969) (hereafter NCBEL) as a primary source inevitably excludes many marginal figures revived and discovered in the last thirty years, particularly women, minorities, anonymous, provincial and periodical poets, despite some efforts to supplement underrepresented areas.\(^1\) Equally, the generic definition of some authors as novelists or practitioners of minor fiction has led to anomalies, such as the omission of the poetry of Anne and Charlotte Brontë, George Eliot and George Meredith. Coupled with a necessarily pragmatic editorial policy which generally presents a single version of each poem, and the uneasy combination of a few scrupulous modern editions with a vast majority of unpredictable nineteenth-century first editions and Collected Poems, English Poetry is less comprehensive than it first appears. However, these provisos and cautions are hardly serious obstacles to the medium's experimental possibilities; the database has been improved considerably since its first two disk release, and further revisions are scheduled.\(^2\)

What I offer here is one possible response to these challenges. In Appendix 1, I present the results of my searches of the period 1800-1900 on the Chadwyck-Healey English Poetry Full-Text Database: Software Version 4.0 (1995b) using the keywords 'grave,' 'graves,' 'tomb,' 'tombs' and 'burial'; where the words 'cemetery' or 'churchyard' appeared with my search terms, these incidences were also recorded. In an attempt to indicate how English Poetry's agenda could be broadened, I supplemented these findings with manual volume searches.\(^3\) I retained

---

1. Daniel Karlin notes the perpetuation of NCBEL's male bias in English Poetry (English Poetry 1995a, vi).
NCBEL’s division of the nineteenth century into three periods: 1800-1835; 1835-1870; 1870-1900. Debatable as these divisions are, they help to maintain texts’ links with their historical context, and facilitate observations about broad cultural shifts in the use of certain tropes. Each incidence of a keyword was checked for relevance, keyed in and grouped under poet name, poem title and line number according to English Poetry, or referenced to a page number where texts were taken from other sources. Thus it is possible to make a rough evaluation of an individual poet or group’s response to the materiality of death by the number of poems in which the grave image occurs, and the depth of that examination by how frequently the grave is named in each text.

Inevitably my restricted search terms exclude poems which refer to the grave obliquely or euphemistically as a ‘sepulchre,’ ‘last home,’ ‘last rest,’ ‘long home,’ ‘vault,’ ‘cell,’ or by its marker (the ‘memorial’ or ‘monument’). As users of English Poetry know, successful searching depends upon the careful selection of key words. My search terms are biased towards materiality, and contain the assumption that the grave will be referred to directly; consequently my study emphasises the poet’s engagement with real and rhetorical burial-sites. Cross-checking combined searches indicates that relatively seldom is the grave described without one of the search terms. However, the grave can be the real focus or subject of a poem in which it is not explicitly described, and one important line of further inquiry suggested by my study is this rhetorical technique of sensitive or tactful evasion of the grave.

This survey suggests that use of the five keywords was consistent and widespread in poetry up to 1870: there are 9,788 incidences in the early period, rising to 10,484 in the mid-century. There is a significant decline in the late period to 6,806, but since the total number of poets included is smaller, the actual decline is less dramatic than at first appears. It reflects a move away from representing death and the grave in material terms, towards a more euphemistic and metaphorical approach, with an emphasis on forgetting rather than remembering death. With the works of another eighty poets, included to fill obvious gaps and to broaden the impression of the century’s poetry, more than 12,200 poems appear in the survey.

While it is difficult to calculate the density of usage of these terms, because English Poetry counts epigraphs of a few lines and epics of several hundred pages both as single poems, when the number of incidences in any one poet’s works was averaged with the total number of their

---

1Browning’s ‘Bad Dreams. IV’ is a good example of a grave-poem missed by my search:

It happened thus: my slab, though new,
Was getting weather-stained, — beside,
Herbage, balm, peppermint o’ergrew
Letter and letter: till you tried
Somewhat, the Name was scarce descried.

(Browning 1888-94, v.XVII, p.26, 1-5)

2For example see my discussion of parents’ attitudes to their children’s graves on pp.73, 89-99.

3English Poetry includes 132 poets in the early period, 134 in the mid-century, and only 109 in the late period.

4The works of 14 poets were added to the early period (including a few exceptional poets who appear in the 1750-1800 period in English Poetry, but whose influence was felt strongly in the nineteenth-century, such as Blake or Burns), 23 to the middle period, and 44 to the late.
poems, the result usually confirmed my reading experience of which poets were most concerned with the grave image.¹

In Appendix 2, I present a brief descriptive account of genres and tropes in which the grave is significant, and a short anthology of poems as a guide to further research. Categories are illustrated by examples which can usually be found in Appendix 1, and are referenced back to Bibliography 1. While I have tried to reconcile classifications with traditional generic categories, my policy of allowing the texts to suggest tropes and themes, rather than seeking predetermined motifs, has resulted in a few idiosyncratic groupings. This subjective analysis was also created by the variety of genres in which the grave figures. Single poems might often be allocated to any one of five or six different categories, and prioritising one context above another is neither straightforward nor accurate. We are familiar with aspects of thanatological literary tradition, such as the domestic or public elegy, eulogy, pastoral, memento mori and epitaph; while I discuss important poems in the elegy tradition (such as Adonais and In Memoriam), and consider my approach corresponds to a materialist reading of elegy, many grave-poems are not elegies in any strict sense; the ‘grave’ is a subject or trope which is not widely recognised by literary history.

The classifications identified range from personal and domestic elegies for children, parents, friends, spouses and pets, to public odes for royalty, statesmen, and military heroes. There are lyrics where the speaker (or poet) chooses his or her own grave, and poems of literary pilgrimage where aftercoming poets position themselves in relation to precursors at the grave. There are genre poems on the graves of marginal social groups, such as the poor, insane, isolated or anonymous, which often employ a rhetoric of explicit social criticism. The grave is also used for satirical and comic ends. Poems about the graves of other marginal figures such as exiles and emigrants share significant characteristics with those about sea and desert graves or suicides' burial. Aside from elegies about women which define them by familial relationship, one tradition focuses explicitly on the graves of beautiful young women, and these often resemble Gothic representations of aestheticised or eroticised graves where the living lover pines for the dead, or the dead person actually speaks from the tomb. Devotional poems range from sonnets meditating on a scriptural text, to biblical epics. There are many meditations on mortality, usually located in a burial-place and strongly influenced by Gray's 'An Elegy written in

¹Typically the average of these two figures was 0.2-0.4; I designated averages of 0.8 or above as unusually high. In the early period the grave was referred to most by: Caroline Bowles, Henry Boyd, Sir Samuel Brydges, Byron, Thomas Campbell, Joseph Cottle, George Croly, George Daniel, Ebenezer Elliott, Felicia Hemans, J. A. Heraud, William Herbert, Samuel Ireland, M. G. Lewis, Charles Lloyd, H. F. Lyte, John Mitford, Mary Russell Mitford, David Macbeth Moir, James Montgomery, John Moultrie, Ann Radcliffe, William Stewart Rose, Robert Southey, Thomas Tallfourd, Henry Kirke White and John Wilson.


a Country Churchyard,' while a smaller group elaborates that poem's contrast between noble and humble dead. Another large group of poems evokes abstract and metaphorical graves in a melancholic effusion, while many long ballads use the grave to organise a narrative. Mythological stories with resurrection motifs, many of Celtic origin, may have a contemporary application which allies them with uses of the grave as a metaphor for political oppression, revolution or anti-patriotic protest, and in turn intersect with the group focusing on marginal social figures.

Even this short résumé indicates surprising as well as expected contexts: the grave is a conventional motif in poetry, but also a flexible and fertile hybrid. I concur with Hickok's wish 'to register and retain the uniqueness of each poem, even when ... many similar poems can be collected and shown to constitute a genre or tradition in which a theme is consistently treated with similar imagery, form, and rhetoric' (p.13). These traditions can be remarkably consistent, as for example in poems about the slave's grave;¹ but an apparent lack of originality is not necessarily a justification for discarding the poets who sustain the tradition. Comparing superficially similar terms of reference, as in comparisons of different textual versions, can emphasise the different nuances which contribute to a poet's voice, while an ironised or divided interpretation may be suggested precisely in these minute distinctions.

Linda K. Hughes proposed that the issue of Victorian Poetry which I have taken as a sample of critical strategies, was intended 'to indicate the range of material available for research and to encourage reopened narratives of individual poets and of what constitutes "Victorian poetry"' (Hughes 1995, p.5). These objectives harmonise with the methodology I have used, as does Hughes's recommendation that 'complex accounts of historical context (including interrelationships of female and male writers as well as constraints of class and locale)' (p.6) might avoid the overdetermined readings which have sometimes marked feminist-influenced responses to less-read poems. In this case, the primary historical context is developments in cultural approaches to burial during the nineteenth century. British preoccupation with death shifted from grave-robbing to cremation by way of the exposure of burial abuses, campaigns for sanitary reform, the closure of urban burial-grounds and the opening of private then public cemeteries.² Change in burial-practice is traumatic for any society, but when that change is sudden, far-reaching and forced by dangers to public health, the impact must be great. By focusing on the grave I seek to bring attention to the importance of the body after death and when it is out of sight, and explore poets' rhetorical negotiation of this site.³

¹See II, pp.320, 429.
²This emphasis on historical specificity has limited my use of works on death culture in France and America. Important books such as Philippe Ariès's The Hour of Our Death or David Sloane's The last great necessity present histories which are broadly comparable but differ significantly in detail from Britain's. I refer to American texts only where they have a clear influence on British culture.
³Attitudes to the body's condition in the grave are relatively unexplored in mainstream thanatological researches: 'In death education we tend to focus on the dying process, on bereavement, and on ways of nurturing and caring for those who are grieving. Educators rarely spend much time, if at all, on the processes that take place to the dead body itself' (Wrenn 1996, p.87).
The moral purpose of much grave-poetry suggests that the use of conventional tropes and imagery does not simply indicate a paucity of ideas. Such poems often commemorate a person who has died, or remind the living that we too will die, and must look after our immortal souls. Mortality is a universal fact, and so the language of mortality tends to address us generally rather than individually. Wordsworth's recommendations for epitaph-writing in the 'Essays on Epitaphs' include using 'the general language of humanity as connected with the subject of death' (Owen and Smyser 1974, v.1, p.57) and that the memorialist should describe a dead man's character in a way that 'spiritualises and beautifies' it, since a memorial is a public object with a moral and instructive role. As part of this generalising and equalising purpose, he says, 'in no place are we so much disposed to dwell upon those points, of nature and condition, wherein all men resemble each other, as ... by the side of the grave' (p.59).^1

This explicit notice of the material grave-site recognises the identification of the living with the dead, but also suggests that this equality of all men in the sight of death tends towards the use of an accessible and shared language to express likeness and common feeling. Thus the affirmative gestures towards Christian salvation which recur in most genres of grave-poetry, indicate at once (usually) sincere hopes for future life, and are a means of universalising specific experience; for while denominations may conflict, most creeds embrace the immortality of the soul in some form. Such conventional language also performs a ritual function. The twentieth-century passion for modernist individualism has led to a caricaturing of conventional language as imitative, passive and the preserve of the cowardly and unoriginal; and in some cases this is true. However when imaginatively handled such language can approach the transcendent function then associated with it. Faced with the trauma of loss, the decision to use phrases and vocabulary apparently burnished by centuries of use, a 'general language of humanity,' suggests an ambitious intent as often as it does a weak one.

After giving these poems (as far as possible) a fair hearing, and setting them in the context of contemporary attitudes to disposal, commemoration and burial landscape, I reconsidered the question which first interested me in grave poetics: how does the fear of death interact with the creativity of a person who identifies him or herself as a poet? I follow Elizabeth Bishop in believing that 'there is an element of mortal panic and fear underlying all works of art,'^2 and find this creative (and destructive) energy especially pertinent to poetic representations of the grave. Our private imaginings of death tend to run to the extremes so thrillingly exploited by gothic; when externalised morbid fantasy can have a cathartic effect, not least in showing manners of death and horror which are unlikely to be replicated in our own lives and deaths. Fictionalising and representing death gives a sense of control over the unimaginable and uncontrollable, by limiting - if only temporarily - the anarchic potential of loss of consciousness and physical decay. However the most popular mode for framing and controlling the idea of death was not gothic, but pastoral. Faced with an almost gothic reality, the imagination reverted

---

^1Wordsworth's 'Essay on Epitaphs' was more influential than Godwin's 'Essay on Sepulchres.' First published in Coleridge's periodical The Friend in 1810, excerpts were quoted as an authority in Edwin Chadwick's A Supplementary Report on the results of a special inquiry into the practice of interment in towns (1843), and it was reprinted in Joseph Snow's Lyra Memorialis (1847).

to a more reassuring and contained image, typified by Thomas Gray's churchyard; the social and existential anxieties latent in nineteenth-century attitudes to death sustained the literary and cultural norm of the peaceful rural churchyard. These conventional values are also reflected in poems of homage to older, greater poets which are often located at or refer to the grave. Tribute-poetry is an inherently conservative genre which, like much of the less-read material on English Poetry 1800-1900, is elegiac in impulse, defending and upholding an anachronistic near-religious zeal for poetry and the bardic authority of great poets. For many, personal ambition was constrained or tempered by a lingering faith in this cult of authority, represented most strikingly by Wordsworth and Tennyson.

However, conventionalising impulses coexist with the author's desire to control his or her own destiny, to personalise ending - and to keep writing. The writer dramatises and fictionalises his or her life-experiences in mediated forms, and the anticipation of death and burial is in certain respects just another of these experiences. In terms of historical fact, the grave is a site of uncertainty, violence, disgust and even depravity; in writerly terms it is a site of passivity and silence which paradoxically can only be described using the vocabulary of life. The writer responds to this anticipated loss of articulation and control, by asserting the individual and personal as a protest against death's wordless anonymity. Composition is a hopeless defence against inevitable decomposition, and writing about the grave is a way of trying to articulate the inexpressible, to replace the abstract and unknown with familiar and consoling images.

Thus poets of the grave are caught in a double bind: on one hand, they are attracted to a timeless image of death in nature, expressed in universal and transcendent language which will voice human and spiritual longings; on the other they strive to make individual rhetorical gestures in order to leave an idiosyncratic stamp on the world after death. This paradox articulates two fundamental and coexisting attitudes: the conscious will to accept death as inevitable, and the usually less conscious desire to fight against this inevitability. The tension between overt acceptance and covert refusal can be observed in most poems representing the grave. The ostensible 'message' of the poem generally harmonises with the universalising and accepting impulse; however where questions of individual creativity are at issue (as when a father writes about his child's grave, or a poet contemplates the grave of a precursor poet), the dissenting and personal voice may become more audible.

My conviction that the need to write is psychologically motivated by anxiety ultimately fuelled by fear of death, and by the desire to speak after a period of repression or to compensate for a felt lack, associates my critical approach with influential texts such as Harold Bloom's The

---

1 Herbert F. Tucker's review essay on Isobel Armstrong's Victorian Poetry (1993) suggests the contemporary relevance of this critical question; he says the book offers 'worthy insights into the elegiac bases of Victorian poetry ... The dialectic whereby pain is repeatedly honoured, and interpretively overcome, may be at once the most personal thing about VP[Armstrong's book] and the most Victorian' (Tucker 1995 p.187).

2 John Critchley Prince's 'The Poets' begins 'Oh! how deeply I venerate, how passionately I admire the Poets of all ages and climes' and ends 'Blessings on the Poets — I love them all!' (Prince 1847, pp.178-9).

3 See Stewart 1984, p.11.

4 See II, pp.320-1, 429-30.
Anxiety of Influence and The Map of Misreading, or Garrett Stewart's Death Sentences. Bloom's assertion in The Map of Misreading (1975) that 'a poem is written to escape dying,' that 'poems are refusals of mortality' (p.19), is also pertinent to the elegiac and commemorative themes of this project, since most of these poems bear the ironic stamp of their critical mortality. According to Bloom's thesis, this makes them failures, and critical concern with them is symptomatic of a disastrous revisionary regression. I do not find Bloom's masculinist, canonical and psychoanalytic dogmatism sympathetic, and clearly his emphasis does small service to less-read poems.¹

Many versions and revisions of Bloom's theory of poetic tradition have been posited.² I seek to reapply the idea that 'Initial love for the precursor's poetry is transformed rapidly enough into revisionary strife, without which individuation is not possible' (p.10), in a noncanonical critical environment. My revision of Bloomian influence theory shifts the focus from intergenerational rivalry, 'misprision' of 'strong' poets and even from 'individuation,' to the different forms such relationships may take for less-read poets.³ Instead of Bloom's precursors and epheses, Oedipal sons and warring brothers, I posit a less aggressive familial metaphor which gives room for subtler gradations of hostility and love, and is more accessible to female influence.⁴ I regard poetic tradition and (inter)relationship as a complex of kin-like relations, which is sometimes manifested as an aggressive conflict between son and father, but includes other more ambiguous sororal and constructive associations.

This preoccupation with the family is historically appropriate to the nineteenth-century cults of domesticity and maternity, pertinent to the dominant tradition which constructed the grave as a home-like and private place, and is an attempt to make the generational model more flexible and inclusive. This familial metaphor inevitably retains some psychoanalytic associations with Freud's 'family romance.' No single psychoanalytic model of family relations is consistently enabling when applied to a private person's development or a poet's relation to his precursors and peers. At the risk of oversimplification, I prefer to evoke plainer experiential concepts, again based in the historical context.

Many nineteenth-century middle-class authorities propounded a model of the family which was hierarchical and rigid, organised to cultivate moral and religious health in the rising generation. The forms of this ideal family varied, from a dignified miniature of the stratified social order, with the paterfamilias presiding over carefully moulded and strictly controlled wife

¹E.g., 'Strong poets are infrequent ... Browning, Whitman, Dickinson are strong, as are the HighRomantics, and Milton may be taken as the apotheosis of strength. Poetic strength comes only from a triumphant wrestling with the greatest of the dead, and from an even more triumphant solipsism' (Bloom 1975, p.9).
³See Bloom 1976, p.2: 'A poetic "text," as I interpret it, is not a gathering of signs on a page, but is a psychic battlefield upon which authentic forces struggle for the only victory worth winning, the divinating triumph over oblivion'; Bloom's antithetical criticism succeeds by a process of stringent selection, such as subjectively deciding that certain privileged prose-writers are 'poets.'
⁴I would however distance my model from some nineteenth-century versions of this idea, such as George Barnett Smith's sentimental questioning whether it is more accurate to describe Elizabeth Barrett Browning as 'Tennyson's sister' or 'Shakspere's [sic] daughter.' Henry James reviewed Smith's Poets and Novelists and impishly extended the conceit to 'Wordsworth's niece' and 'Swinburne's aunt' (James 1875, p.422).
and children (see Figure 1, p.20), to a Romantic union of affection and unselfish mutual care. The popular Victorian novelists propounded these domestic ideals by juxtaposing the fates of irregular and vicious families with those of the idealised. Amidst the broken homes and dysfunctional families of *Bleak House*, the contrasted Jellyby and Bagnet families suggested that a well-ordered and respectable family depended on moral health and conviction rather than money.¹ Regardless of how far real families differed from the model, with their scandalous separations, single parents, childlessness or infidelity, public faith in it remained strong.

I found the cult of domestic and familial affection to be particularly strong in these poems, although striking ambivalences and protests against the ideal, and its effect on women specifically, appear in the period 1870-1900. The priority of the mother as a force for moral good and social cohesion is an important counter to paternalistic interpretations of history. Given the conservative and conventionalising effect of the fear of death, it is not surprising that the cult of domestic values is so strongly upheld in poems about family deaths and graves.² Death constitutes a threat to the family's integrity, and this fear of fragmentation often inspires compensatory gestures and exaggerated statements of faith in familial continuity and in the afterlife.³ Such appeals are seldom unqualified by indications of the speaker's deep regret and fond memories of the deceased, and these mildly contradictory sentiments effectively express the gap between intellectual conviction that the dead are saved, and emotional regret for their loss.

I believe that each individual carries a private sense of what the family should be, and measures his or her own circumstances against this unseen ideal. In favourable situations this fantasy family matches closely to the reality, and of course involves none of the powerful involuntary emotions generated by actual familial relationships. But under stress individuals see deficiencies, absences or injustices which give these fantasies a greater emotional significance. I cannot speculate on the circumstances which make someone a writer, and for many of the nineteenth-century poets with whom I am concerned, writing is less a Romantic vocation than a labour, occupation, pastime or habit; but the impulse to write is frequently linked to the desire to create an alternative reality and compensate for lack.⁴

The act of writing is at once communicative and isolated, out-reaching and self-referential, and this approximates to my sense of the individual's ambivalent relation to the family. Family members may be emotionally bonded by a sense of blood likeness, a similarity

---

¹The Bagnets are the only remotely promising family group in the novel, although the next generation manage to redeem their backgrounds; while Mr. Bagnet is posited ironically as the arbiter of discipline, Mrs. Bagnet is the true source of moral and domestic order.

²John Wolfe has recently suggested that this familial cult extended to public figures. In reading late-Victorian memorial sermons he found that there was a 'growing tendency in this period for people to identify their personal bereavements with those of the Royal family: thus the Duke of Clarence was every middle-aged parent's rising hope and every young woman's fiancé, just as Queen Victoria was to be everyone's mother and grandmother and Edward VII everyone's father' (Wolffe 1996, p.293).

³Compare Robert Southey's letter to his daughters in July 1826: 'Did we consider these things wisely, we should perceive how little it imports who may go first, who last; ... You know how I loved your dear sister, my sweet Isabel, who is now gathered to that part of my family and household (a large one now!) which is in Heaven' (Southey 1850, v.V, pp.256-7).

⁴See Bloom 1975, p.39: 'Teaching ... is necessarily a branch of erotics, in the wide sense of desiring what we have not got, of redressing our poverty, of compounding with our fantasies.'
Figure 1. Francis Chantrey. Monument to David Pike Watts. 1817-26. Marble, life-size. llam, Staffordshire. The patriarch is portrayed blessing and parting from his wife and children, however his elevated position suggests that he will remain the family's head; family unity transcends death and the grave. See pp.18-19, also 75-6, 100-6.
and identification which makes their interests unite; at the same time, the passing of time brings divisive changes to the family's hierarchical structure, and the authorial impulse often involves individuation and separation from the larger unit.

This awareness of family shapes my concern with the biography of these less-read poets. Nineteenth-century families were extended and multi-generational, and these large complex units would often co-habit. I am concerned with details such as whether the poet wrote at home, how much time he or she spent directly caring for, playing with or nursing their children, and how they responded to deaths of family and friends, especially of their own children. Thus the Bloomian psychoanalytic preoccupation with literary fathers is literalised and historicised by investigation of the poet's multiple private identities as parent, child, sibling, spouse, soulmate and so on.

This approach also offers a fresh perspective on the poet's negotiation of the future. For Bloom the past tradition is almost always triumphant, and the nineteenth-century poet is doomed to retrospection, repetition and pining to be Milton. However, poets who were also parents regarded their children's future in a way which qualifies this combative view. The child's survival into a future inaccessible to the poet affirms personal continuity through the creation of flesh by flesh, physical resemblance, perpetuation of family name, moral values and communal memory. Thus for a poet who is also a parent, the ambition to write great poetry may be less dominant, or at least differently arranged, than for someone without that experience; making children, like making poems, offers a negotiation of the future and hope of immortality. Where Bloom believed that Romanticism was 'appalled by its own overt continuities, and vainly but perpetually fantasizes some end to repetitions' (Bloom 1975, p.36), I suggest that many uncanonical Romantic and post-Romantic poets pursued and validated continuity in their writing as in their parenting. Presumably Bloom would see this as slavish imitation, confirmation of inferiority and creative death; in my less heroic view of poetic aspiration, poets might seek individuation precisely by re-using familiar tropes and motifs. Protected by respectful redeployment of the tradition, independent gestures may have a far smaller compass, but they are made possible in the humble transformation of the familiar.

This grounding in experience is an important influence on how graves were represented in poetry; for more than most literary images and tropes, the poet's imagining of a grave is likely to be directed by personal experience. Even casual contact with death and its rituals can create a sense of personal anxiety or crisis, encouraging self-reflexivity or selfishness; we suffer at the death of another because we are deprived of them, but we also fear for the future moment of our own death. This anxiety for the self touches every poet's representation of a grave, although it may be only a trace in texts with strong devotional or consolatory intent. Every grave

---

1 Jürgen Schlaeger's remark suggests parallels between writing biography and grave-poems: 'In the face of a meaningless death, biography gives life an extension. It is, as such, one of the most successful efforts at secular resurrection. ... Biography pits the abundance of past life against the present monotony of death.' Life in biography is luxuriant, death is sterile' (Schlaeger 1995, p.68).

2 In Camberwell New Cemetery in 1994 I saw the new grave of a middle-aged woman decorated with verbal floral tributes. They spelt out 'We love you sister,' 'Daughter,' 'Auntie Debbie,' and 'Mum,' and these multiple relationships suggested to me that authorial identity should be balanced with various familial identities.
is potentially the poet's own, or that of a loved one, and this image of terminated creativity haunts contemplations of past and future. Behind most textual graves, even some of the more abstractly treated, there are memories of material graves, and beyond that are memories of the beloved dead; but these formative models are indivisible from the individual's anxiety about the end of his own consciousness. Like Scrooge guided through Christmases past, present and future only to arrive at his own headstone, ultimately the individual cannot deflect the grave; only the author can stage this triumph in writing.

Scrooge's story is a helpful illustration of this thanatological primal scene. As the Victorian cult of Christmas was intimately related to the sanctifying of domestic affection, Scrooge's denial of family, festivity, compassion or affection show he is a lost soul. The grave presented to him in Stave Four by the grim silent spirit of Christmas yet to come is symbolic and drawn from life. It lies in one of the repulsive city churchyards which will haunt my first chapter, boxed in by the homes of the living, glutted with death, perpetuated even in 'the growth of vegetation's death, not life' (Dickens 1971, p.124). While A Christmas Carol's overdetermined narrative leaves the reader in no doubt of the man's identity, Scrooge denies the self-reflexive significance: 'Here, then, the wretched man whose name he had now to learn, lay underneath the ground.' The deathlike guiding spirit points doggedly at the end he must face, and only after negotiation and delay does Scrooge face his nemesis: 'Scrooge crept towards it, trembling as he went; and following the finger, read upon the stone of the neglected grave his own name, EBENEZER SCROOGE.' This encounter with the ultimate memento mori image makes a powerful end to Scrooge's lesson; but because this is a dream-vision, he has the chance to come back from the grave and redeem himself. In a similar way the poet's encounter with the grave provides a strongly creative and life-affirming impulse, renewing the individual's contract with life through varied rhetorical strategies.

The poet invokes the grave to transcend and control it, and incorporates it into poems to deny its power over life and creativity. The grave is the creative artist's ultimate obstacle, but it is defused or distanced by troping and transformation into a literary medium, particularly where the speaker sets up a dialogue with the dead, using direct address or soliloquy to revive them for the poem's duration. The grave's lethal challenge to poetic identity haunts these poems, whether the grave belongs to the poet, a child, a friend or lover, or to members of an extended metaphorical family of close friends, sympathetic creative artists, and precursor poets. Yet at the same time poets reveal a desire to retain or preserve the grave's image within their poems. If we generally regard the grave with abhorrence, we must to some degree learn to love the specific burial-place of a loved person, and by textualising the grave this loving memory stands more chances of preservation within the broader cultural memory. For this reason I have mostly discussed poems which affect to represent real graves, churchyards and cemeteries, and in which the grave has some peculiar or personal interest for the speaker. This lyric mode and personal investment is also conducive to moments where divisions between imagination, literary

---

1In the original engraving for this scene, the last of the spirits is portrayed as a black block, poised between the form of an erect coffin and a primitive monument; only a skeletal hand pointing down to the grave is picked out by the moonlight which reveals Scrooge's cowering figure and inscribed name.
representation and materiality are disturbed or transgressed, as the poet tries to bring the grave into the poem, so making it the passive object of his or her own creation.

The groups of poems I discuss at length illustrate a few of the different generational relations and subject positions which might be significant for the grave-poet. Initially I concentrate on self-reflexive anxiety about the grave through individual reactions to changes in burial practice. In the rest of the thesis I explore two contrasted but intimately related themes; parents' poems on the deaths and graves of their children, and poets' responses to the deaths and graves of their literary parents. I have consciously made a division between poems which originate in domestic and private experience (Chapters 1 and 2), and those which stem ostensibly from literary and public impulses (Chapters 3 and 4). Thus the critical focus moves from domestic graves to public, literary graves and monuments which have a broad or national significance. By juxtaposing these private and public impulses, I wish to suggest that the emotional drives concerned are actually closely related, and that the familial attitudes taken in poems on a beloved child's grave, have a metaphorical significance in tribute-elegies on the graves of precursor-poets. This contention is supported by close correspondences between the child-elegies of Chapter 2 and the tribute-poems to Keats, in particular, examined in Chapter 3.

As I have said, my intention was to shift the masculinist bias of Bloom's ‘anxiety of influence’ thesis towards a more inclusive and feminised model, and to suggest the assimilation of male and female poets within a shared tradition. However it has become evident that several of the themes I researched are written about most fully and directly by male writers; nineteenth-century women wrote less about their dead children's graves than men did, and they found the genre of tribute-poetry less compulsive. As a result, the work of male poets figures more prominently in my argument. Gender has a small effect on how poets react to topics of general social concern, such as body-snatching or city burial-grounds, but its effects are wide-reaching where male and female experience diverges. I have indicated some of the different approaches women poets make to these subjects in order to suggest the interesting work waiting to be done on the distinctive masculine and feminine conventions of grave-poetry.

---

¹Only comparatively rarely do nineteenth-century poets write about their actual parents and literary offspring.
Chapter 1: The country churchyard aesthetic and social history of death.

Oh! how I hate the cumbrous pride
Of plume and pall and scutcheon'd hearse,
And all the rank and ready tide
Of venal prose and lying verse.

Nor in the city's churchyard, rife
With close compacted crowds of dead,
And clogged with thoughts of stir and strife,
Would I consent to lay my head.

John Kenyon, 'Written in a Country Churchyard,' 1-8. ¹

John Kenyon's decisive rejection of two possible burials places him with virtually every poet who wrote about graves in the nineteenth century. While the poem's regular four-stressed lines and blunt alliteration may give the reader little aesthetic satisfaction, 'Written in a Country Churchyard' is an exemplary model of how poets imagine the grave. In the first stanza Kenyon dismisses the old-fashioned heraldic funeral, where publicity matters more than private feeling, and posthumous display is purchased independently of merit. The undertaker's trappings are bought in the same way as the 'venal prose and lying verse' of obituary, biography, tribute-verse and epitaph, and all indicate a self-esteem which is almost materially 'cumbrous' in its outward signs. The second stanza's urban grave is both a contrast to and extension of the first; the crowded graves suggest the opposite end of the social scale, where there is no money for display and little pride or even dignity, yet the accumulation of nouns indicates that both are products of a debased and materialistic culture. At one extreme, the poet shuns public and worldly commemoration; at the other, he does not 'consent' to obscurity amidst stifling 'crowds of dead.'

With rare exceptions, nineteenth-century poets celebrated a grave which was not stately, public, urban or crowded. These negative criteria were answered by an iconography with a long tradition, and in making this choice such poems are direct inheritors of Thomas Gray's 'An Elegy written in a Country Churchyard,' first published in an eleven-page booklet in 1751, and often cited as the most famous poem ever for its enduring popularity in innumerable editions.² Not only does the poem end with an 'Epitaph' for the melancholy poet, but its author was buried in the churchyard rumoured to be the poem's inspiration. Individual writers described this rustic churchyard in terms ranging from conventional abstraction to eccentric particularity, but variations do little to disturb the churchyard's symbolic values. The rustic grave was natural, peaceful, homely and stable, close enough to places of habitation for mourners to visit and

¹Kenyon 1838, p.124.
²See II, pp.314, 381-3. It was republished on its own, with engravings, in collected editions of Gray's poetry, and in anthologies of death meditations with poets of the more hectic 'Grave-yard' school. Partnered with Robert Blair's 'The Grave' it ran through at least twelve editions between 1761 and 1817 alone. Blair's poem was also revived by William Blake's celebrated engravings (1808). The popular design for 'Death's Door' shows an aged man crossing the threshold of a massive stone tomb, while the youthful, muscular resurrected soul gazes radiantly towards Heaven from the roof; Walt Whitman modelled his tomb from 'Death's Door.'
remember, but separate and private enough for eternal rest, untroubled by curiosity, spite or disturbance (see Figures 2 and 3 on p.26). Avoiding extremes of publicity and obscurity, the lyric speaker imagined a quiet grave in nature, which was then immortalised in the poem. John Kenyon’s choice, anticipated by the title’s quotation from Gray, is specific but typical. He chooses a churchyard in the Quantocks’ rolling agricultural uplands, where the simple church is framed by ‘the coppice clustering green’ (11). He seeks a ‘quiet nook’ and ‘place of resting’ (17-18) with a loved one, beneath a ‘broad majestic oak’ (19):

But o’er the turf let sun and air
And dew their blessed influence fling,
And rosy children gather there
The earliest violets of the spring;

There let the cuckoo’s oft-told tale
Be heard at flush of morning light;
And there the pensive nightingale
Chaunt requiem half the summer night. (25-32)

Decorated simply by turf and violets, the grave is united with the elements, which cast a benediction over the scene. Healthy flower-like children pick flowers symbolising memory in a balmy almost timeless landscape; the seasons change only from spring to summer, while birdsong ritually signals the reassuring alternation of day and night. Only the nightingale’s ‘requiem’ suggests death, and this is less memento mori than Keatsian echo.

In other poems, the tree is a yew, cypress or laurel; daisies or lilies grow and the grave is marked with a modest stone; but these details do not fundamentally change the image’s meaning. The country churchyard is a homely burial-place, where the dead are remembered by the local community as they go to worship, the grave is untroubled by interference or development, and seasonal cycles symbolise continuity and minimise deathly associations. By choosing this grave at Broomfield, Somerset, Kenyon implied that death was not the end of life. Many poets were more dogmatic about salvation and spiritual transcendence of the earthly body; death cannot be avoided, but here its harsher manifestations are suppressed. The poet encourages our complicity in the benign self-deception that a beautiful and peaceful grave makes death less terrible.

‘Written in a Country Churchyard’ is a poetic last will and testament, a document which anticipates the poet’s grave, and directs survivors how to arrange the funeral to show most respect. This proleptic movement, which speculates on a future time when the poet’s consciousness has ceased, is a gesture of control which indicates a will to continue life; what (or

---

1Compare the churchyards in ‘The Widow and Her Son,’ ‘Rural Funerals’ and ‘The Pride of the Village’ in Washington Irving’s Sketch Book (1820).

2Christopher Wordsworth was one of many who made substantial claims for the churchyard’s moral effect. ‘It is … favourable to religious meditation and prayer. The influences of air and sky, sun and stars, and the vicissitudes of the seasons, and the ever varying vegetation of shrubs and flowers blend their inaudible harmonies with the teaching of Holy Scripture, and with the solemn thoughts of Death, Judgement, Resurrection, and Eternity, breathed in silent and ceaseless eloquence from the graves’ (C. Wordsworth 1874, Preface).

3Compare II, p.62. When Kenyon died on 3 December 1856, he was buried in his second wife’s family vault in Lewisham churchyard.
Figure 2. Bury St. Edmunds Cathedral churchyard, Suffolk, 1995. This image of leaning headstones touched by early evening sun may catch the mood of Gray's 'Elegy,' but the country churchyard in poems is rarely found in reality. If this place of grassy hummocks and wildflowers ever existed, it has been erased by generations of increasingly uniform funerary monuments.

Figure 3. Typical body stones in the churchyard of the Ancient Mother of Churches, Stoke Newington, London 1995. The humble and natural grave idealised by poets resists visual presentation - a grave without a marker is virtually indistinguishable from any unconsecrated area of turf. See pp.28-30.
who) is this landscape for if not the poet and his readers' vicarious satisfaction? This self-delusive impulse preoccupies Alfred Tennyson in one of the earlier lyrics of *In Memoriam.* Tortured with anxiety the speaker imagines Arthur Hallam's body being transported by sea:

So bring him: we have idle dreams:  
This look of quiet flatters thus  
Our home-bred fancies: O to us,  
The fools of habit, sweeter seems

To rest beneath the clover sod,  
That takes the sunshine and the rains,  
Or where the kneeling hamlet drains  
The chalice of the grapes of God; (X, 9-16)

Here is the country churchyard, its meadow-like turf sprinkled with wildflowers, lying subject to the weather under an open sky, absorbing the elemental nourishment of sun and rain. The members of an intimate community worship together, but in Tennyson's image the people are subsumed into one inanimate form which uncouthly 'drains' the communion cup. This hint of satire suggests the speaker's irritation at his participation in such 'idle dreams'; the churchyard is peaceful, but the speaker is uneasy about the meaning of this imagined rustic grave.

Tennyson's recognition that this fancy is self-motivated is unusual. The speaker is one of 'us,' 'The fools of habit' who embrace a comforting delusion that it is better for the dead to rest at home than to be stirred by the rhythm of waves deep in the ocean; but he acknowledges that it can make no difference to the dead man where he lies. This concern about destination is self-reflexive, a product of the mourner's anxiety about his friend, and of his own fear of death. Hallam's final journey should give his friend little anxiety - the nightmare of a near-brother's death has already been realised - but the churchyard for which he is destined appears a safe harbour, a place of rest. When the body finally arrives and is buried, the speaker knowingly clings to what small consolation the country churchyard can give:

'Tis well; 'tis something; we may stand  
Where he in English earth is laid,  
And from his ashes may be made  
The violet of his native land.

'Tis little; but it looks in truth  
As if the quiet bones were blest  
Among familiar names to rest  
And in the places of his youth. (XVIII, 1-8).

The halting repetition of ' 'Tis well,' ' 'Tis little' suggests how grudgingly the speaker admits any comfort, but there is 'something.' Hallam's grave is at home in two ways; it is 'in English earth' and 'in the places of his youth.' This creates a harmony between the man's national and personal identity in life and death, a cycle of symbolic continuity which at least prevents one

---

2In *Urne Burial,* ch.1, Sir Thomas Browne suggests this tolerant attitude in his remarks about the 'fish-eating Nations about Egypt' who buried their dead at sea, 'Thereby declining visible corruption, and restoring the debt of their bodies' (Browne 1958, p.11). However the sea-grave was generally a site of fear; see II, pp.317, 407-12.
3Compare II, pp.196-7.
further disturbance to the mourner's feelings. Where the sea would have divided the dead and living eternally - hence the anguished fear that 'hands so often clasped in mine, / Should toss with tangle and with shells' (X, 19-20) - at least 'we may stand' in the churchyard, and pick English violets growing from his 'ashes.' This transposed contact combines with the homeliness of a grave 'Among familiar names' to project an image of 'quiet' and 'rest.' Out of disaster the mourner accepts that his attraction to an English churchyard's 'look of quiet' is not simply conventional; his confrontation with mortality reinvigorates and personalises pastoral values.

Kenyon and Tennyson illustrate two responses to this trope: the emotional and iconographic conventionality blithely embraced by one is only reluctantly conceded by the other; but even where the grave does not lie in a conventional churchyard, similar values are evoked. When Eliza Cook selects 'My Grave,' her construction of the scene is both conservative and idiosyncratic, and shows the flexibility of this iconography. For while she alludes to other archetypal graves and adopts Kenyon's terms of disapprobation for the proud, heraldic tomb, her rural grave is not even in consecrated ground, and could even be seen as a critique of the churchyard.

Like 'Written in a Country Churchyard,' 'My Grave' (Cook 1870, p.98) begins with a rejection of other burial-places. Cook repudiates the 'ocean grave' in a Romantic fantasy where the sailor is wrapped in a winding-sheet which the sea decorates with coral, pearls and amber. The aestheticising of this 'brightest of tombs' reveals Cook's martial patriotism. She considers that the sailor's homeland is the sea, and shows none of Tennyson's anxiety about a watery grave. Cook's tone is only marginally less affirmative for the grave of the 'proud soldier.' His desire to die in bloody glory - 'his first hope in life' (7) makes the battlefield his correct final home - it is right to 'Dig him his grave on the red battle-field' (8), because that style of grave reflects his life. This hinted disapproval is made overt for the public man:

Lay the one great and rich, in the strong cloister niche;  
Give him his coffin of cedar and gold;  
Let the wild torchlight fall, flouting the velvet pall:  
Lock him in marble vault, darksome and cold. (9-12)

These terms are fairly neutral, but the grounds on which the rich man gets the grave he deserves are ambiguous. The grave needs to be 'strong' because the funeral trappings are valuable and liable to be stolen. For Cook as for Kenyon, this material emphasis to death ritual

---

1Tennyson did not visit Arthur Hallam's Clevedon grave until after In Memoriam's publication, so the poem's yews and graves are projections of memory and imagination.
2Compare The History of Henry Esmond, ch.13 for a peaceful metaphorical sea grave in the convent cemetery where Esmond's mother is buried: 'Silent receptacle of death! tranquil depth of calm, out of reach of tempest and trouble! I felt as one who had been walking below the sea, and treading amidst the bones of shipwrecks' (Thackeray 1985, p.321). See below, pp.165-6.
4In Memoriam XVII, 13-14: 'So may whatever tempest mars / Mid-ocean, spare thee, sacred bark.' Compare Joanna Baillie's Romiero: A Tragedy, in Five Acts, l.i.3-8. (Baillie 1851, p.313).
5Contrast Southey's 'The Battle of Blenheim' (Southey 1838, v.Vi, p.151).
appears morally inappropriate. The rich man has attempted to control his destiny, and secure a
safe place for his body and reputation; but the vault is ‘darksome and cold,’ and he is locked in.
Death is a prison for the excessively worldly man, not a home or spiritual release. When the
speaker chooses, her agenda is quite different:

But there’s a sunny hill, fondly remembered still;
Crowned with fair grass and a bonny elm tree:
Fresh as the foamy surf, sacred as churchyard turf;
There be the resting-place chosen by me! (13-16)

After emblematic graves symbolising active, masculine lives, this is a place of introspection and
memory. The sun, grass and elm tree are typical of the rural grave, yet the churchyard is only
evoked as a comparison. The site is unconsecrated by ‘the robed priest’ (18), but sanctified by
God’s omnipresence; instead of a hymn, the wind ‘whistles its winter song’; and amongst the
‘grave flowers’ (26) are atypical pimpernels and cowslips, as well as the usual daisies and lilies.
The speaker chooses an obscure and marginalised grave which at the same time belongs to a
personal, familiar and exclusive vision: ‘There would I lie alone, marked by no sculptured
stone: / Few will regret when my spirit departs’ (29-30).

Cook poses as the poet doomed to neglect who seeks a truly homely and private grave.
Although publishing this reflection is slightly affected, as if the author courts flattering
contradiction, Cook’s literary reputation has long been quite this obscure, and her fantasy has a
poignant intrinsic obsolescence. The associative power of this place ‘sacred as churchyard
turf’ derives from the past, and from a desire to return home. The ‘sunny hill’ stanza is echoed
at the end of the poem, revealing the site as an idealised childhood memory:

‘Tis on that sunny hill, fondly remembered still;
Where my young footsteps climbed, happy and free;
Fresh as the foamy surf, sacred as churchyard turf —
There be the sleeping-place chosen by me. (37-40)

By returning to the scene, the poet acknowledges its elegiac status; the hill is all the more vivid
because it belongs to the past, and to a stage in the speaker’s life when she was ‘happy and
free.’ The stanza’s second line is personalised, and the affirmative exclamation mark of the
fourth replaced by a sober period. This note of nostalgic yearning suggests that the ideal
‘sleeping-place’ may exist only in her imagination, while the patterning implies a desire for
impossible home-coming - the life-cycle’s culmination in the site and state of edenic innocence.
The lone and independent grave does not reflect the character of her life (as had the graves of
the sailor, soldier and rich man), but is a wish-fulfilment fantasy of what is absent from her adult
life.

1Compare James Beattie’s ‘The Minstrel; or, The Progress of Genius,’ book 2, 145-54 (Beattie
1776, p.29).
2Eliza Cook had few admirers amongst people of literary substance. Christina Rossetti wrote
sarcastically to Gabriel: ‘Call me Eliza Cook at once and be happy’ (Jones 1992, p.106).
3Compare Cook’s response to her mother’s death (Hickok 1995, pp.14-15).
4Compare II, pp.129-31.
These three country churchyards have a strong element of fantasy; the scene's objective details, the timeless trees, flowers and birds, are in the service of a personal agenda not overtly addressed. This agenda is to ignore, avoid, transcend or subdue the harshest facts of mortality, and is not incompatible with a strong faith in spiritual salvation. Wherever death is described or debated, the figure of the country churchyard cannot be far away, because it symbolises a last home which the imagination can contemplate with equanimity. Its presence may be implicit, discernible in the terms in which a very different style of grave is described, but it will be there, simultaneously concealing and revealing the fear of death. This fear of what happens to the body shows itself in the Victorian cult of bodily resurrection, in the rejection of graphic *memento mori* symbols such as bones and skulls on funerary monuments, and in superstitions about live burial.¹ Death is truly unimaginable and unrepresentable, so for the creative consciousness, meditating on the dead body's inevitable decay produces a sense of dangerous incongruity, as well as the challenge of imagining the unknowable. In order to suppress this anxiety, it was preferable to think of the dead as lying in a state of suspension, resting or sleeping, but never to wake again in the earthly life. Repose or resting in peace suggested that the dead person accepted death and was truly 'at home.'

This fantasy of the dead sleeping in its 'last' or 'long' home provides the powerful focus of meaning in representations of the grave itself. Moving, disturbing or desecrating the body weakens the grave’s symbolic power, although monuments or associations may disguise this to a degree. Changing the place of rest and exposing the body, as with Robert Burns's removal to a more spacious site in 1815,² or Napoleon's transfer from St. Helena to Paris in 1840,³ is disquieting. Symbolic continuity, the key element in the country churchyard, is disrupted, and the sleeping body's imperfection is revealed. The disinterments of Burns and Napoleon were justified by the creation of more fitting public tombs for great men,⁴ and in Napoleon's case, the body was shipped home to France;⁵ but the grave's integrity and security is of singular importance for private and public people alike.

¹For instance, see F. E. Paget's Lecture XX on bodily resurrection (Paget 1845, pp.355-6).
²Paget also considered that 'cherubs, doves, scythes and hour-glasses, mattocks and shovels, sculls and cross-bones, urns and reversed or extinguished torches' are petty symbols compared to the 'stern, and awful, and striking reality' of the grave itself (Paget 1853, p.20).
³In William MacDowall's account, '[The workmen] felt their frames thrilling with some undefinable emotion, as they gazed on the ashes of him whose fame is as wide as the world itself. But the effect was momentary; for when they proceeded to insert a shell or case below the coffin, the head separated from the trunk, and the whole body, with the exception of the bones, crumbled into dust' (MacDowall 1870, p.68). The coffin was re-opened in 1834, on the burial of Burns's widow, and again in 1857 at the behest of local phrenological enthusiasts; Philip Sulley describes this as 'a wanton act of desecration' (Sulley 1896, p.21).
⁴See II, pp.309, 366.
⁵See II, pp.306, 344-6; also Thackeray's 'The Second Funeral of Napoleon' (Thackeray 1851, v.II, p.275), and Rude's 1845-7 sculpture 'Napoleon Reawakening to Immortality' (Janson 1985, p.114).
⁶The disinterred body appeared undecayed and asleep but fell apart under the pressure of air or touch. Victorian heavy coffins and air-tight vaults retarded decay, but as when Elizabeth Siddal’s coffin was opened in 1869 to retrieve D. G. Rossetti's manuscript poems, the body's perfection was superficial.
⁷See below, pp.194-7 for Robert Browning's return from Venice to London for burial, and the question of whether Elizabeth Barrett Browning would be disinterred from Florence to join him. Byron was shipped home for burial in 1824, as was Thomas Campbell in 1844.
The consoling fiction of homely or peaceful burial is significantly threatened by the transgression of boundaries between life and death; a corpse in the midst of everyday life, or a live body in a tomb disrupt our sense of decorum. A corpse's interment, as the Burial Service defines it, is the simple return of 'ashes to ashes and dust to dust'; the body's natural harmony with its surroundings makes this a peaceful grave. However, in the unquiet grave life trespasses on death's territory, either by the body's condition, or the environment of the grave. Despite medical advances which gave doctors more reliable strategies for determining when death occurred, stories of miraculous recoveries and apparent returns from the dead fuelled fears about waking in the grave, only to suffocate or starve.1 Edgar Allan Poe explored this liminal area between death and life in his stories. In 'The Premature Burial' (Poe 1896, v.II, p.484) a narrator conveniently susceptible to cataleptic trances becomes morbidly convinced that he will be buried alive, and has the family vault 'remodelled.' In this customised grave, a mechanism of levers and springs allows the awaking dead to liberate himself. There is food and water, 'the free admission of air and light,' and a large bell designed to be 'fastened to one of the hands of the corpse.'2 After a catalogue of premature burials, the narrator imagines the horror of waking in the grave:

The unendurable oppression of the lungs — the stifling fumes of the damp earth — the clinging to the death garments — the rigid embrace of the narrow house — the blackness of the absolute Night — the silence like a sea that overwhelsms — the unseen but palpable presence of the Conqueror Worm — these things, with the thoughts of the air and grass above, with memory of dear friends who would fly to save us ... we can dream of nothing half so hideous in the realms of the nethermost Hell. (pp.493-4)

As the breathless succession of dashes and postponed main verb emphasise, the unfortunate victim cannot breathe, speak or move, and is constrained by the grave's 'narrow house' and the 'clinging' shroud; but what makes this fantasy truly horrible is the terror of trapped consciousness. The live body does not belong in the 'house' of the dead; in this condition of living death, consciousness is forced into physical contact with what it most fears, and only imagining it exceeds ideas of hell.3 Even so, the churchyard appears as a picture of hope. The 'air and grass above' and 'dear friends who would fly to save us' are death's opponents, although here they are powerless to help. By the end of the story, we know that the narrator has experienced premature burial, so that this 'dream' was a true nightmare.4

Besides fundamental anxieties about death, burial and physical decay, the grave's literal and physical stability was profoundly uncertain during the first half of the nineteenth century. The management of burial-places had degenerated during the later eighteenth century, and the situation gradually became intolerable to the emergent culture of spiritual and social reform. The main areas of concern were burials in church and chapel vaults, overcrowded, insanitary and ill-regulated city churchyards, burial for the poor, and the threat of disinterment by

1See Ariès 1991, pp.396-404.
2Julian Litten documents similar nineteenth-century inventions (Litten 1991, p.166).
3Compare II, pp.316, 401-3 and pp.323, 437-8.
4Compare Crowe 1852, p.133. Premature burial remained a preoccupation through the century, revived by the fashion for spiritualism and hypnotism; one periodical, entitled Perils of Premature Burial (continued as The Burial Reformer), was dedicated to trance states.
'resurrectionists' illegally selling corpses to anatomy schools for dissection. These issues were troubling because they transgressed the boundaries between living and dead, by proximity or actual violation. Cities needed more places to bury their dead, but space was at a premium, the death-rate was highest amongst those who could least afford to pay, and the graves of the poor were most vulnerable to robbery. Although the poor were worst affected, and public debate was generated by the more privileged middle classes, no class was exempt from the atmosphere of fear and suspicion. Only exceptionally were these issues addressed directly in contemporary poems; but tropes reflecting them are strongly represented, and usually defined against the pastoral ideal.

In the first thirty years of the century the scandalous condition of city churchyards and burial-grounds was indivisible from the resurrectionist threat. Traditionally located near the parish church and concentrations of population, many burial grounds had been used for several hundred years. As the population grew, and rural workers moved to the towns in response to industrialisation, these burial grounds became increasingly crowded, insanitary and unable to cope with the quantities of corpses. Housing, usually that of the poor and labouring classes, overlooked or backed onto these grounds, in an urban perversion of the traditional desire to have the beloved dead near the home. Graves were routinely re-opened, overfilled, bodies disturbed, and bones and semi-decomposed matter dug up and secretly burnt to make room for more burials. In city grounds, bones and skulls were found on the surface, or piled up like compost heaps. The grave, far from being a permanent resting-place, was fundamentally insecure and unstable. Public attention focused on the vulnerability of these unsupervised and neglected burial-grounds to the depredations of criminals who dug up and sold freshly buried bodies.

As described in Ruth Richardson’s important account, *Death, dissection and the destitute* (1987), grave-robbing or ‘resurrectionism’ was a national scandal, especially following sensational revelations about the associated Burke and Hare murders. Fairly recent precedents would have made writers imagine the danger vividly. When Laurence Sterne died in 1768 it was strongly rumoured that his body had been removed from its grave in St. George's burial ground in the Bayswater Road and sold to the disectors. John Milton’s body was taken out of his

---

1H. J. Croft remarks that ‘The ancient churches of London ... were once surrounded by quiet grounds where the green grass nodded in the sunshine over the graves of citizens. Those sacred spots were passed with reverence then! Now they are blocked in, narrowed, and in many instances have totally disappeared before the advancing tide of brick and mortar’ (Croft 1867, pp.12-13).

2See below pp.75-6, 87-8, 215n, 219n.

3S. L. Blanchard asserted that ‘in those forlorn, railed-in, grassless recesses, which hold, in mingled heaps, the bones of the city’s forefathers, — the pure and exquisite sentiment that should embalm the memory of the dead is stifled. The stir of the populous street — the rattling wheels — the hoarse cries — the ring of laughter and the yelling of oaths ... — combine to banish from the home of the departed every idea of the repose and quiet which had else sanctified it ... Our sympathies turn from the beloved object that lies below — we forget even the one most precious to us — to commiserate the Living, the strangers who dwell around, on the brink of the churchyard, inhaling its unwholesome vapours, familiarized with its loathsome secrets, and witnessing its profanation’ (Blanchard 1843, pp.1-2).

4See Richardson 1987, p.60.
grave during excavations in St. Giles' Church, Cripplegate in 1790. Although not grave-robbing in a technical sense, the body was desecrated by the removal of souvenirs such as hair, teeth, and even large bones. If this was how a figure of Milton's magnitude was treated posthumously, what chance had a less respected man? Interment within the church was considered safer than the churchyard, and this helps to explain the tradition of intramural burial for those who could afford it; a body could only be interfered with by the cooperation of officials such as the sexton, verger or parson; but intramural burial was not entirely secure.

There are few direct treatments of the resurrectionist threat in poetry, and they tend to be versified social campaigning. A lively illustration from early in the period is Robert Southey's 1798 satire, 'The Surgeon's Warning' (Southey 1838, v.VI, p.184). The spirit of this direct, intentionally prosaic verse is humorous as well as reformist, and the youthful author does not count himself as liable to the same claims of mortality as his hypocritical subject; but beneath playful puns and humorous exaggeration, there is a covertly aggressive impulse to punish the corrupt surgeon.

'The Surgeon's Warning' presents the dying words of a surgeon whose career as an anatomical teacher has relied on an illegal supply of bodies from violated graves. Like Kenyon and Cook's speakers, the surgeon makes directions for his burial and interment; but he also makes an unrepentant death-bed confession. The surgeon calls for his 'brethren,' the parson and the undertaker, and in a terror entrusts the funeral plans to them, but when his apprentices gather in the room, he furiously sends them away. Far from having an affectionate or emulative relationship with their master, the students are predators who would 'be at me' (23). At the point of transition between life and death, this dying man does not make spiritual preparations, or turn against his earthly sins; the surgeon's change of heart simply matches his impending change of state. After a dissector's career, he rightly fears to become a victim of his own apprentices, since one thing he has not taught them is respect for the dead:

---

1Philip Neve bought most of the relics and returned them to the coffin; see Neve 1790.
2Grave-robbing was associated with revolutionary France; see Wordsworth's 'Feelings of a French Royalist, on the Disinterment of the Remains of the Duke D'Enghien' (Wordsworth 1849-50, v.III, p.95). The desecration theme was later adapted to cremation propaganda; A. E. Jones asserted that 'It was in the orgies of the great French Revolution that the idea sprang up of reintroducing the Pagan system. This was done chiefly out of hatred to Christianity - for the purpose of ridiculing the Christian doctrine of the resurrection' (Jones 1888, p.75).
3See Richardson 1987, pp.80-1 for a London graveyard owned by an anatomist: 'as it was a secure and "comfortable resting place"... he could charge pretty handsomely for burying a body there, and afterwards get from his pupils from eight to twelve guineas for taking it up again!
4In Browning's 'Gold Hair: A Story of Pornic' (Browning 1888-94 v.VII, p.69) gold coins concealed in a dead girl's hair are inadvertently discovered during repairs; however, it is the priest who gives permission for the digging, who rationalises the girl's materialism, and who takes the money to build a new altar. The parents' idea that her soul was intended 'To just see earth, and hardly be seen, / And blossom in heaven instead' (9-10), uses the vocabulary of child-death discussed below on pp.78, 99, 104, 106.
5See Southey 1850, v.I, pp.240-3 for the poet's response to a friend's death not long before 'The Surgeon's Warning' was written; Southey also favoured the Welsh custom of decorating graves with flowers: 'the custom is so congenial to one's heart; it prolongs the memory of the dead, and links the affections to them' (p.350); compare II, pp.92-3, also pp.302n, 303, 306, 311-12, 349, 374-5.
“I have made candles of dead men's fat,
    The Sextons have been my slaves,
I have bottled babes unborn, and dried
    Hearts and livers from rifled graves.

“And my Prentices now will surely come
    And carve me bone from bone,
And I who have rifled the dead man's grave
    Shall never have rest in my own. (33-40)

It is clear from this villainous catalogue that Southey withholds any sympathy for the surgeon. His motives in life were cruel, not scientific or philanthropic, and his plans to escape retribution are examined in minute, suspenseful detail to emphasise their futility. The surgeon accurately condemns himself - he 'Shall never have rest.' The speaker appeals to his brothers' loyalty, but as with the self-interested apprentices these relationships are pragmatic: ‘“I took care of you, / So pray take care of me”’ (31-2).

The surgeon displays an insider's understanding of burial abuses. He orders a lead coffin, but warns against plumbers who skimp on materials. The lead shell is to be soldered 'Strong as strong can be' (46),

And put it in a patent coffin,
    That I may rise no more. (47-8)

The surgeon requests a special impenetrable coffin so that his body cannot 'rise.' He puns frankly on the popular nickname for body snatchers as 'resurrectionists,' but also unwittingly damns himself as a man so evil he will certainly 'rise no more.' The surgeon's attention to detail extends even to the source of the coffin - it must be bought directly from the maker, without the risk of adulteration or substitution by a middle-man. He must be buried 'in my brother's church' (53), the church locked, and the key guarded. He also demands that three nightwatchmen be sweetened into doing their job properly with alcohol, and given the incentive of a five guinea reward 'if he shoot / A Resurrection Man' (63-4). This is to go on for three weeks, until the body is too decayed to be of use to anatomists. Having delivered this ultimatum, he dies.

This rapid and rhythmical speech, with its puns on physical and spiritual salvation, and emphatic internal rhymes, '“Bury me in lead when I am dead”' (41), '“Let the Undertaker see it bought of the maker”' (51), is parroted to describe the fulfilment of his wishes by the undertaker and parson. However, the surgeon's apparently failsafe plans are threatened by an apprentice-surgeon's attractive bribes to the nightwatchmen, offered via the sexton. Grimly playful patterning suggests that justice of a kind will succeed. At first 'conscience was tough, it was not enough' (97), and again the internal rhyme exaggerates the mockery, by showing that only the inadequacy of the bribe maintains the nightwatchmen's 'conscience.' When two guineas are

---

1See Richardson 1987, p.81; also Litten 1991, p.110, fig. 58, an advertisement for Jarvis's Patent self-locking iron coffins (c. 1810).
2In Thomas Hood's 'The Dead Robbery' Peter Bunce commits suicide and is given a pauper's funeral; however, it is a premature burial because he is woken from his laudanum trance by a resurrectionist. When Bunce realises there is money to be made, he murders the resurrectionist and sets up in trade on his own account (Hood 1906, p.495).
offered, the men still resist, but only because ‘they thought they might get more’ (118). On the third night, the sexton’s perseverance pays off when he displays three guineas; the men give in since ‘A dead man tells no tales’ (140). They benefit from two bribes - beer and gin from the dead man, and gold from the apprentice who has replaced him - so they celebrate while the crime is committed.

Thus, the aspiring surgeon’s exploitation of degraded human nature defeats one of the expired surgeon’s defences. Success is sealed by a sexton’s cooperation, a class the dying man stigmatised as slaves - a slave who serves the highest bidder. The parson keeps the key and his promise; but the church door, ‘open’d at the Sexton’s touch, ... / Because he had another’ (147-8). The satire is sharpened by the expectation of a rhyme for ‘brother’ (146), and ellipsis which makes the reader anticipate the punch-line. The sexton, often portrayed as of doubtful or criminal character in the gothic-influenced Romantic period, here cooperates with the body-snatchers. The poet gestures towards criticism of the criminals - the apprentice is a ‘villain,’ and he carries a dubiously ‘dark-lanthorn light’ (152). Yet their cruel pleasure in the act, like the sexton’s complicity, is only what we expect, and they seem motivated by a desire for poetic justice as well as revenge. Effortlessly, they take up the heavy protective slabs with a pick-axe, and dig the coffin out of ‘the hard-prest clay’ (155). The patent coffin is no trouble, nor is the substantial lead shell. They leave the valuable coffin behind, because all they want is the body:

And nose and knees they then did squeeze
The Surgeon in a sack. (163-4)

As the synecdoche used here expresses so neatly, the body is contemptuously folded in half and dumped in a sack. They get to it just in time, since allowing for several days of preparation and the making and soldering of the lead case, the Surgeon could have been dead a week. As the body-snatchers depart, the bribed watchmen curse the ‘load’ which ‘Full four yards off could smell’ (166-7). The surgeon’s body receives the treatment he prophesied - indeed, his exact words are echoed - but the poem ends with a twist he had not contemplated:

So they carried the sack a-pick-a-back,
And they carved him bone from bone,
But what became of the Surgeon’s soul
Was never to mortal known. (169-72)

Southey’s bodysnatching scenario is atypical, since the body is buried in a vault, and an urban or rural setting is not stipulated, but the collusion of church and unlicensed science suggests urban values. Southey combines a critique of human nature, which lacks moral discipline, compassion or spirituality, with a broader attack on the self-perpetuating cycle of burial corruptions. We may relish the surgeon’s comeuppance, but there is always a sly apprentice to take his place. For such a blunt poem, the moral intent is surprisingly subtle, since the real warning of this debased world-picture is signalled by the last line’s apparently casual query.

---

While the compensations for real-life grave-robbers were financial, and for apprentice surgeons broadly scientific, in the poem their preoccupation with the material body represents a spiritual death. That is, where the rising generation are dissecting the bodies of strangers (or of the previous generation!), they should be anatomising their own souls. SOUTHey's surgeon fails to save his body, and we are in no doubt that in Christian terms his disregarded soul would be damned.

When 'The Surgeon's Warning' was written, the worst of the resurrectionist terror and 'burking' (murder for the purposes of dissection) scandal was still to come. The strong public desire for legal protection of the dead is indicated by the formation of local campaigning groups. Documentary evidence of the seriousness of community feeling is provided, for instance, by Alexander Rodger's 'Ye who mourn dear friends departed' (Rodger 1842, p.108). The poem was written in the manner of a Burnsian ballad, to be sung as an accompaniment to the traditional air, 'Scenes of woe, and scenes of pleasure.' However, the song's purpose is representative of 1820s practical reform; it was 'Written for and sung at a concert given in aid of the Bridgeton Grave Protecting Society. — 1824.'

One does not expect great literary merit from songs written for charitable events, but 'Ye who mourn dear friends departed' is a fascinating indicator of local cooperation. Amidst the misery of grief, mourners are offered one practical consolation: 'Shock'd no more shall be your feelings, / O'er a plundered, empty grave' (7-8). The Society's guardian presence stands between the bereaved and the unwarrantable shock of grave-desecration. Safe from the molestations of 'Midnight prowlers bent on robbing' (9), the song reaffirms Scriptural assurances of the dead's peaceful rest. The unity of dead and living family members could not be disrupted once 'Safe from the dissector's knife' (16). The modern reader can only speculate on the potential bathos of presenting such sentiments in a song, but the first two verses' blunt expression is softened in the last:

`... Here, too, shalt thou long repose thee,  
    In the calm and peaceful tomb,  
    Till the Archangel's trump shall rouse thee,  
    Radiant with immortal bloom.' (21-4)

Up to this point, the confident voice of the 'Bridgeton Grave Protecting Society' has addressed the mourners only on the subject of their dead friends and relations, but here it invites them to contemplate their own deaths. The grave's security is so assured that the Society's members can approach death with greater equanimity; like Tennyson's analysis of 'our fond fancies,' this movement acknowledges the self-reflexivity of feelings about the grave's security. The interests of the living join with the dead, and the speaker projects a restful sleep, to end with the trumpet of Judgment, not the resurrectionist's spade. This community enterprise of 1824 foreshadows

---

1William Eassie comments that 'Southey ... wrote that the custom of interment "makes the idea of a dead friend more unpleasant. We think of the grave, corruption, and worms: burning would be better." But he left us no poetry on the subject' (Eassie 1875, p.15n).
2Ruth Richardson describes such parish watches over Innerwick Churchyard in 1819 (Richardson 1987, p.83).
3Alexander Rodger died in 1846, and was buried near his friend the poet William Motherwell in the new Glasgow Necropolis. Compare II, p.86.
the nationwide legislative security instituted by the 1832 Anatomy Act. Despite the Act's effectiveness, the psychological spectre of body-snatching continued to influence material and metaphorical grave iconography through the century, and although in the twentieth century the demand for dissection subjects is largely met voluntarily - by individuals bequeathing their bodies 'to science' - forms of this anxiety still exist.

In his polemical comparison of medieval gothic and contemporary architecture, *Contrasts* (1836), A. W. Pugin juxtaposed ancient and modern institutions for the poor. According to Pugin's illustration, when inhabitants of the Benthamite panopticon poorhouse died, their bodies passed directly from the callous authorities to the dissectors in officially condoned traffic. There was a close association between mental institutions, hospitals, workhouses and anatomy, where the poverty and powerlessness of the inhabitants was exploited by officials to keep the dissectors supplied. From the 1830s, the stinking burial-grounds were a public health issue, implicated in problems such as water contamination, typhus, dysentry and scarlet fever epidemics, and high urban mortality rates, although commentators were uncertain about the scientific reasons for these links. While the wealthy were occasional victims of the resurrectionists, paupers, criminals, and the lonely were targeted because their social obscurity left them unprotected. Authorities and undertakers tended to manage the burial of those on the margins casually, because profits were small; and given the low income of the functionaries involved, bribery was widespread.

Institutional burial-grounds shared many characteristics with the city churchyards, and operated on a similar principle of overcrowding and loss of individuality. When not imperilled by the resurrection-men, they were anonymous, neglected, impermanent and densely packed with bodies. Arthur Munby, a poet particularly concerned with themes of working life, made this association between poverty and undignified burial clear in 'One in Bedlam' (Munby 1865, p.227). The dying speaker pays for his madhouse grave in 'hired mould' (11) and watches it being made, so he has a clear personal interest in this description:

I touch'd the clay beneath the stones;  
'Twas moist; and as I peer'd about  
Long swollen worms crept in and out  
Among the scatter'd bones. (13-16)

The earth is clammy with decomposition, as the gothic trope of gorged worms indicates. Individual physical or psychic identity is denied by the dispersed bones, and the living speaker views his own posthumous fate. The speaker of 'One in Bedlam' is not altogether reliable,

---

1Traditionally, dissection subjects were hanged murderers; the Act made the black market in corpses redundant, by giving the government rights to acquire 'unclaimed' paupers' bodies from hospitals and workhouses.

2See Brooks 1989, p.6; also ch.9 of *The Adventures of Tom Sawyer* (set in the early 1840s), where a young doctor ('Sawbones') pays two local scoundrels to dig up a newly buried corpse for dissection, and is killed by them in a fight (Twain 1986, pp.65-71).

3See Walker 1839, pp.103-13.

4Richardson includes a bodysnatcher's 1828 testimonial: 'I like to get [graves] of poor people buried from the workhouses, because, instead of working for one subject, you may get three or four' (Richardson 1987, p.60). See II, pp.319, 423-4 and pp.325, 445-6.

5See Holmes 1896, pp.171-85 on 'Hospital, Almshouse, and Workhouse Grounds.'
although his touch of madness derives from a good authority - Tennyson's *Maud*. He instructs the grave-digger that 'He must not dig my hole too deep' (18), supposedly so that he can hear 'the nibbling sheep / Above me' (20). The speaker of *Maud* cries for a deeper grave, and this allusion sharpens the irony that in an institutional graveyard, the graves are always shallow and vulnerable to disturbance.\(^1\) The irony is compounded by the speaker's speculation that the sheep will

```
bless the unremember'd name
Of him whose tender juicy frame
Has made the grass so sweet. (22-4)
```

This mildly bizarre wish to do some good to the sheep carries an implicit criticism of the practice of pasturing domestic animals in burial-grounds.\(^2\) The multiple land-use suggests the crowded conditions of 'Ebenezer Yard,' and given that sheep are incapable of such rational reflections, it seems likely Munby is also debunking the literary sentimentalising of graveyards.\(^3\) The resemblance between institutional and city churchyards is confirmed by four stanzas which employ the negative rhetorical construction familiar to us from Kenyon and Cook. There is 'no hallow'd shade' (38) cast from a church, 'no sad sacred yews' (41), neither cross, prayers nor flowers. This catalogue of traditional absences is resolved by the speaker's final reliance on transcendent Christian fraternity; one thing not denied is the blessing of the Burial Service, and 'He is near who loves us most: / And He will save us still' (59-60). 'One in Bedlam' indicts the authorities who abuse their Christian responsibilities, while preaching the 'Good News' (27) of Hell from the nearby chapel.\(^4\)

Behind Munby's hired graves in a thickly-packed ground looms the spectral image of the gloomy city churchyard, 'an acre, cramm'd / With silent mouldering men' (29-30). Most of the poems I have found which focus on the city burial-grounds come not from the early part of the century, but the period between the opening of the first suburban cemeteries in the early 1830s, and the final closing of the city churchyards in the 1850s. Over this twenty-year span the focus

\(^1\)In 'Maud' the maddened speaker imagines that he is dead and buried in a 'shallow grave,' 'Only a yard beneath the street,' where he is tortured by the incessant pounding of traffic overhead: 'O me, why have they not buried me deep enough?' (Tennyson 1987, p.581).

\(^2\)In 'A Voice from the Dead!' John Castillo satirises the parson's tyranny over the churchyard, including an ancient right to graze a horse or cow (Castillo 1843, p.63; text in II, p.451). Isabella Holmes comments: 'many a poor parson [is] glad to earn a few pounds in the year by allowing sheep to graze among the graves. This is all very well in some country places, but it used to be practised in London, and sheep have been actually killed by swallowing with the grass the poisonous products of the overfilled ground' (Holmes 1896, p.268).

\(^3\)See II, pp.170-1.

\(^4\)By the time of this poem's publication in the 1860s, institutional burial was undergoing some reforms, although interments within prison grounds retained a punitive character into the twentieth century. See 'The Ballad of Reading Gaol,' where the flaming 'pall' is lime to hasten decay:

```
For he has a pall, this wretched man,
Such as few men can claim:
Deep down below a prison-yard,
Naked for greater shame,
He lies, with fetters on each foot,
Wrapt in a sheet of flame! (Wilde 1909, p.336, 457-62)
```
of public concern changed from bodysnatching and dissection to the danger to health from the
death being buried in the midst of the living. This shift in public attention helped to define the
city churchyard as a subject for poetry.

As cities expanded, the solution to the problem of desperately overcrowded burial-
places was seen as the creation of new burial-grounds in the suburbs, at a remove from places
of human habitation. The earliest of these new cemeteries, inspired in part by the example of
Paris's Père Lachaise (1800), were formed by entrepreneurial companies in the thirties. In
London, where the problem was particularly severe, the first joint stock cemetery was Kensal
Green (1832). It was followed by several others in 1839-40, such as Norwood, Nunhead,
Highgate and Brompton, coinciding with the publication of George Walker's influential polemic,
Gatherings from Grave-yards: particularly those of London. With a concise history of the modes
of interment among different nations, from the earliest periods. Walker was a surgeon,
and his compilation of accounts of burial abuses in named graveyards and chapels, helped to
strengthen public pressure for an official response, which was initially met by Edwin Chadwick's
Supplementary Report on the results of a special inquiry into the practice of interment in towns
(1843). Charles Dickens was instrumental in publicising the corruptions and inhumanities of
city burial, as in The uncommercial traveller, or the grim locked graveyard in Bleak House,
where Nemo is given a pauper's funeral, Jo sweeps the steps, and Lady Dedlock ends her
journey.

However, as Chris Brooks explains in Mortal Remains, legislative change was halting. The
conservative Cemeteries Clauses Act of 1847 protected the commercial interests of
cemetery companies and their middle-class clientele, without addressing the problems of burial
for the working classes, while the Chadwick-inspired Public Health Act of 1848 was ineffective
beyond stopping intramural interment. However, the cholera epidemic of 1848-9 forced crisis
management of scandalous conditions in the city churchyards. The 1850 Metropolitan

---

1Christopher Wren's rebuilding plans after the Great Fire included establishing suburban
cemeteries and discontinuing church and churchyard burials, but they were not implemented.
George Walker found a precedent in ancient practice, where 'the influence of nature, of laws,
and of religion, was always exerted to separate the dead from the living; and the end for
which tombs had been constructed at a distance from cities was always kept in view' (Walker
1839, p.23).

2But see Brooks 1989, pp.8-9 for the early dissenting tradition typified by The Rosary, Norwich.

3See also Walker's other books on the same subject, Burial-Ground Incendiarism (1846) and
Interment and disinterment (1843).

4Walker's description of the churchyard at Whitechapel is a typical sample: 'The ground is so
densely crowded as to present one entire mass of human bones and putrefaction ... They are
exhumed by shovelfuls, and disgustedly exposed to the pensive observations of the passer-by —
to the jeers or contempt of the profane or brutal' (Walker 1839, p.168).

5I then find, to my astonishment, that I have been ... taking a strong kind of invisible snuff, up
my nose, into my eyes, and down my throat. I wink, sneeze, and cough ... The snuff seems
to be made of the decay of matting, wood, cloth, stone, iron, earth, and something else. Is
the something else, the decay of dead citizens in the vaults below? As sure as Death it is!
Not only in the cold damp February day, do we cough and sneeze dead citizens, all through
the service, but ... We stamp our feet to warm them, and dead citizens arise in heavy clouds'
('City of London Churches' in Dickens 1958, p.86).

6For developments between Walker's 1839 book and the post-1852 Burial Board Cemeteries
see Brooks 1989, pp.30-54.
Interments Act, which empowered the General Board of Health to develop new suburban burial spaces, was inherently flawed, but its replacement, the Metropolitan Burial Act of 1852 introduced a series of radical changes. The Privy Council could close urban burial-grounds and institute local Burial Boards to construct and independently manage new out-of-town cemeteries. By 1855, almost all the London city churchyards were shut, and by 1857 the legislation extended across Britain, and public cemeteries with lower (if not necessarily affordable) interment fees were opening nationwide.

As I have suggested, most poems about the city burial-grounds were written after the opening of the first large private cemeteries. This background of change might at first suggest that the poems campaigned for cemeteries, as healthful alternatives to the existing situation. However this mood of enterprise and innovation did as much to revive traditional country churchyard iconography as advertise cemetery burial. The strength of human feeling about death means that alterations in ritual are resisted and contested, even when reform is imperative. This nostalgic and idealistic reversion to past models might help to account for testamental poems such as John Kenyon's 'Written in a Country Churchyard' and Eliza Cook's 'My Grave.' There was a clear opposition between the country churchyard as an authorial fantasy of peaceful repose within nature, and the city burial-ground as a potent nightmare of noise, filth, disturbance and gothic horror. However, the suburban cemetery was still too troublingly contemporary and bourgeois to enter the poetic catalogue of images. Not until the city burial-grounds were closed by force of law did poets really begin representing the cemetery, and as I go on to discuss, this representation was only briefly affirmative.

The opposition between city and country churchyards, with a characteristic negative rhetoric which ensures that one is never quite without the other's presence, symbolises one strain of post-Romantic pastoral, where moral and physical decay undermines the expanding city. Between these two poles the emergent cemetery is significantly suppressed, not acknowledged as the practical alternative to a nightmare or a dream. The city churchyard enscapulates a range of feeling, from pathos to sensationalism, but its register is generally dark. This extremity reached its nadir in London, the capital city with the worst problems of public health, slums, bad drainage and poverty. Letitia Landon [L. E. L.]'s long poem 'Scenes in London' (Landon 1839, p.178) is made up of four cameos, each of which shows the capital's busy and crowded atmosphere transcended by a moment of pathos and beauty, but the poem ends flatly in the city churchyard.

In Piccadilly nocturnal quiet allows a glimpse of the city's long mysterious history, while in Oxford Street a soldier's funeral disturbs consumerist frippery. In the midst of life and trade, a bugle breathes a 'sigh of death' (82), and plays 'a mournful Scottish air' (85) which brings a sense of nature to the city. Even here room can be found for an old soldier's grave beneath 'Green trees' (113), and birds fly up in alarm when a volley is fired. In 'The Savoyard in Grosvenor Square' an orphan boy exile sings to earn a few pence in the stately, tomb-like square, while a blooming orange tree releases memories of home, which help him to forget his

---

1 A massive public cemetery was planned at Erith; the concept was realised by private enterprise at Brookwood near Woking in 1852.
problems. These three scenes show that nature's healing influence can still be found in the city; yet when in the fourth scene the speaker contemplates her own burial in the city, she cannot find the same consolation. After the observer's discovery of universal good in specific locations, the generic city burial-ground is rejected with a newly personal and passionate voice.

Like Kenyon and Cook, Landon repudiates one grave in order to choose another. 'The City Churchyard' is a prayer against urban burial, presented as if the speaker stands within the churchyard itself:

I pray thee lay me not to rest  
Among these mouldering bones;  
Too heavily the earth is prest  
By all these crowded stones. (177-80)

Beginning with a cajoling internal rhyme 'I pray thee lay me,' the speaker emphasises her physical proximity to the dead, 'these ... bones' and 'these ... stones.' These are not recognisable dead individuals, but an undifferentiated quantity of remains compressed in the ground by their own mass and the stones above them. Here is the future destiny of Piccadilly's indiscriminate 'tumult and throng' (42), but again the speaker will not join them. The speaker had to find moments of stillness and insight on the 'crowded street' in order to accept the city, and here that desired 'rest' is unimaginable. On the one hand this is a deathly place for burial, neglected, stony and austere, ostracised by the community:

The flags around are cold and drear,  
They stand apart, alone;  
And no one ever pauses here,  
To sorrow for the gone. (189-92)

The scene cruelly mimics the condition of the dead; isolated from the nearby stream of life, people are deterred from visiting the bleak huddle of stones. On the other hand, 'The ceaseless roll of wheels would wake / The slumbers of the dead' (185-6), and even the soil is 'world-struck' (184). It is not clear whether the speaker imagines her consciousness continuing in the grave

---

1 Although roadside graves were almost non-existent in the nineteenth-century, and associated mainly with the earlier practice of burying suicides at crossroads, there were classical precedents, such as the Appian Way outside Rome, for this incongruous proximity of transport and graves. See 'A Wayside Grave' by Leônidas of Tarentum (fl. 274 B.C.):

Who art thou? Whose relics, I wonder,  
In a plot that the roadway runs through,  
The coffin half-starting asunder,  
Lie bare to the traveller's view?

Alas, by unceasing attrition  
The axles and wheels of the wains  
Have worn out of all recognition  
The stone that once marked thy remains.

The wheels very soon in foul fashion  
Will be grinding thy breast-bone, I fear,  
Poor devil, and no man's compassion  
Afford thee so much as a tear.

In Edwyn Bevan's translation (Higham and Bowra 1938, p.609).
with these sleepers; what she cannot tolerate is the anticipation of life continuing so close: 'I cannot bear for life to make / Its pathway o'er my head' (187-8).

The opening four stanzas repudiating the city churchyard in which she stands, are countered by four stanzas describing the desired grave. In affirmative and romantic language the speaker claims a typical remote and sunny country grave, colonised by wild spring flowers, a drooping willow, dewy grass and the 'sepulchral yew' (197). While no one visits the city graves, the country churchyard's visitors are sympathetic mourners, or strangers who stop to 'moralize o'er the repose / They fear, and yet they crave' (203-4). Once the speaker has identified herself with the idealised scene - 'Oh! make such grave for me!' (200) - the actual environment in which she stands encroaches again, and the jarring of reality with fantasy is made explicit:

But here there is no kindly thought
To soothe, and to relieve;
No fancies and no flowers are brought,
That soften while they grieve.

Here Poesy and Love come not —
It is a world of stone;
The grave is bought — is closed — forgot!
And then life hurries on. (209-16)

Ideal and real, rural and urban come together in this rhetoric of absence. The value Landon misses most is sympathy and compassion. The city churchyard presents death in the raw, with no consoling thoughts such as Tennyson found at Hallam's imagined grave. Landon's implied aesthetic of consolation is emotional and feminine, represented by fancies and flowers, which might appear trivial, but offer imaginative consolations for loss. The city is actually and metaphorically 'a world of stone,' a place where the condition of the dead, smothered by 'crowded stones,' suggests that the hearts of their survivors are stone too. The speaker pledges to reinstate absent feeling and beauty at the burial-place, and 'Give loveliness to death' (220), but a long note to the poem indicates that Landon herself could imagine no reconciliation of death with urban values:

If there be one object more material, more revolting, more gloomy than another, it is a crowded churchyard in a city. It has neither sympathy nor memory. The pressed-down stones lie heavy upon the very heart. The sunshine cannot get at them for smoke. There is a crowd; and, like most crowds, there is no companionship. (p.194)

The note extends the poem's negative and intensifying rhetoric. For Landon the apogee of ugliness is interment in the worldly, lively city; London 'is the best place in the world for a house,

---

1The U.S. naval officer Horatio Bridge described Landon's actual grave in the drill ground at Cape Coast Castle: 'Daily, at the hour of parade, the peal of military music resounds above her head, and the garrison ... nor shuns to tread upon the ten red tiles, any more than upon the insensible stones of the pavement ... who has a right to trample on a woman's breast? And what had L. E. L. to do with warlike parade?' (Bridge 1845, p.138); See below pp.167-9 for Landon on Hemans's grave, also II, pp.151-3, and 311, 371-2.

2Compare below pp.171-4.
and the worst for a grave.' This associates death with regenerative natural landscapes, since only nature supplies the softening and poetic influences which mourners - and poets - need.

This opposition of city and country was even more dramatically expressed in Henrietta Tindal's 'The Burial in London' (Tindal 1850, p.106; text below, p.223), published as the campaign for closure was reaching its goal. A headnote explains that Tindal's subject was 'suggested by the circumstance of an American girl, who was dying in London, earnestly entreat to be buried there — where the snow was blackened and the graves crowded.' The subject gains a piquancy from use of the first person, and the speaker's young, female and foreign identity; her distance from worldly preoccupations at the point of death is exaggerated by her remoteness from America. Again the wish for a rural grave is expressed first negatively, as what it must not be. The poem begins with the cry 'Oh! bury me not in that smoky town,' identifying the urban landscape as one where even elemental processes are tainted and altered.

The sunrise is 'dim,' the Thames dark and 'crowded,' dawn has 'no freshness' (5) and night 'no stillness' (7); only the metaphorical 'human tide flows by' (8). In the second stanza this negative rhetoric and perverse imagery is specifically directed to a typical city churchyard:

For I could not rest in that drear graveyard,
Where no blades of green grass spring,
And no shadow falls from the summer trees,
Nor the wild birds ever sing;
Where the dead are rock'd by the rolling wains,
As they lie their shrouds within,
And their vaults are rent by the mighty roar
Of the city's toil and sin. (9-16)

Again the urban grave is described in terms of what it lacks, so that the desired rural grave is implied from the beginning. This strategy of following absence with description suggests that the scene is at once too empty and too full, with nothing to redeem the indignity of burial there. City life physically interferes with the dead, as they are 'rock'd' by the vibrations of wheels and their tombs are 'rent' by noise. The speaker's aesthetic objections take a more portentous turn in the third stanza, with the introduction of an image drawn from Walker's miasma theory for the burial grounds' diseased atmosphere:

A strange gray mist from those many graves
With the evening gloom steals by;
'Tis a winged plague that is bred from death,
'Tis rank with mortality:
And my heart grows faint, for it seems to me
That the living grudge the dead
The span of earth that should cover them,
And their last deep narrow bed! (17-24)

Like the predatory resurrection-men, the sinister cloud emanating from the burial-ground rises at evening. Stealthy but rapid, the products of death bring death to the living. Walker considered

---

1 In 'Essay on Epitaphs. I' Wordsworth remarks that 'tombs lose their monitory virtue when thus obtruded upon the notice of men occupied with the cares of the world ... when death is in our thoughts, nothing can make amends for the want of the soothing influences of nature, and for the absence of those types of renovation and decay, which the fields and woods offer to the notice of the serious and contemplative mind' (Owen and Smyser 1974, v.II, p.54).
that gases produced by decaying corpses transmitted infectious diseases and consumption in
the air and water.\footnote{As Dickens so vividly describes it: 'Sometimes there is a rusty pump somewhere near, and, as I
look in at the rails and meditate, I hear it working under an unknown hand with a creaking
protest: as though the departed in the churchyard urged, "Let us lie here in peace; don't suck
us up and drink us!"' (Dickens 1958, pp.233-4).} This tolerance of disease is doubly threatening for the speaker; the strange
country she is dying in apparently has little respect for the dead, so the city churchyard is
symptomatic of a mean and anxious culture.

This critique of a poisonous city provides the contrast for an idealised vision of the
speaker's chosen grave, where the homely country churchyard is expanded to a sublime scale.
Tindal combines the traditional 'summer flowers' (33), bees, birds and natural music with the
fresh and dramatic American wilderness. In the speaker's 'fatherland' (25), she imagines a
grave gilded at sunrise and covered in 'pure white snow,' within a natural cathedral of towering
evergreen trees 'Knit together in verdant brotherhood' (31). The forest grave embodies the
dignity of a young free country:

For in my far land there is room, as yet,
For the living and the dead,
In a virgin-grave may the poorest man
Lay down his careworn head. (37-40)

This democratized grave in uncontested space compares favourably with London's jostling
conflict between living and dead. At the end of this polemical speech which has been
addressed, we find, to her mother, the girl affirms a peaceful 'grave by man untrod' alone in the
'sinless wilderness' (48, 45).\footnote{See II, pp.200-1, 319, 330-1 and compare 421-2.} The absolute image of this grave, isolated even from her family,
reminds us that this is a wish-fulfilment fantasy; in reality she is dying in '[T]he din of the
troubled multitude, / Its passion, and pain, and strife' (43-4), while the title 'The Burial in London,'
implies that the speaker was buried in the 'drear graveyard' she so vehemently rejected.

The similarities between Kenyon, Cook, Landon and Tindal suggest that the opposition
of city and country burial-places was a traditional poetic theme which continued in the 1840s,
virtually uninfluenced by the suburban cemeteries. However, the model was under increasing
pressure, and this sense of a trope coming to the end of its useful life is aptly illustrated by
Thomas Westwood's wry poem 'The Grave in the City' (Westwood 1850, p.136). The reader's
expectations are reversed as the speaker refuses to be buried in 'that nook that ye deem so
fair' (2). The poem begins with an emphatic six-line rejection of the country churchyard grave,
phrased in the negative rhetoric usually reserved for the city: 'Not there, good friends, not there!' This is followed by a longer stanza, realistically describing the city churchyard in terms
recognisable from these other poems, yet affirming it. The grass is 'rank and black' (8),
encroaching houses block out the sun, and mundane urban sounds pollute the 'heavy' air, yet
'Good friends, let it be \textit{there}!' (16). This reversal seems perverse, until the speaker identifies
himself as an elderly man who has lived all his life in one house in the city. At his age, the 'hillside'
grave seems unappealingly alien and draughty. The 'dark streets' (22) are familiar, in fact
'my soul doth love them' (23), and with this claim of affection - precisely what Landon said was missing - the urban landscape is transformed. The old man feels at home amongst his city landmarks with their 'comely' 'old faces' (26, 27), and so in his own way conforms to the Romantic ideal of death and burial at home:

Fain would I lay me to rest at last
In their very midst: — full sure am I,
How dark soever be earth and sky,
I shall sleep softly — I shall know
That the things I loved so here below
Are all about me still — so never care
That my last home looketh all bleak and bare —
   Good friends, let it be therel (32– 9)

This vision of the future revalidates the city as a place where rest is possible, and suggests that the rural churchyard is an anachronism or literary cliché. Westwood's vocabulary seems so close to that of other poems that 'The Grave in the City' could be read as a specific parody; but he accurately identifies the fatal division between reality and fantasy which was undermining the tropes and idiom of some post-Romantic poetry. The currency of the country churchyard image itself suggests a nostalgic impulse towards vanishing rural or small-town communities and values. However by 1850, when Tindal and Westwood's poems were published, and the first act closing and regulating the city churchyards was passed, the majority experience was urban, and family graves were increasingly likely to be in a suburban cemetery.

These poems show a relatively benign side of the city churchyards; their faults are those of the city, and the speaker's objections are primarily aesthetic. Charles Dickens's 'City Graves' (Dickens 1850, p.277; text below p.224) was a polemical treatment which dispensed with the rural churchyard. The speaker of the poem walks and observes like a less whimsical 'uncommercial traveller.' He strides directly through a Walkerian miasma 'By drains and ditches fed' (2) to a city church and churchyard with 'Its half-unburied dead' (6). The speaker knows what he will find, and the poem testifies to the perverse relation of dead and living in the contemporary city. For Dickens, it is astonishing that while money piles up in the offices where thousands work, not a penny is used to reform the churchyards where the 'high-piled graves / Higher and higher grow' (7-8). These accumulations of money and bodies are intimately related, for the longer the living are exposed to the pernicious influence of the dead, the more similar they become:

---

1Westwood may be satirising Felicia Hemans's 'Dirge. Where shall we make her grave?':
Oh! then where wild-flowers wave,
Make ye her mossy grave
In the free air!
Where shower and singing-bird
'Midst the young leaves are heard —
   There, lay her there! (Hemans 1839, v.VII, p.11, 31-6)
Fanny Kemble's later poem 'The Minstrel's Grave' has a similar motif of 'Lay me there! lay me there!' (Kemble 1883, p.29).

2Compare II, pp.204-5.

Within those walls, the peace of death —
Without, life's ceaseless din;
The toiler, at his work, can see
The tombs of his mouldering kin;
And the living without, grow, day by day,
More like the dead within. (13-18)

In this syntactic movement between the places of the dead and the living, the distinctions are initially clear, as the silence 'Within' is contrasted with the noise 'Without'; but as the focus switches back and forth, these differences break down. The office-worker can see the graves from his window, but they belong to his 'kin.' Where Landon stigmatised the city-dwellers for ignoring their dead, in this later more health-motivated period, the dead are admonished for their intrusion upon the living. No longer dearly departed, the dead are a dehumanised threat:

I saw from out the earth peep forth
The white and glistening bones,
With jagged ends of coffin-planks,
That e'en the worm disowns;
And once a smooth round skull rolled on,
Like a football, on the stones. (25-30)

There is no sympathy for the people these remains once were. The fragments 'peep forth' like vermin, dangerously 'glistening,' while the coffin boards are 'jagged' and rejected even by the omnivorous 'worm.' An element of farce is added to the danger by the rolling skull which might well be a target for the 'pale-faced urchins' (24) gambolling in the locked burial-ground.¹ Our outraged witness moralises on the dark ironies of the sight, reflecting that the damage is irreparable, and the missionaries would have done better to begin their work of salvation at home. The quiet killing of the living is an atrocity for which legal amelioration comes 'Too late':

No Schedule shall restore to health,
No Act give life again
To the thousands whom, in bygone years,
Our City Graves have slain! (39-42)

Although Dickens spoke for many who felt that the authorities' tardy reactions were culpable neglect, the 1850s burial acts did at least finally close the city churchyards to interments. They were abandoned for almost twenty years, intentionally neglected and overlooked except where developers found a way of buying them; only in the 1870s did campaigners for open spaces in London began to agitate for their landscaping as gardens and playgrounds. However, in the short term closure forced the creation of replacement burial space, and if people had been slow to accept the suburban cemeteries, the pressure of circumstances turned the tide in their favour.

As we have seen, the country churchyard was the iconographic ideal of middle-class poets; when the private cemetery companies of the 1830s and 1840s were planning the layout of their grounds, this image remained an important point of reference. However, there were significant distinctions between the churchyard and the cemetery which made poets less comfortable about picturing the modern burial-place. These differences focused on relative scale, landscaping, and the function of the monument. Cemetery designers - and this applies, if

less dramatically, to the planners of public cemeteries instituted after the 1852 Act - needed to reassure prospective buyers of grave-plots that the cemetery was religiously and socially respectable. They did this by quoting from socially-legitimated traditions to emphasise continuity above innovation.

Where rural churchyards were on a local scale, adjacent to the parish church sanctified by age and familiarity, and marked by well-established trees and native plants, the cemeteries were large, strange spaces, remote from places of regular worship. The most striking difference from the city churchyard was again scale; where many London burial-grounds were less than an acre, Kensal Green stretched across 54 acres, and was later extended, while the site which became the St. Pancras and Islington Cemetery totalled 182 acres. Designers had alluded to the familiar intimacy and enclosure of one, while repudiating the claustrophic crowding and bleakness of the other. The significant innovation of suburban cemeteries was spatial area, which created a sense of airy healthfulness and expansion, and meant that the land could be used for recreation as well as interment.

The geography of sites varied widely; in London, their suburban location often meant rising ground and views of the city, but where land was mostly flat, this sense of visual drama was created by other means. The urban formality of Père Lachaise was largely rejected, because of associations with the stony city churchyards and the British preference for nature in the memorial space. As the new emphasis on recreation would suggest, the vistas and formal planting of eighteenth-century landscape parks and gardens were one influence, most clearly formulated by John Claudius Loudon in *On the laying out, planting, and managing of Cemeteries* (1843). On this model, paths and roads were arranged formally and symmetrically, with chapels or lodges as focal points, and massed evergreens. However, the style of landscaping which came to predominate was softer and more informal than Loudon's rigid schemes, and was strongly indebted to the picturesque landscape parks; paths curled and meandered around gently undulating landscapes broken up into smaller, more enclosed spaces with groups of native trees.\(^1\) Formal elements such as lodges, chapels, or the Catacomb Circle and Cedar of Lebanon at Highgate were more likely to be incorporated into this landscape as a surprise or discovery, than as the triumphant culmination of a grand axial walk. The insecurity and neglect of the locked city churchyards was recuperated with boundary walls and railings, which created a protected environment out of even large areas of land.\(^2\)

The intimacy and softness of the country churchyard was recalled within these large-scale landscapes. The private cemetery was exclusive and self-contained, marketed as a

---

1See Joyce 1994, pp.45-50. The site plan of the nonconformist Abney Park Cemetery in Stoke Newington was partly dictated by the old estate's mature avenues of elms and yews, which suggested the innovative arboretum. However at Kensal Green trees came second to monuments: 'nothing so soon destroys the beauty of a monument as the proximity of trees. The rain water dripping from the extended branches, and the gradual spreading of the roots, combine to produce this destructive effect' (Croft 1867, p.16).

2In the metropolitan churchyards, we seldom found anything but loathsome relics of mortality and festering disease. In a cemetery we find ourselves surrounded by such harmonious minglings of nature and art, that while our senses are gratified with the fragrance of beautiful flowers, the merry chirping of birds, and the graceful productions of the sculptor's genius, our minds are elevated by the many peaceful associations of the scene, and those great truths so silently yet eloquently asserted in a *garden of the dead* (Croft 1867, pp.13-14).
fashionable burial-place, where the upwardly mobile could consolidate their social ascent by buying family vaults in perpetuity, and erecting substantial monuments above them. This emphasis on social visibility and middle-class individualism, partly a development of the dissenting tradition, suggests how little these pre-1852 cemeteries did to help the problem of urban working-class burial. Frequently stigmatised as brash extensions of the middle-class ego, in certain respects these cemeteries perpetuated the urban values which had been so criticised in the old city burial-grounds. When Elizabeth Stone wrote about Kensal Green in the late 1850s, she saw it as the playground of fashionable society, a place of death and commemoration vulgarised by the worldly concerns evinced by living visitors and dead residents:

> it is a strange fashion, a strange fancy, which can induce persons to prefer to be laid in a gay lounge, the feet of careless, frivolous, and thoughtless promenaders and pleasure-seekers all but treading on your grave, rather than to lie in the holy quiet of a churchyard. (Stone 1858, p.105)

In Stone’s view, someone who chooses a grave here displays an unbecoming concern with social matters at a stage of life when they should prefer ‘holy quiet.’ Such a lively grave is not simply indecorous, but suggests that the individual planning his funeral imagined himself still participating in these pleasures after death, as if earthly enjoyment could continue by proxy; these cemetery visitors appear as day-trippers more than mourners. The landscape park cemetery is given a vivid, satirical character as ‘a gay lounge’ with the gregarious, gossipy atmosphere of a levee. Like Landon’s city churchyard, this soil is ‘world-struck,’ the negative rhetoric of ‘careless’ and ‘thoughtless’ is revived to imply what is absent in this lively environment, and Stone shares Landon’s anxiety about the grave being trodden underfoot.

There is a tone of repressed fear and alienation produced by the proximity of so many living and dead strangers, which also recalls the distasteful merging of life with death. Stone also criticises

---

1 Compare traditional family chapels and vaults in churches, such as the Dedlock mausoleum in *Bleak House*, or ‘Church Vaults’ (‘St. Sage-cum-Marjorum’ (‘Church Vaults’ 1849, p.139). In Kipling’s poem ‘The “Mary Gloster,”’ the self-made shipping magnate Sir Anthony Gloster rejects the mausoleum he bought at Woking, in favour of burial in the same part of the ‘Macassar Straits’ where his wife was buried years before, in the ship bearing her name. Gloster’s disappointing only surviving son has not produced an heir, and he regrets ‘hoping for grandsons and buying that Wokin’ vault’ (134). It is implied the Glosters’ other infants were also buried at sea - ‘But they died, the pore little beggars! At sea she had ’em — they died’ (83), and this would suggest a surprisingly traditional family reunion in death (Kipling 1940, p.129).

2 The cemetery is not named; however, on p.120 Stone mentions going to a funeral there, where the flying up of a lark during the service was later recorded in a poem by the officiating clergyman. The poem is Henry Hart Milman’s ‘Stanzas on an incident observed during the funeral of the daughter of Sir Walter Scott, the wife of my friend Mr. Lockhart,’ and Sophia Lockhart’s grave is on the main circular path at Kensal Green, close to the tombs of Thomas Hood and John Claudius Loudon.

3 Benjamin Clark interprets the ‘pleasure-seekers’ more charitably: ‘[Kensal Green is] a place of so general resort ... by the sober-minded part of the public, who wisely prefer a peaceful ride or walk into the country, to the tumultuous revelry of the giddy throng’ (Clark 1843, x).

4 See above pp.41-2.
the place as ‘artificial, and comparatively unhallowed,’ contrasting the purpose-built, inauthentic landscape with the rural churchyard consecrated by the affectionate memory of generations.¹

This lack of decorum extends to the botanic elements in the scene. The cemetery is planted with brightly coloured garden flowers, which apart from the ‘monthly roses,’ share nothing with the churchyard’s organic vocabulary.² The flowers are ‘in the richest bloom,’ making a garden of the place: ‘Such fine African and French marigolds I never saw, though I thought them in very bad taste there’ (p.115). Stone rejects Barnum-like guides who offer tours of the catacombs, where visitors may ‘scan the decorations of your coffin for the “low price of one shilling”’; instead she too selects a churchyard grave:

But may I lie in a churchyard, with at least the pure fresh air blowing over me. Let the ‘dust’ be resolved ‘to dust,’ the ‘ashes to ashes,’ as soon as may be, ‘in hope of a joyful resurrection.’ Let the free air of Heaven blow over my grave, the green fresh grass wave over it also; the trees blossom near, and young lovers meet under their shade. (p.124)

In this imaginative self-liberation through death, Stone does not seem too removed from the airy and healthful atmosphere which the private cemeteries advertised, yet all she has said suggests the impossibility of true rest there.³ Her adherence to the country churchyard tradition is supported by pointed quotations from the Burial Service, which combines simplicity with spiritual priority. This spiritual liberation is implicit in the ‘fresh,’ ‘free’ and heavenly air, while earthly continuity is suggested by the final, wishful image of the harmonious lovers.

Although Elizabeth Stone was criticising one of the early private cemeteries, God’s Acre was written in the mid-1850s, when public cemeteries were seen to be the way forward. Like most poets, she remained loyal to the country churchyard even or especially when it was least relevant to contemporary changes. In fact, the period during which cemeteries were a social good and a poetic subject was short. The example of the private cemeteries had shown burial was a business with a finite capacity for expansion. Even where management was good, the only way to keep making money was by selling and filling more graves. A period of fashionable popularity, as Kensal Green had in the 1840s, made business look very good; but when space began to run out, the traditional problems of overcrowding and corruption recurred. As early as 1842, when joint stock companies addressed themselves to the problem of burying the poor, their plans sounded uncomfortably similar to the city churchyards.⁴ The suburban cemeteries had barely won acceptance before it became clear they were only a partial and temporary solution.

¹In ‘My last sigh for the past’ John Critchley Prince observes that ‘burial-grounds are of a most formal and mathematical cut, where a person is employed to bury his fellow-mortals in quite a business-like way, with as little trouble and as little feeling as suits his convenience’ (Prince 1847, p.172).
³Compare Felicia Hemans’s ‘O Thou Breeze of Spring’ (Hemans 1839, v.VII, p.87).
⁴The 1842 Annual Report of the Kensal Green directors found ‘that seven acres will contain about 133,550 graves; each grave will receive ten coffins; thus accommodation may be provided for 1,335,000 deceased paupers’ (Brooks 1989, p.29).
I have found only a few poems which specifically address the cemetery as a place of peace and security, and even then positive representation depends on a resemblance to the country churchyard. William Allingham's short poem 'In Highgate Cemetery' (Allingham 1850, p.8) suggests a more optimistic view of burial reform. The speaker stands within the cemetery, looking at London 'Far-spread below.' Implicit in this position is a comparison of urban and suburban values; the city wears 'Its cloud by day, its fire by night' (2), yet this suggestion of the column which guided the Israelites to the promised land (Ex. 13:21) points out the absence of 'heavenly presence' there now. At first it seems uncertain how far the suburbs are a promised land:

Incessant troops from that vast throng
Withdraw to silent colonies;
Where houses, lo, are fair and strong,
Though ruins, all that dwell in these. (5-8)

Martial imagery describes the city as a battleground, from which the army of commuters withdraws; yet the silence of the suburbs suggests that this territory is already occupied by a different army - the ruined dead, and there is something eerily redundant about the dead inhabiting such 'fair and strong' houses in Highgate. In the final stanza the speaker finds pastoral compensations away from the city, which are sufficient to recuperate the place of death in which he stands:

Yet, 'neath the universal sky,
Bright children here too run and sing,
Calm verdure waxes green and high,
And grave-side roses smell of Spring. (9-12)

As 'Yet' suggests, this scene has an ambivalent value, but the recuperation is made possible by means of country churchyard iconography. The suburban cemetery lies under an open and 'universal' sky, belonging to all and symbolising God. In contrast to the pale-faced urchins of the city, sunny children play, even the grass is unconstrained and 'calm,' while the flowers are scented and symbolic of renewal.¹

William Davies's wry poem 'To the Genius of my Colour Box' (Davies 1869, p.206) ends in a playful fantasy of burial with his beloved paintbox, in a cemetery described in the most optimistically rural terms:

Buried together you and I
Will in some cemetery lie,
Quiet, in the breezy spot
Where we oft have toiled and thought;
An ample river flowing by:
No marble tomb to hide the sky,
But grass alive to sun and dew,
With modest daisies peeping through;
And but a simple headstone near
To tell the passer who lies there. (397-406)

¹See below pp.65-9 and II, pp.107-8.
Ironically reversing the reader’s expectations, this cemetery was a place of work rather than rest; the speaker goes there to paint. Like Elizabeth Stone’s churchyard, this is an animated and airy landscape, and in it Davies finds all the traditional satisfactions. The rhyming couplets, simple vocabulary, and familiar iconography contribute to a mood of complacency. The speaker chooses a site personalised by associations; there is the nearby river, grass exposed to the elements, and the 'modest' daisy. Strikingly, even the ambitious ‘marble tomb’ is rejected in favour of simplicity and functional inscription. This ‘cemetery’ is a churchyard by any other name, and suggests authorial resistance to change.¹

While the landscape of early cemeteries had been familiarised by the use of rural churchyard iconography, the individual gestures of commemoration made within them were far removed from the poets’ picture of the grave covered in turf, violets or a ‘simple headstone.’ Cemetery graves at this period were identified by monuments as showy and substantial as families could afford. Obelisks, stele, chest tombs, temples, mausolea, statuary and all manner of hybrid and eclectic forms lined the promenades and paths, creating a sculptural display which was variously seen as valuable and improving or redundant and immoral. Yet while the cemeteries were defined by material and monumental commemoration, poets remained faithful to nostalgic, Romantic and natural memorialisation. A strongly anti-monumental tradition runs through nineteenth-century poems, itself both a literary inheritance and a response to contemporary interpretations of material commemoration.

The tradition of public monuments on a superhuman scale, grandiloquent statements of an individual’s status, reaches back to the pyramidal tombs of Egyptian pharaohs and classical mausolea. Although nineteenth-century religious traditions sought to subdue or even erase the grave’s materiality, the body retained a unique fascination and symbolic power, which was in part displaced onto the material tomb. In its most functional and simple form, a funerary monument marked on the earth’s surface the presence of a dead person buried deep underground. Out in the churchyard, the private body was represented by a turf-covered mound, a wooden cross or deadboard, simply inscribed head and foot stones, or perhaps a chest tomb for the more wealthy. The scales of the unseen body and the memorial were approximately equal. However, when the dead individual was commemorated publicly, that congruity between body and monument was disrupted.² Such exaggerated symbolisation of the body combined with the strong nineteenth-century impulse towards the preservation of the body. The ideal of the dead but sleeping body, latently conscious and static, was literally expressed by the money lavished on embalming, the casing of bodies in airtight lead and substantial wooden shells, and depositing in brick-lined vaults and mausolea.³ Such monuments were designed to disguise and contradict the unpredictable ravages of decay suffered by the corpse, with the

¹Compare II, p.131.
²This contrast is exemplified by memorials to Thomas Gray at Stoke Poges, Buckinghamshire. The poet was buried in the vault containing his aunt and mother, beneath a chest tomb; a plaque affixed to the nearby church wall recorded the grave’s significance. When William Penn commemorated Gray twenty years later, he built a massive cenotaph twenty-five feet high, with an oversized sarcophagus on top to symbolise the body.
³See Richardson 1987, p.273.
visible presence of a perfect and elaborate monument. This process reached its most extreme form in the state monuments erected for heroes such as Nelson and Wellington.\(^1\)

However, these public signs were exceptional acknowledgments of exceptional achievement, and even then many opposed their construction. When we turn to poems about commemoration, anti-monumentality is the rule, with ambivalence shading into hostility.\(^2\) The anti-monumental tradition is present in Robert Blair’s ‘The Grave’ and Gray’s ‘Elegy’.\(^3\) Eliza Cook’s rich man had his ‘strong cloister niche’ and ‘coffin of cedar and gold’ (9-10), but the speaker herself chose no headstone at all. From the Protestant perspective, the body is a vessel for the soul, a case meaningless once vacated by the spirit, and thus a monument which represents the body is irrelevant or unspiritual. This suspicious attitude to grave-markers influences even those who affirm the social and moral function of remembering and commemorating.

In his *Essay on Sepulchres: or, a proposal for erecting some memorial of the illustrious dead in all ages on the spot where their remains have been interred* (1809), William Godwin proposed that inexpensive white wooden crosses be placed over graves of important people. Traditionally, such figures’ graves were marked by large-scale monuments, often on the walls of important churches and cathedrals such as Westminster Abbey or St. Paul’s Cathedral. Typically public monuments were constructed of expensive stones and marbles and included a statue of the deceased, weeping mourners or allegorical figures, emblems of the dead person’s achievements and elaborate inscriptions.\(^4\) Godwin’s perishable crosses combine a commemorative function with humility and democracy.\(^5\) Several poets wrote approvingly of the Society of Friends’ churchyards, where graves had no markers whatsoever. When Bernard Barton (himself a Quaker) considers this question in ‘Verses supposed to be written in a Burial-ground belonging to the Society of Friends’ (Barton 1825, p.1) he reads monuments as covert signs of lack of faith:

\(^1\)The Duke of Wellington’s memorial was probably the best-known and most extreme example. See Archer 1852, p.16, for a description of the Duke’s *four coffins*. The body was interred in the crypt of St. Paul’s Cathedral, beneath a magnificent rose-brown sarcophagus. See also Physick 1969, pp.186-9 for an illustrated account of the genesis of Alfred Stevens’s monument now standing in the nave, and Percival 1969, p.84.

\(^2\)See Aries 1991, pp.531-6 for different national valuations of natural versus monumental commemoration.

\(^3\)See Blair 1753, p.14, 190-207 and Gray 1969, p.117, 33-44.

\(^4\)The enthusiasm for elaborate monuments was often stigmatised as Catholic and idolatrous, in ‘The Bishop Orders His Tomb at Saint Praxed’s Church,’ St. Paul’s Cathedral has many examples of military memorials in white marble where the dying figure of a dead general portrayed in flattering youth is surrounded by military symbols such as cannons, swords and military regalia. This symbolism carried over into cemetery monuments; for instance, at Kensal Green the outdoor memorial to General Sir George Bell (1877) includes a folded uniform and headdress, open bible, sword and medals.

\(^5\)Commentators are often at a loss to understand Godwin’s intention in the ‘Essay.’ I consider his proposal to be an oblique response to Mary Wollstonecraft’s death twelve years before. Godwin gives an example of how one might feel upon the death of ‘some great and excellent man,’ and after expanding at length on this apparently suppositious grief, speculates on how much more extreme the response might be if this ‘friend’ was ‘the wife of my bosom’ (Godwin 1993, pp.8-9).
Could we conceive Death was indeed the close
Of our existence, Nature might demand
That, where the reliques of our friends repose,
Some record to their memory should stand,
To keep them unforgotten in the land: —
Then, then indeed, urn, tomb, or marble bust,
By sculptor's art elaborately plann'd,
Would seem a debt due to their mouldering dust,
Though time would soon efface the perishable trust. (19-27)

This speculative mode frames an environment of cultural unbelief which the speaker clearly finds incredible; yet he describes perfectly the commemorative impulses at work in the wider world. 'Records' of dead friends are raised to 'keep them unforgotten,' and the ingenious planning (and expense) of a monument is a debt to the departed which can never be repaid. Yet even this relatively forgiving observation about contemporary mores is incomplete without a memento mori; the 'marble bust' might seem to be a means of transcending loss and time, but 'time would soon efface the perishable trust.' For Barton, the immortality of the soul makes redundant all 'sculptur'd monuments ... / With epitaphs engraven' (1-2), and these forms, along with all 'funeral mummeries' (93) are revealed to be compensations for inadequate feeling (96-9). In this Quaker context, negative rhetoric becomes a means of celebrating the absence of unnecessary things; instead of palls, plumes and priests, there is 'a silent pause, to tell / What language could not' (69-70). The burial-ground needs no display of feeling, no public exposure of private concerns. Barton turns the focus of commemoration from the external world to the interior, and from the material to the spiritual and emotional. True grief

has an epitaph unwrit,
Yet graven deeper far than the most skill'd
Of artists' tool can reach: — the full heart thrill'd,
While that inscription was recording there;
And, till his earthly course shall be fulfill'd,
That tablet, indestructible, must bear
The mourner's woe, in lines Death can alone outwear. (102-8)

In this vivid transformation of the familiar Romantic trope of the interior shrine, God the artist engravés a record of grief on the mourner's living heart. The 'indestructible' internalised monument transcends materiality and time, and there is no therapeutic healing in Barton's idea of grief. This suffering will be redeemable with death, when such parted spirits are reunited; however 'indestructible' memory is all too often revealed as fragile, unreliable and perishable.

1However, in 'Essay on Epitaphs, I' Wordsworth asserts that 'without the belief in immortality,... neither monuments nor epitaphs, in affectionate or laudatory commemoration of the deceased, could have existed in the world' (Owen and Smyser 1974, v.II p.52). The traditional topos of the vanity of earthly commemoration is considered in Sir Thomas Browne's Urne Buriall, ch.5: 'Our fathers find their graves in our short memories and sadly tell us how we may be buried in our survivors. Gravestones tell truth scarce forty years. Generations pass while some trees stand, and old families last not three oaks' (Browne 1958, p.42). See II, pp.17-19.

2Basil Montagu says '[Quakers] have not any sepulchres or arched vaults under ground for the reception of their dead; they do not use tombstones, monuments, or epitaphs; not even plain inscriptions ... nor do they wear any mourning, or make any alteration in their dress' (Montagu 1840, p.24). See also Holmes 1896, pp.139-43.

3See below p.122.
While Barton's reasons for discounting monuments are largely spiritual, Charles Mackay's idiosyncratic revision of the Romantic grave-choosing trope shows a more earthly anxiety about commemoration. In 'A Bard's Request' (Mackay 1856b, p.230), the speaker selects a natural grave in the traditional landscape of 'shady tree[s]' and wildflowers; but his rejection of a monument introduces a specifically authorial anxiety about commemoration.

I care not for a tomb,  
With sculptured cherubim,  
Amid the solemn gloom  
Of old cathedrals dim;  
I care not for the pride  
Of epitaphs well-meant,  
Nor wish my name with any pomps allied,  
When my last breath is spent;  
Give me a grave beneath the fair green trees,  
And an abiding-place in good men's memories. (11-20)

The Mackay-like 'bard' rejects sculptural forms and written testimonial, and stately but obscure public commemoration, preferring a natural grave and a simple memory. Yet he is particularly concerned that his memory is not disturbed by biographers' probings; the poet would prefer to be forgotten entirely than have an 'irreverent pen' (25) expose his private life. At least obscurity would allow him to 'sleep unvexed by any knell' (30). In an attempt to preempt such incursions, the poet writes his own biography in the poem, an everyman story of wrongs punished and rights rewarded, truth-telling and integrity. Mackay's warning against material and biographical commemoration suggests that all public and posthumous constructions of an individual's life, character or memory, are hypocritical and dubiously motivated. The 'sculptured cherubim' are simply the marble version of the tittle-tattling biography.

Opinion was always divided on the effectiveness of monumental commemoration, but I have found that the cemeteries, particularly the earlier joint stock enterprises, had the effect of reviving the anti-monumental literary tradition. Ostentatious tombs were associated with the socially-aspirant commercial classes, and stigmatised as vulgar, hubristic, vain and spiritually barren. By the 1860s moral or aesthetic objections were accompanied by anxieties about good

---

1See 'At a Poet's Grave' (Mackay 1856b, p.167) and 'A Grave' (Mackay 1890a, p.259), also II, pp.157-9.

2This contrasts with a youthful memory: 'Poets' Corner was my favourite haunt, where, in the contemplation of the tombs, busts or statues of the poets, great and small, but all of them great to me at that time, I fed the fires of my youthful ambition, and formed the resolve that I should be known hereafter as one of the company of the poets' (Mackay 1887, v.1, p.22). Compare below p.213.

3'A Bard's Request' ends on a defensive note which suggests the futility of trying to dictate how one is remembered:

Add but a date to this life-history —  
The obituary line, —  
Say that I lived and died, and did my best —  
But spare my secret heart, and let my follies rest! (107-10)

4The Rev. W. H. Lyttleton presents Christ's simple burial as the Christian ideal: 'we may notice that there is nothing in this sacred burial of our Lord like worldly pomp. There is affection, tenderness, to any degree, expressed, but there is not the least touch of needless show' (Lyttleton 1839, p.7). However, it could also be argued that as a private tomb donated by the wealthy benefactor Joseph of Arimathea, Jesus's grave was touched by 'worldly pomp.'
Figure 4. South Metropolitan Cemetery, West Norwood, c.1907. When this photograph was taken it was fifty years since concerns about overcrowding within the cemetery had first been voiced. See pp.54, 56.

Figure 5. Collapsed Acock family monument, Camberwell Old Cemetery, Forest Hill, 1995. Apparent massiveness is no guarantee of longevity; the rods holding the different elements of this typical pedestal monument together have rusted, and the foundations have subsided. See pp.51-2.
burial; some cemeteries were regarded with the mistrust once reserved for the city churchyards, and as the cities grew, the cemeteries too became surrounded by housing (see Figure 4, p.55). Philip Bourke Marston's 'My Grave' (Marston 1892, p.368) explicitly identifies the cemetery with city crowds and disturbance. Like Landon's 'Scenes in London,' Marston's sonnet combines a critique of urban burial with a positive choice of pastoral grave. For the young blind poet the frontiers of the city had shifted, encroaching on the suburbs and reinvigorating the more distant rural idyll. The poem begins with a striking repudiation:

For me no great metropolis of the dead, —
Highways and byways, squares and crescents of death, — (1-2)

After Allingham's celebration of suburban Highgate, Marston's speaker rejects the cemetery as a city of the dead in the style of Paris's Père Lachaise. As the accumulation of nouns in the second line suggests, this kind of burial-place is clogged and crowded. Other writers observed the similarity of Victorian catacomb complexes and mausolea to the houses of the living, an effect reinforced by the formal roads which structured cemeteries such as Kensal Green or Brompton.¹ This urban death landscape recalls Elizabeth Stone's criticism of cemeteries' worldly ethos. Marston seeks a rural burial, but he is peculiarly concerned with peace and silence:

But after I have breathed my last sad breath,
Am comforted with quiet, I who said,
"I weary of men's voices and their tread,
Of clamoring bells, and whirl of wheels that pass," —
Lay me beneath some plot of country grass,
Where flowers may spring, and birds sing overhead; — (3-8)²

Marston rejects human presence; as in the city churchyards, the sounds of everyday human activity are an intrusion on the speaker's hard-won peace. As if imagining the condition of his own death, the voice changes from an insistent first person to the impersonal. His chosen grave is only briefly described, because it is immediately recognisable. Superficially identical with the Romantic natural grave, this scene denies the possibility of spiritual transcendence; the sombre, delayed five-stressed lines linger over this state of non-existence. A friend comes at dusk not to

¹See particularly Highgate's Egyptian avenue and catacomb circle, or the Greek Cemetery within Norwood Cemetery. S. L. Blanchard comments on the idea that the English do not invest in their vaults until they are needed: "Know ye not (he asks) that it is usual with the man of wealth at Paris to possess his town hotel, his country house at St. Cloud, a box at the Italian Opera, and a tomb in this Cemetery?" Now, we have never felt our human sympathies repelled, whilst traversing the English Cemetery, with a suspicion of this kind, — sent back, as from a fruitless errand, by a sound from the hollow mausoleum, which to the ear of imagination might say, "Not at home." Yet here are edifices sufficiently spacious to beget the same misapprehension into which the child ran in Père la Chaise, when mistaking from the size of the buildings their object, he asked, as he stopped before one of them, "Who lives here?" (Blanchard 1843, p.19).

²I have been unable to trace this quotation. Human presence is often a reminder of loss in Marston's poetry; when he was twenty-one, his fiancée died of consumption, and he was also bereaved of two sisters and friends Oliver Madox Brown, A. W. E. O'Shaughnessy, D. G. Rossetti and James Thomson. Marston associates death with the city in 'All Round about me is the city's Noise,' 'London, from far,' and 'City Bells' (Marston 1892, pp.373, 383, 397). See also II, p.255.
grieve, but to confirm death's release by remembering: 'Now he sleeps long, who had so long to fight' (14). This contrast suggests that the 'metropolis' is indeed the city of the dead, because it is not conducive to grave-pilgrimage and contemplation; only in the country is the poet's windborne epitaph heard in 'low words, breathed through the failing light' (12).

The stony and hostile cemetery, an unnaturally deserted deathly city, becomes an image of actual neglect in some representations. Austin Dobson's 'The Forgotten Grave. A Sketch in a Cemetery' (Dobson 1913, p.150) recalls Romantic poems on the graves of marginal figures, the poor, elderly, dispossessed or entirely unknown, but places the trope within a contemporary setting. Although the abandoned grave is singled out from the adjacent plots and memorials, it represents a trend identified with the suburban cemeteries' superficial values, and their distance from mourners' homes:

How strange! The very grasses' growth
Around it seemed forlorn and loath;
The very ivy seemed to turn
Askance that wreathed the neighbour urn.
The slab had sunk; the head declined,
And left the rails a wreck behind.
No name; you traced a "6," — a "7,"
Part of "affliction" and of "Heaven"
And then, in letters sharp and clear,
You read — O Irony austere! —
"Tho' lost to Sight, to Mem'ry dear." (11-21)

While in churchyards natural forms traditionally harmonise with the grave, in the cemetery even grasses and ivy imitate human society by shunning the grave. Thus abandoned, the grave is marked by the visible monument, but this too shows only subsidence and ruin. The poem's rapid, almost jaunty rhythm jars with the site's supposed sanctity, and prepares us for the final ironic punchline; but it also throws into relief the stone's unsettling illegibility. The stone is anonymous, and what can be read is enigmatic - do the figures refer to dates or ages? We can guess how the epitaph might run, but the relationship between 'affliction' and 'Heaven' is not certain. Individuality is suppressed, subordinated to a broader moral, which stands as the epitaph to Dobson's poem as well as to the unknown dead. The grave's neglected appearance belies the inscription, suggesting that if the grave is so 'lost to sight,' the dead person's memory has probably followed; in the cemetery, the conventional claim to an interior monument - the mourner's grief - is devalued.3

This neglect was associated with cemeteries from early in their history. In 1858, twenty-six years after Kensal Green opened, Elizabeth Stone remarked on the 'disreputable state of disorder' of many graves (compare Figure 5, p.55). The cypress is 'unnurtured, unpruned, forgotten,' while 'rank weeds and trailing neglected shrubs deface the very memorials graven on

1Compare John Clare's 'Memory':
I feign would have some friend to wander nigh
& find a path to where my ashes sleep
Not the cold heart that merely passes bye
To read who lieth there (Clare 1990, p.395, 9-12).


3Hardy's 'Ah, are you digging on my grave?' is a classic example of friends not long being prostrated by grief (Hardy 1930, p.310).
the tombs.’ Stone associates rioting weeds, descendants of the thistles which grew up under Adam’s tread after the Fall, with a modern culture of disrespect, where sacred inscriptions are ‘deface[d].’ While the rustic churchyard’s ‘rank grass’ may be ‘unsightly’:

it does not convey to the mind that idea of the forgetfulness of the living which is raised by the sight of a grave once trim, and surrounded with costly exotic flowers, now carelessly suffered to dwindle and decay. (Stone 1858, p.117)

Criticism of British cemeteries and associated changes in memorial culture, was often displaced onto the French cemetery which had inspired the British movement, Père Lachaise in Paris.2 Opened in 1800, its design matched formal and neoclassical motifs with a picturesque hilly landscape and the cemetery was famous for its thousands of massive family mausolea and public tombs. Being the earliest modern cemetery, it was also the first to experience the problems of space which followed from population expansion and the sale of grave-plots in perpetuity. English visitors went to the cemetery expecting something impressive and picturesque, and were often disappointed at the atmosphere of urban neglect; but I suspect that their hostility derives partly from suspicions that the scene was all too close to home.

Walter Thornbury’s 1860s account of a poor man’s funeral is typical, where even in the prestigious areas, tokens of remembrance were swamped by signs of neglect:

Miles of tombs — from the simple black cross to the stone barn that covers Napoleon’s Marshals. Here and there, a bright fresh yellow wreath on the rails of a grave; here and there, autumn roses blooming palely but sweetly; but in how many of these stone sentry-boxes and little railed-in chapels forgetfulness and neglect, dusty tapestry of ragged cobwebs, rotting wreaths, broken plaster Virgins, shattered glass! “Regrets” — dirt, dust, and desolation! Forgotten — others now to fill the heart with fresh memories. (Thornbury 1868, pp.39-40)

Again country churchyard values are prioritised above monumental commemoration. Roses and wreaths indicate recent visits by mourners, but more substantial memorials exhibit their abandonment in broken symbols, dust and cobwebs. The living have vacated the memorial landscape, and easily replaced the beloved dead. However, this middle-class neglect fades into insignificance next to the French solution to overcrowding and pauper burial - ‘La fosse commune.’3 In the later nineteenth century, those who could not afford to buy private plots were buried in mass graves, which were cleared for new burials every six years. British visitors regarded this practice with anti-French disgust, a response heightened by recent memories of urban burial abuses.

This ambivalence is explored in Francis Turner Palgrave’s ‘Père La Chaise’ (Palgrave 1892, p.158). Palgrave’s sceptical view of the cemetery is anti-French, but also critiques

1Gen. 3:17-18: ‘cursed is the ground for thy sake ... thorns also and thistles shall it bring forth to thee.’
2See Walker 1839, pp.76-89.
3In Thornbury’s words, ‘There was the Fosse — an enormous wide trench, some hundred and fifty yards long — a coarse rough trench, like a potato-pit, with the clay flung out in hills on either side. The Fosse I saw was newly opened, and had at present not more than thirty or forty inmates — that slope of loose earth hid them; and beyond that, two grave-diggers in their shirts rested on their spades waiting for another coffin’ (Thornbury 1868, pp.42-3). See II, pp.198-9.
contemporary metropolitan culture generally. The opening image ironically suggests the pastoral:

The field of death at Paris,
   You might think it a fold from afar;
Like flocks the white tombs scatter'd
   That green enclosure star. (1-4)

Unlike Marston's 'metropolis of the dead,' this cemetery is a field; yet the impression of sheep depends on a remote perspective, as do religious connotations of the 'flock.' On closer inspection, these 'white tombs' become less innocent symbols of human folly. Great men are buried in Père Lachaise, but Palgrave undermines their status before a name is mentioned:

There statesman, financier and poet,
   Love, glory, ambition and guile,
Are laid 'neath their pompous inscriptions,
   And the stranger says 'Who?' with a smile. (5-8)

The slight imbalance between the three men's careers and the four epithets associated with them, at first prevents the reader from judging relative value. However, chiasmus suggests that we read the epithets in reverse order, so that the poet has love and glory, while the financier is ambitious and the statesman guileful. These distinctions are then undermined, since all are equalised by obscurity and 'pompous inscriptions,' but even those identified by the simple inscription of their names are 'proudly mock-modest' (9), and equally doomed to inherit 'but the name and the stone.' After this the value of Béranger, Heine and Bellini who 'Lie 'mid the brilliant obscure' is uncertain; and they, though once brilliant, are doomed to obscurity for being 'in their lifetime too famous / To be famous for evermore' (19-20). Although Palgrave's undercutting strategies are different from Thornbury's, the effect is similar; we see only the cemetery's delusive grandeur, and the hypocritical ostentation of the dead.

In the second half, Palgrave reveals the source of his sardonic view of the hypocrites' tedious 'white mausolea,' by turning to the 'dark fascination / Of the dreary Fosse Commune' (23-4). Preoccupied with the unequal treatment of the great and the ordinary in a supposedly egalitarian society, Palgrave questions whether these anonymous Parisians shovelled in 'by fifties' (29), were really so worthless:

Had these no story of passion?
   Had these no passion for fame,
No deeds for remembrance or glory,
   Who lie without hillock or name? (25-8)

Where the famous names were exposed and reduced, this negative rhetoric elevates the obscure, and continues the traditional high valuing of modest, immaterial commemoration.¹

¹See Brooks 1989, p.7 for the stratification of social rank in cemeteries.
²It is not that the poor went uncommemorated, but that their memorials were swept away, as Thornbury remarks: 'The ground among the thistle and darnel and dock was strewn with every sort of votive offering and churchyard souvenir — glass, dishes of India-painted glass — representing angels leading away children, and widows under willow-trees, and widowers
Palgrave’s questioning suggests a late reading of Gray’s ‘Elegy,’ where the speaker revalued the ‘village-Hampden’ and the ‘mute inglorious Milton’ together with their modest rustic memorials.\(^1\) Palgrave’s impoverished ‘Sons of starvation and sin’ find a debased equality only with each other ‘by Mortality’s favour’ (32-3), and their undignified, anonymous burial-place makes a mockery of ‘this best of worlds’ (37). Utilitarian science and agnosticism are held responsible for the decay of compassion; in Palgrave’s evolutionary metaphor, the communal grave is symptomatic of a distinctly Victorian malaise:

And the orphan sobs and wanders
O’er the dust that will hide it soon
From the wolfish strife for existence,
Of the dreary Fosse Commune. (49-52)

The archetypal victim of social irresponsibility, the distressed orphan seeks an impossible communion with its mother: ‘And the child in vain seeks the mother / With its cross to crown her, and die’ (35-6). In this Darwinian world where only the fittest survive, the poet does indeed need ‘ambition and guile.’ The mass grave, historically connected with barbarity, plagues and battlefields,\(^2\) renews memories of the insecure city churchyard and arbitrary relations between graves and headstones. In this satire of Victorian progress Père Lachaise is damned as ostentatious, hypocritical, anti-democratic and violently unnatural. Another of Palgrave’s poems makes explicit this connection between historical barbarity and present practice. In ‘The Esquiline Field. Rome, B. C. 10’ (Palgrave 1871, p.158)\(^3\) he describes a fosse containing the Roman Empire’s victims. These ‘Vast acres of bones’ (7) belonged to a social underclass, like the Parisian paupers - workhouse slaves, raped handmaidens, ‘murder’d infants’ (17). After a detailed picture of outrageous exploitation, ‘perfect human creature[s]’ (23) discarded ‘to corrupt and crumble’ (11), Palgrave turns to the ‘social reform’ of the Esquiline Field (33):

For Maecaenas will buy the place,
And set it out in fair gardens,
And the dead-man’s field efface. — (34-6)

Transformed into a pleasure garden, the fosse is a ‘charming spot’ (38) where fashionable society plays; yet this improvement denies past atrocities and ‘the bones and the souls that own’d them’ (39). The highly-charged vocabulary and present tense of this historical account suggest the Esquiline Field’s contemporary allegorical significance. By the conclusion, the Roman Empire’s victims are the modern-day slaves, immigrants and serving classes of all Europe:

The souls disfeatured and ruin’d,
Bodies ground down to waste,

mournning over tombstones, with their faces hid in handkerchiefs — were there trampled to pieces, and rough with encrusted dirt’ (Thornbury 1868, pp.40-1).

\(^1\)Gray 1969, p.117, 57-9.


\(^3\)These two poems were probably written at about the same time; ‘Père La Chaise’ is annotated ‘Paris, Sep. 1869’ by Palgrave in a British Library copy of the 1892 volume.
To form a broad foundation  
For comfort and wealth and taste?

And Vienna, London, and Paris,
Have they such a field to show?
— How can you? — Culture and Science
Manage things better, we know. (41-8)

In allegorical terms, the poor and helpless still provide the 'foundation' for the leisured classes, but the literal meaning also has a contemporary relevance. This historical mass grave represents the contemporary city churchyards which, for several decades after closure, were even more neglected than before. When campaigners began to claim them as green spaces for recreation, many had already been sold for redevelopment, so the image of fashionable society 'frisk[ing] and simper[ing]' (37) over a mass grave was hardly exaggerated. Palgrave projects a contemporary society with little more concern for burial dignity for the poor than classical Rome at its most decadent.

While commentators perceived differences between French and British sensibility, I think this association between Victorian cemeteries, mass graves and the old urban churchyards indicates a widespread anxiety. While the Burial Acts of the 1850s solved short term problems by creating large public burial-spaces, as the population continued to grow and the cities to expand, alternatives were looked for. Commentators imagined a future Britain entirely covered by cities and cemeteries; and increasingly the living begrudged the space taken up by their dead. As Christian faith in the afterlife lost its authority, so the anti-monumental tradition I have traced in poems, came to reflect actual attitudes to commemoration more closely. These developments contributed to the pro-cremation campaigns of the 1870s, and ultimately to the twentieth-century preference for cremation.

If the cemetery proved unworthy of the persistent rural churchyard tradition, 1870s burial innovations used the familiar iconography to reassure a doubtful public. In the search for sustainable bodily disposal, cremation was only one idea. In his 'Earth to Earth' campaign

---

1Richard Mant's 'The Disinterred Primate' similarly negotiates historical and contemporary burial themes (Mant 1837, p.88).
2The 1884 Disused Burial Grounds Act belatedly prevented private redevelopment and reserved the grounds as recreational space. Isabella Holmes remarked that 'I can forsee no better fate for the disused graveyards than that they should become gardens or playgrounds ... many of them having to be reclaimed from their present use as builders' yards, cooperages, &c.' (Holmes 1896, p.273).
3In Hardy's 'In the Cemetery,' three mothers brawl over a common grave where each has a child buried 'like sprats in a tin,' thus looking back to the cemetery's dubious reputation, and as Paul Fussell has argued, forward to the mass graves of World War One (Fussell 1977, pp.5-6):
   'And then the main drain had to cross,
   And we moved the lot some nights ago,
   And packed them away in the general foss
   With hundreds more. But the folks don't know,
   And as well cry over a new-laid drain
   As anything else, to ease your pain!' (Hardy 1930, p.393, 9-14)
4Isabella Holmes protested that 'Kensal Green is truly awful, with its catacombs, its huge mausoleums, family vaults, statues, broken pillars, weeping images, and oceans of tombstones ... They are of no use to the departed, and they are grievous burdens laid on the shoulders of succeeding generations' (Holmes 1896, pp.256-7).
F. S. Haden suggested providing favourable conditions for the body's natural decomposition, by burying it in the Victorian equivalent of a modern biodegradable coffin or sack:

a coffin of some light permeable material, such as wicker or lattice-work ... filled in with any fragrant herbaceous matters ... A layer of ferns or mosses for a bed ... sweet herbs for a pillow ... any aromatic or flowering plant for a coverlet. (Haden 1875a, p.18).

Haden evokes churchyard imagery to make novelty appear natural. Although there were reductions in funerary excess in the late century, coffins were still by preference substantial and protective casks; Haden's Romantic basket masks an assault on the Victorian orthodoxy of bodily preservation and the grave's sanctity. The dead body is figured in its traditional state - the sleeper united with nature; indeed, Haden considered cremation an attempt to defraud nature of its rights. However, he shared the cremation lobby's anti-material ethos, when he feared 'that the tendency may be to preserve' the ashes in urns.

Cremation campaigners emphasised the method's ancient origin, while trying to separate it from pagan associations. They debunked assumptions of interment's scriptural authority, and identified the period when cremation disappeared (the 5th century A. D.) as Christianity's most benighted phase. It was traced back to the Greeks and Hindus, but also the Celts, ancient Gauls and Old Testament Hebrews. Although cremation was affirmed as the hygienic, humane and economic solution, it also appealed to late Victorians and Edwardians seeking liberation from spiritual uncertainty. Post-revolutionary French advocacy and Shelley's cremation in 1822 encouraged radical support, but the middle classes began to be attracted to the less intense confrontation with mortality ensured by the body's quick and discreet disappearance.

Opponents argued that cremation was unnatural, and appealed to the churchyard as an authority: 'See the glorious verdure in an old English village grave-yard! and compare it with the cremator's hand-painted urn; holding within its painted paunch the ashes of one we loved' (Munday 1875, p.13). However, the view that cremation reduced the body to its simplest organic elements prevailed, and a few enthusiasts even suggested using human ashes for compost.

In a pamphlet attributed to a 'Truth-seeker,' Leo Grindon observed:

---

1Taking his cue from the 'fosse commune,' Haden calculated that bodies could decompose in about six years, allowing graves to be reused and thereby saving space.

2Haden saw a troubled future for modern cinerary urns: '[shall we] take them into our houses and move them with our furniture with every change of abode? How will our sons' sons, who have lost all interest in us, feel disposed to treat them?' (Haden 1875b, p.11); compare below p.64.

3Isabella Holmes commented that 'those who have been cremated have been more or less associated ... with the advanced school — those that consider themselves "enlightened," Radicals, or Socialists ... I venture to think that cremation will not be taken up very largely until a few such men as the Archbishop of York, the Chief Rabbi [etc. are cremated]' (Holmes 1896, pp.270-1). See below, p.131.

4Walter Smith whimsically observed that 'the remains of an old man of 80 years, being altered and re-arranged, might bloom and blush as a beautiful flower in the bosom of a maid' (Smith 1881, p.8).
Figure 6. Ilford Crematorium, interior of Columbarium. Cremation urns vary in shape according to culture; this picture shows that in the early twentieth century the coffin was still the primary point of reference for bodily disposal, the coffin miniaturised and sanitised.
when a sculptured emblem is wanted for a monument, the thing adopted, if it be not a weeping figure, or an angel, is a model of a Grecian urn. This of course is understood to supply a sort of picture of what has been done with the remains of the deceased ... Christian consistency, to say the least, if it does not desire the marble to declare an untruth, should place there, instead of the urn, a bas-relief of "worms," a skull with all its belongings, in a state of decomposition, jaws without lips, horrible crawling things in the sockets where once were beautiful eyes. (Grindon 1874, pp.7-8)

Given the controversy which attended the 1870s campaign and legalisation in 1884, it is hardly surprising that cremation was an awkward theme for contemporary poetry; poems about classical urns and suttee were an easier way to treat the subject.¹ In 'Ad Cinerarium' (Plarr 1896, p.18) Victor Plarr questions the urn, a miniature, portable monument or 'Little house without a portal' (9), about its ashes' uncertain identity.² The 'dust' itself gives nothing away, whether 'Celt or Roman, man or woman' (2), and the urn is uninscribed. In this oblique but sympathetic treatment of cremation, the speaker reinterprets anonymity as a sign of the mourner's love:

Sure he thought there's no forgetting
All the sweetness and completeness
Of his rising, of her setting,

And so bade them grave no token,
Generation, age, or nation,
On thy round side still unbroken; — (13-18)

In this continuation of Romantic anti-monumental tradition, simplicity and absence signify authentic feeling, while the rejected 'cypress verses' (19) are a superfluous performance of simulated grief. The speaker begins inquiring after identity, but concludes that after death nothing matters 'If but soundly he reposes!' (30). Plarr's meditation focuses on an antique urn, but the emphasis on sound sleep minimises the Victorian ethos of bodily preservation, or at least portrays cremation as an alternative. As Grindon phrased it, the loved-one's form is 'Subject to no change, and secure in its little urn, from those harrowing sacrileges and exhumations which every day bring skulls and bones to the surface' (Grindon 1874, p.13).

In 'Etruscan Tombs' (Robinson 1902, p.147; text in II, p.434) A. Mary F. Robinson celebrates retention of the cremated person's image, by suggesting that cremation allows an intimate relation with the dead impossible with burial.³ In this unusual love poem, the speaker fearfully anticipates a future in which one lover survives to see the other 'long buried in a distant spot' (4); by contrast the Etruscans 'kept the ashes of the dead in sight, / And shaped the vase to seem the vanished face' (7-8).⁴ The speaker portrays herself as her lover's living monument, an urn of precious memories, and finds this same love in 'These cinerary urns with human head / And human arms that dangle at their sides' (15i6). These poignant urns endorse and evade the churchyard and anti-monumental tradition; they turn the grave into an intimate, domestic site.

¹Suttee or sati was abolished in India in 1829. See Rajan 1994, pp.285-311. See Kipling's 'The Last Suttee' (Kipling 1940, p.238), and Letitia Landon's 'A Suttee' (Landon 1839, p.175).
²Compare II, p.267.
³See II, p.272.
⁴Compare below pp.55, 57 and II, p.322.
and give the dead continuity in the family's everyday life, yet they also celebrate the body's image and materiality.1 Dissatisfied 'With symbol and with emblem' (20), the grieving Etruscans sought more direct commemoration: 'To keep the dead alive and as they were, / The actual features and the glance that went!' (21-2). Opponents of cremation argued that it was a violent desecration of the dead person's memory, yet here the memorials of love have survived an entire civilisation: 'The sad immortal images remain, / And show that once they lived and once you loved' (25-6).

Although Robinson is sympathetic to cremation, she identifies with the affectionate makers of the anthropomorphic urns. As far as I can discover, William Allingham was the first Victorian poet of significance to choose cremation for himself after its legalisation in 1884. Death was a constant theme of Allingham's poetry, but in later life his approach became almost polemic.2 In a volume arranged shortly before his death, a slightly revised version of 'In Highgate Cemetery' appeared in a new, challenging context, grouped with fifteen small and epitaphal poems as Graves and Urns. Some of the other pieces were also republished from earlier volumes, but the arrangement suggests a changing affiliation, from graves to urns.3 In 'The Funeral' (Allingham 1890d, p.73), Allingham critiques conventional death rhetoric such as 'we "bury him" ' or ' "sleeping in the tomb" ' (1, 2), which suggests spiritual death and lost identity. Once the spirit has left the 'mystic form' (5), the body may be respected but not confused with the dead person:

But this no more is man at all,
Mere water now and clay,
Fit to be purged by fire, or fall
Apart in slow decay. (9-12)

Reduced to its elemental components, the body loses its 'mystic' quality. If the vacant body is dehumanised, the funeral becomes more physical process than religious ritual. In this unsentimental, desacralised context, the speaker does not choose between rapid or slow dissolution, but suggests purification might be slightly better than 'slow decay.' Silent process

---

1Philippe Ariès suggests this paradox in his description of cremation's effect on the memorial process: 'Sometimes the cult [of domestic memorialisation] may tend toward mummification: The house, or the room of the deceased, is left exactly as it was during his lifetime' (Ariès 1991, p.577).

2See II, pp.107-8. In 'Evening Shadows,' a child reads the poet's own gravestone:

He stoops to read an old half-buried stone,
And weeds the mosses that almost destroy
The letters of the name, which is — my own. (Allingham 1850, p.107, 9-11)

3In Lewis Morris's 'At Last,' the speaker's conviction of his soul's immortality makes him equally tolerant of cremation and burial:

Then, whether with fire they burn
This dwelling-house of mine when I am fled,
And in a marble urn
My ashes rest by my belovèd dead,
Or in the sweet cold earth
I pass from death to birth,
And pay kind Nature's life-long debt
In heart's-ease and in violet —
In charnel-yard or hidden ocean wave,
Where'er I lie, I shall not scorn my grave. (Morris 1907, p.136, 71-80).
Figure 7. Three posters issued by the Cremation Society. These images of twentieth-century propaganda indicate the survival of Victorian anxieties about city burial-grounds and cemeteries ('A crematorium never becomes filled up - useless - obsolete'), and strikingly continue the language of elemental purification used in poems by William Allingham (see pp.65-9).
displaces spoken ritual, and death becomes an enigmatic but unthreatening hieroglyph. The poem rejects euphemistic death language - 'men's timid vain pretence' (17) - but affirms spirituality and 'The truest faith' (20).

The next poem, 'Urn Burial' (p.74) elaborates on the values associated with flame and decay. Allingham alludes to Sir Thomas Browne's archaeological treatise, but his poem has a strong contemporary ethos. Slow decay is reproved for protracting mourners' sufferings and encouraging morbidity: 'Earth is too full of graves, / So is Man's Mind' (1-2). Society's reliance on burial is repudiated as superstitious and self-restrictive, and Allingham interprets the cleansing fire of cremation as liberation. Akin to Dickens's association of dead and alive in 'City Graves,' Allingham compares burial to the vindictive punishment inflicted by 'fierce Mezentius, t[ying] / Living to Dead' (5-6).\(^1\) His disgust for the body is barely disguised, and suggests the depth of his anxiety:

No! — let flame purify  
The foul instead, —  
Purge quickly soil and air,  
Body and soul. (7-10)

The allusion to Mezentius recalls cremation's pagan origins, but transfers the brutality to interment; if modern and ancient superstitions are similar, cremation is scientific and progressive. The speaker suppresses reference to the 'foul' body, the 'base obstruction' to purity, and replaces disgust with dreamy images of cleanliness and innocence:

Give thus, for horror and pest,  
Some ashes, white  
As snow or sea-wave's crest  
Or still moonlight,  
Or thoughts of the loved and blest  
Withdrawn from sight. (13-18)

By a metaphorical sleight-of-hand, the fact of burning is transcended by its outcome, imaged by natural and purely white phenomena, as if the physical elements of man ('clay' 'water' and 'air': see Figure 7, p.66) have been transformed to snow, froth and light. Thus the process of turning flesh into ashes is not a reduction under intense heat, but a delicate metamorphosis, where simple similes guide us upwards from snow, sea and moon, to ethereal memories of the 'loved and blest.' Allingham reverses anti-cremation propaganda: here burial is barbaric and its alternative is ethereal and transcendent.

Allingham summarised his conviction towards the end of *Graves and Urns* in 'A Poet's Epitaph' (p.81; read at Allingham's funeral service):

Body to purifying flame,  
Soul to the Great Deep whence it came,  
Leaving a song on earth below,  
And urn of ashes white as snow. (1-4)

\(^1\)Refers to *Aeneid* 8.485-8. Mezentius was the tyrannical King of Caere in Etruria, who punished the living by binding them to rotting corpses.
Although this blunt pragmatism is tinged with slight spiritual doubt about the ‘Great Deep,’ these compact paired couplets form a brief will, as the poet divides up the different aspects of himself. The soul leaves a trace behind, a ‘song,’ and returns to its mysterious place of origin, while the body is given ‘to purifying flame’ for transformation. The unresolved implication that the body goes anywhere, together with the enclosure of lines describing spirituality (2, 3) by lines describing materiality (1, 4), confirms the body’s destiny is just earthly, and sends the soul into an apparent void.

After his death on 19 November 1889, William Allingham was cremated, and the self-exiled Irishman was returned to his hometown’s churchyard at Ballyshannon. In his grave-choosing poem ‘Under the Grass (Allingham 1890b, p.123), the poet selected the riverside graveyard for ‘my dusty remnant’ (5). This rejection of the body but embrace of personal memory, home and affection is a persistent attraction of cremation, and hints at its twentieth-century popularity.\(^1\) The plot shadowed by the churchtower was ‘many of my kin’s last lying-down’ (19),\(^2\) but Allingham speculates on a pre-Christian burial-ground on the same site, where a Viking or ‘nameless Chieftain’ (4) may lie. Like Eliza Cook, Allingham longs to return to his childhood scenery; despite a long career in England, affectionate memories mark Ballyshannon as home, and sights and sounds ‘call / Far off out of my childhood’s long-ago’ (13-14). Although he does not allude directly to cremation, viewed in the context of *Graves and Urns*, this poetic and real choice suggests that cremation was one way to return to the idealised churchyard.\(^3\) Where the decayed body was ‘soul,’ ‘horror and pest,’ the transformed body comparable with snow, spume or moonlight harmonises perfectly with Allingham’s particularised waterside burial-place. The simple grave is associated with freshness and purity as it overlooks the ‘salt Atlantic’ (2) with its ‘shining turbulence’ (12), while ‘silver salmon’ (9) plunge up the nearby ‘friendly beck’ (17). The scale is elemental, with the changeful ‘broad heavens’ (20) and the stormy sea, but also domestic, an elysium of sights and sounds endeared by memory:

\[
\begin{align*}
A \text{ green unfading quilt above be spread,} \\
&\text{And freely round let all the breezes blow;} \\
&\text{May children play beside the breathless bed,} \\
&\text{Holiday lasses by the cliff-edge go;} \\
&\text{And manly games upon the sward be sped,} \\
&\text{And cheerful boats beneath the headland row;} \\
&\text{And be the thought, if any rise, of me,} \\
&\text{What happy soul might wish that thought to be. (33-40)}
\end{align*}
\]

This is a churchyard cleansed of the old anxieties about death - it is not even identified as a ‘churchyard.’ Allingham refers to the grave directly only once (‘Be these the sights and sounds around my grave’ [16]), as a peaceful bed beneath a green quilt; otherwise the spirit is one of pleasure, play and holiday. If the poet’s pleasure in the scene is partly nostalgic, recalling his

---

1. Ariès comments that ‘The relative of the cremated person rejects the physical reality of the site, its association with the body, which inspires distaste, and the public character of the cemetery. But he accepts the absolutely personal and private nature of regret. For the cult of the tomb he has substituted a cult of memory in the home’ (Ariès 1991, p.577).

2. See below, pp.183-4 for similarities with Allingham’s response to Wordsworth’s Grasmere grave.

3. H. R. Hewies’s *Ashes to Ashes* ends with a vision of the ideal flower-scented ‘Cremation-cemetery’ or ‘Field of Rest’ (Haweis 1875, pp.240-9).
childhood and youth, its main impulse is anticipatory. All this life will continue after the poet’s
death, the lasses will marry their mates and raise more children to play in the churchyard.¹
Allingham barely admits his own presence in the scene; not seeking to control his
memorialisation, beyond the landscape itself, this is a death followed by happy thoughts rather
than mourning.

This light, delicate treatment of the grave, almost untouched by darker associations of
loss and decay, would usually only be possible in the context of Christian faith which makes the
body irrelevant. Here the elision of physical decay creates a life-affirming scene of secular
commemoration, and by subsuming his fond memories of youth in an idealised vision of the
community, Allingham suggests that he will never be entirely forgotten. In this optimistic poetic
will the poet’s children’s children play by his grave, innocent of the knowledge that they too must
eventually sleep in a ‘breathless bed.’²

¹Isabella Holmes suggests the redemptive association of children with graves: ‘And can the
dead beneath the soil object to the little feet above them? I am sure they cannot. Even Gray,
in describing Stoke Pogis Churchyard ... rejoiced to see the “little footsteps lightly print the
ground” ’ (Holmes 1896, p.278).
²Compare the poet’s message to his family:

No funeral gloom, my dears, when I am gone,
Corpse-gazings, tears, black raiment, graveyard grimness;
Think of me as withdrawn into the dimness,
Yours still, you mine; remember all the best
Of our past moments, and forget the rest;
And so, to where I wait, come gently on. (Allingham 1890d, p.80)
Chapter 2: Paternal Tears and little graves: fathers' responses to their children's deaths.

In the childhood of April, while purple woods
With the young year's blood in them smiled,
I passed through the lanes and the wakened fields,
And stood by the grave of the child.
And the pain awoke that is never dead
Though it sometimes sleeps, and again
It set its teeth in this heart of mine,
And fastened its claws in my brain:
It was hard and hard that the little hands
And the little well-loved head
Should be out of reach of our living lips,
And be side by side with the dead.

Edith Nesbit, 'The Dead to the Living,' 1-12.¹

In the opening of Edith Nesbit's poem, a bereaved mother walks out in spring to visit her child's grave. Nature thrives, the woods are purple with 'the young year's blood' (2), but the speaker's loss ironises traditional pastoral associations of Spring with youth and renewal. April has the 'childhood' denied her child, while the violent pain of maternal bereavement appears as a demonic baby, occasionally sleeping but easily awoken, attacking the mother by parodic suckling. Nesbit makes a striking contrast between this vicious and voracious pain, and tender memories of the gentle lost child.²

This 1886 poem articulates in unusually visceral terms one of the nineteenth century's strongest convictions: that the most natural and intense form of love is that of mother for child, and the greatest tragedy is for a mother to be bereaved of her child. As Mary Shelley wrote in her journal in October 1822, 'I was ... the Mother of beautiful children. But these staid not by me, & I endured the agony of knowing that those forms whom I had borne & nourished had before me, decayed' (Feldman and Scott-Kilvert 1987, p.438). In 'A Child's Grave at Florence' Elizabeth Barrett Browning articulated the spiritual closeness of mother with child as a consolation for death; although the mother's arms are 'empty of her child' (93), she cannot be displaced even by God the father:

"Still mine! maternal rights serene
Not given to another!
The crystal bars shine faint between
The souls of child and mother. ..." (Browning 1897, p.306, 97-100)

In her short poem 'Maternity' (Meynell 1923, p.85) Alice Meynell suggested that any experience of pregnancy transformed a woman into a mother for the rest of her life. It might be an 'only child ... dead, / New-born, ten years ago' (1-2), but at that moment 'in vain, / A mother, a mother was born' (7-8). In 1893 Lady Desborough wrote in a letter that no love was 'so deep and high

¹Nesbit 1908, p.10.
²Edith Bland, who published under her maiden name Nesbit, bore six children. The third was stillborn, and her youngest son Fabian died after an operation at home. 'The Dead to the Living' is an unusual hybrid of child elegy and utopian vision. Standing at the grave the speaker's 'soul rose up in revolt at life,' whereupon the dead appear to affirm that they are part of the future as well as the past. The vision is hopeful, but the mother is left alone except for 'the little hands and the hair, / And the eyes that I always see.' See II, pp.259-60.
as mothers love — *it is the highest shape love wears on earth*’ (Jalland 1996, p.119). All other bonds and relations, including marital love, took second place, and in bereavement this maternal passion was initially allowed the violence of Rachel who refused to be comforted (Matt. 2:18). Maternal grief was sharply distinguished from paternal. The dedicatory lines to an 1857 consolation anthology simply pictured the ‘father mourning / O’er a little grave-marked spot,’ while the

```
mother's heart is bleeding
For the child that now "is not;"
Yearning, oh! how fondly yearning,
In her anguish deep and wild;
She would barter all earth's treasure
Could it bring her back her child. (The Early Dead 1857, p.13)
```

The father’s sadness is introspective and reticent, while the mother’s grief appears violent, titanic, and ungoverned; her heart bleeds, as if part of her body has been torn away. This emotional excess, an exaggeration of the traditionally unstable and liminal female affections, was permissible for the period immediately following death - hence its prominence in a volume designed to give Christian consolation.

Yet, despite the mother’s emotional priority, I have found significantly fewer poems about children’s deaths written by mothers from personal experience, than by fathers. This dominance is not simply proof of *English Poetry*’s unequal representation of women poets. Several contemporary commentators remarked upon maternal reticence about child-death; in 1871 E. L. Bryans observed:

```
Only women can have any idea of a mother's yearning over her child; yet few instances where the passion is expressed occur in their poetry — none of the first order. (Bryans 1871, p.485)
```

Bryans has an agenda. He considers that women disadvantage their poems by choosing subjects outside female experience in order to be taken seriously; at the same time he criticises them for creative inhibition, vulgar expression and enslavement to metrical rigidity. However, this recipe for keeping women poets in their place hits on one truth; the male critic is surprised

---

1 See Charles Mackay’s ‘The Mother’s Lament’ (Mackay 1859, p.178) and David Macbeth Moir’s ‘A Mother’s Dirge over her Child’ (Moir 1824, p.203). In Robert Nicoll’s ‘The Mother’s Monody’ the male poet gains an expressive freedom by posing as a bereaved mother:

```
Oh! I had hoped that her kindly hand
My dying eyes should close;
That upon my grave she would often sit
Where the grass of the churchyard grows;
And when long, long years had pass’d away,
And her hour of death had come,
That her mother’s voice in that better Land
Should welcome her daughter home! (Nicoll 1842, p.186, 49-56)
```

2 The undertaker-poet Thomas Lynch makes comparable observations about modern parents after a cot death: ‘The fathers, used to protecting and paying, felt helpless. The mothers seemed to carry a pain in their innards that made them appear breakable’ (Lynch 1997, p.57).

Figure 8. American amateur portrait photograph of a deceased child on a bed between its grieving parents, c. 1920. Post-mortem photography in Britain during the second half of the nineteenth century was seldom this frank, but the desire to commemorate the parents' feelings of helplessness and desolation and the dead child also drives English poems on child death. See pp. 82, 89, 95-6.
that women do not write about this specifically female experience.¹

There are practical reasons for this reticence. Most women writing for publication in the
nineteenth century had atypical experiences of mothering. They tended to come from middle-
class or at least financially stable backgrounds, and some did not marry at all, preferring to live
in the parental home. Those who married usually had smaller families, and could afford a good
standard of living for their children. Others, such as Caroline Norton or Fanny Kemble, 'lost'
children through separation from their husbands, rather than through death.² Although
miscarriage, stillbirth, and infant and child mortality were still common experiences at these
levels of society, the very physicality of the mother's relation to her child inhibited expression.
While it was acceptable to describe the breast as literally and metaphorically nourishing, as in
Aurora Leigh, references to the reproductive function of the female body were only attempted in
poetry towards the end of the period.³

Cultural acceptance of maternal passion had a punitive side. Women, and mothers in
particular, were seen as too emotionally susceptible to have first-hand experience of certain
death rituals. Only exceptionally did women attend funerals, because it was expected that they
could not contain their grief, and even less often did they go to the grave-side. In an American
consolation volume popular in Britain, Agnes and the little Key (1859), Nehemiah Adams
revealed to his wife on their first visit to their infant's grave, that he had regularly visited it alone
during the winter. The late twentieth-century expectation that parents need equal therapeutic
consideration makes it difficult to share Adams's confidence that his wife will forgive him for
visiting alone, and for not 'alluding to it' (Adams 1859, p.36);⁴ however, the wife merely remarks
'how beautiful and sad' Agnes's grave must have looked obscured under snow. Since this is a
consolation manual, Adams gives an impromptu exegesis of the text which the snowy grave
brought to his mind, 'He shall cover thee with his feathers, and under his wings shalt thou trust'
(Ps. 91:4). When the wife wistfully regrets not seeing the beautiful snowy grave, Adams
answers with disagreeable deference to her feminine weakness: ' "You could not have waded
here" ' (p.39).

If these factors stood in the way of women writing poems about maternal bereavement,
it also seems likely that women poets made active choices not to write - or not to publish - such
material. There were exceptions, such as Eliza Ogilvy's volume Rose Leaves (1845), written for
her daughter Rose who died aged one year. However maternal experiences of bereavement
generally remained in the personal domain, in journals, letters or family memorials;⁵ and where
a woman poet wanted to use such experience, she cast it in a fictive form, such as a narrative

¹Recent commentators on child bereavement emphasise gender difference. Fathers are seen
as reacting actively and practically, while mothers are more expressive and inward-looking;
but the sexes are united in feeling that the death of a child is something they will never
recover from. See Riches and Dawson 1996, pp.143-61.
²Custody was usually awarded to the father because of his financial status, but even after the
Married Women's Property Act a late-century poet such as Rosamund Marriott Watson lost
custody of two daughters from her first marriage, and a son from her second.
³See II, pp.301, 330-2 and Hickok 1984, pp.81-3 for examples of women's poems about child-
death.
⁴He has also written a poem 'At my Child's Grave,' which he reads to her beside the grave.
⁵See Smart 1993-4, pp.49-61, for a summary of Anglo-American parental bereavement and
different responses by mothers and fathers.
poem, ballad or dramatic monologue. This transformative process gave the writer greater emotional distance, and avoided indiscreet revelation of private experience. A woman poet was more likely to write about her relation with a dead mother: the birth-mother, as Felicia Hemans or Eliza Cook did, or a literary mother in the case of Hemans's poems on Mary Tighe, Letitia Landon's poems on Hemans, or Barrett Browning's poems on Hemans and Landon.²

I have therefore chosen to restrict my analysis to poems written by fathers about lost infants and children, largely omitting mothers' representations of child-death, and responses to deaths of teenage and adult offspring. If mothers who lost a child did not feel licensed to write about it, fathers were driven to write about and publish their experiences. There are famous precedents, such as Ben Jonson's sonnet 'On My First Son,' but the Romantic and post-Romantic ethos of emotional expression fostered a new conscious pride in fatherhood, and the poetic reconciliation of manliness with paternal love. Comparing male and female poets' representations of loved one's burial-places, it appears that women poets were less likely to use the material image. This different strategy for negotiating loss might stem from women's different experience of their bodies. When a child died, the mother lost a person created and carried in her own body; even for those whose babies had more contact with professionals such as wet-nurses and nurse-maids, the maternal experience was inescapably physical. This primary and intimate connection was inaccessible to the father, who had to find other ways of relating to his child. If the child died, this sense of incomplete physical bonding may have made the site of the child's material body more compelling to him. Given the mother's emotional priority, male poets had to negotiate this territory in quite complex ways, staking a claim for their own grief, without coming into direct conflict with their spouses or cultural norms about motherhood. Where the mother seeks to transcend death's materiality entirely, by imagining her baby in heaven with the angels, the father attempts transcendence through the medium of the material grave.

Compared with average middle-class families, where adult and infant spheres were separate, and child-care was the responsibility of servants directed by the mother, some writers' family lives were fairly unconventional. Unlike the typical working man, who spent a minimum of nine hours every day away from home, and usually much more, a poet would tend to work at home in his study. While literary endeavour is seldom compatible with noisy children, these men had more opportunities to play with and care for their children than most. Even allowing for the relative financial stability one might associate with men able to write and publish poetry, infant and child mortality were inescapable. Wealth offered a degree of protection, but all parents were conscious of the probability that at least one of their children would not reach adulthood.³

In her recent book Death in the Victorian Family, Pat Jalland summarises responses to Lawrence Stone's once influential thesis that in periods of high child mortality parents operate an

¹See Elizabeth Barrett Browning's 'Isobel's Child' (Browning 1897, p.102), Dora Greenwell's 'Christina' (Greenwell 1861, p.1) and Cecil Frances Humphreys's 'Lilian' (Humphreys 1896, p.176).
²See below, pp.163-73 and II, pp.310-11, 369-74; also Stephenson 1993, pp.61-73.
emotional damage-limitation mechanism, loving their children less because they might die. She supports Linda A. Pollock’s opposition to this, finding that parental love is relatively stable through the modern period.\(^1\) In my own researches it has not appeared that children are interchangeable, or that having a large family compensates for a specific bereavement. For instance, the custom of passing the eldest child’s name to the next born if the first died, has been seen as evidence for a less personal affection.\(^2\) The speaker of an anonymous poem ‘To My Little Son, Two Months Old’ (*The Early Dead* 1857, p.154; text below, p.225) refuses to give the name of a deceased elder son, Eugene, to his new son, ‘The plaything on our parlor floor’ (11). Although the elder boy sleeps ‘In dust’,

```
yet the same
He seems as either precious one
Of those that still remain with me. (7-9)
```

Re-using the name Eugene would appear to ‘blot him from his place’ (14) and ‘efface / His memory’ (16-17); naming signifies identity and individuality. This refusal to distinguish between living and dead children is a recurrent motif in family documents and poems alike. The speaker enumerates his children, and cannot separate present from absent - all are ‘dear’ and ‘loved’:

```
I reckon up,
With these dear children, the loved others
Who slumber in their early grave;
As mine I cite, their several names —
The buried with the living brothers
And sister, that my Maker gave. (17-22)
```

Regardless of their present state, the father possesses his children ‘As mine,’ and as God’s gifts, affirming both his tenacious parental love, and his faith in reunion in the afterlife. The most influential literary model for this is Wordsworth’s poem ‘We Are Seven,’ which he suggested in the 1800 Preface to the *Lyrical Ballads* showed ‘the perplexity and obscurity which in childhood attend our notion of death, or rather our utter inability to admit that notion’ (Wordsworth 1991, pp.247-8). Recent criticism has usually read the poem as an ambivalent and unresolved debate between an adult, rationalist, didactic world-view, and a childish, associationist, imaginative view.\(^3\) While the poem was early ridiculed and parodied for its simple diction and apparent whimsicality, these characteristics later helped it to a new authority within consolation literature, where it was read as a touching statement of childish faith and the Christian family’s unity.\(^4\)

The ‘little cottage girl’ refuses to distinguish between her five living siblings, and the two dead ones, so that where the narrator sees only five siblings, she sees herself in a family of

---

\(^1\) See Jalland 1996, pp.4, 121; Pollock 1983, pp.25-6, 139-42.
\(^2\) See Kane 1995, pp.122-3. For an example see the Bailey monument in The Rosary, Norwich: ‘In Memory of ... Willm Thos who died May 30th 1830 aged 3 mths and Willm Thos who died March 5th 1833 aged 2 yrs.’ Two other sons also died prematurely.
\(^4\) ‘We Are Seven’ references are to Wordsworth 1991, pp.66-8. William Anderson portrays the child in the poem as a type of trusting faith: ‘How many parents there are, who have almost entirely forgotten those of their children who died in infancy; and who, ... so unlike that sweet faithful child who so resolutely maintained “we are seven” give account only of those who live — the least worthy of being reckoned!’ (Logan 1861, p.100).
seven. The girl includes her brother and sister's green graves in sewing, singing, meals and games,¹ suggesting a possible confusion of material and spiritual valuation, but also testifying to the Romantic child's instinctive piety.² Reading 'We Are Seven' as a consolation text subdues the pathetic fact that far from there being even five children at home, the 'little maid' lives alone with her mother; her playmates Jane and John are dead, while the older children are far away or at sea. In this context her concentration on the 'two ... in the church-yard laid' (35) seems less remarkable.³ She has sought an imaginative solution to loneliness and loss, and gives a playful cast to her proto-maternal tasks of knitting and mending, by sharing them with her nearest siblings. Her mother is all her present family; all six children exist for her only by an effort of imagination.

This assurance that the family is only temporarily and superficially divided by death is one of several doctrinal problems specific to child death. Even believers anxiously speculated on heavenly reunion - how could they recognise the spirits of their glorified children? Did the doctrine of original sin really apply to babies, and if they died unbaptised or 'unrepentant,' would they be banished to Hell?⁴ Tracts examining preternaturally pious child deaths typically described the child's illness and spiritual struggle. An eight-year-old from Camberwell who died of cancerous brain tumours was sincerely offered as A recent instance of the Lord's goodness to children. James's father was 'extremely cautious of saying anything to him that might lead him to conclude himself a Christian, wishing him rather to prove his own work' (Steven 1815, p.17). Blind, and with a constant severe headache, James's fear of death was interpreted as the 'earnestness and sincerity of his [spiritual] inquiry,' and only at the height of the child's psychic (and, one assumes, physical) suffering, after praying, questioning, hysterics, and examining the Scriptures, did his father begin 'to speak to him in a consolatory way.' According to this unforgiving but not uncommon view, the child's struggle with God was individual and personal, separate from parental responsibility or love.⁵ Despite the currency of such testimonials, the

¹Compare The Old Curiosity Shop, ch.53: 'Some young children sported among the tombs, and hid from each other, with laughing faces. They had an infant with them, and had laid it down asleep upon a child's grave, in a little bed of leaves. It was a new grave — the resting-place, perhaps, of some little creature, who, meek and patient in its illness, had often sat and watched them, and now seemed to their minds scarcely changed' (Dickens 1972, p.490).²In 'Essay upon Epitaphs, I' Wordsworth claims that even the youngest children perfectly understand the soul's immortality; see Owen and Smyser 1974, v.II, pp.50-1.³The girl's view asserts the rights of dead children to be remembered: the living children in 'We Are Seven' are unparticularised, compared with the miniature portraits of Jane and John (37-48).⁴Samuel Taylor Coleridge's 'On an Infant which died before Baptism' argues pointedly for the innocence of children's souls:

'Be, rather than be called, a child of God,'

Death whispered! With assenting nod,

Its head upon its mother's breast,

The Baby bowed, without demur —

Of the kingdom of the Blest Possessor, not Inheritor. (Coleridge 1912, v.I, p.312)

This was written shortly after the death of the Coleridges' second son Berkeley, aged nine months.

⁵Katharine Tynan's 'The Dead Child' is a later reexamination of the doctrine of original sin in a Catholic context, debating whether an unbaptised stillborn child could find earthly or heavenly rest: 'Never upon his hapless head / The saving water was' (Tynan 1905, p.1, 3-4); compare below, pp.216-17.
popular fictional image of the dying child, typifying the 'good death,' dissociated sin from immaturity. The famous deaths of Helen Burns, Paul Dombey, Little Nell and Eva St. Clare present a sentimentalised innocence which combines uncanny religious wisdom and moral sense with unworldliness; they passed through sinful worlds uncorrupted.

Poems which stage a parent's literal or imaginative visit to the child's grave tend to indicate a relationship between literary form and the material site. A vocabulary of diminution characterises the child's dearness, physical size and brief life, and many poems are compact and epitaphal, or in elegantly simple forms such as the sonnet or ballad. This draws attention to the poem's material status as a commemorative inscription. John Mitford's 'Carmina Sepulchralia' (Mitford 1858, pp.1-24) memorialising his ward 'A. B.,' are delicately small pieces, lightly-handled, seldom more than sixteen or twenty lines, and most occupying one page each. This orthography suggests a small grave-marker, and in the preface Mitford portrays the series 'but as a lengthened Epitaph, descriptive of her character, as seen through my feelings, and modified by my reflections' (x). Mitford alludes both to the inscribed, material marker, and the rural tradition of scattering flowers over the grave. He hopes the poems will be regarded 'but as a few blossoms of poetical growth, that like a handful of violets, are scattered over a little village grave'; his modesty does double service by suggesting A. B.'s transience, delicacy and flower-like beauty.

William Cox Bennett's frequently anthologised 'Epitaphs for Infants' (Bennett 1862, p.13) are five short textual images of child-graves, adapted for use as tombstone inscriptions. They make explicit comparison between the dead child's innocence, and the organic forms decorating the grave. The epitaphs make this relationship of poem to site clear with the repetition of 'Here' or 'this.' In 'I' the grave is characterised by a list of humble flowers found more readily in the wild than the garden: snowdrop, lily of the valley, violet and 'Windflower' (anemone). The child's grave is frequently softened by flower imagery, alluded to gently and carefully if at all; but this habit of elision and allusion makes the grave's image all the more dramatic when treated directly, and leaves haunting traces of its presence.

The conventional styling of the child's grave is exemplified by Charles Lloyd's 'Lines on the Death of an Infant (1795)' (Lloyd 1819, p.20). A friend of Wordsworth and Coleridge, Lloyd was twenty and unmarried when he wrote this exercise in pathos, which uses terms associated with the marginalised graves of the lonely, destitute or exploited. The child's grave is an extreme type of humility, and the absence of a marker or planting indicates infantine innocence, simplicity and nature. The atmosphere and wider landscape sets a twilight mood of reflection for

---

1The nineteenth-century 'good death' was slow enough for the dying to accept death and make peace with God, and marked by conscious piety, patience, compassion, peace and forgiveness.
2Compare II, p.71.
3Compare James Rhoades's 'B. S. D.' (Rhoades 1893, p.80). This flower motif is common in grave inscriptions of children and young women, e.g., 'Fragrant and unfading. To our darling Myrtle Hettie, (Babs) fondly treasured. Only child of G. W. and K. Nash, whom Jesus called home on the 9th February 1922, aged 21 years, there awaiting us. We cherished our fair sweet flower so tenderly, but God gathered her as she blossomed' (West Norwood Cemetery).
4Compare II, pp.113-14.
the wanderer's arrival at the 'infant's solitary tomb' (12). Away from other plots, the grave is an object for contemplation removed from distracting or qualifying influences.1 This modest minimalism has a paradoxically strong emotional significance for the speaker:

'Tis simple! yet the green sod here
That seems to court no stranger's eye,
Than marble claims a tenderer tear,
Than sculpture moves a softer sigh! (13-16)

Hidden beneath the 'green sod,' the plain grave does not claim attention from the 'stranger.' But this gentle reticence, and the space it leaves for the reader's sensibility to supply what is unstated, universalises the diminutive grave and heightens its emotional power. The child's grave is natural and pre-verbal, undefined by parental inscription. It is decorated with whatever chance flowers seed there (though of course these flowers are generically determined). They symbolise death and grief and personify the unseen mourners implied by every grave:

A lonely primrose lifts its head,
And here and there pale violets peep;
And, if no venal tears are shed,
The dews from many a daisy weep. (17-20)

Like the grave, the spring primrose is 'lonely,' and the violets appear pallid as tentative mourners. In this subjective description 'the nameless pilgrim' associates 'Pity' (21, 23) with this place 'Where Grief is stript of Art's disguise' (24), and performs his emotional response in a spontaneous meditation on the child's innocence. The grave is his direct inspiration; twice he exclaims 'I mark'd the spot!' (25, 29), and so he builds a moralising verbal monument to the unknown child in its enviable 'sleep without a dream' (45), 'unconscious' of the corruption and pain of adult existence. Such is the imaginative potential of the site, that the speaker swells with the 'hopes and fears' (33) of a putative parent, who could envy the child's grateful oblivion.

Lloyd's poem reads as an abstract meditation. The 'accents [which] negligently fell' (36) are inflated with the hot air of a young poet's conceit, and seem produced without real sympathy.2 However, his failure of sensibility indicates a self-reflexive drive which characterises more emotionally powerful child-elegies. Responding to this most sensitised grave, Lloyd bypasses the visceral, and ends with an emphasis on doubtful intellectual consolations:

"To thee, poor child! ere grief is brought
"To vex thy soul, oblivion's given! —
"Oh! if the grave could boast of thought,
"That thought would make the grave — a heaven!" (49-52)

This image of the child's burial-place remains generally consistent in nineteenth-century poetry. The grave is in a country churchyard, natural, discreetly marked or not at all, insignificant, yet

---

1In Agnes and the Little Key, Mrs. Burke chooses 'a very cheap lot, which she said she wished to feel was her own, and which she could visit and plant with flowers' (Adams 1859, p.82), and in Little Dot, Lilian's father chooses "a nice quiet little corner, for it is for my little girl" (Walton 1873, p.21).

2Compare II, pp.65-6.
capable of producing a range of dramatic emotional impressions. Physically smaller than an adult or family grave, the 'little grave' or mound is identified with the child's small body. While children were often buried in family vaults already occupied by grandparents, aunts or uncles, in poems the child's grave usually appears in isolation. This intensifies the image's pathetic possibilities, the pathos of leaving the child alone for the first time, and symbolic disruption of the generational order; the family burial plot is initiated by an infant, rather than the adult son or daughter following their parents to the grave in due course.

This separation and isolation also symbolises parents' limited ability to protect the child from outside dangers. Parents are responsible for their dependent infants and children, however this legal and moral relationship can be less significant than a mutual emotional dependence so visceral as to be expressed in physical terms. In an 1835 sermon on Jeremiah 31:15, Jonathan Farr observed the more prosaic side of this relation, by emphasising the rituals of daily care:

[T]he little child ... has seldom been out of our sight for a single day. When it was awake, when it was asleep, it was near us. We watched all its motions with untiring fondness; and endeavoured to anticipate and supply all its wants. Its helplessness and dependence — its inexperience — its tender age — the numberless duties we had performed for it — the hope it already inspired — the promise it gave — all served to endear it to our hearts, and make us wish to keep it by our side. (Farr 1835, pp.3-4)

Where parents could not afford or did not trust a nurse's care, they were in continual intimate contact with their infants. This constant co-presence rationalises the parents' 'untiring fondness,' so that instinctive affection develops to a stronger 'endearment.' Even Farr's syntax expresses the mutuality of this dependence, moving restlessly in increasingly fluid grammatical units between 'it,' the 'little child' and 'us.' His tender analysis of the many ways the parent is necessary to the child's survival, reminds us of the parent's reciprocal emotional reliance on the child, the need of being needed. The parent's strong identification with the child is disrupted by the shock of leaving it alone in a burial ground.

This bond sometimes appears as a refusal to distinguish between adult and infant. The child is flesh of my flesh, physically made by the parents, so that seeing the child dead and buried forces a personal confrontation with mortality. The parent's attitude to the grave is also changed, since identification with the flesh of the child, gives physical decay a shocking new vividness. Even in optimistic meditations on the afterlife, such as 'The Joy of Infants in Heaven,' Dr. Cumming examines the parents' altered relation to death:

1In W. M. Praed's 'A Child's Grave,' the site is marked by a single flower, suggesting the child's frailty, beauty, 'humble' provenance and the grave's probable neglect; compounding various extremes is intended to intensify pathos:

   And where thine humble ashes lie,
   Instead of scutcheon or of stone.
   It rises o'er thee, lonely one,
   Child of obscurity! (Praed 1844, p.270, 9-12)

2'Rahel weeping for her children, refused to be comforted for her children, because they were not.' Compare Matt. 2:18.

3Gen. 2:23: 'Then the man said, "This at last is bone of my bones and flesh of my flesh; she shall be called Woman, because she was taken out of man".'
every infant that you lose is a link that binds you to the grave, on the one hand, and a link also that binds you to eternity on the other. A portion of yourself has taken possession of the tomb, to remind you that you must lie down there ... Our bodies are, through our infants, in communion with the dust; and our spirits, through theirs, with the everlasting throne. (Logan 1861, p.194)

In Cumming's reading, the dead child is a medium for the parent's spiritual education, a reminder of physical mortality and spiritual immortality; loss is gain, and separation is continuity. However, the child is still described strikingly as 'A portion of yourself,' and the bodies of parent and child are strongly identified in a renewed commitment to immaterial life, via a material 'link.' As the small child cannot differentiate between itself and the mother, so the parent experiences the infant's premature death as an amputation. It might seem surprising that divines assert this physical identification, but the idea's consistency is confirmed by Jonathan Homer's sermon 'On the Death of Children.' Homer cites the child's death as a warning to relations and friends to be ready, since the idea of a natural order of death is a delusion:

The death of little children proclaims the frailty of their parents in a most affecting manner. A part, a very dear part of themselves has been laid in the grave. They have trodden the gloomy path before those, who expected them to close their eyes, and to consign their bodies to the dust. (Homer 1793, p.15)"}

The child is 'a very dear part of themselves,' an extension or vital part of the parental body and mind, so its burial is a kind of psychic death for the parent. This closeness is compounded by a reversed order of generational succession. Where the parent imagined the adult child performing the intimate rituals of death for them, the parent has this duty forced upon him or her unexpectedly. Poetic responses to a child's death and burial explore parental fantasy, and confirm the importance of self-reflexive gestures. Parenting is patterned and ritualistic, with an expected hierarchy of growth and development; but when that hierarchy is disturbed, parental roles and identities are destabilised. When the parent is also a poet, with established rituals of composition, the processes of writing must be implicated in this instability.

The child's burial-place is a popular subject for conventional poetry. In general only when the poet shows personal experience of being bereaved of a child, do the poems acquire a strong critical or emotional interest. It is not necessary to know specific biographical circumstances, although evidence may be present by a dedication, note, detail in the text, or by a whole group of poems. However, we judge a poem written in direct response to a personal tragedy differently from a tangential treatment of similar material in a narrative poem or novel; not least because we need to understand why a writer publishes poems so evidently domestic in origin. For instance, we know that the 'reed-maker poet' John Critchley Prince wrote elegies on behalf of bereaved parents. 'On the Death of Two Infant Children' is a lament in the first person written for a friend whose children were buried together in one grave; 'The Poet at the Grave of

---

1 The Homers consented to the sermon's publication for close friends as 'a small monument of love, reared to the memory of their only Son.'

2 In 1830 Mary Fairfax commented that 'the order of nature is reversed, and the parent witnesses the death of the child over whom he has watched with an unremitting anxiety in infancy, who had been entwined around the heart with every succeeding year, and to whose life he looked with the fullest hope and confidence' (Jalland 1996, p.119).
his Child' commemorates the death of Samuel Bamford's only daughter. The sympathetic resonance of this last poem would be impossible without Prince's own earlier experience. Married young, at twenty-three he had three children to support, no work, and could not sell his poems. He returned from a failed expedition to seek work in France in 1830, to find his family in a Manchester poor-house. He removed them to a bare garret, but their only son fell ill and died. It is probable the boy was given a pauper's burial in an unmarked grave in Manchester, which the family left soon after.

Prince wrote several poems about the loss, but the most moving and sustained is 'A Father's Lament' (Prince 1880, v.1, p.40), which traces the stages of death, burial, secret grief, lost hopes and painful memory which precede acceptance.¹ In this personal testimony, Prince uses several tropes which recur in poems by bereaved fathers through the century. The death scene is set on a moonlit night of delusive calm, and this peaceful background exaggerates by contrast the event's quiet tragedy. The speaker recognises the death's ritual significance to his own development; this is death's first visit 'Beneath my roof' (6), a personal visit to the head of a young family which demonstrates his mature responsibility precisely in the act of taking it away.² Losing the flower-like child forces a change in the poet's status and identity, and mobilises a symbolism of beauty, organic transience and renewal.

Prince describes the death as taking place in a void. The boy's mother and sisters are excluded from the intimate death-drama; the syntax tensely knits together the helpless father and the passing son, so that when death finally occurs 'I knew that I was desolate at last!' (18). This self-enclosed male relation continues at the funeral:

The pastor gave his treasure unto God; —
I only heard the booming of the clod
That closed for ever on my darling son,
And told that love's last obsequies were done;
Then looking, lingering still — I turned again
To quell my grief amid the haunts of men. (23-8)

While the male servant of God transfers possession of the child's soul, the traumatised father perceives only the removal of his son's material form. The Burial Service's terminal moment, when the words 'Ashes to ashes, dust to dust' are reinforced by casting earth on the coffin, is usually recalled as the most traumatic of the ceremony, since it reminds us of the dead person's physical presence at the moment it becomes finally inaccessible.³ While the father's attention stays longingly at the grave, he understands his duty is to return to daily life. However, the only turn made in the poem at this point is grammatical; reenacting the burial to record it in verse

¹ R. A. D. Lithgow imagines the poem's biographical context: 'Poor Prince's heart was almost broken by this last terrible blow, for death had ruthlessly seized upon his only boy, on whom he had outpoured the fondest love of his affectionate nature. We can imagine the poor stricken parents, bowed down in mute despair, kneeling beside the bundle of straw upon which lay the lifeless body of their only son, in that dingy garret with its bare walls and awful emptiness' (Lithgow 1880, v.1, p.30).

² Compare Dr. Macfarlane's observation on 'Consolation': 'Few fathers will forget their first family interment, when they stood at the gates of "the house appointed for all living," and knocked for admission to the dust of their little ones' (Logan 1861, p.90).
prompts an impassioned direct address to the son, which is sustained for the poem's last sixty lines.

Talking to the dead is a common feature of these poems, and often connected with a literal or imaginative visit to the grave; but rarely is the fiction maintained without disturbing doubts. The speaker repeatedly describes himself as 'Lone' and damaged, isolated in a hostile world now that 'thou art gone, my beautiful — my boy!' (29). Prince revisits the Christian consolation used by Charles Lloyd, that the child is secure in a better place, but here that absence makes earthly existence unbearable. The father's isolation dominates even when he refers to his wife; only once in the poem does he unite them with the term 'we,' as they reminisce tirelessly about their son. Consciousness of his patriarchal role forces him to affect composure:

I mourn in secret; for thy mother now,
With settled sorrow gathered on her brow,
Looks unto me for comfort in her tears,
While the soul's anguish in her face appears. (43-6)

The need to appear strong, particularly understandable yet difficult when we consider the material difficulties Prince has omitted, makes his personal grief and depression inexpressible. His wife weeps openly, and seeks consolation without restraint; they talk about the time when the child's 'healthful cheek ... promised many days' (50) until they are soothed. Yet the father's self-imposed constraint leaves him confiding in his dead child, expressing his grief through a literary construct. The father most misses physical contact and affection. He recalls kissing his sleeping son before leaving to seek work, and 'press[ing] thy lips that welcomed my return' (60), while the memory of taking the child on his knee to 'hear / Thine artless narrative of joy or fear' (64-5) poignantly echoes the death-scene where the father 'Held on my trembling knee his wasted frame, / As the last shadow o'er his features came' (13-14). These tactile memories are static, obsessively revisited images of the unrepealable. Only when Prince confides his dashed hopes for his son's future, do we see how bereavement changes his sense of selfhood:

This was my wish, — to guard thee as a child,
And keep thy stainless spirit undefiled:
To guide thy progress upward unto youth,
And store thy mind with every precious truth:
Send thee to mingle with the world's rude throng,
In moral worth and manly virtue strong,
With such rare energies as well might claim
The patriot's glory and the poet's fame;
To go down gently to the verge of death,

\(^1\)A comparable motif appears in James Hedderwick's 'Home Trial': 'I utter'd brave and soothing words as was my manhood's part, / Then hurried speechlessly away to hide the father's heart' (Logan 1861, p.292, 23-4).

\(^2\)See below p.87 for a similar image.

\(^3\)Thomas Lynch suggests that where death in age means burying the 'known past,' 'burying infants we bury the future, unwieldy and unknown, full of promise and possibilities ... The grief has no borders, no limits, no known ends and the little infant graves that edge the corners and fence-rows of every cemetery are never quite big enough to contain that grief. Some sadnesses are permanent. Dead babies do not give us memories. They give us dreams' (Lynch 1997, p.58).
And bless thee with a father's parting breath,
Assured that thou would'st duly come to lave,
With filial tears, a parent's humble grave. (67-78)

This frustrated paternal fantasy of the son's earthly future is pathetically ironised by his death and the technique of direct address; yet these hopes for the son strikingly reflect the father. Prince's wishes take the form of active infinitives which function imperatively - to guard, to keep undefiled, to guide, to store with truth, to send. The natural desire to protect, nurture and educate appears formative and dogmatic. This exaggeration partly suggests frustration, an overstatement of what is now impossible, but also suggests a project to create the son as the father's perfected image. He was to be upright, truthful, manly, a famous patriot and poet; living in harmonious relation with the father, the son would approach manhood's zenith as the father declined. Yet the assertive verbs continue when the son can only be the object: to go down, to bless, assured. When Prince visualises his ambitions for his son, he sees his own grave, and his son performing the final intimate rituals.

I do not suggest that there is any lack of love in Prince's response - quite the opposite; but I perceive an important relation between the parent's self-definition as his son's creator and shaper, the making of his poem, and the parent-poet's confrontation with his own mortality. During this ninety-two line lament describing the boy's illness and funeral, the poet never mentions his son's grave, only his own. This signifies the sacrifice he would have made, giving up his life to save his child's, but also suggests a personal confrontation with mortality. Under this threat, the bereaved father immortalises his child and attempts to assert his creative ability in a poem. Confronted by reversed generational succession, the disordered family, and broken dreams of the future, the father seeks to regain control by an act of imagination.

The poem ends in a spirit of contrition, as the speaker succumbs to the Christian doctrine that excessive love prompts providential intervention. The father resolves to accept the son's 'brighter lot,' and look forward to their reunion in heaven. Until then, he rededicates himself to his daughters:

Then let me turn to thy fair sisters here,
And hold them, for thy precious sake, more dear;
Restore them to a place upon my knee,
And yield that love which I reserved for thee. (85-8)

Prince acknowledges the extent of his identification with his son, by even now defining the girls in relation to the absent boy. The bereavement opposes favouritism by teaching a lesson in equal love.

'A Father's Lament' mobilises typical elegiac tropes in a distinctive response to a child's death, and reveals the complex self-reflexive impulses of the bereaved parent-poet. In Prince's case, the child's gender seems to heighten his intense identification, and affect his plans to

---

1It has recently been suggested that high paternal self-esteem is a significant factor in the father's ability to recover from child-death (Goodman, Black and Rubenstein 1996, pp.303–22).

2In 'Reverence for the Dead — A Romantic Thought,' Prince reflects in prose on the different losses of a parent, a child, and a wife (Prince 1847, pp.165-6); see also II, pp.181-2.
shape the child as he would a poem. The poem's therapeutic impetus does not prevent its being a complex or divided construction, or reduce the significance of feelings other than grief. Prince's responses exist within a conventional language of Christian consolation, yet he clearly finds submission difficult. The spiritual conservatism often associated with bereavement is particularly exaggerated in relation to children, so sceptical nineteenth-century poetic responses to bereavement are rare. However, the 'Effusions' produced by the radical John Thelwall on the death of his eldest child Maria, explore with painful clarity bereavement without Christian consolation.¹

Thelwall was imprisoned for sedition in the 1790s, and Maria's birth during his captivity had renewed his hopes for the future. After his release Thelwall moved to Llys-Wen in Brecknockshire with his expanding family, to farm and live a retired existence in a romantic landscape. Unfortunately, the community was conservative and his life was already troubled when Maria died suddenly aged six on 28 December 1799. Thelwall was harrassed by his landlord and suspicious locals - 'Even the death of a beloved child, still lying unburied beneath the roof of mourning, was thought a proper object of sarcastic exultation' (Thelwall 1801, xlii).²

The ten poems grouped as Paternal Tears were written between February and September 1800, but mostly in spring and early summer. The earliest, 'Effusion I. Llys-Wen, Feb.1800' (p.145) is addressed to a supportive friend. Of the speaker's many sufferings, this new sorrow (unspecified until line 60) is the first to pierce fatally 'The seat of vital feeling' (20). His despair is so violent that it appears as physical symptoms, jarring nerves, dim sight, blood which rebels against its natural circulation, and 'whelms the sense in apoplectic whirl' (36). Thelwall morbidly reenacts the symptoms of illness he could not protect Maria from; indeed, he fantasises about death. In this early stage of bereavement, the only relief he can imagine is a grave in 'Oblivion's turf' (41); but suicide is taboo, although not because of Christian doctrine. He imagines his wife and remaining children's future if he died - a 'widow'd heart / Might heave in wilder agonies' (41-2), and 'The orphan'd pledges of our hapless loves' (43) be cast out in a pitiless world. As in Prince's later experience, paternal despair must be subordinated to the patriarch's familial duty. The speaker must resist the temptation of the 'insensate tomb' (47), and survive a living death 'Amid the horrors of sepulchral gloom' (53). But Thelwall is also proud of his deep feeling, and seeks to reconcile definitions of masculinity with emotional expression (as the series title indicates). The 'sun' of his hopes and optimism is apocalyptically sunk 'in Maria's grave' (81):

Nor ye who judge
A parent's anguish by the vulgar ties
That bound parental passion, vainly deem
My Grief's excess unmanly. (83-6)

If by 'vulgar' Thelwall means the common or usual type of family affection, this surprising choice of word for a democrat (used several times in the 'Effusions') also suggests that he belongs to

¹Wordsworth said of the 'Effusions' that 'though they have great merit, one cannot read them but with much more pain than pleasure' (De Selincourt 1970, v.III, p. 361).
²All Thelwall references are to this first edition; English Poetry has the 1805 text.
an emotional elite. In extreme misery, he distinguishes between his experience and ordinary ‘parental passion,’ which idolizes the object subjectively. He admits his grief is excessive, but defines it as a measure of Maria’s objective value. Everything about his loss is specific, idiosyncratic and dramatic, and he rejects sympathy with the same breath that his plaintive and histrionic voice demands it:

For 'tis no vulgar loss I'm doom'd to mourn,
And with no vulgar feeling; — nor such tears
As other fathers shed o'er other graves
Shall dew Maria's turf, or ease this heart,
Whelm'd with exhaustless sorrow. (89-93)

He will only accept personal and domestic sympathy from friends who knew Maria's character and their mutual affection, while the 'Paternal Tears' shed at her grave will supposedly break the mould of elegiac conventions. The speaker denies elegy's therapeutic efficacy - his grief is 'exhaustless,' not susceptible to catharsis. He embraces a condition of emotional stasis, which allows a strong if damaging communion with the dead's memory. At the end of the poem, Thelwall remembers the friend to whom it is supposedly addressed, and imagines their circle sympathising his loss; but direct address is simply an excuse to speak, when the need is so dominant. He claims the comfort of 'Pour[ing] all my griefs ... fearless of reproof' (114) into his friend's ear; yet the convention breaks down as he remembers. The speaker will

Proclaim my weakness: — if that name belong
To love so merited, to tears that flow
From such remember'd sweetness. — O, my babe!
Maria! Oh, Maria! thy lov'd name,
While Nature yet is vocal — while this heart
To this sad tongue can dictate, thy lov'd name
The rocks and conscious echoes shall repeat,
And murmuring Vaga mourn no loss but thine. (115-22)

The thought of an intangible 'sweetness' which only exists in imagination, makes the father call desperately for Maria and dedicate himself to making her 'lov'd name' live on. The name cried out in anguish, the rhetorical attempt to call the child back from the dead, characterises these earlier 'Effusions,' but as time passes, the impulse is questioned, and her name is mentioned in the third person. The next poem is dated May 13, suggesting that Thelwall had not intended to write more, but that continuing depression forced another emotional crisis. 'Effusion II. In the Vale of Taff. May 13, 1800' (p.149) begins where that first poem left off, directly addressing the child; but the echo is revealed as a response to the inadequacy of direct address:

Maria! Oh, Maria! my sweet babe! —
But ah! she hears not. Vainly that lov'd name
These lips reverberate — vainly these fond eyes
Roll round, in asking gaze, and, missing thee,
Find nought but vacancy. (1-5)

The father's search is futile, there is no possibility of an answering presence. He is consumed by loss, obsessed by absence in Spring, the season of 'profuse luxuriancy' (6), yet as time passes he devises fictional strategies to create a body of poems to stand in the child's place.
Accustomed to identifying with the moods of his natural environment, the bereaved Romantic finds Spring unsympathetic; heartless in self-celebration, the forces of renewal and decay approve the child's dissolution. However this organic presence also suggests a place where Maria can be found, in imagination at least.

In 'Effusion III. On the Banks of the Wye. May 15, 1800' (p.150) the poet wanders at evening, no longer an artist seeking 'romantic charm' (8), but consumed by loss. Like a 'wandering shade' (23), he feels remote from his environment. The once inspiring sublime scenery is displaced by a haunting, intensified mental image of Maria's grave:

To that spot
Where buds the white-thorn o'er the turfed grave
Turn my sad thoughts — there — there incessant dwell,
While, with paternal anguish, oft my lips
Breathe thy lov'd name, Maria! — Oh! Maria!
First born of Love! and fondling of my heart!
In thee my hopes are blighted — blighted all
The varied charms of Nature. (24-31)

Not once in the series does the poet picture himself at the grave, but here its tormenting image focuses thoughts of Maria. The site's specificity ('To that spot', 'there — there') makes it more than a thought; the grave is taken out of nature, and located in the mind. The budding 'white-thorn' is an organic grave-marker, and its pure white flowers will symbolise an innocent child. Yet it was considered unlucky to bring whitethorn into the house, because of its association with death, and while Thelwall is drawn to the grave in imagination, the symbolism denies that Maria can ever return home. As in Prince's 'A Father's Lament,' the poet's mood is retrospective and static; only places 'where memory marks / Some fond memorial' (34-5) retain significance. Where an image in nature activates the associative power of memory, and reveals a happy 'memorial' to revivify the living child's image, the father is stunned anew by the image's fictionality. It can only be a static 'mute record' (45) of her absence; the grave's 'incessant' (26) image is attractive as well as terrible.

Maria's death inspired Thelwall to write some of his most powerful poetry, but this creative productivity was not necessarily comforting. 'Effusion IV. During a severe Indisposition. May 18, 1800' (p.152) was supposedly written from the writer's sickbed, as he suffered the physical and nervous results of his emotional crisis. Solitude, the necessary condition of reflection and composition, is redefined as loneliness. Where once the Muse 'would haply soar / Into the realms of Fancy' (12-13), there is a void. He explicitly connects creative and parental impulses, 'bodying forth / Ideal excellence' (13-14), or 'sweet vision[s]' (20) of Maria's future. These preoccupations are embodied in mutually dependent figures of the winged Muse and the child. When Maria died, the writer was deprived of muse, inspiration and creative energy:

1 Contrast these Christian sentiments from the Reverend Thomas Binney: 'It would be a terrible world, I do think, if it was not embellished by little children; but — it would be a far more terrible one if little children did not die!'; 'The whole race reaps the benefit of premature mortality. The glow and brightness of all life is connected with the graves and sepulchres of the young' (Logan 1861, pp.126, 129).

2 Recent studies explicitly link illness with not talking about bereavement (Pennebaker and O'Heeran 1984, pp.473-6).
Yet to express this loss of inspiration within a poem is clearly disingenuous, and suggests that at some level the writer understands how to begin healing himself. The motive for writing may be gone, but the ritual process of composition, so closely associated with his daughter, becomes a homage and memorial to her.

'Effusion VI. On returning from a Journey to Merthyr Tydfil. June, 1800' (p.154) presents the terrible and beloved grave in a more concrete image. The speaker returns exhausted at evening, and pauses at the door of 'my lonely cot, / Checking the starting tear' (9-10). Home, 'once-cheerful' (1, 22-3), is now just one more site of vacancy and absence. The speaker vividly remembers Maria's welcome, 'The shout exulting' (27), her eyes 'Kindling with filial ecstasy' (29). He frames these heightened memories in a series of rhetorical questions, reprising the first poem's quest motif. Where are

those outstretch'd arms,  
To which, with holiest rapture, I have rush'd,  
Blessing the name of father? (30-2)

In retrospect this tactile memory is invested with the significance of familial sacrament, the child teaching him the new emotions of fatherhood. However by the end of a catalogue, the question 'Where is she' is no longer rhetorical. At the cottage's threshold, he finds the answer in the material world:

— Round I turn,  
As my sad heart thus questions, to the spot,  
Where, o'er the churchyard wall, sad neighbourhood!  
The white-thorn budding marks thy early grave,  
Maria! Oh! Maria! — There, entranc'd,  
Lingers the tearful gaze; reluctantly  
To the slow latch reverting — (35-41)

It is unclear whether Thelwall sees the grave or knows precisely where it is; but he doesn't need to see it. It is now June, yet the whitethorn still buds rather than flowers, a stasis suggesting resistance to change at the grave. Eyes misted over, the tortured speaker gazes 'entranc'd'; however painful, the grave's image sustains a connection with the dead's physical presence lost when he turns back to the house. Where the tree is in suspended animation, resisting renewal - and decay - the house is overtly tomb-like. When he can finally bear to open the door, it reveals 'Nought but the sadness of sepulchral gloom!' (43). The house is not empty; Thelwall's wife and other children remain, but the vital presence is missed. As with Prince, the depressed father feels remote from other family members; and like the family graves in 'We Are Seven,' the physical proximity of Maria's grave to the house is consoling and confusing, giving a material focus to mourning, but making it harder to submit.

It would be an overstatement to suggest that Thelwall's grief is resolved through a process of therapeutic composition, but the 'Effusions' chart definite degrees of grief. Thelwall's

\[^{1}\text{Compare above p.82.}\]
\[^{2}\text{Compare below p.215n.}\]
wife Stella goes to visit friends (revealingly, 'with a View to the Restoration of her Health'), leaving him alone at Llys-Wen. Although self-pitying in his solitude, Thelwall feels the tug of other emotional ties during this temporary absence. 'Effusion VII' (p.156) is addressed to 'My soul's sad partner' (2), and for the first time he allows another to participate in his grief. Although he defines their marital relationship only in relation to Maria, he does speak as 'we' rather than 'I': 'She, alas! is gone / In whom (to every other comfort dead) / Fondly we liv'd' (24-6). Maria returns to him in dreams, where she tenderly reproaches him for worrying so much about the family's material welfare, that her health went unwatched; yet she speaks like a personification, not like a child, and this voicing of parental guilt is an advance.¹

By 'Effusion X. Cerrig-Enion: (Enion's Tomb) on Pen-Heol-Enion, in Brecknockshire. August, 1800' (p.161), Thelwall constructs a more sophisticated setting for his grief, and acknowledges his wife's loss. He watches Stella sitting 'on the mouldering tomb of other Times' (1), and speculates on whether the ancient grave reminds her of the ruin of past civilisations. The couple sit in silence, so the poem's images are all Thelwall's own; but he can at least project his own thoughts on to her, and see them 'united in one common grief' (33). His implicit distinction between maternal grief and his own suggests how far he has come from the first poem's desperate egotism:

Hence while here,  
With rude memorial, my unpractis'd hand  
Traces the Time-worn fragment, that still marks  
The Chieftain's grave, who, on this lonely height,  
Slumbers (in death still emulous) her thoughts  
Flee to the lowly vale, where, underneath  
The turf, unhonour'd, save by frequent tears,  
And ever-hovering memory, She, beloved!  
Our lost Maria sleeps. (37-45)²

While the male writer tries to record the legendary Welsh hero's sublime and eminent grave-marker, responding to the epic view of history and its great men, the bereaved mother can only see their daughter's grave down in the valley. This grave is privately significant, and fond memory is clearly more valued than Enion's 'emulous' honours. In this passing moment Thelwall's gently ironic self-presentation indicates the possibility of distance from his grief. And until then at least he and Stella can 'renew / The sad remembrance' (56-7) of their loss walking side by side.³

In a note to 'Paternal Tears' Thelwall claimed that where parental sensibility is concerned, 'an interest of another sort' than literary merit is at work. Thelwall's impulse to commemorate Maria in verse was passionate and confessional, an attempt to anatomise and justify his grief. But the decision to group and publish the 'Effusions' also shows an attempt to

¹Robert Southey records similar experience: 'Edith suffers deeply and silently. She is kept awake at night by recollections, — and I am harassed by dreams of the poor child's illness and recovery, but this will wear away' (Southey 1850, v.II, p.227). See Barrett 1991-2, pp.97-108 for a current survey of the dead appearing in dreams.
²See Figures 9, 10 and 11 (pp.97 and 105) for the continuing importance of imagining the child sleeping in death.
³See II, pp.96-7.
turn individual experience to a broader social purpose. This universalising motive, unguardedly presenting a sorrow apparently unlike the tears 'other fathers shed o'er other graves' (I: 91) is at once a demand for sympathy, and indicates a desire to express the experiences of other parents; publication is another stage in the process of objectifying loss, evidence of possible recovery as well as of lasting pain. We do not doubt the sincerity of Thelwall's motive, but an equally credible response is to fictionalise the experience, avoid the materiality of the child's grave, or not to publish; Bryan Waller Procter's ('Barry Cornwall') is one such case.

Procter had a large family, and in the winter of 1835-6 they fell ill during a scarlet fever epidemic. The sole fatality was his second child and eldest son, six-year-old Edward, who died in March. Procter's published verse on parental bereavement is generalised. In 'On the Death of a Child' (Procter 1851, p.206) the speaker calls mothers to pray over a grave where 'A little infant lies within' (3). Like other child-graves I have discussed, the decoration is simple:

No leaves or garlands wither here,
Like those in foreign lands;
No marble hides our dear one's bier,
The work of alien hands:
The months it lived, the name it bore,
The silver telleth, — nothing more! (7-12)

The grave is defined by what is absent. Unlike foreign or adult graves, with organic tributes in depressing decay or a heavy and 'alien' monument, the visible grave remains plain so it can be emotionally possessed by the mourners. Only the 'silver' inscription reveals the child's age and name. The speaker reminisces about the child's beauty and the hopes they entertained for him, but the poem's somewhat inadequate moral is that parents should pray that their children will grow up safely. It is a poem designed for readers, rather than to express the poet's feelings. The bereaved 'Will check our tears, and pray with you' (45), in the spirit of Christian compassion. Another short song, 'On the Portrait of a Child' (Procter 1851, p.198) seems driven by more personal feelings. The speaker urgently declares that the child's face 'For ever will remain, — / In my heart and in my brain!' (4-5), and here the negative rhetoric emphasises the impossibility of that image being removed, although the child is dead. However, there is little to personalise the loss, and the slightness of the poem, with its indecisive use of interlocking and rhyming couplets, ironises the final statement that the child's face is 'The only thing, save poet's rhyme, / That shall not own the touch of Time!' (18-19).

Procter wrote fragmentary verses about Edward's death, 'Edward, My Son. Died in his 6th year' (Procter 1877, p.94; text on p.226) which were not published in his lifetime. R. W. Armour and Coventry Patmore see this refusal to publish as a symptom of the poet's deep private distress. Armour says that Edward was Procter's favourite, and the three verse fragments use appropriately superlative terms. The child was 'the best / And dearest' (4-5), his face was 'bright / Beyond the rest' (22), his voice 'sweeter than all music' (24); but as with Prince, favouritism and specialness have a particular function. The parentlavishes fulsome emotion on the dead child, lingering over every characteristic, because no superlative brings it back, or does justice to the parent's sense of loss. This hypersensitised subjectivity
characterises every dead child as the 'best' in some way - loved for being first, last, oldest, youngest, happiest, most thoughtful, or weakest.

Procter's tone is like a love lyric's, and he describes the simple joy of touching and caressing the child, pressing 'His head against my heart' (8), and telling him how he loves him. This evocation of unrenewable physical closeness is phrased with tender restraint. The child is referred to in the third person and not named, while the speaker bargains with 'mother Earth' to make the grave gentle for him:

   For evermore — for ever, evermore  
   Lies he within thine arms, O mother Earth!  
   Then clasp him to thee, gently, — with thy soft  
   And tenderest folding — (1-4)

'For ever' was a repeated motif in 'On the Portrait of a Child,' but here the speaker's preoccupation with eternity suggests the bereaved's extreme sensitiveness. The poet lingers over the metaphorisation of the child's grave as an eternal embrace by the universal mother, in a poignant evasion of material death and decay.1 Procter gives no space to the doctrine of bodily resurrection - only the boy's spirit is later admitted as 'happier far ... than we' (42), freed from 'pain and poverty' (44). He concentrates on the sense of absence at home, that although 'Some still remain' (21), the lack of the 'best beloved' can never be compensated for. Procter writes openly about the bereaved parent's sense of betrayal, and in the third fragment directly addresses his son:2

   My best beloved, hast thou fled,  
   And left me — me who loved thee so,  
   (Who loves thee still — though cold and dead)  
   Beyond what thou didst ever know? (26-9)

The parent's great love is powerless to prevent the child's departure. As Procter's friend Charles Macready noted in his diary, 'in one month 100 visits from a physician to his boy, his hope and delight' could not save him.3 Instead of anticipated years of nurturing and loving dependence, the child has gone off alone, performing his first and only devastating act of disobedience. Like most bereaved parents, Procter regrets that Edward was too young to understand the extent of his love.4 Procter regards conventional consolatory gestures sceptically. The voices of uncomprehending common sense ('They tell me,' 'They say') suggest that the child was taken

---

1Compare similar terms used to describe the burial of a woman poet, below pp.164, 168.  
2It has been suggested that feelings of betrayal and anger increased in the twentieth century as child-death became rarer (Drenovsky 1994, pp.303-12).  
3Macready 1875, v.1, p.221.  
4Compare William Canton's 'To Winifred,' a poem written before his daughter's death:  
    When I am dead,  
    And you are old,  
    You'll sit as we are sitting now,  
    Close to the fire, hearing the wind blow cold;  
    And you will stroke a golden head,  
    And, suddenly, remembering how  
    I fondled yours, become at last aware  
    How dear to me was every single hair. (Canton 1901, p.187, 1-8)
because like Prince, 'I made thee, Dear, / Mine idol' (30-1), an error Proctor will not admit to. Equally, the advice to be grateful for earthly benefits does not stop his being haunted by 'a little shape / That used to cling about my heart' (38-9). The poet's only consolation, that everything possible was done to make Edward's earthly life happy, is further subdued by framing in parentheses - 'let's say / Thus much to cheat our sorrow still' (46-7). By the 1830s Procter was writing less and less poetry, and perhaps later it was too painful for him to revise the poem for publication, after another son's death in childhood. But it seems as likely that these personal and idiosyncratic verses, with their ambivalent relation to Christian consolation and the afterlife, did not correspond to his idea of the poet's moral responsibility.

Most of the texts I have examined present a middle-class, sentimental valuation of the child, where feelings of ambivalence or anything less than sincere love are inadmissible. Yet nineteenth-century social history shows a struggle to protect and legislate for abused and exploited children. There were, for instance, scandals about unregulated childcare at 'baby farms,' where poor workers' children were kept together, and supervised for a small charge per head by a woman like Mrs Mann in Oliver Twist, who sedated them with opiates. These operations were sometimes covers for the disposal of unwanted babies. A repressed narrative of infanticide runs through the century. Stringent child-death decorum suppressed this history. Procter's 'The Burial Club, 1839' (Procter 1877, p.226; text below on p.227) is an emotionally stark satire on the corruption of informal burial societies, where small groups of people would contribute to a fund to meet burial expenses. Among the industrial poor this early form of life insurance was liable to embezzlement, but cases were also discovered where children were signed up for as many as ten clubs, and then murdered by their families for the money.

This short monologue by the father of the victim and perpetrator of the crime, describes a child's hasty and undignified disposal, and the speaker's unconvincing moral dilemma. This is one in a series of poisonings - there is 'another gone,' with a 'guinea for each' (1, 13). The child's body bears witness to its death-agony, it is 'blue' and 'purple' and 'curled up.' They will bury him quickly to evade detection, and spend as little as possible of the proceeds: 'We'll tumble him into his coffin' (3), and 'find him a shroud for a shilling' (9). Procter combines hints of anxiety and regret, with an almost boastful detailing of the process. The father callously surveys his other children as possible candidates - the 'little one,' a girl, is 'a-dying' already (15), but the boy may be spared since 'he steals' (16) and brings in an income.

Procter eschews moral complexity. This father's guiding principle is material profit; there is 'No need to spend aught' (14) on the dead boy's food, and the father's degeneration from moral and emotional sensibility, when the victim's moans 'made me tremble and shrink' (18), is superficially overcome. The poet has no interest in examining the social conditions which might nurture such depravity - he is essentially a bereaved father outraged by unnatural

---

1Benjamin Clark sternly commented on an inscription at Kensal Green which described an infant as 'An only and idolized child,' that 'Such misplaced, inordinate attachment almost solicits the rod of correction, and, unknowingly, asks the deprivation of the idiot (Clark 1843, p.55).
3Neither this poem nor 'Edward, My Son. Died in his 6th year' appear in English Poetry.
cruelty. The parent who loses a child regards with special horror the parent implicated in a child's death; by natural justice the murdered child's life should have been entrusted to him. Yet a feeling of guilty responsibility is common to the bereaved, and Procter's portrait of a murdering father bears the impression of personal animus or self-absolution. Why should the good and loving father be so terribly punished? This question is unresolved in 'The Burial Club, 1839,' so Procter's decision to leave the poem amongst his private papers is hardly surprising.

John Thelwall and Bryan Waller Procter represent two ways of responding to children's deaths. In their published poems, where Thelwall was confessional, specific, and personal, Procter was restrained, generalising, and impersonal; yet the strategies and extremes of emotion in Procter's unpublished pieces suggest a closer emotional contiguity. These two poets responded to the death of a single child; David Macbeth Moir's *Domestic Verses* suggest how strategies may change in the context of multiple bereavement.

David Macbeth Moir ('Delta') was a doctor and part-time literary man in his home town of Musselburgh in Scotland. During the cholera epidemic of 1832, he worked tirelessly and without regard for his own safety, but when the disease returned six years later, he was unable to protect his own children. Although Moir's wife Catherine gave birth to eleven children, three sons under five died in 1838-9. Moir wrote elegiac poems following each death, and to mark the first anniversary; he did not consider a wider readership for them until 1843 when the poems were initially circulated among his friends, then published as *Domestic Verses* (1843). In personal letters to his friend and fellow poet Thomas Aird, Moir accounted for the poems' transfer from a private to public sphere:

> Selfishness ... might be the immediate object of their collection. If so, I trust that the aim was a very sinless one, as the sympathy was to be circumscribed by the bounds of personal friendship. (Moir 1852, lviii)

If the desire for personal, friendly sympathy prompted their collection, the degree and quality of response from well-known literary figures suggested a more universal appeal. Poems which originated as outlets for the release of private emotion, could provide a focus and release for other, unknown bereaved parents. Yet one wonders whether emotional or critical criteria came uppermost for these literary celebrities:

> I received letters from Wordsworth, Mrs. Southey, Lockhart, Trench, Tennyson, White, Warren, Dickens, Montgomery, Whewell, Ferrier, and many others, which left me no grounds for refusing to make my little book a publication. (lvii)

Many of the writers named here are associated with the elegiac or consolatory mode: for instance Wordsworth's 'Essay on Epitaphs' and 'The Brothers,' Caroline Bowles's *Eileen Fitzarthur* and *Chapters on Churchyards*. However, they also had significant personal experience of loss, and a letter from Bryan Waller Procter to Moir suggests the self-reflexive character of such

---

1. See below p.113.
2. See II, pp.82-3.
3. All references are to Moir 1852, v.l.
4. There were several impressions of *Domestic Verses* in 1843, followed by enlarged editions in 1871 and 1898.
responses. Procter identified most with Moir's loss of Charles ('Casa'), because he was the first to die, and an eldest son. His admiration for the elegies derived first from personal associations, and the recollection of painful memories, and only secondarily from literary qualities:

The second poem (to ‘Casa’) gave me much pain, for it made fresh to me a great loss which I sustained some years ago, and one that I am obliged to try not to think of—even now. I wish to God that we could love our children moderately; but they twine themselves round our hearts so closely, that we forget what tender things they really are, and rest all our hopes upon them. (kxi)

Procter writes as a bereaved father strongly sympathising with a fellow-sufferer. Seven years after Edward's death reading the poem forces him to reexperience a grief which he habitually avoided thinking of. Procter projects this evasion as an obligation—a duty to himself and his present responsibilities; yet the poem's success and sincerity can be measured by the pain it revives. Procter still defines child-death by a rhetoric of extremity; 'all our hopes' were dependent on Edward, and moderate parental love remains an unattainable ideal. But Procter also identifies with the bereaved father, and couples their grief syntactically - 'our children,' 'our hearts,' 'our hopes.' Procter's 'twining' image suggests a vine, lovingly dependent on the parent, but also reaching its tendrils insidiously deep into the affections. He encourages Moir to publish these personal elegies, where he could not. In contrast, the mood of acceptance and resolution in Moir's elegies indicates why they were so approved. An effusive letter from the critic Francis Jeffrey, an early hero of Moir's, finally resolved him to 'throw my private feelings upon the mare magnum of public opinion'; yet Jeffrey's response too was driven by memories of parental bereavement. Objective critical assessment is problematic, even inappropriate for these kinds of poems.¹

In place of a dedication or epigraph to Domestic Verses, Moir reproduced the inscription on his three sons' 'simple Tombstone' in the local Inveresk Churchyard. It records the boys' names, death-dates and ages, and stands at the front of the book as an explicit statement of its commemorative function. The elegies' formal detail varies, but they are mostly broken up into eight-line stanzas, and share a common voice and progression which suggests each unit is part of the whole, forming a memorial to the three boys, as well as to late friends such as the poet John Galt. The three longest and most obviously emotional poems are about the eldest son Charles, who died suddenly on 17 February 1838, when the youngest boy William was already sick. The most popular and anthologised was 'Casa Wappy,' taken from the boy's own name for himself. Written in the month following his death, the poem addresses the child directly through most of its eighteen stanzas.

In 'Casa Wappy' (p.6) the father records the child's innocent beauty in an affectionately idealising portrait: 'Pure at thy death, as at thy birth, / Thy spirit caught no taint from earth' (5-6). He was a 'type of Heaven' (20), and so identified with his parents that he seemed less an individual than 'a part / Of mine, and of thy Mother's heart' (22-3). In striking contrast to Prince,

¹Jeffrey's only child died at a few weeks old in 1802; there was one daughter from his second marriage. In his introduction to The Old Curiosity Shop Malcolm Andrews cites Jeffrey's response to Little Nell's death in early 1841: 'Lord Jeffrey, the austere critic of The Edinburgh Review, was found in tears - "little Nelly, Boz's little Nelly, is dead" ' (Dickens 1985, p.27).
Moir speaks almost exclusively in the third person plural, so that grief is equally shared between mother and father (see Figure 8, p.72). Moir uses conventional child-death imagery - Casa was a gem, his life a 'bright, brief day' (25), his spirit an eternal star or rainbow - but these motifs combine with a particularity which allows the child's individuality to shine through. Despite the parents' resignation, like Prince and Thelwall they had imagined a different future: 'Yet had we hoped that Time should see / Thee mourn for us, not us for thee' (39-40). The disrupted order of generational succession contributes to the speaker's muddled sense of time. He affects to see Casa in the present as he was in health, enshrining a vivid and particular description of the child in the poem. Casa smiles with a 'glance of stealth' (50), and his bouncy hair is 'thrown back from thy full brow' (51). His eyes have a 'deep violet light' (53), while his cheeks are 'carnation'd bright' (54). This vision of robust health is quickly lost; the parents look around the nursery at his toys:

But where art thou?  
A corner holds thine empty chair,  
Thy playthings idly scatter'd there,  
But speak to us of our despair,  
Casa Wappy! (60-4)

At home they only perceive the child's absence, and the nursery is defined by relics of Casa, rather than the other children. Yet by accumulating specific detail of what they miss about him now that he is dead, Moir evokes the intensity of parental love in his creation of a touching portrait of an individual. Taking a pet-name for the poem's title is a touchingly informal appeal to the sympathies. The poem is a literary memorial, but also a tender embodiment of 'Casa Wappy,' and each stanza turns the name into a chorus. As universal and specific vocabularies combine to affirm the child's immortality without distracting from his personality, present and past mingle to deny the passing of time. Casa died in February, and the poem is dated for March, yet the cycles of nature have moved with cruel rapidity:

Snows muffled earth when thou didst go,  
In life's spring-bloom;  
Down to the appointed house below —  
The silent tomb.  
But now the green leaves of the tree,  
The cuckoo, and "the busy bee,"  
Return; but with them bring not thee,  
Casa Wappy! (89-96)

The transition from winter snow to spring profusion is abrupt. Moir employs the classical parallel between the child's brief life, and the pathos of returning spring, which brings Isaac Watts's industrious bee, but no child to play in nature. The poet reinterprets this confirmation of the child's physical death and decay as an affirmation of spiritual renewal and salvation. If 'flowers / Revive again' (97-8) it is impossible:

See my discussion of Henrietta Tindal's 'The Burial in London' above, pp.43-4. In Richard Wilton's 'Under the snow,' winter exaggerates the parents's separation from their short-lived, summer child, a 'sunbeam' and 'blossom.' Cosy by the fire, they cannot forget the baby's snow-covered grave, although the poem is resolved by reassurance that the baby's spirit 'basks' in heaven with God (Wilton 1902, p.54).
that, o'er the grave,
The grass renew'd should yearly wave,
Yet God forget our child to save? —

Casa Wappy! (100-4)

The interrogative phrasing is exceptional, leaving a hint of doubt to suggest the bereaved parents' spiritual struggles; but the separation is only 'for a while' (128), and they anticipate reunion 'Beyond the grave' (134). In April Moir returns to the subject of his grief for Charles in 'Casa's Dirge' (p.26) and if anything the tone is more despairing and bereft. Where 'Casa Wappy' emphasised his living personality, the April poem expresses grief in subjective and superlative terms:

Vainly for us the sunbeams shine,
Dimm'd is our joyous hearth;
O Casa, dearer dust than thine
Ne'er mixed with mother earth!
Thou wert the corner-stone of love,
The keystone of our fate;
Thou art not! Heaven scowls dark above,
And earth is desolate! (1-8)

Spring is vain since the trees 'only shake their blossoms down / Upon thy silent grave' (31-2). As with Thelwall, nature regains a shadow of its former attractions only by association with 'every spot, / Where thy small feet have trod' (33-4). They see Casa in dreams, and trace his likeness in other children, but these delusions are always punished by a return to harsh reality, represented by the abstract image of the grave:

Idly we watch thy form to trace
In children on the street;
Vainly, in each familiar place,
We list thy pattering feet;
Then, sudden, o'er these fancies crush'd,
Despair's black pinions wave;
We know that sound for ever hush'd —
We look upon thy grave. (5-4)

As one might expect, these fantasies are conscientiously replaced by an alternative reality - Casa is now a 'heavenly child' (65), and the parents must graciously acknowledge that he belongs to a different father now: 'dare we call thee still our boy, / Who now a seraph art?' (87-8). Moir ends the poem conventionally, with the parents longing to give up earthly life, in order to join their child in heaven. Consideration of earthly responsibilities is suppressed in order to provide a suitably lofty context for the closing desire to be 'where now thou art, / Not lost, but gone before' (95-6).^1

A year after Casa's death, Moir added another poem to the developing memorial series, 'To the Bust of my son Charles' (p.39). The formal Christian name and material image suggest a

---

^1This popular grave-inscription 'Not lost but gone before' has its origins in St. Cyprian's De Mortalitate, although Moir would have been thinking of Caroline Norton's contemporary restatement in 'Not Lost but Gone Before.' See Rees 1993, pp.229-30 for a discussion of the phrase.
greater degree of emotional distance, but this is not borne out by the poem. The ‘Fair image of our sainted boy’ (1) combines living and dead characteristics: ‘Blent with life’s sunny smiles of joy / Death’s most serene repose’ (3-4).\(^1\) Moir addresses the bust as a transposed relic of Charles, a ‘pale mould of clay / ... all that now remains of thee’ (14-15); yet the technique of direct address shifts imperceptibly from the created image to the boy’s spirit. The bust ‘awakens’ (17) irresistible memories of Casa, who the reader recognises by his ‘sunny hair’ and ‘radiant eyes,’ but the father’s imagination temporarily revivifies him: ‘Yes! there thou art, from death come back’ (29). This combination of image and parental longing suggests the dangers of representing the dead in an icon.

Moir retraces the course of Charles’s life, making childhood memories particular and sensuous. As in ‘Casa’s Dirge’ he cheats chronology with the intensity of memory and makes the past live again in the present. The time returns when, with the child on his knee, they roamed in imagination through fairy tales and bible stories - including the story of ‘David [who] mourn’d his rebel child / The more — because in vain!’ (63-4).\(^2\) Moir records with striking immediacy country walks where Charles would run on, gathering ‘Blue-bell and butter-cup’ (70), and smells again ‘the wild-flowers bright and bland, / Compress’d within thy warm white hand’ (75-6). In contrast to this vividness, the grave is a stark, abstract form. When spring revives the anniversary of Charles’s death, the parents spiritually search for him again, perplexed that ‘The snowdrops fade, uncull’d by thee’ (38). A year on, memories of his vigorous, natural life are still painfully at odds with parental anxieties about:

The grave’s blank horror, the despair  
Of silence, that endureth there. (91-2)

This abstract but still material grave is explicitly associated with Charles’s decayed body, and the clay image. The sculpture is a material monument, a surrogate for the child, which is finally identified as offering only illusory and insubstantial consolations. The father’s love is undecaying, but clay only ‘sleeps in endless death’ (96). Charles’s true identity is not the ‘perishable dust’ (100) of his body, but the unseen spirit. While the poem acknowledges Moir’s struggle to accept Charles’s transition to a ‘thing of clay’ (122), poems are finally claimed as more lasting, versatile and truthful memorials of a dead child than a sculpted bust.

Moir’s elegies on his three boys are less self-reflexive than those of Prince or Thelwall. Only exceptionally does he forego the communal parental voice, and speak from an individual perspective. It seems possible that this relates to the Moirs’ multiple bereavement. When the first poem ‘Casa Wappy’ was written, both Charles and William were dead. Moir makes no mention of William, because these are individualised elegies, and the conventions employed to

\(^1\)Compare Letitia Landon’s ‘The Little Shroud,’ where the dead child appears as an animated corpse. A mother traumatised by the death of her last child weeps so much at the grave, that the child begs for release:

His shroud was damp, his face was white;  
He said — “I cannot sleep  
Your tears have made my shroud so wet;  
Oh, mother, do not weep!” (Landon 1835, p.287, 17-20)

\(^2\)Compare below, pp.152, 154 and Bessie Rayner Parkes’s ‘Two Graves’ (II, p.364).
Figure 9. Late-Victorian amateur post-mortem portrait of an infant. Of the post-mortem photographs which have survived, most are of infants and young children. Preserving a memory of the appearance and body of the child seems to be unusually important; one reason for this may be suggested by the emphasis on the parents' tactile relation to the child found in the poems. See pp.79-80, 82-3, 87, etc.

Figure 10. Card photograph of an unknown deceased child in a buggy, Indiana, U.S., c. 1890s. The child in this picture is dressed in white, holding flowers and as if asleep. See pp.101n, 103n.
commemorate a toddler differed from those for an older child. But in the poems written after March 1838, numbers become a source of strength and comfort. Thomas Aird’s memoir and Moir’s excerpted letters in the 1852 volume suggest that the Moirs were a close-knit family. In letters of the 1840s Moir takes a constant pleasure in the health and diversity of ‘all my many little ones’ (lxv), describing individual characteristics while admitting no favourites: ‘all our eight children frisk in happiness about us, and we love them all so much that it is impossible to love one of them more than another’ (lxxiii). When counting up his children he does not distinguish between living and dead: ‘Could you believe it? — five sons and five daughters to have been born to us!’ (lxxi).

In this tender and inclusive environment, identity is communal and defined by kinship, while loneliness is hostile to the family unit. I would suggest that together with their special love for Charles, the Moirs were saddened because he was the first to be separated from the family group. Perhaps it was marginally less difficult to lose William because he was younger and less individualised; but the reunion of the brothers in heaven is described as a source of genuine consolation in ‘Wee Willie’ (p.22). Charles was buried while the snow lay on the ground, but William died on the first day of spring:

```
Lifeless, in my arms I raised thee,
And in thy small coffin laid;
Ere the day-star with the darkness
Nine times had triumphant striven,
In one grave had met your ashes,
And your souls in Heaven! (59-64)
```

The coincidence of child-death with the beginning of spring is poignant, but the temporal, physical and spiritual closeness of the two boys transcends it. They are dead, but as in ‘We Are Seven,’ they still belong to the family. The living children are undifferentiated ‘blossoms’ but the dead are spring flowers in a garden:

```
Five were ye, the beauteous blossoms
Of our hopes, our hearts, our hearth;
Two asleep lie buried under —
Three for us yet gladden earth.
Thee, our hyacinth, gay Charlie —
Willie, thee our snow-drop pure —
Back to us shall second spring-time
Never more allure! (65-72)
```

To symbolise his youth and innocence, fifteen-month-old William is a snowdrop, the modest white flower of the new year, while Charlie, with his blue eyes, is the April-blooming hyacinth.¹ By the time of the ‘Elegiac Stanzas. To the Memory of D. M. M.’ (p.31) in September 1839, the Moirs had experienced three premature deaths: ‘one small grave-turf covers three!’ (24); but

¹Compare Barrett Browning’s ‘A Child’s Grave at Florence,’ where the child named after the Florentine lilies blooming in her birth and death month of July, is described as a lily - ‘She looked such kinship to the flowers, — / Was but a little taller’ (19-20). As well as pansies, roses, violets and daffodils, mourners must bring to the grave ‘White lilies for our Lily’ (Browning 1897, p.306).
they must rejoice 'That thou hast join'd thy brothers lost' (85), and Moir imagines young David embraced in welcome by his two brothers at the heavenly gates.

As far as possible, Moir avoids the boys' grave in the Domestic Verses. He chooses to revivify memories of how they were in life, or imagine what they will be in heaven. The grave is a site to be carefully negotiated, touched on delicately and euphemistically. In the 'Elegiac Stanzas' it is a 'bed of dreamless rest,' and 'half [my] heart is in your tomb' (40, 32). Only in fictionalised poems, or early pieces such as 'The Child's Burial in Spring' (p.117) does Moir describe the grave directly. Instead the boys are commemorated by association with related, less painful objects: Charles's empty chair describes his absence, his bust is a grave monument in the home, and plants in the garden represent all the boys. Perhaps Moir felt willing to publish the Domestic Verses because his values were so centred on his home and family, that traditional distinctions between public and private became irrelevant. Moir shows a strong sense of familial identity in his response to the deaths of Charles, William and David. His professional career as the medical carer of a closely-knit and familiar community militated against the more self-directed responses of a purely literary man. Moir's brother characterises him as domestic and sentimental:

[H]is house, his garden, nay, every tree in it, seemed to have for him an affectionate interest. The very gooseberry-bushes had each its history. 'This one,' he would say to me, 'was planted by poor Charlie — all these smaller ones were slips taken from it; that one there was wee Willie's' — and so on — every spot bearing some secret charm for him, every shrub and flower having its own place in the home affections: they all 'took root in love.' (cvii-cviii)

Dead children need not only be symbolised by snowdrops or hyacinths; even prosaic gooseberry canes in the Inveresk garden stand as memorials. By planting and nurturing the bush, Charles was involved in strengthening the family, and after his death it becomes a homely memorial to him. At the same time, parental affection deprived of its object seeks a related object. A plant is particularly suitable because it continues to grow and develop although the child cannot, and this continued organic life distracts in a small way from the shock of death (unless it is Thelwall's whitethorn). The association with a child of fifteen months is more tenuous, yet this in itself shows the parent's need to find evidence of his child's continuity in the home environment. The plants remind the father of his dead boys, and the rituals of nurturing them are a means of maintaining emotional contact. In this Wordsworthian tradition of association, the grave is one of many sites which carry a memorial significance.

Dispersed memorialisation is approached with particular self-consciousness, and with virtually no separation of public from private, in Martin F. Tupper's responses to the death of his daughter, Alice-Evelyn. Like Moir, Tupper was an exceptionally loving and involved father, who regarded his writing as pleasure rather than work, and was motivated by a clear religious faith; but lacking Moir's personal humility, Tupper saw himself as the head of an exemplary family, whose private joys and sorrows were an example to posterity. The boys were sent away to

---

¹Compare II, pp.72-3.
²See Buchmann 1941, pp.36-56, for a discussion of Tupper's phenomenally successful free verse poem of domestic morality, *Proverbial Philosophy* (1839-76).
school at the latest possible moment, while Tupper and his wife were largely responsible for the girls' education at home. Derek Hudson remarks that 'Tupper himself tells us that much of his work was done with a child on his knee' (Hudson 1949, p.138). The rooms of the family home, Albury House near Guildford, communicated with each other, so there was no division of adult and infant spheres. Hudson suggests Tupper's awareness of posterity in this account of his reaction to a completed house-extension - itself testimony to Tupperian fecundity:

When the new wing to Albury House was completed in June, 1852, a japanned tin box was let into the brickwork, and inside the box was a paper, invoking God's blessing on the work, signed by Tupper, his wife, and all the children — first the three girls, who were the eldest, then the four boys, and lastly little Alice, barely a year old. A note by Tupper explained that the four youngest had signed "with hands held." (p.138)

This eye for detail combines a marked self-consciousness about ancestry and creating a family, with a pleasingly equal treatment of the children. Making a written request for God's favour is a typically confident gesture. Although some of the children were very young, they are regarded as equally important components in the family's potential, and Tupper anticipates that an intimate domestic time-capsule will have a special significance in after generations.¹

Tupper begins a celebratory poem 'My Children — 1845,' by saluting 'My little ones, my darling ones, my precious things of earth' (Tupper 1851, p.239), prior to ebulliently exploring his view of the paternal role. It is a fantasy of fatherhood, well-intentioned but dominating. He will be not only 'your playmate and your guide' (8), but a confidante, 'sympathising friend,' and brotherly defender. The ideal is to be perfectly at 'one with you' (14). His children are his 'jewels,' treasured regardless of age or sex. A stanza is dedicated to each, to 'tell out all your names to be a dear familiar sound / Wherever English hearts and hearths about the world abound' (20). It is not enough to immortalise the children within the family circle; his paternal pride is such that the whole Empire must know their names. Tupper presents himself as the benign 'Paterfamilias,' generously drawing his readers into a model family.

Tupper is the poet of domestic affections again in *Lyrics* (all references are to Tupper 1855), entitled *Lyrics of the Heart and Mind* in the first edition. The preface introduces the volume as a manuscript collected as a Christmas present for friends. Like Moir's *Domestic Verses*, the poems originated in the private world, but were given a wider currency. The poet addresses us as 'My friendly reader,' inviting us into an affectionate intimacy where usual critical evaluations should be suspended. Tupper calls the poems 'effusions,' like Thelwall's poems to Maria, suggesting a spontaneous pouring out of feeling, and claiming the authority of emotional sincerity. They are not 'deliberately carved' art objects, but like organic forms, recorded 'as they really have grown up from time to time, the natural crop of occasion and circumstance.'

This careful preparation of reader expectations, the prioritising of sympathy over criticism, has special relevance to a group of domestic elegies towards the end of the volume. Amongst these are two poems written about his youngest daughter, two-and-a-half year old Alice-Evelyn, who died of a spinal paralysis early in 1854, and 'On a Child Still-born,' about the

---

¹Unfortunately the house had to be let and then sold during Tupper's lifetime, although his children never told him.
Tappers' last baby who was born dead later that same year. Although markedly more personal and specific than the other poems, Tupper writes within his characteristic framework of responsible piety and spiritual affirmation. He had long experience of elegy: aged seven or eight he had sent home from school "something in the nature of an elegy" on the death of an infant sister (Hudson 1949, p.7); but Alice was the child of his middle-age, always sickly, and the 'last' girl after the groupings of three daughters and four sons, and her death demanded testimony to her specialness.

In contrast to Prince, Thelwall or even Moir's poems, there is scant evidence of emotional or spiritual struggle. Where Thelwall's 'Effusions' remembered and reenacted stages in a process of grieving, Tupper seems to begin from an assured position. This lack of movement and denial of change at once limits the reader's sympathies, and stylistically defines Tupper's conviction that the differences between a living invalid child and her glorified soul are superficial. The first poem, titled by Alice's initials 'A. E. T.' (p.183) attempts to equalise material and spiritual qualities, so that the child's grave can be evoked materially without detracting from the poet's convictions about the afterlife. The parent-poet suppresses his grief, or places it so far in the past, that Alice's death appears benign, even transcendentally beautiful. The bereaved father's voice is intensely loving, but he never argues with the fate meted out by God. In the first stanza, the first person singular celebrates a continuing possession of the dead child which obscures death's trauma:

My pretty one beneath the sod,
My pretty one beyond the sky,
My darling gone to be with God,
And nevermore to moan or die,—
My Alice! fast asleep in flowers
Beneath the shadow of the Cross,
How blest is such a loss as ours
When thou art gainer by that loss! (1-8)

Chronology becomes meaningless: Alice is simultaneously in the earth, and in heaven, safe from human suffering. The parents feel their loss, but the certainty that she is finally free from pain translates loss into blessing. At the same time, the emphatic positioning of the possessive pronoun at the beginning of four lines out of eight, implies a retention of earthly paternal rights. Within this inclusive and celebratory framework Alice's death multiplies her presence and universalises her influence. Death is a peaceful sleep beneath flowers and a cross, a piece of conventional literalism which wholly ignores physical decay.¹ In this context, direct address of the child's spirit is no longer a consoling fiction, but a fact. When in the second stanza the address changes to the third person, it is an addition and not a challenge to the second person of stanzas one and three. A fond description of Alice's burial-place locates the dead child firmly within a familial context:

¹Death as sleep is a naturalised and euphemistic figure in elegiac writing. In Henry Alford's 'On Seeing the following epitaph at Selworthy, West Somerset,' a young man has his first imaginative experience of fatherhood and grief while meditating on the epitaph 'This grave's a cradle where an infant lies, / Rockt fast asleep with Death's sad lullabyes' (Alford 1833, p.20). Compare Figures 9-11, pp.97,105.
Beside the now deserted nave
Of dear old ivied Albury Church,
Beside our own ancestral grave,
Beside the desecrated porch,—
Our pretty darling lies beneath
Her matted quilt of flow'rets fair,
And at her head, as blessing death,
The cross of Jesus watches there. (9-16)

It is initially surprising that a father should speak so affectionately of a 'deserted' and 'desecrated' church. These details, with the implied natural neglect of 'matted' flowers, takes us back to the conventional imagery of child-graves as obscure, simple and natural. But there is a specific family relevance; Albury Church was closed not long before Alice's death by a rich neighbour, who wished to build a modern church. Tupper's vigorous opposition failed, but the community's abandonment of the 'ivied' church allowed Tupper to take responsibility for it in an almost proprietorial way. The church represented for him stable values of continuity and tradition, as the proud reference to 'our own ancestral grave' suggests. Although the churchyard was closed by Order of Council the year after Alice's burial, Tupper claimed an 'inalienable right of burial' and was indeed interred there on his death. Within this landscape, the 'sleeping' Alice is symbolically protected by family associations as well as by Jesus's guardian cross.

The speaker moves without interruption from Alice's grave, to her spiritual identity in the concluding stanza. Tupper seeks a transcendent resolution, focusing on Alice's eyes as the symbol of her continuity in the transition from earth to heaven. Yet ironically, his expanded spiritualising of the material - and materialising of the spiritual, as heaven is 'in the skies' (23) - makes this final aspiration appear irrelevant:

I love thee, my most precious child,
Too deeply to repine at this:
I long indeed to see those eyes,
And kiss their beauty o'er and o'er,
But oh! I see thee in the skies,
And there shall kiss them evermore. (19-24)

Grief is only admitted to this celebratory construct as desire - personal longing satisfied by anticipated heavenly reunion. Yet this concluding image of absence and unfulfilled affection disturbs the poem's equilibrium. The poem argues against a division of earthly from spiritual, but finally reveals a doubt in this failed aspiration. For this reader, the unwitting suggestion of loss in Tupper's almost sinisterly affirmative elegy comes as a relief. This is the poet's only concession to temporality, and sparks a compensatory anticipation of the future; otherwise the poem exists in the present tense, without retrospection.

In 'Alice-Evelyn' (p.185), the longer poem which follows, Tupper readresses the erasure of distinctions between material and spiritual in a temporal and particular context. The mood is still affirmative, but variable tenses concede that a death has occurred. In the afterlife she has been 'made perfect and free,' Jesus 'hath smiled' and 'now hath beatified thee' (5-7). This change is celebrated in the opening stanza, making fond retrospection possible. Alice was an undifferentiated cipher in 'A. E. T.'; here she is idealised as 'fairest, and purest, and dearest,' and particularised as a 'Sweet babe of two years and a half' (9-10), with 'tender blue eyes' (15).
These details introduce the reason for Tupper's exaggerated desire to accept his loss, and give particular meaning to apparently conventional phrasing. Alice-Evelyn is a 'saint' because she was an invalid from birth. The simple joys of childhood were mixed with suffering, and her life was always provisional; thus parental love focused on inevitable renunciation, rather than fighting to keep her alive at all costs. The bereaved parent's retrospection is less idyllic in this case; it is a 'painful ... pleasure' to remember her 'once merry laugh' (11-12), and dreams of her 'martyr-expression of pain' (14) are only softened by her 'patiently smiling' (16) after a fit.

Tupper still tries to minimise distinctions between life and death, but there is an implicit comparison between the painful scenes of the child's life, and signs confirming her spiritual destiny:

What vision was ever more piteous than this, —
To watch her, so wan and so weak,
With white little hands reaching up for a kiss
When faint and unable to speak; (17-20)

The pathetic image of the pale and enervated toddler reaching up for comfort, is contrasted with the spiritually significant gesture of hands raised 'in prayer' (24). While memories of the death-scene are common in child-elegies, in Alice's case there was no edenic pre-invalid time to revert to, and so life is represented as a protracted dying, and death is comparatively welcome. Tupper's aestheticised description of Alice's corpse, coffin and grave could appear callous, but it also expresses the father's fervent gratitude for his child's release from suffering. Death freezes her in a new beauty:

The silken-fringed eyelashes slept on her cheek,
And her mouth was a rosebud half-blown,
And her fingers were folded so prayerfully meek,
And her foot was a lily in stone! (29-32)

Finally the child is at peace, so much so that even her eyelashes 'sleep.' Her 'rosebud' mouth suggests a half-fulfilled beauty, her hands are no longer imploring but folded in a 'meek' gesture of prayer, and her foot is sculpturally lovely. Tupper associates Alice with the two most typical grave-flowers, the rose of love and the scented lily of innocence; these organic motifs hint at the grave, but also figure Alice rather as a static image of beauty, than a corpse doomed to decay.¹

These euphemistic images of sleep and flowers continue in the description of the funeral:

In an ark snowy-white with its silvery sheen,
And scatter'd with flow'rets of spring,
Deep under the turf all mossy and green,
We have left thee, thou dear little thing!
In hope, though in grief, — in affection and prayer,
Assured of the soon coming hour
When that precious root, buried tearfully there,
Shall shoot up again as a flower! (33-40)

¹In Uncle Tom's Cabin, ch.27, Eva St. Clare is laid out to appear lifelike; she is dressed not in grave-clothes, but in 'one of the simple white dresses she had been wont to wear when living,' and the daylight is diffused through rose-coloured curtains, so that it 'cast over the icy coldness of death a warm glow.' Eva too is associated with a rose-bud, and fragrant white jasmine ('jessamine'), which will bloom in heaven (Stowe 1986, pp.429-30).
The gleaming white coffin is imaged as an 'ark,' suggesting the tabernacle or sacred container in which holy texts are kept. The speaker displaces the most traumatic moment of the Burial Service, so that the coffin is scattered not with earth but 'flow'rets of spring.' The turf is soft and protective, and the terms of grief are carefully subdued. Faith is affirmed by anticipating resurrection; the child's beloved body is a tuber, watered by the bereaved's tears, and ready to bloom in heaven. This spiritualising of the organic is confirmed by a self-conscious symbolic gesture in the following stanza. The idea of Alice's body as a buried root waiting to flower is acted out literally; in her own garden, the loving family have planted a spring tribute to their dead daughter:

With hyacinth bulbs we have yearningly traced  
In her garden her musical name,  
And know that wherever each bulb hath been placed  
It surely shall blossom the same;  
So thou, hidden rootlet of life and of light,  
Though seeming to moulder away,  
Shalt break away bright from the prison of Night  
To bloom for Eternity's day! (41-8)

This is Moir's gooseberry bushes taken one step further. The association between Alice and her garden (which she was too young and sick to tend herself) is inscribed on the earth. Come spring the garden will proclaim her identity in scented flowers, evidence of her continuity devised by the bereaved for their own comfort. And even though the child's real grave is nearby, this garden is planted as a domestic, less troubling, image of it.1 The spring flowers thrown into the grave reappear as an organic inscription, playing out on earth the soul's heavenly resurrection. This energetic comparison of earthly and heavenly creates a stronger context for a triumphant and transcendent conclusion than in 'A. E. T.' The parent hails his baby girl to let him catch a glimpse of heaven, and replace past images of pain with anticipations of glory:

Those thin picking fingers, at rest from all pain,  
Stretcher forth from the skies for a kiss, —  
That faltering tongue, let me hear it again,  
"P'aying p'ayers," as a spirit In bliss!" (53-6)

Tupper revisits specific details of Alice's pain in illness at 21-4, but with fresh potential after the intervening image of her beautiful corpse. The hands folded in prayer and the relaxed rosebud mouth make a temporal barrier between the body in pain and Alice's glorified image. By admitting the details of death, and placing them in a chronological framework, the speaker's message of acceptance becomes more credible. The poem ends with a series of invocations, which restate the first person possessiveness of 'A. E. T.' in an impassioned testimony which comes nearer to a voice of authentic affirmation. Tupper's zeal still approaches bathos, as he condescends to share paternal responsibility for Alice with God:

My beauty! my darling! my precious! my prize!  
My cherub, my saint, and my sweet!  
My child that hast won the bright goal of the skies,  
My herald in heaven to meet!

1Compare William Canton's description of Winifred's grave (Canton 1912, p.32).
Figure 11. Thomas Banks, Tomb of Penelope Boothby. 1793. Marble, life-size, Ashbourne, Derbyshire. Like Joseph Durham’s 1854 statue of Alice-Evelyn Tupper, this sculpture blurs the distinction between death and sleep, timelessness and realism. See pp.103, 106-7.
O thanks be to God, that his bountiful love
To me the glad blessing hath given,
My babe — to be heir of His glory above,
My daughter — His daughter in Heaven! (57-64)

The endearments with which Tupper salutes his daughter's spirit make no final distinction between Alice in life and in death; 'beauty' and 'darling' suggest an earthly relation, 'cherub' and 'saint' a spiritual one. However the 'child' who went to Heaven has there become his 'herald,' and the father's 'babe' is now God's heir. By these associated epithets Tupper engages with ideas of difference and change without dictating strict distinctions. Any minor differences are presented as parts of a larger unity, and this is semantically confirmed by the final line: 'My daughter' is 'His daughter.'

Having iconised Alice's garden as a grave, it was inevitable that Tupper would turn the grave into a garden. When Nathaniel Hawthorne spent a day with the family at Albury in the spring of 1856, two years after Alice's death, he was shown the old church and the grave-plot 'belonging to the family for some generations past':

[H]ere there was a marble tombstone, finely sculptured, bearing a record of the death of two of his children, one of them two or three years old, the other of no age at all, having died at birth. Behind the tombstone was a little grave, looking like a child's garden, with a tiny fence about it, and, early as the season was, all blooming with flowers. It was easy to see that it had been constantly and carefully cultivated and weeded — this little garden-grave of two dear babies. Tupper looked earnestly at it, and was quiet for a moment, and seemed pleased to see the flowers growing so finely, and said — "Ah, we must tell mamma of this!" (Hawthorne 1941, pp.301-2.)

Hawthorne's reserved commentary gently reveals self-conscious grave-decoration which deviates from ideal simplicity. The marble headstone shows evidence of good craftsmanship, and although it is only late March, flowers are blooming. The grave is 'little' and fenced on the same scale, so that it looks 'like a child's garden.' The grave's careful maintenance shows the parents' love, and their desire to continue Alice's association with flowers. However, there is a sense of incongruity in this combination of nature and artfulness. As Hawthorne observes, the care lavished on the grave is 'easy to see,' and even seems to interfere with his appreciation of the flowers. Similarly Tupper's response seems staged, albeit for the benefit of the children; he could hardly be surprised by what he either did himself or ordered done. Compared with the 'matted quilt of flow'rets fair' in 'A. E. T.' the grave looks contrived; but it is all part of a larger project to commemorate Alice according to a family mythology, and dissolve distinctions between earthly and spiritual.

These impulses are confirmed later in Hawthorne's account. Shortly before Alice's death the sculptor Joseph Durham came to Albury and made studies and models of her, resulting in a small statue, which was exhibited to some praise at the 1854 Royal Academy.

1Compare Abner Brown's reading of the grave of his two sons: 'The first wild violet of the season which we saw was about a fortnight after their funeral, on the turf which covered David's side of the double grave; as if God was reminding us ... that our darling had entered into the joys for which he longed.' The grave-plot was 'a spot of the churchyard where they had often gathered violets and daisies' (Brown 1836, pp.241, 282).

2See II, pp.201-2.
Hawthorne noted that the child was depicted, 'asleep on a cushion ... enjoying a sweet repose.' This pose, partly necessitated by Alice's spinal disease, was traditional (compare Figure 11, p.105) but also corresponds to the pretty corpse in 'Alice-Evelyn,' right down to the foot as 'a lily in stone'; one wonders whether it was Alice's death, or Durham's statue Tupper was thinking of. The sculpted child sleeps, in an indeterminate state both living and unconscious. Unlike the name planted out in hyacinths, or the flowery grave with its elegant headstone, the sculpture resembles Alice as she was in life, and being kept in Tupper's study, is part of everyday life:

Tupper looked at it with evident delight, as he might have done on his child alive; and it almost seemed as if, so far as his feelings were concerned, it were the real presence of his living child ... though it was a very sweet little statue, I could not say much of it, feeling that a stranger's tongue had no right to infringe upon the delicacy and sanctity of such a subject. But Tupper probably felt nothing of the kind; and the presence of this little marble girl seems to soothe and comfort him, and he is just as merry, when the mood serves, as if she were not there. (pp.302-3)

As Tupper's poems to Alice merge materiality and spirituality, presence and absence, life and death, her physical image is an everyday presence which Hawthorne clearly finds suspect. Like Moir's bust of Charles, the statue of Alice is at once a domestic memorial, a way to bring the significance of the grave closer to home, and a figurative representation of the child as she lived.\(^1\) For Moir, contemplating Charles's bust was a painful spur to memory, to be put aside reluctantly in order to believe in salvation. For Tupper, the statue seems to be an incarnation of an absence he hardly acknowledges.\(^2\) Hawthorne is afraid to trespass on private grief or the 'sanctity of such a subject'; but Tupper's idea of spirituality is so literal and down to earth that death becomes almost irrelevant.

Alice's survival was always marginal, a providential gift rather than a right, and while her day-to-day nursing created a different intimacy than that with the more independent children, that affection was predicated on ultimate renunciation. Far from planning her earthly, adult future, Alice's condition was an intensified and static babyhood. Her only imaginable independence is as Tupper's 'herald' in the afterlife, leading the way for the rest of the family. The particularity of this situation influenced Tupper's elegies, and may have lessened the author's self-reflexivity. Tupper experienced no conflict between writing and parenting, indeed, the two roles were exceptionally compatible for him. He treats Alice's death with art; memorialising her suffering to show the priority of death and salvation, having her form immortalised in a statue, and cultivating her garden and grave in commemoration. But these impulses seem to have few implications for his literary craft.

However, parental and creative interests frequently conflicted in the later part of the century. Douglas B. W. Sladen's poems about his infant son's death in the early 1880s explicitly confronted the problem. Sladen was a journalist, traveller and bohemian, who made his name as a poet of Australian emigration in the 1870s. Sladen's poems about 'Bob' compare with

\(^1\)See above p.64 and Ariès 1991, pp.536-7.
\(^2\)See below pp.112-13. Victorian parents had commemorative post-mortem photographic portraits made of their children in which they were usually posed as if sleeping; see Figures 9 and 10 (p.97) and Ruby 1995, pp.48-58.
Elizabeth Barrett Browning's 'A Child's Grave at Florence' in their consideration of the dead child's hybridic national identity; the child was conceived in Australia and born in an English winter. Sladen was an enthusiastic and loving parent, and Bob's death was preceded by occasional poems such as 'Two Years Old To-day [Written upon the Second Birthday of the Author's Son at Struan, Toorak, Victoria, Nov. 25th, 1883]' or 'King Charlie [about the same son Charles, on his 3rd birthday].'

'Two Years Old To-day' (Sladen 1885a, p.144; references are to this volume) explores a father's expectations for his son's future. The poem sketches an idyllic picture of Charles on his birthday, 'golden-haired' and merry, wandering in a field of flowers under a hot winter 'blue Australian sky.' But the present is only a point of departure for more idealised futures: Charles at twenty, mature and eager; Charles at forty with his own 'little fair-headed new-comers'; at sixty comfortably reviewing his life; and at eighty approaching 'the fall of the night.' Sladen does not project himself overtly on this fantasy, but Charles's image articulates wishes he cannot. He imagines that at forty some of Charles's friends will be disillusioned or dead; yet he can only see his son decking his offspring with flowers. At sixty Charles sums up a life of familial achievement:

And he looks back across his life,
Saying, "This day was good, and that glory
Was worth those years of strife,
And my name shall be written in story,
As the founder of my race
My children's children shall I grace?" (35-40)

Sladen records the ritual cycles of male life, with early struggle rewarded by fame and benign patriarchy. Though idealised, his vision still admits questions and uncertainty; but to imagine his blond toddling son as a grandfather must surely back-project the author himself as 'founder of my race'? If Charles's name is to be 'written in story,' then his father is bound to play a part in forming that story.

Two years later back in England, Sladen's poems about the sudden death of his ten-week old son 'Bob' are consciously set in a literary context; indeed the selfish pleasures of composition are implicated in the child's death. The group is preceded by a formal experiment in a Swinburnean idiom, 'A Ballad of Pleasure' (p.203). The poem is voiced by female victims of industrial exploitation, who speak against dreamy and self-indulgent artists. While the workers are 'in slavery all our lives,' the artists are unproductive children, 'prating of Letters and Art in play.' The envoy endangers this halcyon dream: the artistic 'indolent drones' 'shall not endure in their endless play.' This ambiguous threat suggests that their facile works will not last - or even that the oppressed workers will revolt. In this opposition of downtrodden workers and infantilised artists, the author's position is ambiguous. For a writer to affect philistinism within a formally self-conscious poem has a clear irony; but this possibility is darkened and personalised by its context. 'A Ballad of Pleasure' is answered in the volume by 'A Ballad of Pain,' headed with this note: 'The "Ballad of Pleasure" was finished at 1 a.m. on Feb. 1st 1885: at 9 a.m. "Bob" was found dead in his cradle' (p.205). The simple statement of domestic tragedy has an affecting quality of its own, but Sladen goes on to make explicit parallels between ballad and
child, touching on the father's responsibility as maker of both. 'A Ballad of Pain' records a moment and mood of composition, which is starkly ironised by the child's death. The writer sits up working late, his mood ebullient, 'overfull with joy' (1). This pleasure is involved in his young son's development:

\[
\text{Exulting that my two-months' boy} \\
\text{Should now receive the chrystom rite. (3-4)}
\]

Pleasure in his own creation (the child), creates a desire for literary creation (the ballad); the morning discovery makes this mood into a satire of circumstance: 'For there I found him stiff and white, / The babe who never moved again' (7-8). The 'chrystom rite' was the traditional time to take a baby out of swaddling, so there is a special pathos in the baby's corpse being 'stiff and white,' as if bandaged. The ballad's structure with its basic pattern repeated three times in modulated forms, enacts the shocked father's reimagining of that night. In the second stanza, the poet guiltily emphasises his pleasure in composition:

\[
\text{My heart was overfull with joy,} \\
\text{As late I sat one winternight,} \\
\text{Exulting o'er a two-days' toy,} \\
\text{A ballad ready now to write; (9-12)}
\]

While in the first stanza 'overfull' suggested an emotional state, a welling up of feeling, here it indicates a hubristic excessive pleasure over an unworthy object. The speaker implicates himself with the infantilised artists of the previous ballad; the writer's craft is trivial, and his object no better than a toy. The third stanza revisits the scene, replacing the 'two-months' boy' and 'two-days' toy' with the 'Two hours of gold' he had in writing. This apparently valuable escapism amongst his worker 'maidens' is tainted and ironised by the repeated refrain of finding 'The babe who never moved again'; the early part of each stanza varies, but the stark outcome is fixed, and the condition of static bereavement is formally confirmed by the envoy. This formal structure may be a strategy to contain or distance grief, but it poignantly insists on terminal loss.

The poet speculates that the tragedy might have been averted had he not been writing. Inevitably and ironically, however, the writer's process of grieving is related to writing - either by being unable or unwilling to write, or compelled to, and Sladen memorialises Bob by writing more poems. A third ballad, 'A Ballad of a Graveyard' (p.208) is addressed to a supportive friend William Nimmo. It depicts the child's grave-site, 'A bed for his mortality,' in the seaside churchyard of St. Mary's, Torquay. The poem records the father's 'loving search' for the right plot, his grief and Nimmo's comfort, and the significance of the sea. Remaining with the now personally significant ballad form, Sladen presents himself as a father, and suppresses his authorial role. Whatever creative impulses remaining to the father are concentrated on the grave's symbolism. The Sladens were only passing through Devon and Cornwall, so the grave was chosen to recall Bob when they continued travelling.\(^1\) The sea is a visual and aural reminder; thus the static line which ends each stanza and the envoy, looks tentatively to the

\(^1\)Percy and Mary Shelley left their children Clara buried at Venice and William buried at Rome; see below pp.121-2, 126-7.
future separation, 'When we are overseas again.' The parents must leave the little body, a 'seed of immortality' (20) among the cypress, pine and birch trees, and they will be able to revisit it only in imagination.

Sladen also wrote a pair of sonnets; one directly addressing the lost child, the other an epitaph for inscription on the grave. 'On a Dead Infant' (p.273) figures the baby's death as a compassionate act, a decision not to come between the father and his beloved son Charles. Sladen grimly negotiates with Providence, seeing Bob as an object of pity, doomed to a brief 'Ten weeks of wintry weather' (6) before a sudden death, yet he is also an instrument of higher power:

But yet thou didst fulfil a destiny,
In that thou wouldst not come 'twixt him and me. (4-5)

Sladen's emotional constraint is expressed by the sonnet's compact form, while the use of only two rhymes in the octave gives a sense of restlessness and closure. Although the child was denied a living 'destiny,' Sladen awkwardly frames death as fate, with the family's protection as its object. Bob is 'Dead that two brothers should not disagree!' (1), an idea which may be prompted by the boys sharing a November birthday, mirror-images with four years between them.¹ This familial motif is used in the familiar fantasy of the child's future development in 'Bob [Written on an Infant's Grave in the Torquay Cemetery]' (p.274). Unlike Tupper's Alice, whose premature death was expected, Bob died suddenly and alone. In these circumstances, and at an age when the baby is fairly unindividualised, the desire to imagine a future for him is pressing and frustratingly abstract. As Prince did in 'A Father's Lament,' Sladen anticipates meritorious fame in adulthood for Bob, but the nearest fulfilment of that dream is offered by the father's poem:

This was the child of hope: about his birth
Fair portents shone, recorded that they might,
When he had won his name, be brought to light,
And men might read the promise of his worth
In all that heralded his dawn on Earth,
And from his cradle fame began to write. (1-6)

The contorted syntax and chronological switching of these opening lines undermines the positive image of 'the child of hope' - because 'This was' refers only to what is no longer. Sladen does not identify the good omens, but they suggest greatness intended from birth, and future men valuing his history back to the cradle. The pathos of this circular wish-fulfilment scenario is exacerbated by its explicit function as an epitaph written on the gravestone. What he saw was fame writing Bob's fame, already recorded by omens, and read by later generations; but what we read is a failed hope inscribed on a headstone. Indeed 'High hopes are buried underneath this stone' (9), and contrast harshly with the anticlimactic reality of 'a brief sojourn,' then death 'Before he knew so much as grief or mirth' (8). The father is left with a crushing anxiety that this

¹Compare Watson 1884, 'Epigram LX. On seeing the tomb of infant brothers twin-born.'
child conceived in a warm climate, 'Who never breathed in that serener zone,' might have survived away from the punishing English winter.¹

For Sladen, the relation between fathering, composition and bereavement was personal but temporary; I would not argue that writing about Bob's death had a strong therapeutic function. During bereavement, repetitive processes and working habits are significant distractions, so a writer often tries to return to composition rituals. The link between writing and parenting is more significant in the case of Eugene J. Lee-Hamilton and the death of his daughter Persis Margaret in 1904. Persis's death prompted her father's greatest artistic achievement, the sequence of twenty-nine sonnets published as *Mimma Bella. In Memory of a Little Life* (Lee-Hamilton 1909), many of which use metaphors of inscription, drawing or sculpting to express the child's life and the parents' bereavement.

Lee-Hamilton's wife Annie describes a peculiarly Victorian life-story in the poem's preface. A talented and well-educated young man, Lee-Hamilton entered the diplomatic corps at Lisbon in the early 1870s, with every expectation of a distinguished career. He fell ill with circulatory problems which escalated to semi-paralysis. In Florence confined to a wheeled bed, he spent his mature years as an invalid, bitterly frustrated and piecing together poems between attacks. In the mid-1890s his illness entered a phase of remission, miraculously he 'rose from that living grave' and by 1896 'the prisoner was free and restored to the outer world' (v, ix).

Writing the year after his death, Annie made explicit the child's special significance; they married in 1898, and Persis ('The Beloved'), re-christened 'Beautiful Baby' by their Italian neighbours, was born in 1903.

Annie represents the bond of father with daughter as strong and psychologically intense. Persis symbolised 'the promise of a bright young life to retrieve the lost years' (v), a new life to compensate for what her father had lost. Where Lee-Hamilton's sonnets during illness were preoccupied with themes of frustration, victimisation, imprisonment and depression, 'His only lyrics now were the songs he made and sang to her; his only verses the nonsense rhymes he recited while she sat, charmed, on his knee' (xi).² He worked on a translation of the *Purgatorio* beside the child's cot, and made up rhymes while carrying her up and down. Lee-Hamilton put years of self-reflexive writing behind him, and Persis became his only muse and subject. If his writing began as compensation for the active life and career he had expected, the child displaced that compensation, and absorbed his creative energies and desires.

This tender preoccupation bordering on obsession reached out to the future: 'He never wearied of planning her life, dreaming of her future' (xii-xiii). We see here an exaggerated form of the typical paternal fantasy - exaggerated because it predates grim hindsight. But this overdetermined narrative can only have one ending: 'The dream lasted nearly two years. In 1904 she died.' Lee-Hamilton's depression after his daughter's death can be traced clearly in *Mimma Bella*, but the reaction was so violent that his illness returned. Writing the child's memorial checked his sickness, but as his wife wrote, 'he dipped [his pen] now in his life's blood

¹See II, p.277.
²Compare II, p.250.
to write his child's elegy,' and once the poem was finished, the paralysis returned, and he died in
1907.

This intense association between parenting and creativity is addressed in sonnet XX of
Mimma Bella, where the speaker reminisces with his wife about the fictions they devised for
Mimma's future:

Do you remember how, with Fancy's hand,
We shaped her future as in living clay;
Modelled her life, and saw the child display
Each day fresh charm, and beauty's lines expand?

And how, before our love could understand
What Fate was working, lo, we found one day
The image finished as but God's hand may;
And it was Death's chill marble that we scannd? (1-8)

This shared memory, uniting the bereaved in loss, delicately suggests the procreative
partnership which cannot be stated directly. Parents' physical creation of their children forms a
strong emotional bond, and the right to educate and direct the child as they grow up - but here
that right is questioned. The first half of the octave does not simply describe a parental fantasy
of the child's future; it metaphorises and critiques it. The parents were sculptors of the
imagination, creating multiple forms of the future, exerting their creative forces on this
impressionable body. They self-consciously wielded a godly, almost hubristic power over their
object - to model 'as in living clay' recalls Adam's formation from the dust. Mimma's death
represents God's intervention, the foolhardy parents displaced by the omnipotent maker and
father, who finishes the form of 'chill marble' according to his will. To succumb to this fiction of
artistic perfectibility is dangerous. The metaphor of making becomes concrete in Lee-Hamilton's
aesthetised description of his daughter's corpse. Like Tupper's Alice, a sculptural corpse and a
sleeping sculpture, Mimma's beauty is remote and perfect, suggesting an integrity her decaying
body cannot sustain:¹

How well I see her on her cold white bed,
Between the branch of olive and the palm,
The little cross of pearls upon her breast;

And oh, the frozen beauty of the head,
The clear-cut lips, interminably calm,
The eyelids sealed in pale seraphic rest! (9-14)

Even the child's laying-out suggests an artistic sensibility. Mimma is framed by symbolic
branches of olive and palm, and the pearly crucifix suggests precious innocence, while her
features are chiselled, exact and unchanging. This idea of formal perfection and definition is
complemented by the sonnet form, laid out on the page so that octave and sestet are precisely
subdivided. This image of the child's dead body as a sculpture is introduced earlier in the
sequence. In sonnet V, Lee-Hamilton caressingly recalls the delicate details of the toddler's
body, and their transformation in death. Her hands, once 'rosy' as the inside of a shell, are

¹See Foltyn 1996, pp.77-80.
snowy white, and her ear 'like the incurved petal of a rose' (8) is deafened. Compared with exquisitely formed organic objects, the child appears naturally ornamental, a piece of God's fine craftsmanship. In both sonnets the parent-poet initially claims a position of creative priority, but is forced by the logic of death to renounce it.

This distinction between the creative capacities of man and God is ironically challenged towards the sequence's end. Sonnets XXI and XXII interrogate an example of institutional parenting - Florence's Foundling Hospital, the Innocenti. In XXI the speaker contrasts the 'swathed babies made of Robbia ware' (4) which decorate the building's façade, with the 'real living babes within' (9). Though only made of china, the hand-crafted Robbia babies have proved strong enough to last centuries and resist the destructiveness of time. Still beautiful and intact far above danger, they never suffered, 'never drew / With woman's milk pain's certainty' (6-7). By contrast, the Innocenti's contemporary inhabitants are carelessly made, 'carved by Love' or 'the leering sculptor Sin.' These ambiguous personifications are metaphorical single parents, recklessly manipulating the 'clay of sorrow' (13) outside family morality; yet the Church protects them and their accidental offspring. In XXII the speaker recalls the hospital's history, and the statue of the Virgin and child which condones mothers leaving their unwanted babies under cover of darkness. He is tortured by the irony that a mother may discard her child in the orphanage 'like a thing that's dead' (10), while all the care and attention of loving parents could not save Mimma. Lee-Hamilton's judgement ignores the darker social forces which might lead a mother to give up her child, under the impression that the Church could care for it better: there are all kinds of children within the Innocenti, but for him like Procter's burial club victims, they are 'left for Death to play with, one and all' (XXI, 14). However, this subjective exaggeration is purposeful. If Death, God and the Church are complicit in these childrens' doubtful futures, by contrast the Lee-Hamiltons' overattentive fancy and strong love appear innocuous, even morally superior.

The sculptural motif, with its underlying desire to preserve in metaphor the child's physical form, is matched by metaphors of inscription which suggest the child's precious beauty and transience. In VI Mimma is compared to a 'cherub's smiling gold-encircled head, / That Death from out Life's painted missal rips' (5-6), and to a 'sonnet's fair first line - the rest unsaid' (8). These fragments from religious and lyric works of art suggest the author's preoccupation with unfulfilled creative perfection. Here Death is the philistine, triumphant ly destroying beauty; yet in sonnet XV Death is the artist. Like the illuminators of mediæval sacred manuscripts, he immortalises the dead:

As Death, the cowled one, with his brush of pain,  
Illuminates some lovely baby face  
In sunrise tints on Memory's missal page. (12-14)

Lee-Hamilton suggests that death has an aesthetic and destructive relation to the created object; while the beloved image can be destroyed, 'Memory's missal page' retains a representation of the lost bathed in 'sunrise' colours of resurrection. In sonnet X, a book symbolises Mimma's halted development, and revives the poet's anguished desire for some sense of the child's continuing life. A picture-book arrives, a Christmas present from someone who had not heard of
her death. Instead of the child playing with it on her bed, the bereaved parents sit blindly turning its pages, while the speaker longs for certainty:

O that I knew thee playing 'neath God's eyes,
With the small souls of all the dewy flowers
That strewed thy grave, and died at Autumn's breath;

Or with the phantom of the doll that lies
Beside thee for Eternity's long hours,
In the dim nursery that men call Death! (9-14)

Haunted by imaginings of Mimma's future development, and impossible longings to see the dead child 'grow up' just a little more, the speaker imagines otherworldly playmates and companions for her. The flowers and the doll have 'died' and their souls accompany her, while Death appears as a 'dim nursery,' because her grave is amongst nameless children. The juvenile character of this afterlife is explained in sonnet V:

Near other children, with her little doll,
She waits the wizard that will never come
To wake the sleep-struck playground of the dead. (12-14)

Mimma is buried with her doll for company, and the burial-ground is an enchanted 'playground' from a fairytale, where children lie apart, in suspended animation, waiting for release. However the 'wizard' is also Christ the worker of miracles. Sonnet VIII treats the graves of the other children surrounding Mimma's, who are unidentified, neglected, apparently unmourned. Mimma's grave (inscribed 'Greet Persis the Beloved') is kept by 'Love and Sorrow,' so that when the poet returns, a 'stranger' in the Italian burial-ground renewing her flowers, he also brings the sonnet, 'this wreath / Of fourteen berries' (9-10) for the neglected children. As in XVIII Mimma is a 'pale pressed Rose-bud in the Book of Death' (1), here even the unknown are assured an immortal record:

For Life, their names are faint forgotten things;
But now, within the larger book of Death,
Their names are written with the names of kings. (12-14)

Thwarted as a father, deprived of his beloved object, Lee-Hamilton's motivation in Mimma Bella is compensatory and commemorative. Ironically, the death of his daughter prompts him to creative and compositional effort greater even than the loving verse-games he played during her 'little life.' Ambition only returns to him through her, and to her honour. In the penultimate sonnet (XXVIII) he states the extent of this ambition, and his sense of failure. The poet as artist

1 A mother describes a cemetery for English children at an Italian military station as a site of extreme pathos: '[I]f anywhere, the resting-place of the dead may be fitly named "God's acre" it is here, where the band of little ones side by side await the resurrection morning, and from which they shall rise to put on immortality' (The cradle and the grave 1872, p.13)

2 Compare Robert Buchanan's image of the woman poet in II, p.310.
would have painted Mimma's portrait in 'vaporous gold' (5), delicately brightening the 'dark background' of her death:

Rimming thy brow with fine red gold of thought,
In such fair pictures as the English tongue
Shrines in its sanctuaries while ages flow. (12-14)

Yet he feels his transcendent aim has failed; are the sonnets good enough pictures to hold a sacred place in an immortal shrine? The final poem suggests not. The speaker contemplates the exotic and expensive embalming and preserving oils he would buy 'If I could swathe thy memory in such balm!' (4), and the purified gold and jewels he would use 'To fashion for thy name a fretted shrine' (6); yet ultimately even these rarefied symbols of material wealth are not good enough precisely because they can be bought. Although metaphors of heightened beauty are used throughout the sequence, all this finery is cast off in the final dedication. As the grieving father laid a bare wreath of berries on the neglected graves of the Florentine children, he brings a humble metaphorical offering for Mimma - humble but made purely from his loving grief:

I have but this small rosary of rhyme, —
No rubies but heart's drops, no pearls but tears,
To lay upon the altar of thy name,
O Mimma Bella; — on the shrine that Time
Makes holier for the soul, while years
Obliterate the roll of human fame. (12-14)

We do not need to go to Florence to make the pilgrimage to Mimma Bella's grave; it is there in the poem, fused with a poignant record of parental love and loss. The poem transcendsthe specific circumstances of its production precisely by minute examination of the complex emotions and painfully vivid memories which are fundamental to experiencing child-death. Yet these effects reach beyond personal memorial poems and have repercussions for many aspects of composition and creative identity. John Thelwall negotiated an uneasy acceptance of his loss through the writing process, while Douglas B. W. Sladen felt guiltily that his writing was involved in the death of his child, even as he returned to regular composition. In the more public and literary-critical poems of tribute to poets which I go on to discuss, this relationship between composition and personal experiences of bereavement becomes more awkward and ambivalent, but domestic losses continue to be influential. When Percy Shelley wrote *Adonais* he was not only writing a great elegy on a dead poet, but a great poem of the grave. Shelley's portrait of the Protestant Cemetery in Rome is a monument within a monument: yet this famous shrine is dedicated not only to the memory of John Keats, but to the Shelleys' young son, William.
Chapter 3: Keats, Shelley and the Protestant Cemetery, Rome.

This Grave
contains all that was Mortal,
of a
YOUNG ENGLISH POET,
Who,
on his Death Bed,
in the Bitterness of his Heart,
at the Malicious Power of his Enemies,
Desired
these Words to be engraved on his Tomb Stone
“Here lies One
Whose Name was writ in Water”
Feb 24th 1821

PERCY BYSSHE SHELLEY
COR CORDIUM
NATUS IV AUG. MDCCXCII
OBIIT VIII JUL. MDCCCXXII.
Nothing of him that doth fade
But doth suffer a sea-change
Into something rich and strange

And there they sleep, as if their fates had said
They shall not sleep alone;
The singer and the sung must fill one bed,
And make their ashes one.
Alexander Anderson, ‘John Keats,’ 53-6.¹

The graves of John Keats and Percy Bysshe Shelley in what is commonly called the Protestant Cemetery, Rome, have attracted more poetic attention than any other graves of nineteenth-century poets. The non-Catholic burial-ground near Monte Testaccio, the Pyramid of Caius Cestius and the ancient city walls, was already documented as a picturesque attraction for English visitors before Keats’s interment there on 26 February 1821, and Shelley’s on 21 January 1823. The uneasy reception given to the literary work published in their lifetimes, their tragically premature deaths by consumption and drowning, and burial in Catholic Italy, all contributed to the Romantic myth of their deaths and its attraction as a poetic subject; the identification was most influentially made by Shelley himself in Adonais, the elegy for Keats he published in July 1821. Yet factual coincidences and literary associations fabricated a myth of poetic brotherhood, which coupled for eternity two men who scarcely knew each other. As Alexander Anderson expressed it in 1873, the traditionally solitary poet was destined not to sleep alone. A mysterious creative imperative which crafts life into art, defines Keats and Shelley in an exclusive relation; they are ‘singer’ and ‘sung’ fused in ‘one bed.’² This coupling model has

¹Anderson 1873, p.14; see below, pp.144-9.
²Deep family vaults could suggest this kind of closeness, but burial of more than one person in a coffin was rare - usually children or mothers with babies.
been so powerful that the memorial plaques finally unveiled by Poet Laureate John Masefield in Poets' Corner in 1954 were twinned tablets yoked by a flower garland.

In fact, the poets' idiosyncratic characters are evident even in their individual grave-inscriptions, and they are certainly not buried in 'one bed.' Keats's burial-plot is in the flat area of the Old Cemetery, marked by a freestanding round-topped white marble headstone with a relief-carving of a half-unstrung Grecian lyre (see Figure 13, p.142). Shelley's austere horizontal white slab is at the top of a slope in the New Cemetery, recessed at the foot of a tower in the city wall (see Figure 12, p.120). Where Keats's upright stone invites the visitor to a prospect of grass, scattered monuments, and the classical Pyramid of Caius Cestius, Shelley's embedded stone is shrine-like and exclusive. Although both grave-inscriptions were written with a self-conscious eye to posterity, Keats's wish for anonymity and the simple adaptation from Philaster was mangled by his friends' well-meaning attempt to defend his honour,¹ while Shelley's was confidently simple and authoritative, Ariel's famous song claiming him for greatness.

In both cases a fraternally-protective male friend took responsibility for the grave and monument. Although Joseph Severn solicited Keats's friends in Britain for designs, and Edward Trelawny acted on behalf of Mary Shelley, each finally designed the grave independently. Severn, who had nursed Keats through his final illness, and arranged the funeral, agonised for two years before finalising a monument and inscription, while Trelawny, who organised the cremation of Shelley's remains, worked rapidly and decisively. Severn and Trelawny did not consult each other extensively, but Severn directed the original interment of Shelley's ashes, and Trelawny offered ideas for Keats's epitaph; yet these exchanges have less the air of cooperation in troubled times, than uneasy negotiation between opposing factions, with Trelawny as the champion of the 'singer,' and Severn the defender of the 'sung.'

At first it appeared that Severn would disregard Keats's death-bed epitaph; he planned a design and inscription themed on a 'Greek seat, with his solitary lyre standing against it,' alluding to the pastoral-poet's vacant chair. Charles Armitage Brown reminded him of his duty, suggesting the lyre image be used alone and asserting that 'In obedience to [Keats's] will, I would have his own words engraven there, and not his name, letting the stranger read the cause of his friend's placing such words as 'Here lies one, &c.' (Gay 1913, p.18). Severn approved the epitaph in early 1822, replacing Brown's 'bitter anguish at the neglect of his countrymen' with the more histrionic wording; but he prevaricated all year, waiting for drawings of a lyre in the British Museum.

Severn's only connection with Shelley was through the tribute in the Preface to Adonais,² but in January 1821 he found by request a grave-site for Shelley's ashes, and

¹Beaumont and Fletcher's Philaster, or Love Lies a-Bleeding, V.iii.80-2:
    Your memory shall be as foul behind you
    As you are living, all your better deeds
    Shall be in water writ, but this in marble. (Gurr 1969, p.100)
See also 'Greek Source of "Writ in Water"' (Lahr 1972-3, pp.17-18).
²[Severn's] conduct is a golden augury of the success of his future career — may the unextinguished Spirit of his illustrious friend animate the creations of his pencil, and plead against Oblivion for his name!' (Shelley 1984, pp.26-7; Adonais references are to this edition).
organised the funeral. He was granted permission to erect Keats’s monument on 8 March 1823, but when in April Trelawny arrived to see Shelley’s grave, Keats’s epitaph still seemed in doubt. Trelawny suggested line 324 of *Adonais*, ‘Whose master’s hand is cold, whose silver lyre unstrung,’ and that Keats’s remains be called ‘spoils’:¹

> the word spoils — for that is all Death has of a being we trust has written on brass — and one would like associating — two such master spirits as Shelley & Keats — and it would be a tribute to the former’s feeling & affectionate lament of Adonais ... one would wish to mingle their great names more closely together — (Gay 1913, p.19).

Here Trelawny constructs by literary association the friendship Keats had avoided in life.² Although Trelawny flatteringly describes the poets as equals, ‘master spirits’ and ‘great names,’ Keats’s grave appears as an advertisement for *Adonais*, or at least paying back a ‘tribute’ to Shelley’s feeling. Severn ‘professed’ approbation, but the idea was not pursued, and he spoke disparagingly of Trelawny afterwards; in fact this intervention forced Severn to act.

In turn, Trelawny disapproved of Severn’s choice of grave for Shelley; insufficiently distinguished from the other few graves in the bare New Cemetery, he reinterred Shelley’s ashes in what he described as ‘the only interesting spot.’ Although acting for Mary Shelley, Trelawny also strengthened his own association with Shelley. Continuing the Roman theme of the cremation, with its salt and frankincense, he planted laurel and cypress to screen the grave, edited almost to oblivion the Latin epitaph sent by Hunt on Mary’s behalf, and chose the significant lines from Ariel’s song on his own initiative. The epitaph from *The Tempest* l.ii.402-4 evokes the eerie atmosphere of Shelley’s poetry, and cunningly associates him with the great tradition of English literature; but it is also a personal allusion to Shelley’s pleasure in the quotation, which Trelawny spontaneously declaimed as they prepared the boat in which Shelley drowned.³ Much as Severn’s subjective view framed and changed Keats’s epitaph, Trelawny’s inscription alluded to the tragic sailing adventure and his snatching Shelley’s unburned heart (‘cor cordium’) from the funeral pyre.

This edgy, aggressive-defensive fraternal relationship between the posthumous poets finds its first and most accomplished form in Shelley’s *Adonais: An Elegy on the Death of John Keats, Author of Endymion, Hyperion, etc.* The poem is generally read as a self-reflexive elegy in which Keats’s death allows Shelley to discuss his own literary (im)mortality, or the elegist displaces the dead poet by a virtuoso performance.⁴ Shelley’s preoccupation with the effects of harsh criticism - to the point of diagnosing consumption as a physical manifestation of mental pain - famously depicted Keats as the victim of Shelley’s own afflications, and contributed to the

---

¹The metaphor of ‘spoils’ is used for William’s body in ‘The Choice,’ so this allusion may derive from Mary Shelley’s talks with Trelawny. See below p.126.

²As a confidante of both men, Leigh Hunt was well placed to observe Keats’s suspicion about Shelley’s friendly overtures (Hunt 1860b, v.II, pp.201-2).

³See Bennett 1995, p.128.

⁴In a letter to Maria Gisborne Mary Shelley said ‘Adonais is not Keats’s, it is his own elegy, he bids you there go to Rome’ (Gay 1913, pp.24-5). See also below pp.122, 139, 147, Curran 1983, pp.165–82, and Heffernan 1984, pp.295-315.
younger poet's poor critical reputation. I do not present a comprehensive reading of *Adonais* here, but address how the elegist's relation to Keats combines fraternal and paternal characteristics and suggest why the Protestant Cemetery confirms and problematises this relation.

The Preface is rich in praise for Keats; it places him 'among the writers of the highest genius who have adorned our age' - yet this claim is also dependent on our assumption of the writer's authority (Preface: Shelley 1984, pp.24-7). At the time of Keats's death, although not yet thirty, Shelley's precocious writings, two marriages, five children, scandals, lovers, migrations, family squabbles and deaths made him feel old beyond his years, exaggerating the modest six year age-gap between them. With this authority Shelley republishes his 'known repugnance' to the tired literary models of Keats's 'earlier compositions' to substantiate his objectivity - yet the *Hyperion* fragment is 'second to nothing that was ever produced by a writer of the same years.' Thus Keats was old enough when he died to have progressed in his literary career and made significant accomplishments; but still he died 'in his twenty-fourth year.' Shelley's praise is hedged around by qualification and counter-assertion, and relies on the elegist's strong presence. We are never allowed to forget the living author, nor the dead poet's youth; his genius was 'delicate and fragile,' a 'young flower ... blighted in the bud.'

These adjectives of immaturity and beautiful frailty are supported in the poem by a succession of female mourners. Adonais is the son of Urania, the 'mighty Mother' (10), her 'youngest, dearest one' and the 'nursling of thy widowhood' (46-7). This vocabulary of superlative tenderness strongly suggests the parental voice of child-elegy, as does the mutually-reliant relation of 'nursling' to widow. This apparently affectionate infantilisation is modulated by an allusion to Keats's 'Isabella,' which reads the relationship as one between lovers. The poet was 'Like a pale flower by some sad maiden cherished, / And fed with true love tears, instead of dew' (48-9). Keats is compared to the basil growing over the head of Isabella's murdered lover Lorenzo, the 'young palmer in Love's eye.' In Keats's poem the pot of basil is a fetish, a symbol of unfulfilled sexual love which is the young woman's only consolation in bereavement; yet it also represents this relic of the lover as a baby. As Isabella's virgin cheek 'Fell thin as a young mother's, who doth seek / By every lull to cool her infant's pain' (35-6) when she pined for Lorenzo in life, after his death she sought his body to 'sing to it one latest lullaby' (340). She nurtured the basil with tears, and nursed it 'patient as a hen-bird' 'breast[ing] its eggs'...
Figure 12. The grave of Percy Bysshe Shelley. This 1956 picture shows chrysanthemums and roses left at the grave which detract from the slab’s austerity. See pp.117, 128.
Shelley's brief allusion could immortalise Keats's poem along with its poet, but it also describes Adonais mothered by a lover. This emphasis on immaturity is confirmed by the stanza's ending:

Thy extreme hope, the loveliest and the last,
The bloom, whose petals nipt before they blew
Died on the promise of the fruit, is waste;
The broken lily lies — the storm is overpast. (51-4)

This vocabulary of waste does not describe the death of a male poet, but the premature deaths of babies, children and women. He is the 'pale flower' nursed by a grieving virgin, the frost-bitten 'bloom' which will never come to fruit, the 'broken lily.' Elsewhere he has a 'young spirit' (76), blood 'like the young tears of May' (215), or is a 'gentle child' (235).

When Shelley finally enters the poem as the 'phantom among men' (272) he like Keats is a mixture of weakness and strength; but his weakness indicates mature struggle and adult weariness rather than immaturity. The living poet wanders in the wilderness like Actæon; where the classical youth was turned into a hart as punishment for seeing Diana naked, 'his own thoughts, along that rugged way, / Pursued, like raging hounds, their father and their prey' (278-9). If Shelley sees his fate as self-consuming, at least he fathered these powerful thoughts, and while his head is garlanded by pitiful 'faded violets' (290), he still holds the virile caduceus of poetry.¹ Youth is of course a significant factor in the pathos of Keats's death, so Shelley can recuperate his death as an escape from adult disillusion - he 'now can never mourn / A heart grown cold, a head grown grey in vain' (357-8); but dying 'in his twenty-fourth year' Keats was barely more than a child to Shelley.²

Images of childishness are a minor theme within the achievement of Adonais, yet combined with haunting signs of the material body, and the concrete site of the Protestant Cemetery, they suggest the emotional force of an underestimated biographical factor. The Shelleys were in Rome when their eldest son William caught malaria and died on 7 June 1819 aged three-and-a-half.³ Shelley wrote to Peacock the next day, 'it seems to me as if, hunted by calamity as I have been, that I should never recover any cheerfulness again' (Jones 1964,

---

¹The stranger claims fraternity by exhibiting his 'branded ... brow' (305), 'like Cain's or Christ's' (306). Cain's fate as the first murderer was first associated with injurious critics: 'the curse of Cain / Light on his head who pierced thy innocent breast' (150-1).

²Compare Bloom's remark that 'poets, confronting the imminence of death, work to subvert the immortality of their precursors, as though any one poet's afterlife could be metaphorically prolonged at the expense of another's. Even Shelley, in the sublimely suicidal Adonais, a poem frighteningly transcending mere disinterestedness, subtly divests Keats of the heroic naturalism that is Keats's unique gift' (Bloom 1975, p.151). I suggest that Shelley's stance is to deny Keats as a 'precursor,' and this suicidal impulse is a rhetorical attempt to preempt Keats even in death.

³As well as Mary's two miscarriages, the Shelleys' younger daughter Clara had died of malaria in Venice on 24 September 1818, and they had travelled on, fearful for the health of the other children. William St Clair distinguishes between the Shelleys' attitude to an undifferentiated two year-old girl, and to the three year-old boy William whom they 'allowed themselves to love as an individual' (St Clair 1989, pp.461-4). However, I would read this behaviour (if it is true) as rationalism in recognising the emotional gap to be filled on the death of a child, rather than insensitivity. See above pp.74-5 and n for Jalland and Pollock's opposition to this model derived from Lawrence Stone.
v.ii, p.97). Mary wrote in their journal on 10 October 1822 that ‘in truth after my William’s death this world seemed only a quicksand, sinking beneath me’ (Feldman and Scott-Kilvert 1987, p.438). William was buried in the Old Protestant Cemetery, a short distance from the plot Severn chose for Keats two years later.

Shelley did not revisit the Protestant Cemetery between William’s death and writing Adonais. In representing Keats’s death, Shelley drew on his loving memories of his child buried in the same place, and this association influenced the anxious subtextual references to materiality and decay and the surprisingly specific treatment of the Cemetery; Shelley identified Keats as a son as well as a brother and alter-ego.

The stanzas set in the Cemetery (48 to 51) fall almost at the crisis of the poem, and present a modern death within the city of fallen classical ideals (426-7). While the ancient culture is debased, Adonais joins an intellectual elite ‘Who waged contention with their time’s decay,’ and won immortality. The speaker guides the reader through the ancient city to the grave, in a strategy from topographical literature which was to be much imitated in tribute-poems. The speaker exhorts us ‘Go thou to Rome,’ a place of dreamy idealism and ‘wilderness,’ a sublime landscape where greeneries covers ‘The bones of Desolation’s nakedness.’ A new guide takes over from the speaker:

the Spirit of the spot shall lead
Thy footsteps to a slope of green access
Where, like an infant’s smile, over the dead
A light of laughing flowers along the grass is spread. (438-41)

The focus changes from sublime generality, to an intimate domestic mood, which can be traced intertextually to two fragments Shelley wrote in 1819 ‘To William Shelley.’ The poems are directly addressed to the child, and the father caressingly repeats the terms of address, ‘thou,’ ‘thee,’ and ‘thy,’ to simulate contact with his dead son. In the longer fragment ‘My lost William’ (Shelley 1904, p.581) the poet searches for his child, seeking reunion with the soul who appeared a hopeful mirror-image of himself, the ‘bright spirit’ which inhabited the child’s body. ‘Here its ashes find a tomb’ (5), yet the father cannot find a trace of William there:

But beneath this pyramid
Thou art not — if a thing divine
Like thee can die, thy funeral shrine
Is thy mother’s grief and mine. (5-9)

William’s spirit transcends monuments and graves, and Shelley desperately defends an immaterial ‘funeral shrine’ - the edifice of parental grief. Only a spiritual monument is acceptable, and the rhymes ‘divine,’ ‘shrine,’ ‘mine’ ascribe a transcendent value to the personal. The father continues to search for his son, and it is to this passage Shelley alludes in Adonais:

Where art thou, my gentle child?
Let me think thy spirit feeds,
With its life intense and mild,

1Compare above pp.82-3, 85-7, 90, 94-6, 98, etc.
2First published by Mary Shelley in the Posthumous Works (1824); the shorter fragment first appeared in the Poetical Works (1839).
The love of living leaves and weeds
Among these tombs and ruins wild; —
Let me think that through low seeds
Of sweet flowers and sunny grass
Into their hues and scents may pass
A portion — (10-18)

The child's distinctive 'intense and mild' spirit is placed in a vivid organic scene with the father's 'love of living leaves'; something of William's spirit infuses the scented flowers and illuminated grass-stems. Yet the speaker is conscious he persuades his grief with an illusion, repeating the fragilely pleading conditional phrase Let me think. Even this scant comfort is lost in the abbreviated final line, eloquently silent in its failure to find a satisfactory resolution.¹ The picturesque Protestant Cemetery has a strong presence in 'My lost William,' but the poet's vision is introspective and local; he prefers tangible, intimate natural objects to the irrelevant Pyramid.

This earlier, personal response suggests illuminating comparisons with stanzas 49 and 51 of Adonais. The reader's own 'footsteps' are led to the open site where 'like an infant's smile' radiant flowers are 'laughing,' suggesting the memento mori topos of children playing above graves.² Shelley would remember seeing the city walls and Pyramid from the 'slope of green access' where William's grave lay, so the guiding 'spirit' benignly haunts the scene. While the city walls decay, the Pyramid is 'keen' and the ancient structures are contrasted with modern graves - the Pyramid is 'Pavilioning the dust' of now obscure Cestius, while 'a newer band / Have pitched in Heaven's smile their camp of death' (448-9). Earl Wasserman and Charles Dougherty³ have suggested that this military imagery relates to Protestant and Catholic conflicts, but I would emphasise the definition of separate ancient and modern burial territories. Cestius was alone in designing 'This refuge for his memory' (446), but the 'newer band' belong together in the present tense, 'Welcoming him we lose,' and still emotionally significant for the bereaved. Stanza 51 begins with the epitaphal tag 'Here pause,' inviting the reader to contemplate the meaning of what s/he sees. Unlike the ancient 'dust' the Pyramid records,

these graves are all too young as yet
To have outgrown the sorrow which consigned
Its charge to each (451-3)

The Pyramid is a symbolic cenotaph, a sign long divided from its signification, while these humble modern graves retain a painful significance for their survivors. Fittingly for their reception of the 'gentle child' Adonais, these graves are 'all too young.' The charged ideas of outgrowing sorrow and consigning a charge allude delicately to William and the parent's disrupted responsibility for his child. Shelley's grief for his son, and his performed, imaginative

¹The closing lines are echoed in Shelley's description of Adonais 'made one with Nature.' Stanza 43 begins: 'He is a portion of the loveliness / Which once he made more lovely.' See Rogers 1949, pp.213-14, 263- 4.
²Compare Eliza Ogilvy's 'The English Cemetery at Rome': 'Thick clustering like the children's heads when out to play they pass / The daisy buds are crowding bright above the crisp young grass' (Ogilvy 1856, p.75, 3-4). Eliza Ogilvy's sensitivity to this image might be explained by the death in 1845 of her daughter Rose, buried at Florence. See below pp.46, 50, 61n, 68 and n, 76n, 114 and II, pp.314-15, 386-9.
³Wasserman 1959, p.348; Dougherty 1979, pp.48-50.
mourning for Keats come together in stanza 51; the bereaved parent still grieves, so he compensates for this lost object by adopting a more intense paternal attitude towards Keats. Unlike the earlier formulaic exhortations to 'Weep for Adonais,' contemplating personal bereavement reminds the speaker of repression's role in grief. If the 'fountain of a mourning mind' (454) is sealed and controlled, then the seal should not be broken. This is a more credible view of grieving, which instead of revelling in its articulation, sympathises with the desire to repress the welling 'fountain.' The visitor to the grave is advised to overcome death by redefining it as a good, 'From the world's bitter wind / Seek shelter in the shadow of the tomb' (457-8), and this courting of death infuses the elegist's personal questioning in the final three stanzas. Communing with 'my Heart' the speaker imagines Adonais calls for him on the breeze, desiring that 'No more let Life divide what Death can join together' (477). This seems like a reversion to the identification and fraternal union of the Preface, as 'The breath whose might I have invoked in song / Descends on me' (487); yet Adonais's soul is stellar and unchallenged in the final stanza, while the elegist's 'spirit's bark' appears rudderless and unstable, only tremulously triumphant in its dark mission. The speaker is 'borne darkly, fearfully, afar' (492) through an uncertain void, while Adonais is with the Eternal.

If the lack of specific knowledge accounts prosaically for Shelley's use of his memories of William, this influence forces an unexpected ending to Adonais. The bereaved father seeks imaginative continuity and immortality for his 'divine' son, and this desire extends to Adonais, the older but still immature image of the son. This identification of father with son, and the parent's fantasy of the child's future, can be traced in 'To William Shelley. Marlow, 1817' (Shelley 1904, p.544) where Shelley records (for his infant son) their planned future in 'serene and golden Italy' or 'Greece, the Mother of the free':

And I will teach thine infant tongue  
To call upon those heroes old  
In their own language, and will mould  
Thy growing spirit in the flame  
Of Grecian lore, that by such name  
A patriot's birthright thou mayst claim! (47-52)

The father's plan to educate his son in the classics and ancient democracy was cruelly halted - far from being 'serene and golden,' Italy killed two of the Shelleys' children, and a third in their care. Shelley had tried to befriend Keats in England on several occasions, and once the younger poet arrived in Italy, offered him hospitality and nursing which was consistently refused. Shelley was equally powerless to protect his son or this elusive young poet from death in 'fatal Italy.'

The male drama enacted within Adonais, combining fraternity and paternalism in affectionate and aggressive forms, was a formidable model for the poets who later visited and wrote about Keats's and Shelley's graves. Such pilgrimage verses often address the issues of rivalry and imitation associated with Harold Bloom's 'anxiety of influence' thesis. However, where Bloom saw such relations as repressed and denied by the aftercomer, these poet-pilgrims

---

1Byron and Claire Clairmont's daughter Allegra died of typhus on 19 April 1822.
2See II, pp.89-90.
frequently claim their indebtedness overtly. In his view ‘no strong poet, can choose his precursor, any more than a person can choose his father’ (Bloom 1975, p.12); these poet-pilgrims acknowledge significant debts to Keats and Shelley, and to others, and are not always concerned with vanquishing their subject. In Adonais the female presences are archetypal female mourners helping to describe masculine identity; weeping mothers define Adonais as child-like and immature, a son who could never grow up, while the ‘phantom’ Shelley is at least a world-weary father of thoughts. ‘My lost William’ confirms this masculine scene; while Shelley alludes to ‘thy mother’s grief and mine,’ the poem’s insistent direct address and use of the possessive pronoun allies it with later father-son elegies.

In July 1823, around the first anniversary of her husband’s death, Mary Shelley wrote an elegy on William and Shelley’s deaths and the Protestant Cemetery. Discovered in the Shelleys’ journal, ‘The Choice’ was not made public until Harry Buxton Forman privately printed it in 1876. Leigh Hunt’s revisions and notes to the manuscript suggest that originally Mary may have intended it as a public tribute to her husband, consciously continuing the associations between William, Keats, Adonais and the Protestant Cemetery, and this is supported by her immediate response to Shelley’s burial:

All is at rest there (would I were too!) He sleeps beneath the tomb of Cestius
'The grey walls moulder round, on which dull Time
Feeds,
— Do you not know that verse of Adonais — All that passage which
joined to many other motives kept me firm in my choice, when all
opposed it — All my thoughts now tend & all my actions will be bent
towards a journey to that beloved city, whose blue sky is the tomb of those
I best love.'

Sharing her grief with Jane Williams, the widow of Edward Williams who drowned with Shelley, Mary cites Adonais as the textual precedent for her decision; the specific memorial inscribed in Shelley’s poem, with its emotional associations, acquires the authority of a posthumous will. Against the wishes of Shelley’s disapproving friends, who thought his remains should return to Britain, Mary intended that the bodies of her son and husband should lie together in the cemetery sanctified by Shelley’s allusions in Adonais. Her wish to create a posthumous family,

---

1William Bell Scott and Oscar Wilde wrote poems on both poets, and while Alexander Anderson’s special relationship was with Keats, he felt almost as passionately about Wordsworth. See below pp.134-8, 149-51, and compare pp.144-9 with 182-4.

2Feldman and Scott-Kilvert 1987, p.450n; see also p.449n. Mary Shelley sent the casket containing her husband’s ashes to the British Consul ‘requesting him to superintend the interment at the Protestant Cemetery at Rome as near as possible to the grave of William Shelley.’ The Old Cemetery had been closed the previous year, so permission was obtained to move William’s remains to the new ground. When the grave was opened, an adult skeleton was found. Severn wrote to Brown that ‘some mistake must have been made in placing the Stone ... I thought it would have been a doubtful and horrible thing to disturb any more Strangers’ Graves in a Foreign Land. So we proceeded very respectfully to deposit poor Shelley’s ashes alone’ (Sharp 1892, p.123). Thomas Hardy cited this as an example of burial authorities’ ‘facetious carelessness’: ‘when Mrs. Shelley wished to exhume her little boy William ... with a view of placing his body beside his father’s ashes, no coffin was found beneath the boy’s headstone, and she could not carry out her affectionate wish’ (Orel 1990, p.207).
for the father to rejoin and protect the son, was thwarted,¹ but Mary claimed even their material
closeness as a comfort, and completed the association by alluding to *Adonais* in this letter and
‘The Choice’ (Shelley 1876, p.7; text below p.228).² In stanza 7 of *Adonais*, the reader was
urged to see Adonais's beauty ‘while the vault of blue Italian day / Is yet his fitting charnel-roof’
(59-60), while in the letter Rome’s ‘blue sky’ is the ‘tomb’ of her best-beloved. The city is
‘beloved’ by association, consecrated by the remains of her husband and eldest son, and refined
to one huge, complex monument to Mary's loss. However, only a few months later Mary
decided not to go to Rome, and these emotional claims were ultimately too personal and painful
to be made public.³

Shelley himself is 'The Choice' of Mary's elegy, and the poem begins by praising him as
an artist, lover and father, but prioritising his domestic identity. Shelley's genius takes second
place to his emotional share in the catalogue of dead children, victims of malaria, 'the black
death that rules this sunny shore' (102). Mary seeks consolation in memories of their hopeful
early time in Italy, when as a 'happy Mother,' an archetype of fulfilled fecundity, she ran a 'race
of joy' under the sun. Clara's death was the first disruption of this idyll:

First my sweet girl, whose face resembled *his*,
Slept on bleak Lido, near Venetian seas. (63-4)

Although she was 'my sweet girl,' the child is identified with the father not the mother, and with a
watery grave, obliquely forecasting Shelley's death. William appears as Mary's consolation, the
superlative son, 'my eldest-born, my loveliest, dearest,' 'most joyful then when nearest' (64-5),
yet this rhetoric of extremity implies the rituals of child-elegy even as it celebrates him.⁴ Mary
lingers over family memories, the 'English home' where this 'angel' was born, William asleep on
the boat 'Beside his father, nurst upon my breast' (73), and links William's youthful beauty with
the aestheticism of ancient Rome. But unlike the gradual corruption of that culture, death came
'all shadowless' for William, 'there were no taints / Of ruin on his cheek' (83-4), and he
embraced death trustingly. Mary locates William's grave at Rome, using the intimate imagery of
'To William Shelley' rather than the dominating Pyramid:

    His spoils were strewed beneath the soil of Rome,
    Whose flowers now star the dark earth near his tomb:
    Its airs and plants received his mortal part,
    His spirit beats within his mother's heart. (87-90)

The earth which contains William is 'dark,' but as with Shelley's 'light of laughing flowers' the
child is spiritualised as flowers which 'star' this material reflection of the night sky. William is

---

¹The Shelleys' premature baby who died at a few days old in March 1815 was buried in London,
Clara at Venice, and Allegra was transported by ship back to a vault at Harrow.
²An unedited transcription of the poem is printed in Mary's journal (Feldman and Scott-Kilvert
1987, pp.490-4).
³Mary did not visit the grave in 1823; 'beloved' as Rome was, the risk was too great that her
remaining child might catch malaria. Mary was pregnant with Percy Florence (born on 12
November 1819) when William died, and she would not risk the male line's perilous
continuity. She first visited Shelley's tomb with the adult Percy Florence in the early 1840s.
⁴See above pp.89-90.
memorialised within the beating corporeal heart of his mother (as in Shelley's poem the child was enshrined in his parents' grief), and implicitly within the heartbeat of the poet-mother - in the poem's rhythms. Mary's maternal passion is nearer to Christian consolation than Shelley's, as she congratulates her 'Infant immortal' (91) on escaping adult disillusion, and offers him the apotheosis Shelley assigned to Adonais: 'Thou shin'st the evening star among the dead.' The third death, Allegra the 'Child of our hearts,' continues this correspondence with Adonais; her 'deep lucid eyes' reflected Italy's sepulchral 'bluest skies.'

While Mary still grieves for the children, especially William (to whom forty lines are dedicated, compared with a single couplet for Clara, and six lines for Allegra), their relation to Shelley the father-poet defines child-death as part of the natural order. The children's deaths mark a descending spiral from hopeful excitement to the ghastly nadir of Shelley's death, the account of which is explicitly addressed to him, 'Companion of my griefs!' (103); only by the rhetorical trick of direct address can she share her grief at her husband's death with him. For Shelley to die by an accident (rather than one of his illnesses) was against nature, and seemed tragically overdetermined after their shared bereavement. Mary anticipates the later writers of tributes who saw Shelley as more spiritual and ethereal than earthly, 'a quivering spark' (106), 'a spirit from the sky, / Which struggled with its chains, but could not die' (109-10).

Mary elides the traumatic circumstances of Shelley's death, temporary burial, and cremation, slipping from a direct address to Shelley's spirit, to addressing the Protestant Cemetery:

Tell me, ye ancient walls, and weed-grown towers,
Ye Roman airs and brightly painted flowers,
Does not his spirit visit that recess
Which built by love, enshrines his earthly dress? (113-16)

Mary reenacts the quest for the spirit of the beloved which Shelley performed for William, imagining the idiosyncratic shrine-like 'recess' chosen by Trelawny, and acknowledging a debt of gratitude to him. The terms she uses evoke, perhaps unconsciously, the spirit-haunted 'living leaves and weeds / Among these tombs and ruins wild' in 'My lost William,' and the 'light of laughing flowers' in Adonais; yet this brave effort to find consolation at the imagined grave effects a revulsion of feeling. She cannot accept that Shelley's death was natural or inevitable, and struggles to oppose material finality:

— No more! no more! — what though that form be fled,
My trembling hand shall never write thee — dead —
Thou liv'st in Nature, Love, my Memory,
With deathless faith for eye adoring thee,
The wife of Time no more, I wed Eternity. (117-21)

Mary used direct address unselfconsciously in the shared journal which she continued after her husband's death. In February 1823 she wrote 'have pity on me, my divine love, visit me in my dreams,' and in June 1824 she recalled an anniversary: 'Such, my loved Shelley now ten years ago — at this season — did we first meet ... My own love — we shall meet again' (Feldman and Scott-Kilvert 1987, pp.452, 479). In 'Shelley's Death,' Alfred Austin reconstructed Shelley's apparently fated death, amidst 1870s rumours that the Don Juan was deliberately ambushed (Austin 1891b, p.184).
Mary's ostensible reason for staying away from Rome was concern for the health of her surviving son, but this refusal to imagine the grave suggests another reason. She denies the significance of Shelley's 'form,' his body, strenuously divides mortal from immortal, and moves from specific to general in an attempt to save herself from despair. In this struggle she associates her own writing with Shelley's mortality, and the end of his poem-making; and ironically she does indeed write him dead in the very act of denying it. She turns against the spectre of the Cemetery to spiritualise his death and his identity; she turns from the decaying walls and towers, to the 'Eternity' symbolised by the absent Pyramid. After this climax Mary seeks consolation in the idea of a sad, posthumous existence shared with Jane Williams, the only survivor who might truly understand her anguish. After this multiple bereavement of husband and children, Mary defines herself in a union of widowhood, subduing her continuing identity as a writer and mother who must write to support herself and her son, to concentrate on the painful pleasures of memory and the past.

Mary Shelley's poem gives a unique personal perspective on Shelley's grave and the Protestant Cemetery. Mary's vision of Shelley as a companion, father, lover and friend throws into relief the public portrait of the man as artist and visionary common in the predominantly male tradition of elegiac tribute poems. Trelawny was Mary's most loyal friend in the aftermath of Shelley's death, but he was hardly disinterested. He described and sketched the grave in a letter to Mary on 27 April 1823, and aside from her own memory, these were the materials she drew on for 'The Choice.' Yet for all his caring attention, Trelawny took a proprietorial stance which conceded little to the widow's feelings:

My own stone, a plain slab till I can decide on some fitting inscription, is placed on the left hand. I have likewise dug my grave, so that, when I die, there is only to lift up my coverlet and roll me into it. You may lie on the other side if you like. (Trelawny 1910, p.53).

Trelawny bought the adjacent plot and unambiguously marked it with a stone. He suggests these preparations for his own death are practical and foresighted - his survivors will only have to 'roll' him into bed, like a sailor into a hammock; but this scarcely masks his presumption, since it should be Mary's decision who would lie there. Trelawny announces to Mary his symbolic displacement of her; his offer that she 'may lie on the other side if you like' only appears disingenuous. Trelawny's heroic conception of Shelley is clearer in a letter to Claire Clairmont:

I have placed his ashes in a beautiful and lonely spot, apart from all base and worldly remains, for I would not have them mingled. He was alone in the world, and so are his mortal remains. By his side I am fixing a grave and tomb for myself, and if possible there will I lie. Of all the human beings I have met I think him the most estimable, and would be near him hereafter. (Raymond 1952, p.242).

This shows that Trelawny achieved the effect he intended; but his view of the poet as 'alone in all the world' seems more to do with self-reflexivity and Romantic ideas of bardic isolation than
This personal letter shows the beginnings of a cult which transformed Shelley from a man into a genius.\(^1\)

Apart from a few ephemeral verses in periodicals, such as the 'Elegy on the Death of Percy Bysshe Shelley;' by 'Arthur Brooke' (John Chalk Claris), there was relatively little immediate published response to the poets' deaths; but within a few years tourists attracted by the biography and uncanny forecasting of Shelley's own death by drowning at the end of *Adonais*, were coming to the Protestant Cemetery. When on 22 December 1825 Thomas Jefferson Hogg described his visit to Shelley's grave in a letter to Jane Williams, he simultaneously captured moments of personal concern to them both, and addressed posterity about this 'tomb of many hopes' (Hogg 1934, p.57). However it was not until Cambridge undergraduates Richard Monckton Milnes and Arthur Hallam undertook the republication of *Adonais* in 1829, that Keats and Shelley could be elegised together.\(^2\)

This interval between the poets' deaths in Italy and the circulation of *Adonais* to British readers has a significant effect on poetic responses. Although an elegy need not be written in the immediate aftermath of death, the elegist employs a conventional idiom of formalised improvisation to convince the reader of his emotional authenticity. The fact that *Adonais* was published so soon after Keats's death, and written with such urgency that 'The circumstances of the closing scene of poor Keats's life were not made known to me until the Elegy was ready for the press' does not necessarily mean it is more heartfelt, and perhaps the opposite; but it does give a sense of immediacy and occasion to classical borrowings such as 'I weep for Adonais — he is dead!' When the republication of *Adonais* brought the poets into the public eye, Keats and Shelley had been dead for eight and six years. *Adonais* was both an enabling text and a monumental obstruction to tribute-poets. Renewed interest in the formal elegy predisposed poets to frame their tributes in this form; yet the generational gap already opening between the second wave of Romantics, and post-Romantics of the 1830s, acquired a particular self-consciousness in relation to elegy. No matter how skilled the tribute-maker, an occasional verse presented a decade or five after the event has a quality of belatedness. Some poets sought to escape the problem by making their tribute in an imitative style or reconsidering the earlier poet's tropes or subjects; but others redeployed the conventional tropes of elegy eclectically, resulting in a strain of imitative, elegiac tribute-verse which became almost a rite of passage for the young, ambitious male poet. And vital to this ritual was the negotiation of Shelley and *Adonais*.\(^3\)

William Edmondstoune Aytoun was a seventeen-year-old Scottish undergraduate when he wrote 'A Lament for Percy Bysshe Shelley' (Aytoun 1832, p.95). For his poem Aytoun adopted the characteristic *Adonais* Spenserian stanza, imaginatively reconstructed the Cemetery's significant landscape, and at twenty-seven stanzas (half the length of Shelley's

---

\(^1\) See Browning's 'Memorabilia' (Browning 1888-94, v.VI, p.190).

\(^2\) The reprint, unchanged from the Pisa edition except for a few typographical errors, was issued by Gee & Bridges of Cambridge.

\(^3\) The American poet and critic N. P. Willis suggests how important *Adonais* was to grave-pilgrims: 'we sat down upon the marble slab laid over the ashes of poor Shelley, and read his own lament over Keats, who sleeps just below' (Willis 1835b, v.I, p.196).
poem), gestured towards a substantial elegy. These formal allusions to *Adonais* suggest a personal tribute, but also some attempt to become his subject's literary successor, by doing for Shelley what Shelley did for Keats. Yet the proto-poet who aspired to inherit from the Romantic generation had a formidable task, and Aytoun's post-Romantic (and adolescent) self-consciousness led him to address his own failure to write the immortal elegy. Lamenting a great poet's death, the elegist's claim for literary kinship can only be substantiated by the poem's success; where the modesty topos is sustained to the end, the tribute-writer appears as an imposter.

'A Lament for Percy Bysshe Shelley' begins, like *Adonais*, with the speaker asking other figures to mourn in his place; astonished that such a significant death is not shown by outward signs, the 'Spirit of Nature' (2) is asked to stir up a 'thunder-organ'd chant' (13) from the north winds and stormy oceans. However, the apprentice-poet is not motivated only by a wish for sublime lamentation; the commemorative impulse is frustrated by his 'weary heap / Of dull unfledged thoughts of common strain' (16*17).^1^ Hampered on one side by genuine grief, his eyes 'weak traitors to my brain' (15), and on the other by a lack of eloquence and compositional skill, the speaker's invocation is petulant. The 'Unprison'd tempest' (19) rose to the occasion of the poet's tragic drowning:

```
ye were heard aloud,
Pouring your accents o'er the poet's bier,
When the great billows whiten'd like a cloud
Around the lifeless corpse, and swathèd it in their shroud! (24-7)
```

This pathetic fallacy derives from stanzas 14-19 of *Adonais*, where Morning, Ocean, Echo and Spring brood hopelessly over their loss, before Urania's lament and the procession of literary worthies. Aytoun elides these elegy conventions, and moves immediately to an account of Shelley's cremation and burial; the apprentice is still uninspired, and hopes that as in *Adonais* the physical landscape of the burial-place will change the emotional register.

Aytoun's documentary source is Leigh Hunt's *Lord Byron and some of his contemporaries* (1828), which significantly omitted Trelawny's overseeing of the cremation, and his removal of Shelley's heart from the body. Aytoun imagines the dead man isolated from England and domestic care:

```
No toll of churchyard bells
Rings for his burial; no mourners keep
Watch o'er his coffin, till the iron nails
Rivet him down — they laid him on a heap,
Like an old Roman chief who sleeps his wakeless sleep! (32-6)
```

In describing Shelley buried without community rituals, an exception to country churchyard pastoral, Aytoun can celebrate him as a modern incarnation of noble if primitive ancient values-

---

^1^Taking his cue from Spenser's 'Astrophel' and 'The Lay of Clorinda,' Shelley divided *Adonais* into a pastoral lament of thirty-seven stanzas, and a philosophical consolation of seventeen stanzas.

^2^Aytoun wants to 'mourn for him, for whom I fain would weep' (14), alluding to Shelley's repeated use of Bion's tag for writing elegy: 'I weep for Adonais — he is dead!'
he is a patriarch, an 'old Roman chief.' Aytoun's knowledge of Hunt's account also links his poem more closely with *Adonais*. From the procession of mourners, Byron ('The Pilgrim of Eternity' [264]) reappears with Hunt (his 'heavy heart heaving without a moan' [311]).

Aytoun's Byron is a poet-patriarch, the 'master of the lyre,' while Hunt is a type of masculine sensibility whose 'very heart did bleed / Within him like a brother's' (50-1).

In Aytoun's picture Shelley's mourners are literary kin, and it is they (not Trelawny) who 'gather'd patiently / The ashes in a white and sculptured urn' (58), and organised the grave. This encourages Aytoun to see Shelley as buried 'with the poets of another age' (64) in the Protestant Cemetery. Where we might expect the exile's grave to be in an 'unholy charnel' or 'the aisle of sacred dome' (59-60), Shelley has a poet's natural grave, 'where the clouds might weep and breezes mourn' (61). The culmination of an elevated classical tradition, leaving the 'master of the lyre' grieving like the 'doomed man' (47) hindsight had proved him to be, Shelley is an awesome role model, and Aytoun pays high tribute by describing the poet in sacred language:

O! it were worth a long, long pilgrimage  
To kneel beside his tomb — to kneel and pray,  
Where prayer were passion! — Hath not sick decay  
Pass'd from him as from some embalmed saint? — (66-9)

The acolyte's fervour derives from his confidence in the poet's immortal works, and the undecaying state of Shelley's body. Although embalming suggests preservation rather than reduction, as hygenic ashes the body is a purer goal for 'pilgrimage,' stable and eternal like the poet's works. The association of relic with text is confirmed by Aytoun's hope that going to Shelley's grave will inspire his own elegy to imaginative flight:

Rouse thee, my heart, and thou shalt hence away,  
Freed from this dull and wearying constraint,  
And stand beside the shrine, so free from earthly taint. (70-2)

The emotional and formal demands of elegy represent difficulty, from which the apprentice-poet has fled into the relative safety of documentary sources. This fantasy trip represents both a genuine desire for contact with the emulated poet, and an attempt to stimulate Aytoun's imagination and transform his lament into a worthy poem of succession.

The speaker flies to the grave, swooping across the Aventine and rising columns of ruins, while the 'sleep-hush'd city' is half-hidden by intervening clouds. The autumnal,

---

1 The procession motif is continued by Wilde, who sees Keats walking 'with Spenser, and Shakespeare, and Byron, and Shelley, and Elizabeth Barrett Browning, in the great procession of the sweet singers of England' (Wilde 1877, p.477); see also below, p.195.

2 Thomas Medwin remarks that Hunt's 'feelings and nerves could not carry him through the scene of horror,' so he stayed in a carriage during the cremation, while Byron famously swam three miles to his yacht (Medwin 1913, pp.396-7).

3 I can find no specific evidence for Aytoun's idea that the Protestant Cemetery was an antique burial ground, although Christians often carried on using pagan burial-places.

4 See above pp.67-9.

5 The half-obscured 'watery moon' is one of the few female presences in the poem, and it is she who casts 'the straggling gleams of light' (84) on Keats's grave; femininity is peripheral to the male drama of succession.
The nocturnal setting suggests the intimate atmosphere of a dream. The speaker arrives at the key site of *Adonais* - Keats's grave:

I stand without the old Romulean wall  
Amongst the tombs, and here my task is done;  
For, by the straggling gleams of light that fall  
Close by my feet, upon a carven stone,  
I read the epitaph, "Here lleth one  
Whose name was writ in water." (82-7)

The stone is hard to decipher, perhaps explaining the archaic 'lleth' for the epitaph's 'Here lies One...,' but the message is clear. Although presented as a moment of accomplishment, Keats's grave is not the key site of Aytoun's poem, and fulfilment is deferred. The speaker criticises the epitaph as 'false,' since 'thy unforgotten name / Is blotless, deathless now; 'tis writ in words of flame!' (89-90). This flattering revision of anonymity and transience into assured immortality, suggests that Keats's value derives from *Adonais*, not his own merits. The negative rhetoric attached to Keats's name ('unforgotten,' 'blotless,' 'deathless') retains connotations of forgetting, blotting and death, while Shelley's 'Words of flame' come from the immortal fire of inspiration. Aytoun takes his cue from *Adonais*: Keats is the 'Child of fame!' who 'perish[ed] ere thy prize was won' (87-8); even that salutation has an ambivalent quality because Keats is not addressed by his own name, but as 'Adonais.' Shelley re-christened and authored him:

thou wert sung  
By him, whose word is a proud charm to save  
From Lethe's waters. — Lol upon thy grave  
The shadow of his stone streams deep athwart;  
Even as his spirit strove to shield and save  
Thy relics (93-6)

No longer a singer, Keats is the subject of a greater man's song - *thou wert sung*. The 'word' of Shelley is a mystic 'charm' against neglect, and the speaker reformulates this dominance of elegist over elegised in a dramatic conjunction of their graves. In Aytoun's mind, Keats's epitaph is hard to read because Shelley's stone casts a powerful shade - Keats is literally in his shadow. Aytoun sees the relation as protective, the father trying to 'shield and save' the son; but this patriarchal relation seems dangerously consuming. When the speaker finally arrives at Shelley's grave, he glosses over the moment - we only know it is a different grave by the third person subject position:

Above his ashes the light-feather'd grass  
Bends its tall head before the moaning wind  
That whispers by, as if the voice did pass  
Of some invisible and spirit mind; (100-3)

Although the goal is reached so quietly, this subtlety perversely draws attention to the new focus, and Keats is wholly consumed by Shelley's grave. Keats's 'spirit mind' whispers through the grasses, contemplating the grave with the speaker. Aytoun's mistaken impression of the

1The extra syllable is also necessitated by the metre - a fittingly ironic comment on the speaker's aim to escape poetic formality through inspiration.
symbolic placing of the graves is confirmed by a note to line 96 which states that 'Keats, Shelley, and his infant child, are buried side by side,' and the poem's pathetic detail of 'a little hillock close beside,' covered in wildflowers:

For here the gentle Earth dared not divide  
The stem and branch, the father and the child!  
Is not the tomb a chamber calm and mild,  
When sanctified by kindred sleep like this? —  
When love lies buried, and so undefiled,  
Is death not slumber, is not slumber bliss [?] (111-17)

Although Aytoun's picture of a male group close-knit in death is false, it supports my argument about the importance of William Shelley to Adonais.¹ Our first sense of Shelley in the poem is as a husband or father: this image of family sanctity counterbalances Shelley's contemporary reputation as a libertine, revolutionary and atheist. Aytoun does not remark on the absent widow and bereaved mother, Mary Shelley; for him the masculine group is complete, and the poet lies with his literary and natural sons.

Yet this image of completeness leaves the apprentice-poet's difficulty unresolved; temporarily consoling, these 'sweet visions of calm rest' (123) are only visions, which the speaker unwillingly relinquishes. As the imaginary night dawns into day, he reproves himself 'Away my heart, away — why dost thou linger here?' (136), alluding to Adonais 'Why linger, why turn back, why shrink, my Heart?' (469). In the second half the speaker longs for immortality, the permanence only conferred on Keats by Adonais - 'The name is buried too, unless it live / Link'd to the breathings of a godlike heart' (146-7), or by Adonais on its creator. In a final bid for inspiration, to prove himself the singer not the sung, the speaker addresses a five stanza panegyric to Shelley, celebrating his visionary genius and right to fame. Heroes accomplish greater things than their graves can acknowledge (155-9); and for a literary hero like Shelley, his achievement is songs which have 'pinions' and soar 'Like eagles' high in the air (160-2).

The speaker is still dissatisfied with his attempts to express Shelley's loss. The final acknowledgement comes when he imagines Shelley's fatal boat trip as an odyssey in pursuit of Truth; where the speaker of Adonais cried 'No more let Life divide what Death can join together' (477), this apprentice-poet concedes his failure. The speaker's song is 'untimed, 'thrilless' even 'slumbrous,' and his defence that consciousness 'Hath other utterance than in tears and words' (210) is a mere rationalisation. The poet withdraws his 'faint echoes of a still-born sigh' from the public eye even as he writes:

Come, then, ye weary children of my brain,  
And back unto your silent home return;  
There keep your patient watch in tranced pain  
Around the image of the poet's urn; (218-21)

¹Compare Eliza Ogilvy's 'The English Cemetery at Rome':  
There Shelley's heart, and Shelley's child, await the great up-springing,  
With that unseasoned instrument that shivered in the stringing,  
Poor morbid Keats; (Ogilvy 1856, p.76, 17-19)
In a classic elegiac strategy, the speaker internalises the grave, relocating the place of commemoration in the mind, where it can be contemplated safely. Yet this elevation of Shelley's 'unextinguish'd' fiery spirit dramatises the speaker's own failure. When Shelley is only read by a few acolytes, what hope is there for Aytoun? The question is answered by the lingering image of the poets' graves and their guarded reputations:

Ye, over whom the Roman laurels wave,
Your names are graved in hearts of other mould,
Your fame hath gone beyond your glorious grave —
It is where it should be — beside the good and brave! (241-4)

Aytoun's modest attempts to write an immortal elegy for his idol come to nothing; his role is as an appriciator of the poets. Although the apprentice-poet does not try to displace Shelley, 'A Lament for Percy Bysshe Shelley' does show him seeking to be worthy of Adonais. After rehearsing various roles - the 'Master of the lyre,' the heartbroken 'brother,' or 'Child of fame,' the young poet submits to praise his master. Ironically Aytoun's attraction to Shelley's political idealism barely survived the poem's publication in his debut volume in 1832, and by 1844, when he 'most reluctantly' inscribed a copy to Theodore Martin, it was 'with tears and penitence' for an embarrassing youthful indiscretion (Martin 1867, p.33). Shelley and Keats may have been role-models for young poets, but their acolytes changed the basis of their regard in the transition from young manhood to maturity, and from maturity to age.

The double-edged nature of the coupling of two poets in Adonais is suggested by a pair of poems written shortly after Aytoun's. William Bell Scott, better known for his later career as an engraver and associate of the Pre-Raphaelites, wrote 'To the Memory of Percy Bysshe Shelley' in 1831, and 'To the Memory of John Keats' in 1832, when he was turning twenty; each was published anonymously in a Scottish periodical after a delay of two years, and then not seen again until their designation as 'Juvenile Poems' in his 1875 collected volume. Although long and ambitious, the poems are juvenile in their unevenness and uncontrolled gestures. They share a slightly eccentric stanzaic structure, matching titles, and are a similar length; however they diverge in their stance towards Adonais, suggesting a shift in Scott's attitude. In the earlier poem on Shelley, the poets are named in Shelley's terms as 'Alastor' and 'Adonais,' and borrowings from the elegy are an undisguised feature of the tribute; in the slightly later poem on Keats, the subject is alluded to as 'Endymion,' and the young poet's relation to his senior and to Adonais is significantly suppressed.

'To the Memory of Percy Bysshe Shelley' (Scott 1875, p.221) begins with the conventional quest for the subject's spirit, named according to his self-mythologising role as the
'spirit of Solitude' - 'Where is Alastor gone?' Scott rehearses suitably eldritch nature tropes for the poet's death: he is the 'pride / Of the wide solitary forests' lying dead 'in slimy lizard's nook' (5-7), or the ostrich laid dead on the earth. His panegyric questions how a genius could 'die like other men, / Who lived not like them?' (13-14). Scott evokes an uncanny, dreamy landscape to symbolise Shelley's genius, dominated by the shrine of Truth, where the poet found his inspiration in worship. The goddess of the shrine is elusive, but Shelley was so spiritual that he could be 'purified' in the shrine's flames, as in the cremation fire.

Only in this fifth stanza, as the address changes from third to second person, does the speaker's eulogy show any self-referential impulse. The apprentice wants to follow his master, but concedes his unworthiness even in the statement of the wish:

Would I could trace thy footsteps up the porch
And to the altar there, so that I too
Would sacrifice in ruth
To thee who worshipped truth. (54-7)

Abasing himself at his master's shrine, Scott shares Aytoun's compensatory role as one of Shelley's elite appreciators: 'Few mourners have appeared' (58), and this public neglect can be turned into an affirmation of prophetic power transcending worldly appreciation. Characterising the poet not simply as an exceptional genius, but literally adapted to breathe a more rarefied atmosphere, Scott's repetition of 'few,' culminating in 'Few, few have striven / To make earth heaven' (66-7), frees the speaker from competition with his predecessor. While rumour criticised Shelley for falling in hubris, like Milton or his Satan, this very rarity and striving explains the speaker's 'reverence':

Yet reverence we not the martyr? None
Are left us like him; none are left to tune
The cythera, as he did tune it o'er
The white spring flowers on Adonais' grave:
Lone Adonais and Alastor lone!
Their spirits went together; and their earths
Resolved each to the elements they loved, —
One to sunshine and storm,
One flowers and fruits to form. (72-8)

In this first and more oblique of two references to the poet's grave-place, the Greek lyre icon of Keats's headstone is displaced by Shelley's 'cythera,' spontaneously 'tune[d]' over the grave. Scott continues the pilgrimage imagery, but adds a social aspect to Shelley's persona as the spirit of solitude. 'None are left' to continue the elegy tradition revitalised by *Adonais*, and each poet is alone; yet the speaker modestly seeks to continue the tradition, while the dead poets' names are yoked together, and grammatically combined in a companionship of lonely souls. Although their bodies were transformed in the style of their poetry, the senior poet translated to elemental forces while Keats produced the sensuous signs of natural fecundity, Shelley remains the author and adamic name-giver. The language of Scott's poem is all Shelleyan, and it is Shelley's spirit which is stellified in the penultimate stanza, one of the occasional 'sages' who come 'As star by star arises on the night' (84), as Adonais's soul blazed 'like a star.' The poets'
fates are linked in an extension of Shelley's argument in *Adonais*. The poem ends by looking into the future, waiting for the dawning of the next true genius as 'Still poets reappear' (92); yet Scott chooses to reinstate the poet's grave, albeit a generalised not specific image, as a locus for future inspiration:

Alastor, thou
Shall be our guide into the unknown time;
And we will bind about thy cenotaph
The laurel and the olive, and the rose,
The poppy and perennial ivy too;
Glow-worms shall glimmer through the dark green leaves,
And great sphynx-moths fly round it evermore.
And when our many chains are burst,
We'll say, 'Alastor, thou wast first.' (95-103)

The catalogue of conventional organic grave-decorations contrasts with the Shelleys' particularised, domestic accounts of the cemetery, instead symbolising fame, peace, love, sleep and immortality, with the special details of glow-worms and eerie moths representing Alastor's soul. Scott imagines a 'cenotaph,' literally an *empty tomb* or public monument, suggesting a decision to portray Shelley as a statesman, the prophet who will eventually be recognised. Anticipating a moment of liberation, the dead poet is named as an originator: 'Alastor, thou wast first.'

'To the Memory of John Keats' (p.266) of the following year, closely modelled on the previous poem, rewrites *Adonais* while affecting ignorance of it. The Shelleyan generic precedent is suppressed, and although Scott borrows from *Adonais*, he is preoccupied with making his tribute as Keatsian as the previous poem was Shelleyan. As in 'To the Memory of Percy Bysshe Shelley,' the speaker pretends his grief is fresh and the subject's death recent; yet this manner of formal improvisation is problematic in relation to Keats, who can only be approached via Shelley. It is paradoxical to write an elegy to Keats without acknowledging a debt to *Adonais*, and Scott's strenuous evasion actually makes the precursor poem all the more apparent.

'To the Memory of John Keats' is a more personal and confident tribute, framed largely as a direct address to the poet, and actively trying to succeed Keats. The speaker's address is respectful, but mixed with a sense of potential equality, and his fitness to fill the vacancy:

A reverential wish doth draw me thus
To rise to thee with measured words, when now
No one regards the poet's quivering string,
Since thine was hushed. (5-8)

Beside the flattering claim that there has been no worthy poetry since Keats's death, is the speaker's modest ambition 'To rise to thee with measured words.' The statement is ambivalent, implying that in a time of no poetry his attempt will be unheard, and that perhaps he can approach nearer to the vacant chair of poetry than usual. The speaker wishes his 'tears' - the lines of his elegy - were fresher, so that 'They might be worthy of thy sodded grave' (14), and help him recapture the inspiration of the golden age. Scott stages a self-conscious
contemplation of the grave, describing himself as ‘me, the mourner, bending over it’ (16); yet reading this we think rather of Shelley, who immortalised himself as Keats's chief mourner. This effect is compounded by pathetic fallacy, the wintry trees scattering their leaves in tribute, while Keats’s grave is described with a specificity reminiscent of Adonais, as lying near ‘the fossed wall where ... / The heretic dead, repose beside the tombs / Of ancient Romans’ (27-9).^1

These Adonais-derived touches permeate Scott’s poem. In the opening lines he salutes Keats as ‘Thou dark-haired love-child,’ ‘So weak and yet so beautiful’ (1, 4), responding to Shelley’s emphasis on Keats’s personal and poetic immaturity. Scott sees the poet embodying the values of the golden age, and presents him ‘like the young athlete from the bath’ (45), full of potential but ‘yet uncrowned’ (47). Keats appears as a decorative support to wise patriarchal figures:

Thou youth, who in the gardens Athenine,
The noblest sage had leant upon with pride,
And called thee Musagáetes, and thy lyre
Wreathed with the bay
Of the god of day. (51-5)

The tragic waste of Keats’s youth and potential is a constant; yet there is something incongruous in an apprentice-poet, a year or so younger at the time of writing than Keats was at his death, presenting the dead poet as a ‘love-child.’ Between his refusal to acknowledge Shelley as his precursor, and his portrayal of Keats as a lovely youth, lie Scott’s modest ambitions to succession. He laudably aims to detach Keats from the double-bind of Adonais, by evoking the atmosphere of ‘To Autumn,’ (‘Numberless gnats upon the mellowing air / Of sunset spin’ [99-100]), ‘Ode to a Nightingale,’ or by naming him as ‘Endymion’ (107). In contrast to Shelley’s elemental character, Scott’s Keats is ‘A mortal bound to earth by all the ties / Of subtlest sense’ (77-8), such a sensuous celebrant of life that the speaker questions ‘dead is he, or but gone / Into the shade to rest his cymballed hands?’ (84-5). Adopting a Keatsian mood involves ignoring the authoritative Shelley; but Shelley is dead too, and while it is hard to remember Keats without remembering Adonais, in the early 1830s at least, a young apprentice-poet could stage Keats’s apotheosis in the hope of freeing him as an elegiac subject:

I would some words inurn
Worthy the poet’s name to whom I bow,
Yet none he needs;
Thou, vestal of the night’s mid-watch, and thou,
The heralded of Hesperus, ye speak
Of that sweet name, and shall speak on for aye:
For such as love him with the love he gave,
His cenotaph is raised in Rome,
But the poet hath no tomb. (109-17)

Although the poetic stage was too clamorous and ‘over-crowded’ (57) for Keats’s voice to be heard in life, his renown is now secure. This makes redundant the speaker’s desire to create a verbal memorial urn to the poet, without the ignominy of admitting, as Aytoun did so

---

^1Scott attempts to rescue Keats from gothic and Catholic associations, by linking him with the Romans’ arcadian ‘songs [which] knew no blight / Of horrors mediæval’ (29-30).
vociferously, that his tribute is a failure. The moon and stars speak of Keats, and redefined by his poetry, enact the metaphorical apotheosis of Adonais. Keats too has a ‘cenotaph,’ but it is reserved for those who loved him as a man; as a genius, he is liberated from a specific tomb, and finds immortality through the dispersed body of his work.

The process charted in these poems gradually divides personal from public identity, with the private man being obscured by the mythologised poet. Not until the editorial renaissance of the 1870s did the myths begin to be displaced by a renewed commitment to documentary and textual authenticity. The mid-1830s to early 1850s saw the main work of raising the poets' literary status. In 1839 Mary Shelley published the first authoritative edition of Shelley, which included a vignette of Shelley's tomb, and the following year she published Essays, Letters from Abroad, Translations and Fragments of Percy Bysshe Shelley. By 1846 Keats was sufficiently famed and mythologised for Severn to receive a letter from blackmailer 'George Byron,' who claimed to be an illegitimate son of Byron. Even the blackmailer remarked that on a recent trip to Rome,

I frequently bent my steps to the tombs of Keats and P. B. Shelley — those twin-brothers of misfortune and disappointment — and well might a poet wish to find such a last resting-place. (Sharp 1892, p.208)

'George Byron's' personal interest in the graves is strategic, but his description of the poets as 'twin-brothers' indicates the Adonais myth's popular sentimental currency. In 1847 Thomas Medwin published his Life of Percy Bysshe Shelley, which quoted an eye-witness account of Shelley's funeral and grave. In 1848 Random House published The Complete Poetical Works of John Keats and Percy Bysshe Shelley in America, and Richard Monckton Milnes produced his landmark Life, Letters, and Literary Remains of John Keats. Both poets' works were collected in cheap editions, usually introduced by a 'Life' repeating the circumstances of their deaths.

In 1851 Mary Shelley died in Bournemouth and was buried at St. Peter's, Boscombe. The mythology of poetic fraternity marginalised the poet's family - particularly his wife - in literary tributes, so Mary was barely associated with Shelley's grave; but once she was buried elsewhere, this masculine character was consolidated. This coincided with a period where Shelley's political idealism was more acceptable to the reading establishment than ever before. The 1850s and '60s were a period of renewed interest in Shelley, but by the 1870s Keats had the greater popular appeal, and from then he was the preferred subject.

---

1An abbreviated version of Milnes's Life became the standard introduction to Keats's poetical works; his 1849 photograph of the poet's grave still hangs at Wentworth Place, Hampstead. Milnes later became the first Lord Houghton.
2The remains of Mary Wollstonecraft and William Godwin were reinterred at St. Peter's, Bournemouth after the railway was cut through Old St. Pancras Churchyard in 1866.
3Bessie Rayner Parkes's 'Two Graves' is a rare poem representing Shelley's grave in the marital partnership. Parkes emphasises the physical and temporal distance between Mary's and Shelley's graves, but unites this coupling of 'one soul, one heart' in heaven. Text in II, p.364.
4See Hamilton 1992, pp.128-143.
The moment of Shelley's undisputed authority was captured by twenty-four-year-old Julian Fane's 'Shelley's Grave' (Fane 1852, p.128). The title's material emphasis is misleading, since the grave-motif is used primarily as a structural feature standing at the head and foot of an elegy. However it does perform a secondary function as a spur to making the tribute poem, and a justification for using an occasional form long after the subject's death. The poem begins:

Come, weave the chaplet of a wreathed song
To hang upon the grave of him who died,
Himself the soul of song. He did not die,
But, all too soon, cracking his chrysalis
Of earth's vile crust, ascended from our eyes; (1-5)

This call for an elegy is addressed to a community of feeling, but this is a mere formality allowing speech. While the only fit tribute for 'the soul of song' is another 'wreathed song,' the requirements of elegy are undermined from the beginning. Even Shelley's death is disputed in the redefinition of death as spiritual transcendence and poetic immortality; Shelley soared 'On the strong pennons of his fiery Thought, / A winged Glory' (7). Yet poetical flight is, as in Aytoun's poem, a problem for the apprentice, and the 48-line poem becomes a self-reflexive questioning of elegy's viability, indeed the viability of any sort of poetry after Shelley.

The speaker decides that his 'grave offering' is not a 'coronal ... of bays,' a laureate wreath, but a garland of 'sad sounds,' for which he will need the help of the 'sacred Muse.' This putative inheritor of the Adonaïs tradition courts her in a long invocation, flattering and pleading that she 'impregn our dull, dumb lips / With melodies of woe' (14-15). Yet the writer does not get as far as questing for the poet's spirit; his flight of eloquence is answered by silence (represented by the poem's sole stanza division), and he relapses defeated:

She hath not heard: she cometh not: no string
Quivers, no lip is stirred, and not a sound
Ruffles the calm of Sorrow's waveless deep! (30-2)

The string of negatives dramatises the Muse's mourning withdrawal, and the speaker's tongue-tied frustration. Her silence judges the poet's ability, the form's unsuitability, and post-Romantic poetry in general. The muse withholds inspiration, rebuking the aspiring elegist with silence, the response to real grief. With this failure, the defeated but still versifying speaker turns to the example of Adonais itself. He repeats the admonition from stanzas 48 and 49 to 'Go', but sends us away from the grave, not to it:²

Go, then, ye noble-hearted, true of soul,
Who with sad vagrant steps, in pilgrim bands,
Haunts this grave-garden, whose wild beauty made
Our lost one amorous of Death — depart
In stillness; here, let no frail hand awake
An unimmortal harp; let not the shepherd
Pipe his shrill note, nor meaner minstrel fling
Poor, piteous flowers of dying song to shame
The grave of buried Music. (33-41)

¹Compare II, pp.138-9.
²See also pp.118n, 122, 147.
The community of feeling hailed at the beginning, is now revealed as the loyal, still-grieving pilgrims to Shelley's 'grave-garden.' Fane may have made a real pilgrimage to the Cemetery, but as the reference to the Preface suggests, this materiality comes filtered through _Adonais_.

The ensuing negative catalogue pits Shelley's immortal words against frail rival poets, and proves him so authoritative that the inadequate pastoral elegists - the shepherds and minstrels - must be silent.¹ Silence can be the only 'mourner' to attend 'his hallowed rest' (44), until a sufficiently powerful successor appears,

_Till some high Muse immortal shall draw nigh,
Fifty to sing him who wept the dirge
Of Adonais. Silent let us go! (46-8)_

Although the poem is extinguished by the speaker's conviction that silence is the only respectful response, the very existence of 'Shelley's Grave' makes disingenuous his spokesmanship for the pilgrims obsessed with loss. To write a poem calling for silence suggests a poet divided between respect, even worship for his model, and the urgent wish to find a space in which to create his own voice; as we will see in the final chapter, this motif of poetic silence reaches a crisis after Tennyson's death in 1892.

Aside from the Keatsian overtone to the description of Shelley as 'Our lost one amorous of Death,' Fane contemplates Shelley's memory untroubled by Keats's proximity. Similarly, in the 1860s, Fanny Kemble's sonnet 'To Emilia Lovatelli, weeping by Shelley's Grave in the Protestant Cemetery of Rome' (Kemble 1883, p.316) links an Italian woman mourner with the 'sweet violet wreath his dead heart wears,' without a thought of the younger poet or his violet-covered grave.² However, by turning the stereotypical personification of the weeping female mourner into a named woman, Kemble suggests a less heroic idea of Shelley than that propounded in Alfred Austin's discursive poem 'At Shelley's Grave' (Austin 1872, p.15: text in II, p.362).³ Written at Rome in April 1863, the poem concentrates on Shelley as an inspiration to political and poetical idealism. The apprentice eager to propound the libertarian cause, could examine his unfitness for succession without consideration of Keats:

_Alas! you failed, who were so strong:
Shall I succeed, so weak?
Life grows still shorter, art more long;
You sang — I scarce can speak.
Promethean fire
Within your lyre
Made manly words with music mate,
Whilst I am scarce articulate. (73 –9)_

This is a powerful and virile creator, a political idealist whose memory is disturbed by occupying French troops practising drill near his grave. Preoccupied with his own relation to Shelley, Austin chose not to use Keats to illustrate Shelley's compassionate philanthropy; however, this

¹N. P. Willis commented that 'Shelley has left no poet behind, who could write so touchingly of his burial-place in turn' (Willis 1835b, v.I, p.198).
²See II, p.150.
³See below pp.191, 203n, 204n and II, pp.212-14.
1863 poem is one of the last to assume Shelley's priority. Scott commemorating Keats while suppressing *Adonais* might have appeared strange in 1834, but as the poets' deaths became more remote in time, Shelley's presence receded. A new generation of aspiring poets sought inspiration in Keats, and their tributes gave him an autonomous importance. Emma Blyton's 'To the Memory of Keats' (Blyton 1858, p.22; text below on p.232)\(^1\) constructed the grave as a focus for sensibility and sympathy, a place of emotional commemoration unlike a 'proud, eulogious pyramid' (17), where young poets could lavish the praise denied him in life (see Figure 13, p.142):

Oh, Keats! for ever hushed is thy mute lyre —  
Unstrung it may no more its bard inspire;  
Yet kindred bards may kindred notes prolong,  
And to thy memory tune a mournful song.  
Enough for me to mourn thy once sad state.  
And leave to nobler pens to trace thy fate;  
Still round thy name the laurel shall entwine,  
And in thy works thy monument shall shine! (21-8)

Unconstrained by the priority of *Adonais*, Blyton sees Severn's symbol of the unstrung lyre as a licence for poetic continuity not muteness, 'kindred bards' prolonging the example of their dead brother. Yet even with this democratic attitude, Blyton places herself lower down the hierarchy, regretting the past neglect of Keats, but leaving the burnishing of his poetical monument to 'nobler pens.'

The following year, Severn too had thoughts of compensating for Keats's living neglect with new inscriptions. He planned to dignify the poet's memory and the picturesque landscape with a classically-inspired monument, an altar decorated with sculpted acanthus, laurel and ivy, bearing the poet's name and an amended version of the epitaph. Yet when he arrived in Rome as the new Consul in 1861, he found no incongruity. Keats's headstone had transcended its confused origins, and become an integral part of the legend. He remarked that American visitors had twice given money to repair the sinking foundations, and that the habit of taking grass or flowers from the grave as a memento was astonishingly prevalent:\(^2\)

they pluck everything that is green and living on the grave of the poet. The custodian tells me, that notwithstanding all his pains in sowing and planting he cannot 'meet the great consumption.' (Sharp 1892, p.251)

This popularity also shows in a modified balance of power between the two poets, interestingly played out in Francis Turner Palgrave's 'Two Graves at Rome' (Palgrave 1871, p.123).\(^3\) The speaker rejects Rome's stately pomp for the poets' graves, which are 'but two stones like the rest' (13), democratised by the similarity of their grave-markers to the mass of forgotten dead. Yet this apparent lack of distinction is belied; emotional significance does not

---

\(^1\) See also II, pp.117-18.
\(^2\) In 'Graves,' Eliza Ogilvy 'culled a disc / From those abounding daisies whose firm roots / Anchor within the melting heart of Keats' (Ogilvy 1856, p.170, 16-18); see below pp.148, 156, 176.
\(^3\) See above pp.58-61, and II, pp.177-8, 341-2.
Figure 13. The graves of John Keats and Joseph Severn in the Protestant Cemetery, Rome, with the Pyramid of Caius Cestius in the background. Note the striking contrast of modern with ancient funerary monuments and the thick carpet of violets in the foreground. Joseph Severn's headstone and inscription were designed to harmonise closely with that of Keats, 'whom he lived to see numbered among The Immortal Poets of England.'
depend on the material object, so while for most there is 'A transient name on the stone' (25), the poets' names have a broad and arcane influence, capable of producing powerful responses:

Warmer and higher beats
The general heart at the words
Shelley and Keats: —
There is life and love in the stone! (33-6)

Palgrave proves this beating heart and vital memory, by bringing each poet to life in a stanza alone. We recognise Shelley as the untamed visionary, unearthly and compassionate; yet he is also the 'angel eternal child,' and this I think indicates an intentional reversal of the poets' conventional characters. The description of Keats amends the weakness or effeminacy associated with him in *Adonais.* No Roman hero died with 'a bolder and lordlier heart' (52), and this recuperates the superlative language of child-death, so that Keats apparently outdoes even the original arcadians. There was 'No richer more equable eye, / No tongue of more musical art' (54-5). The allusion to *Adonais* is subtle, matching the superlative poem and poet: 'Nor was any laid / With such music and tears in the tomb' (59-60). Compared with this intimately significant site, the typical pastimes of the English in Rome - 'To see and be seen' (62) on the Appian Way, or mope 'In the Forum at twilight' (67) - are dismissed as trivial:

It is more that these ruins enfold!
Warmer and higher beats
The Englishman's heart at the words,
Shelley and Keats!
And here is the heart of our Rome. (68-72)

Echoing lines 33-35, the speaker invests the names with a magic significance, a potent influence belying their marginal location amidst the ruined battlements. The sympathetic beating heart finds a specifically patriotic stimulus in an alien country, where the power of poetry transcends even the glories of classical Rome.¹

This figure of the heart, inscribed on the very tombstones of Keats (who chose his epitaph 'In the Bitterness of his Heart') and of Shelley (described by Hunt as 'Cor cordium'), became increasingly prominent in the latter part of the century.² The feeling heart was associated with swelling national pride, as in Palgrave's poem. This tendency to identify the poets as Englishmen, rather than just exiles, can be explained in part by important changes to Rome's identity.³ In 1870, after more than fifty years of agitation for Italian reunification, Rome

---

¹Palgrave's sonnet 'In Memory of Charles Wells and Joseph Severn, dying in 1879,' regrets the broken 'living link that bore / Our souls across the years to him' (Palgrave 1892, p.157, 7-8).
²See Swinburne's sonnet 'Cor Cordium' (Swinburne 1905, v.II, p.171). Also compare the real separation of Byron's heart from his body during its transportation from Greece to Nottingham. When Thomas Hardy died in 1928, his body was interred in Poets' Corner, but his heart was buried in his first wife's grave in Stinsford Churchyard.
³See Lee-Hamilton's 'Rome': 'Sweet are the gardens of Rome; but one is for Englishmen sacred' (Lee-Hamilton 1878, p.55, section III, 47), and W. G. Hole's 'Keats's Grave':
Would that yours had been
To sleep at last where English grass is green
Beneath an English sky! This is not home;
finally shook off papal dominance and joined the other states. As the capital of a new republic, the city expanded rapidly, and new municipal powers asserted their authority. While the Catholic authorities had often been at odds with the families of those buried in the Protestant Cemetery, this change gave a new national angle to the old religious difference; after 1870 representations of the poets' graves were more concerned with security and stability, reflecting fears that the Cemetery would be destroyed in the cause of Roman expansion. In addition to this political change, the poets' literary reputations were transformed; the popularity of Tennyson and the Pre-Raphaelites' lush medievalism especially helped to revive interest in Keats. Worshipped on pedestals in the literary pantheon, the poets were hailed with a fervour all the more passionate for their early obscurity, raising questions of whether their relics should be returned to native soil.

These political and critical changes had another effect on reception. As I have argued, elegiac tributes were the preserve of the apprentice-poet, who could identify strongly with the energy and ambition of the prematurely dying poets, but also find purpose in trying to succeed them. But as the period since their deaths lengthened, and their reputations soared to stellar brightness, the trope of immaturity combined with the timelessness and literary immortality expounded in the tributes. While Keats and Shelley continued to be role-models for young poets, they were also significant for mature and elderly writers who had grown up reading, admiring then imitating their heroes. By the time of Thomas Hardy's late poems for the centenary of Keats's death, there was no question of Keats being a merely adolescent taste.

This shift in generational attitudes is richly played out in three poems by Alexander Anderson, the Glaswegian railway 'Surfaceman,' in which he reflects on his debt to Keats and focuses this preoccupation at the Protestant Cemetery. They show a shift in approach, from love of Keats, disappointed rejection of an early influence, to mature re-acceptance. If Anderson was a 'strong' poet in Bloom's terms, this might identify Keats as Anderson's particular precursor; yet he also writes convincing tributes to Burns, Goethe, Whitman and Wordsworth. Shelley's role as an intermediary is signalled in Anderson's earliest tribute poem 'John Keats' (Anderson 1873, p.14), in which the epigraph taken from Adonais ('He is made one with Nature: there is heard / His voice in all her music' [370-1]), suggests the union of body with earth, and Keats's influence upon our perceptions of landscape. However, the epigraph also suggests the clear shift in priority between the two dead poets; the Shelleyan association is an enrichment rather than the authority for the poem. The elegy's subject is the poet John Keats, not 'Adonais.' And while Keats is a youth rather than a man, this image aims to heighten by contrast the power of his living verse:

There be more things within that far-off breast,
Whereon the flowers grow
Of the boy poet, in his Roman rest,
Than hearts like ours can know. (1-4)

You had no part in, sang no song of Rome.
(Hole 1907, p.13, 21-4; text in II, p.360)
The speaker brings a bouquet of English flowers - white and red roses, violets, daisies, cowslips, clover and poppies.

1 See below pp.185-6.
The working-class poet-apprentice had not made a real pilgrimage to his hero’s grave, so this
gesture of imaginative tribute dramatises the intellectual distance between elegist and subject.
Though only a ‘boy poet,’ Keats holds the power of influence in death; genius has more wisdom
than ‘hearts like ours,’ the living and uninspired. The poet’s death was the beginning of his
strength: ‘from the gateway of his tombèd years / A power is moving on’ (7-8). This vitality is
signalled by avoiding the past tense; ‘he is silent not’ (13), ‘he to us is as an oracle’ (17), and a
strong identification between the spirit of Keats’s poetry and the aspirant poet. His ‘words bedrip
with youth’ (18), and the reader must discard the ‘rougger thinking’ of manhood, to bond
unconditionally with the ‘unsettled pride // Of eager youth and fancy’ (25-6), and be overtaken by
‘his freshest grace’ (31). Anderson describes a receptive condition whereby Keats ‘moves a
man no more’ (32), but becomes an intimate spiritual presence — ‘a bright shadow in the heart’s
expanse’ (33). This internalising of a fresh and youthful fancy makes a shrine to the poet within
the reader’s very heart, but the speaker’s passion is such that he wants the poet’s relics
returned:

So bring him from beneath the sky of Rome,
From all her youngest flowers.
I weep that there his dust should find a home,
And all his spirit ours! (37-40)

This possessive reaction expresses something of the speaker’s sense of stasis, a rationalisation
of longing which seeks a perfect congruity between spirit and body. Yet the justification for
Keats’s Roman grave is suggested by the allusion to the ‘light of laughing flowers’ of Adonais, in
‘her youngest flowers.’ The female personification of Rome must give ground to a relationship
which finally appears compassionately fraternal for the first time. The grave cannot be disturbed
because:

a bond he keeps
Whose ties are firmly strung —
The lone yet passionate heart of Shelley sleeps
Beside the dust he sung.

And it were vain to leave him there and foil
His rest — so let them sleep
Within the silence of that glorious soil. (41-7)

While Anderson’s imaginative bond with his hero is strong, the links between Keats and Shelley
are stronger. Only metaphorically does Shelley’s heart lie beneath the inscription ‘Cor cordium,’
since Mary Shelley kept her husband’s heart, removed by Trelawny from the funeral pyre and
contested by Hunt, entombed in her writing desk between the pages of Adonais.¹ The power of
the myth is confirmed by the stanza I took as the epigraph to this chapter: the union of ‘The
singer and sung’ acquires the imperative force of destiny. But compared with earlier responses,

¹Judging by the general use of ‘heart’ to signify Shelley’s poetic identity, tribute-poets did not
know the real history of Shelley’s heart; Fanny Kemble’s sonnet ‘To Emilia Lovatelli’ stated
that ‘underneath / This sacred soil his heart has found a home,’ and celebrated ‘the sweet
violet wreath his dead heart wears’ (Kemble 1883, p.316, 4-5, 13). The heart was finally
interred beside Mary Shelley at Bournemouth in 1889, when their only surviving son Percy
Florence was buried.
this image of two making 'one bed,' and one set of ashes, is democratic and equalising. In the
final two stanzas, Anderson reconciles himself to Keats's remote grave precisely by means of its
partnership with Shelley's; the separate graves are a combined 'sepulchre,' which in its symbolic
power is:

a passionate and wish'd-for goal
To which all thought repairs —
While in our hearts, as is their dust at Rome,
Their spirits feel no wrong;
But shine to us like gods serenely from
The Pantheon of Song. (59-64)

The apprentice-poet made his imaginative pilgrimage, but the most secure site for the poet's
reputation remains 'in our hearts,' and in the abstract Olympus of genius. The heart's desire for
an English grave is rejected, the specific replaced by the faintly *Adonais*-like apotheosis, while
the 'boy poet' finally finds fraternal equality with his 'singer.'

Anderson returns to the young reader's vivid identification with Keats's poetry in a
sonnet-sequence published only two years later, *after* he had visited Italy. 'In Rome. A Poem in
Sonnets' (Anderson 1875, p.121) owes a clear debt to topographical poems like William
Sotheby's 'Rome' or Samuel Rogers's 'Italy,' but has a more informal, epistolary tone, being
addressed to a male friend for whom seeing Rome was 'The one dream of our boyhood!' (15).
The speaker visits the museums, clambers over ruins and opines on Catholicism - and makes
the obligatory pilgrimage to the Protestant Cemetery. However, the speaker contemplates
Keats's real grave very differently from the imagined site of 'John Keats'; no longer 'a
passionate and wish'd for goal,' he approaches anxiously.

The speaker of 'In Rome' almost avoids Keats's grave entirely. His itinerary complete,
on the point of leaving he turns back in obedience to conscience, showing a reluctance which
piques the reader's curiosity. We read on to uncover the significance of an apparently simple
act; after all, the poet was the past inspiration for what we've just read:

And wilt thou go away from Rome, nor see
The resting-place of Keats, from whom thy soul
Took early draughts of worship and control —
Poet thyself, and from beyond the sea? (323-6)

This atmosphere of uncertainty is confirmed by the speaker's self-questioning, which
undermines his claim to be an autonomous 'Poet' who once drank deeply from the well of
Keatsian inspiration. Only two years earlier the speaker of 'John Keats' longed for the poet's
grave; now he admits a debt of duty to a fellow-stranger. Anderson writes well about the
moment of contemplating the grave of a past influence; where expectations would once have
been high, he has uneasy feelings of a pledge belatedly fulfilled:

I turn'd, and stood beside his grassy grave,
Almost within the shadow of the wall
Honorian; and as kindred spirits call
Each unto each, my own rose up to crave
A moment's sweet renewal by the dust
Of that high interchange in vanish'd time,
When my young soul was reeling with his prime;
But now my manhood lay across that trust.
Ah! had I stood here in my early years,
This simple headstone had been wet with tears. (327-36)

Here is the 'grassy' material grave precisely located, on the edge of the city wall's shade; but the speaker responds to his own earlier representation. He strains to reenact the earlier excitement, but now 'my manhood lay across that trust' (334). In contrast with the earlier poem's present tense, the speaker's young passion belongs to the remote, unfulfilled past - 'Ah! had I stood here...' - and he is painfully, tearlessly unmoved. This moment exemplifies the Victorian desire for a Romantic sublimity which can no longer be approached. The speaker can make no relationship with his early idol's actual grave, and turns sharply away:

I go, for wider is the space that lies
   Between the sleeper in this grave and me;
I look back on my golden youth, but he
Cannot look backward with less passion'd eyes.
There is no change in him; the fading glory
   Of mighty Rome's long triumph is around,
But cannot come anear or pierce the bound
Of this our laurel'd sleeper, whose pale story
Takes fresher lustre with the years that fly. (337-45)

Only by coming near the grave does the speaker admit the wide distance that has opened up between his role-model and himself; but in the stress of this broken relationship, Anderson excludes another partnership. The passage is a variant on stanzas 38 to 41 of Adonais, where the speaker celebrates the dead Keats's freedom 'From the contagion of the world's slow stain' (356), while in the personalised 'I go' Anderson ironically answers Shelley's order 'Go thou to Rome'; yet Shelley's grave is nowhere in sight.

Unlike the acknowledgement in 'John Keats' of a fateful poetic union with Shelley, here the crisis in his own creative development dominates. If Keats was once a significant influence, he must be no longer; the speaker can be retrospective, and view the stages of his development, while Keats's viewpoint will never become double or 'less passion'd.' The author of the 'Ode on a Grecian Urn' is caught in the same doubtful condition of preservation and stasis as the urn's 'marble men and maidens.' The Keatsian myth of wasted youth makes him particularly sympathetic to the poet-apprentice, but in order to attain artistic maturity the special relationship must be rejected. While the legend 'Takes fresher lustre,' Keats is trapped in a condition of youth; as the speaker becomes disillusioned, "Keats" becomes more youthful, idealised and remote. Negative rhetoric emphasises Keats's incapacity - he 'Cannot look,' 'there is no change':

But Roman dust upon an English heart
Is naught, yet this is Keats's, and a part
Of England's spirit. With a weary sigh
I turn from sacred ground. (346-9)

1See above pp.118n, 122, 139.
The speaker only remembers the sympathy he should feel for 'a part of England's spirit' misplaced under 'Roman dust'; the ideal of national feeling transcended in 'John Keats' leaves him cold. Only by turning away from the grave, and reminding himself of Rome in general, does the speaker reconcile himself to the disappointment. Consecrated by the distant past, 'To die, then, and to rest in Roman mould / Were something' (397-8). The city's atmosphere of pastness and antiquity makes it static as Keats: 'Rome is her own wide grave, and there can be / No aftermath for her' (411-12). So, when at the end of the sequence the speaker finally arrives at home, the pilgrimage to the poet's grave can be recouped by this heroic significance. In the final stanza the speaker anticipates reunion with his friend, and the pleasure of sharing his experiences:

At last — What have you brought me? For I crave Some souvenir of fallen Rome, and I, Knowing thy early worship, will reply — A wither'd violet from Keats's grave. (515-18)

The violet from a modern poet's grave is still Anderson's most significant Roman memento. Although a 'wither'd' and insignificant trace of the traveller's personal disappointment, to his friend it can also symbolise the entire city and its heroic past.1 Thus Anderson returns a degree of dignity and meaning to the poet's grave, while retaining his own mature distance. The violet can still be meaningful for his spiritual brother, but the self-appointed mature poet puts a distance between himself and his 'early worship.'

This ritual gesture of dissociation is confirmed by a forgiving late poem, 'At the Grave of Keats' (Anderson 1912, p.179). The nostalgic tone suggests the speaker is no longer threatened by his literary predecessor; he returns to his earlier concern that Keats's relics be sent 'home':

He sleeps beneath the violets, That grow above him like regrets, That he, so sick at heart should come Here in the splendid past of Rome, And lay him down to rest, nor crave The glory of an English grave, Where Fame might whisper soft and clear — "An English poet's dust is here." (1-8)

The speaker interprets the violets as symbolising a generalised 'regret' that Keats did not have an 'English grave,' and that he did not want one. Disapproval of incongruity lingers from 'John Keats,' as the speaker seeks a perfect match between the national poet and native grave. Anderson evokes the many mourners of Adonais by describing the poet's early death as the loving will of 'the gods,' who speak comfortably of the dead poet's preserved 'Immortal youth' (27), secure from change and age. Like the head and footstone effect of Julian Fane's 'Shelley's Grave,' the poem ends by rephrasing this stanza affirmatively:

He sleeps with violets above Whom Shelley's heart and England love. He sleeps. O let him slumber on, The past of Rome around him thrown.

1See pp.141n, 156, 176.
Violets, regrets and heart-sickness are replaced by the traditional tribute to Shelley's absent 'heart.' While the suggestion to 'let him rest' is conventional, in the late-century context it also implies actual threats of disturbance to the Cemetery. If in 1873 Anderson demanded 'So bring him from beneath the sky of Rome,' by 1912 the poet's position was so untouchable that the grave's alien location was irrelevant: Fame would protect the 'English poet's dust.'

While immortality was claimed for Keats and Shelley through the century, their graves' permanence and stability was only secured by practical moves of variable merit in the late-century. Although Severn decided not to alter Keats's headstone in the 1860s, by 1876 General Sir Vincent Eyre had fixed an inscribed rectangular slab with a wreath-framed 'medallion portrait' of Keats, on the nearby gateway. The elderly Severn endorsed the medallion, taken from Haydon's death-mask of the poet, as 'an excellent portrait,' although one wonders what he thought of Eyre's acrostical addendum to the epitaph:

Keats! if thy cherished name be 'writ in water,'  
Each drop has fallen from some mourner's cheek:  
A sacred tribute, such as heroes seek,  
Though oft in vain, for dazzling deeds of slaughter.  
Sleep on! not honoured less, for epitaph so meek!

Eyre reenacts tribute conventions, construing writing on water as a gesture of permanence, and making a dialogue with the dead poet. The military image seems less incongruous when we recall the writer himself was a military hero, but spelling the anonymous poet's name out remains crass.

In 1877 the twenty-two year-old Oscar Wilde stigmatised the inscription as 'some mediocre lines of poetry,' and hoped the medallion-portrait would be removed: 'The face is ugly, and rather hatchet-shaped, with thick, sensual lips, and is utterly unlike the poet himself' (Wilde 1877, p.477; text below on p.233). Wilde dismissed the addition scornfully, and when he wrote poems about the grave, like those who came after, he ignored it. Wilde's article 'The Tomb of Keats' documented the site, expressed a clear debt of influence to Keats, and constructed an aesthetic critique; it also (as always) provided a stage for Wilde himself. The worshipper
prostrates himself before the grave, but also imposes his personality on it with a swooningly
religious, homoerotic vision of Keats as St. Sebastian:

As I stood beside the mean grave of this divine boy, I thought of him as a Priest
of Beauty slain before his time; and the vision of Guido's St. Sebastian came
before my eyes as I saw him at Genoa, a lovely brown boy, with crisp, clustering
hair and red lips, bound by his evil enemies to a tree, and, though pierced by
arrows, raising his eyes with divine, impassioned gaze towards the Eternal
Beauty of the opening heavens. (p.478)

While Keats had been remembered and re-made according to Shelley's self-reflexive portrait in
Adonais, here Wilde supplements the representation of Keats as a youth or boy with a visual
icon. Echoing Shelley's version of Keats's death in the Preface, and the image of him 'pierced
by the shaft which flies / In darkness' (11-12), Wilde's Keats did not just die in critical
martyrdom, but transcendent ecstasy.

In some respects Wilde's paired sonnets on Keats and Shelley revert to earlier models.
Wilde was younger than Keats when he wrote them, and if he was more attracted to Keats, he
took his lead from Adonais, and saw Shelley as the more powerful, masculine author. The
Keats sonnet appeared in the article as 'Heu miserande Puer' (Alas, wretched Boy), and was
later considerably revised as 'The Grave of Keats.' Wilde continues the martyrdom analogy in
the 1877 sonnet, seeing Keats 'Fair as Sebastian and as fouilly slain' (5), free of life's tribulations
'He rests at last' (2) in a grave exemplifying his tender beauty. Implicitly compared with the
austere scenery of Shelley's grave, the younger poet's is decorated in Keatsian terms:

No cypress shades his grave, nor funeral yew,
But red-lipped daisies, violets drenched with dew,
And sleepy poppies, catch the evening rain. (p.478, 6-8)

Described with sub-Swinburnian lushness, even the conventionally innocent daisies are
invitingly 'red-lipped.' In the revised version lines 7-8 became 'But gentle violets weeping with
the dew / Weave on his bones an ever-blossoming chain,' replacing sensuality with a conscious
metaphor of constraint and bereavement. Over three lines the poet is invoked in superlative
terms redolent of child-elegy. The sonnet ends with the familiar attempt to recuperate the terms
of the epitaph, emending the transience of the name written in water, by comparing Keats's
memory to Isabella's green basil plant:

Thy name was writ in water — it shall stand:
And tears like mine will keep thy memory green,
As Isabella did her Basil-tree. (12-14)

The basil-pot, a miniaturised grave, contains the essence of the beloved dead, and Isabella's
exaggerated mourning presents a model for the apprentice elegist. As he attempts to breathe
life into his subject, affecting to be consumed by grief, the dead subject is amplified and
fetishised, and the speaker of the poem is subordinated. At a critical point, the elegist admits -
or decides - that the dead literary master must remain dead, and the will to live returns. By the

1As Wilde literally did at Keats's grave - to the chagrin of his companions Ward and Hunter
end of the sonnet, the elegist’s 'tears' are externalised: the speaker no longer mourns alone, the responsibility for keeping Keats's memory devolves to other 'tears like mine' (my emphasis). The speaker regains autonomy, and the act of tribute-writing becomes a spur to the aspirant poet's career.

'The Grave of Shelley' (Wilde 1909, p.169) uses a Shelleyan weird vocabulary to describe a more concrete and specific landscape. 'Gaunt' cypress trees frame the grave 'Like burnt-out torches by a sick man's bed,' alluding to the classical inverted torch which symbolises life's extinction. This unsettling mood extends to the flora and fauna, the lizard's 'jewelled head,' flaming 'chaliced poppies.' The Pyramid conspires in this mystery:

In the still chamber of yon pyramid  
   Surely some Old-World Sphinx lurks darkly hid,  
   Grim warder of this plesaunce of the dead. (6-8)

What distinguishes Wilde's poem from earlier responses is his disapproval of Shelley's picturesque grave, and he relocates him without considering Keats as a tie; the sestet suggests a sea grave would have been most appropriate for the exceptional Shelley. The earth where Keats lies is feminine and nurturing, a 'womb' and 'great mother of eternal sleep' (9, 10; the imagery draws on Shelley's depiction of Urania in *Adonais*), while Shelley's body deserves a more masculine fate:

   a restless tomb  
   In the blue cavern of an echoing deep,  
   Or where the tall ships founder in the gloom  
   Against the rocks of some wave-shattered steep. (11-14)

Wilde unambiguously refers to Shelley's drowning, the grave-inscription from *The Tempest,* and the final stanza of *Adonais,* where the speaker submits to the ravages of the 'tempest.' Where Keats was a passive, beautiful victim in a generalised landscape, Shelley is primitive, potent and mystical; even in death he should still be questing and battling, united with turbulent 'Nature.' Shelley's grave ostensibly harmonises better with its noble surroundings than Keats's, yet this itself inspires aspiration towards further sublimity. Wilde's paired sonnets have a dialogic relation, but their language and symbolism ascribes to each poet a distinct, if debatable character.

Joseph Severn and Edward Trelawny outlived Keats and Shelley, and as guardians and spiritual brothers to the reputations of the dead, spectacularly outlived their whole generation. This brotherhood was finally completed in 1881, when Trelawny was buried beside Shelley and Severn was moved from his 1879 grave in the New Cemetery to lie beside Keats. These absent brothers had been shadowy presences at the graves, through Shelley's tributes to Severn in the *Adonais* Preface, and the enigmatic marble slab Trelawny laid next to Sheiley in 1823 (see Gay 1913, p.29). Although only six burials (all children) had been admitted in the Old Cemetery since its closure in 1822, the power of the Keatsian association made Severn the last. Money flooded in from England and America at rumours of a 'suitable commemorative stone' being

1Compare II, pp.317, 407-12.
designed for him.¹ Lord Houghton was instrumental, having long wished that 'Severn should be buried on one side of Keats, and he, in due time, on the other, so that the poet should lie "between his friend and biographer".' (Sharp 1892, p.281). Although Houghton never joined them, this clearly mirrors Trelawny's suggested ménage a trois with Mary Shelley. Keats's status was evident in the high profile of those offering to write his friend's epitaph - including Palgrave, Dante Gabriel Rossetti and Tennyson - and the learned discussion about suitability and decorum.²

Trelawny died in 1881, and in accordance with his will, his body was sealed in a lead coffin, and shipped to Gotha, one of only two places in Europe where it could be legally cremated. At his request, lines from Shelley were inscribed - with misquoted punctuation - on the blank slab, further bonding them:

These are two friends whose lives were undivided.  
So let their memory be now they have glided  
Under the grave: let not their bones be parted  
For their two hearts in life were single-hearted.³

Swinburne commemorated Trelawny as the last Romantic in an Adonais-inspired tribute, 'Lines on the Death of Edward John Trelawny' (Swinburne 1905, v.V, p.257) which linked Trelawny with Shelley's drowning as the 'Last high star' of earlier years, a 'storm-bird' finally 'Moored.' Swinburne's poem was itself a bird hovering 'Over thy dust that the dust shall cover' (22), to bring a final reassurance to Shelley:

Heart of hearts, art thou moved not, hearing  
Surely, if hearts of the dead may hear,  
Whose true heart it is now draws near?  
Surely the sense of it thrills thee, cheering  
Darkness and death with the news now nearing —  
Shelley, Trelawny rejoins thee here. (37-42)

The reunion of spiritual brothers is represented as a meeting of hearts - but of course the 'Cor cordium' is without a heart, and Trelawny's is reduced to ashes. Yet the strength of the supposed bond between the two men reaches Shelley in obscurity, and the young and very old are brought together as equals, both 'Worldwide liberty's lifelong lover' (19).⁴

¹Severn saw Keats as a benign influence in his life, but visiting shortly before his death, Eric Robertson portrayed it as a blight: 'The world to him was but a world that had lost Keats. Rome itself, with its innumerable associations, was to him but the grave of Keats' (Sharp 1892, p.302).
²Sharp, p.281-2n. Eyre offered another acrostical epitaph. R. C. Trench wrote that 'Sir Vincent Eyre's acrostic is so thoroughly artificial, and qua acrostic so thoroughly out of its place, that I have, I must confess, a strong anticipatory misgiving.' Thomas Medwin had objected to Shelley's epitaph as 'very inapplicable, for [the lines] allude to one drowned and lost at sea. Alas! Poor Lycidas! I could not help thinking a much more appropriate motto might have been selected from a poem I have heard him so often read, and admire' (Medwin 1913, p.416).
³St Clair 1977, p.197 and n; the lines are the complete poem 'Epitaph' (Shelley 1904, p.767); compare below p.154 and II, p.364.
⁴Despite Trelawny's success in being interred beside Shelley, the poet's grave is usually pictured alone, while Keats and Severn are inseparable, suggesting Shelley's traditional autonomy and the lingering influence of Adonais as much as Keats's later popularity.
In early nineteenth-century responses to the Protestant Cemetery, the Pyramid of Caius
Cestius had played a dominant iconographic role, the perfect antique relic contrasted with
obscure, modern graves around it. In William Sotheby’s ‘Rome’ (1818) it towered haughtily
above the city walls, ‘Edg’d like a warrior’s lance’ (215), scornfully obscuring the modern graves
in ‘Its pointed shade’ (219); in Adonais it was the ‘one keen pyramid with wedge sublime’ (444),
sternly commemorating Cestius ‘Like flame transformed to marble’ (447). But as visitors and
poets came to know the site primarily through Keats and Shelley, the Pyramid’s importance
waned. Just as by the century’s end it was credible to write a poem about Keats without
acknowledging Adonais, so it became credible to write about the Cemetery - and the poets’
 Graves - without the Pyramid.

By the time Thomas Hardy wrote his best-known account of the poets’ graves, ‘Rome.
At the Pyramid of Cestius near the Graves of Shelley and Keats (1887)’ (Hardy 1930, p.95)¹ the
poets were unquestionably the most significant presences at the Cemetery. The title directs the
reader to both the Pyramid and modern graves, but also sets up a movement between them
which continues in the poem; the pilgrim is at the Pyramid, but contemplates the graves from
that perspective. The poem begins as tribute-poems often do, with a rhetorical question and a
quest for a spirit, but instead of the dead poet, the speaker looks for the identity the Pyramid
commemorates: ‘Who, then, was Cestius, / And what is he to me? —’ (1-2).

The visitor to Rome feels a duty to understand this monumental statement, but ‘Amid
thick thoughts and memories multitudinous’ (3), this speaker is uninspired. The scope of this
thronging thought is ambiguous - is it defined by the complex personality of the poet, or Rome’s
equally complex character? These possibilities only emphasise the dearth of associations for
Cestius’s name. The Pyramid is a monument which has failed its function:

I can recall no word
Of anything he did;
For me he is a man who died and was interred
To leave a pyramid

Whose purpose was exprest
Not with its first design,
Nor till, far down in Time, beside it found their rest
Two countrymen of mine. (5-12)

Expectations of the memorial process are reversed. As the negative rhetoric suggests, the
Pyramid represents a Past emptied of meaning, and enjambed lines sweep us on to the resting
poets. The Pyramid’s grandeur has become a vainglorious gesture, bringing the present no
information about the man it was made for. So Cestius is given a new raison d’être - to leave a
mark which will find a meaning ‘far down in Time,’ and Hardy even plays a pun on ‘leave,’ since
Cestius’s order to build this substantial trace was a condition of inheritance. To Hardy, the
Pyramid waited centuries to acquire a meaning, and the arbitrariness of two Englishmen finding
‘their rest’ belies a destiny fulfilled. The Pyramid’s ‘first design’ was not sustai.ed, it only found
a ‘purpose’ as a displaced memorial in the nineteenth century; Hardy deliberately reverses the
conventional respect for antiquity, in favour of the vivid influence of dead modern poets. Still in

¹Compare II, pp.239-42.
dialogue with earlier accounts, Hardy speculates on whether the living Cestius was an aggressor who ‘Slew, breathed out threatening’ (14); but the modern view prevails, because the Roman citizen’s moral character is unknowable, while his contemporary function is purely good:

in death all silently
He does a finer thing,

In beckoning pilgrim feet
With marble finger high
To where, by shadowy wall and history-haunted street,
Those matchless singers lie... (15-20)

Again, enjambement marches us past anonymous, meaningless Cestius to the poets, as this gift of living meaning revivifies him. He was nothing, but dead and mute ‘He does a finer thing,’ gesturing toward the obscure but significant graves of superlative ‘singers,’ who, as the ellipsis suggests, have such a lingering presence. By this fifth stanza, Cestius is personified by his mausoleum, capable of doing and ‘beckoning ... / With marble finger.’ The Pyramid makes a strong sign in the obscured ancient scene - but only as a sign-post for greater dead. The poem ends revising Cestius’s history and giving him a new epitaph. His unknown life is now justified by the ‘stones’ of his tomb:

— Say, then, he lived and died
— That stones which bear his name
Should mark, through Time, where two immortal Shades abide;
It is an ample fame. (21-4)

This conclusion affirms the incontestable importance of ‘two immortal Shades’ who need only be named in the title. What once provided the sole attraction for visitors to this out-of-the-way site by the city walls, now relies for its ‘fame’ on poets dead only seventy years before. This is a new lease of life for the intact relic of ancient Rome, reinvented for a role ‘through Time.’

The year following Hardy’s 1887 visit to Rome, the poets’ graves, apparently completed with the burials of Trelawny and Severn, were at considerable risk of destruction. James Rennell Rodd, the British Consul in Rome and himself a poet, wrote an account of this threat to the poets’ relics which were laid ‘side by side ... with those of their devoted friends ... from whom in death they are not divided’ (Gay 1913, p.31). In alluding to David’s lament for his father Saul and brother Jonathan (2 Sam. 1:23), Rodd restored a text widely used in the nineteenth century as an epitaph for husband and wife, to its original masculine context; yet while the phrase suggests David and Jonathan’s fraternal love ‘passing the love of women,’ the two not divided are father and son. Although describing one doubting and another atheistic brother, the religious vocabulary suggests how far the poets had been absorbed into the mainstream.

Rome was expanding at such speed that by 1888 the municipal authority planned to demolish the Old Cemetery and part of the city wall in order to run a road and tram line to a new suburb; in return more land would be given to the adjacent New Cemetery, and the old tombstones be transferred there. However, the remains in the seventy-eight graves in the Old Cemetery could not be moved, as many had been interred in the marshy ground without coffins.

1See pp.152 and II, p.364. For Rodd as a poet, see II, pp.273, 350-1, 355.
Figure 14. Edward Onslow Ford, Shelley Memorial, c.1890. Marble and bronze, life-size. University College, Oxford. Ford's sculpture of Shelley’s drowned body plainly alludes to Henry Wallis’s 1856 painting ‘The Death of Chatterton,’ which was modelled by a poet who did not die young, George Meredith. This feminine figure atop a massive baroque monument makes a startling contrast with Shelley’s austere grave. See pp.154-6.
English Victorians were not always squeamish about deconsecrating graveyards, but this was an exceptional circumstance. As Rodd bathetically explained, not only would 'a spot endeared by association' disappear, but the demolition would result in 'the confounding of the ashes of the honoured dead with the metalling of the contemplated road' (p.33). Disaster was only averted by Queen Victoria's intervention, when she 'caused the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs to be informed how deeply she would regret any interference with the poet's grave' (p.34).^1

However, the revised plan which Rodd describes suggested the graves' preservation in the road system as a roundabout, forming 'a small isolated triangular garden plot containing the graves of Keats and Severn which, surrounded by an iron railing and planted with trees, would become a sort of island' (p.35). This would have placed the goal of pilgrimage and pathetic contemplation behind bars, on a traffic island in a main road into Rome, and not averted the Cemetery's destruction. Astonishingly the plan was accepted, but never implemented, as it became apparent the new suburb would not need to be built. Negotiations determined the Old Cemetery would have autonomy from the Pyramid, join in tenure with the New Cemetery, and be protected against future disturbance. With this security, and Eyre's 1876 plaque for Keats as a warning, when the Committee of the Keats-Shelley Memorial took full responsibility for the poets' graves in 1903, it was decided to maintain their appearance unaltered.2

When Thomas Hardy wrote again of the Protestant Cemetery thirty-three years later, the site's iconography was finally settled and secure, and this is one reason why the poet turned his attention to Keats's former home, Wentworth Place, which in Spring 1920 was advertised as 'an eligible building site,' ripe for demolition and redevelopment. Only funds from America and quick action by local supporters secured the freehold, which was presented to the borough council 'to be maintained in perpetuity in memory of Keats and his Circle.'3 Hardy's 1887 poem had paid equal attention to both graves, but a letter to Edmund Gosse in late March 1887 suggested that Keats was his primary concern. Enclosing two pressed violets he described the grave as if it was the poet himself: 'He is covered with violets in full bloom just now, & thousands of daisies stud the grass around' (Hardy 1978, v.l, p.163).^4

'At a House in Hampstead Sometime the Dwelling of John Keats' (Hardy 1930, p.544) traces a complex conversation between past and present, and claims a terminal point in my discussion because Hardy relocates the commemorative site from Rome to Hampstead. The decision to resignify sites associated with the poet's life rather than death reflects in part Hardy's

---

^1Victoria is a patriotic heroine in this unusual royal 'interference' in a diplomatic affair, defending English heritage abroad; Rodd makes her action public 'in honour to her memory.'

^2Percy Florence Shelley's widow tried to replace the poet's slab with Onslow Ford's elaborate portrait statue (Figure 14, p.155). Trelawny's ownership of the plot had passed to his daughter, who 'protested against any alteration ... as a violation of the express wishes of her father.'

Rodd restored peace by suggesting that 'the erection of an elaborate marble composition, however beautiful in itself as a work of art, involving the alteration in the familiar aspect of a spot, consecrated by association and for so long an object of pilgrimage to lovers of the poet's memory, would probably stir up a painful controversy, and was for every reason to be deprecated' (Gay 1913, pp.38-9).

^3The Keats House 1926, p.12. The house opened to the public in 1925 after restoration. 'At a House in Hampstead' was first published in a commemorative anthology in 1921, then reprinted in Hardy's Lyrics Late and Earlier (1926).

^4See pp.141n, 148, 176.
personal condition as a poet nearing death; but it also indicates a peculiarly post-war transformation of the apotheosis motif or the displaced commemoration technique of tribute-poems.¹ In common with many tribute elegies, the poem begins by evoking the dead poet's spirit through direct address and rhetorical question; but unlike the mournful tone of those poems, Hardy summons up Keats's 'haunting' presence for pitiless interrogation. He does not gently breathe life into the rhetorical figure of the dead poet; over five quatrains Hardy fires seven question marks and twelve yous or yours at the ghost.² As in Alexander Anderson's 'In Rome,' Keats is static, while the material world he knew has changed beyond recognition. Rustic Hampstead is full of new streets, nature is in retreat; Keats's nightingale is significantly absent, by which Hardy suggests the difficulty of writing 'Full-throated' songs (4), although it is uncertain whether he blames 'the age' or his own old age. Compared with Rome's 'Seven famed Hills,' from where Keats's spirit has come, the 'misty slope' of Hampstead is even more changed. Teasingly, the speaker questions whether Keats expected everythng would be 'just the same,' and imagines the petulant spirit conjuring draughts in the house, or appearing as 'an umbraged ghost beside / Your ancient tree' (15-16). The speaker's mood is both stern and whimsical, making strident demands of an alienated spirit, yet punning on the ghost being 'umbraged.' He sees Keats as a moody ghost, who graduates into a more tolerant spirit, comforted that a few at least remember, and 'Preserve' the house. Hardy leaves this forgiving mood elliptically open, suggesting the speculative and capricious nature of such imaginings.

Conversing with dead spirits is such a convention of Hardy's poetry that one accepts it at once, but the questions cease in the sixth stanza. The speaker withdraws from the ghost, and lets his own memories of earlier pilgrimages stand as tacit comment on the first five stanzas; for the questions fired at 'Keats' are all Hardy's own. The speaker recalls the two Roman sites associated with Keats, first the Spanish Steps at twilight, where 'I once stood, in that Rome, and thought, / " 'Twas here he died" ' (23-4).³ The speaker commemorates a remote moment of emotion, when Keats's loss was most impressively summoned up by the house where he died.

¹It also indicates the twentieth-century preoccupation with nostalgia, heritage and commemoration. See Theodore Watts-Dunton's 'To a Sleeper at Rome: For the unveiling by Edmund Gosse of the American memorial bust to the poet Keats in Hampstead Parish Church, July 16, 1894' (Watts-Dunton 1906, p.256). The sonnet suggests that it was better for Keats to die young in Italy, than experience adult disillusion. A plaque commemorating Keats's residence was attached to Wentworth Place by the Society of Arts in 1896. The campaing to erect memorials to Keats and Shelley in Poets' Corner began shortly before the outbreak of war in 1939, and succeeded in 1954. The extensive correspondence held in the Westminster Abbey Library shows that support for Keats as 'one of the great glories of English literature' came first (WAM 62075), and that only later was Shelley included. J. H. Preston told the Dean in 1948 that there was 'a feeling that the name of Shelley ought to be coupled with that of Keats in the Memorial' (WAM 63556).

²Compare another poem from Late Lyrics and Earlier, 'At Lulworth Cove a Century Back,' in which Time interrogates the speaker about the then unknown Keats, and predicts his death in Rome and future fame: "... A hundred years, and the world will follow him there, And bend with reverence where his ashes lie." (Hardy 1930, p.570, 19-20).

³When the Hardys visited Rome in 1887 they stayed at a hotel in 'a street opposite the Piazza di Spagna,' where in the evenings Thomas would contemplate 'the house hard by, in which no mind could conjecture what had been lost to English literature in the early part of the same century' (Hardy 1962, p.189).
He then records the burial-ground where the poet still in some sense (without mention of Shelley) exists:

I drew to a violet-sprinkled spot,
Where day and night a pyramid keeps
Uplifted its white hand, and said,
'Tis there he sleeps.' (25-8)

The Protestant Cemetery and ‘At the Pyramid of Cestius’ are briefly sketched in the scattered violets and the Pyramid, with its ‘hand’ replacing the ‘marble finger.’ Mobilising the epitaphal convention of sleep for death, the poet continues in the present tense; yet the Pyramid’s ‘Uplifted ... hand’ no longer beckons invitingly, but makes a vigilant, even prohibitive gesture of ‘Siste, viator.’ Tacitly rejecting his imagining of Keats’s spirit, the elderly poet returns to the present:

Pleasanter now it is to hold
That here, where sang he, more of him
Remains than where he, tuneless, cold,
Passed to the dim. (29-32)

Living in constant expectation of death, Hardy rejects the distant Cemetery, where ‘Tuneless’ and cold, Keats can no longer be imagined as a poet, for the site of living and writing. The material grave is displaced by an associative memorial, and treading the rooms where Keats worked, Hardy experiences a semblance of contact. But sharp-sighted as always, he recognises this as a subjective decision, a happier opinion for an old poet than confronting the grave - confirmed by the conscious compromise of ‘Pleasanter,’ by one of the least pleasant of writers. Although written for an anthology marking the centenary of Keats’s death, the explicit date ‘July 1920’ suggests Hardy intended a more celebratory anniversary - the centenary of the publication of the Poems of 1820.

Throughout the nineteenth century, pilgrims and tribute-poets were attracted to the potently Romantic mythology of Keats, Shelley and the Protestant Cemetery; but while they submitted to the material site’s pathos, it was never enough to leave the poet dead in his grave. A focus for sentimentality, nostalgia, patriotism, emotions of all kinds, the grave was always to be transcended, metaphorised, spiritualised and finally overcome. The religious convention of the immortal soul combined with the immortality of genius, and the ever-circulating and reprinted textual body of the poet’s works, in a commemorative apotheosis; and when this immortal memory could no longer be symbolised by a star, a heart or a flower, it returned home to the scenes of life. As transcending the material grave appeared increasingly difficult, commemorative artists reintegrated the memory of the dead with their own lives; indeed, the elderly Joseph Severn testified to the power of post-mortem influence:

“Time has been annihilated. How strange to think he died in my arms when I was twenty-seven! And yet he cannot be dead. How could a dead thing influence one like this?” (Graham 1898, p.117)
Severn embraced this posthumous relationship, the power of 'a dead thing' over a living person, but responses to the graves of Keats and Shelley in Rome show that tribute-poets' relationships with their role-models include a broad spectrum of attitudes and emotions - worship, passion and imitation, but also anxiety and aggression. It is noticeable that male and female poets responded differently to the graves in the Protestant Cemetery. Men tended to write self-reflexively, considering the relation between their poetic identity and that of Keats and Shelley; women wrote poems which largely disregarded their own poetic identity, instead seeking oblique angles on this masculine mythology. Mary Shelley portrayed herself as an isolated widow, while Fanny Kemble wrote less about Shelley's grave, than about the Italian woman weeping over it; Eliza Ogilvy wrote about the graves tangentially in poems commemorating personal friends or children. Bessie Rayner Parkes took the unusual step of associating Shelley's grave with that of his wife Mary in Bournemouth. These choices suggest that women poets found the subject of Keats's and Shelley's graves less pressing and relevant to their own development than male poets did.

Similarity and difference are important factors in these responses. The male poets identify with Keats or Shelley and therefore adopt and perpetuate this masculine mythology. The female poets identify with them much less, and even feel alienated from them. Thus while the men's tribute-poems tell similar tales of identification, struggle and differentiation, the women's tributes are diverse and hybridic. The poems of Kemble, Ogilvy and Parkes suggest that existing on the margins of a tradition can be liberating as well as difficult; they sidestep the masculine drama played out to different degrees by Aytoun, Scott, Fane et al. To test whether female poets' tangential relation to the central tradition gives them greater freedom from the influence of the dead, we need to examine how women respond to the death of a woman poet. Is the tribute-poet's similarity to the dead always problematic, or does the lack of a defined tradition of women's poetry give female tribute-poets something else to engage with?

1 See pp.123n, 125-8, 138n, 140-1 and n.
2 I have acknowledged this topography by concentrating on the male dramas of imitation and succession, and reserving the women's perspectives for footnotes and appendices.
Chapter 4: Pilgrimages to poets' graves.

Are not books the material caskets in which lie embalmed all the beauty and wisdom and wonder of the minds and hearts of men?
Stephen Coleridge, *Quiet Hours in Poets' Corner* 1925, p.79.

In this final chapter I question how far these qualities of genius can be revived by poetic contemplations of the site of the poet's physical 'material casket,' and what influence gender difference and similarity might have, by placing two nineteenth-century woman poets centre-stage with three male poets. These poets share certain characteristics: each died leaving a mature body of work at a time when their public and critical reputations were secure, and their deaths prompted both immediate and belated responses. I discuss one woman poet from the Romantic period (Felicia Hemans) and one from the Victorian (Elizabeth Barrett Browning), one Romantic poet who attained his greatest popularity in the early Victorian period (Wordsworth), and two high Victorians (Browning and Tennyson).^1 I discuss each poet separately, but draw out the commentary on gendered literary tradition latent in these tributes; responses to the Brownings' relationship negotiate these male and female traditions with particular clarity, so consequently I treat them together.

The domestic contexts of these poets' lives and deaths are still relevant, but a different network of metaphorical relationships - the poetic family - comes to the fore. Commentators perceived similarities and relationships between these five poets. The influence of Wordsworth upon Hemans's poetry was clear, and the two poets were friends;^2 Hemans and Barrett Browning were contrasting role-models for the woman poet, while mutual influence was often read into the Brownings' works. Wordsworth and Tennyson came to be paired together as the century's great Laureates, the Browning and Tennyson families were known to be friendly, while Browning and Tennyson appeared as brothers representing opposing traditions in Victorian poetry.^3

Superficial associations aside, the circumstances of each poet's death and burial were idiosyncratic, as the iconography of their graves reflects. It was acceptable for Wordsworth to be buried in a local churchyard in 1850, but by 1892 it was unthinkable that the next Laureate (Tennyson) could find a final resting-place outside the Abbey. This swing in public opinion reflects not only the relative popularity of individuals, but a growing public nostalgia for an age of great poetry which was apparently coming to an end. Thus while there were real changes in attitudes towards commemorating the poet, tribute-poets tended to read the grave-site as an evaluation of the dead. Marginalised grave-sites, even when they are as picturesque as Barrett Browning's in Florence, indicate a marginal status. It is not incidental that while the male poets I

---

^1I examine the poets chronologically by death-date to suggest how the cult of pomp and public ceremony accelerated through the century, and how state recognition of literary achievement was revalued through interments in Poets' Corner.

^2Felicia Hemans's account of her stay at Dove Cottage in 1830 was included in H. F. Chorley's *Memorials of Mrs Hemans* (1836); reprinted in Swaab 1996, pp.68-82.

^3This pairing was cemented by the similar manners of their deaths and funerals. See Margaret Oliphant's article 'Tennyson' (Oliphant 1892, p.748) and Hardwick Drummond Rawnsley's poem 'The Two Poets' (Rawnsley 1893, p.31).
discuss found graves which were personally or nationally significant, Hemans and Barrett Browning were buried outside England, and in burial-places without familial or literary associations (beyond what they themselves confer on the site).

Only occasionally does perceived similarity provoke a truly aggressive tribute-poem, but an extreme example worth noting is ‘To Matthew Arnold ("From Edwin Arnold").’ Edwin Arnold was a journalist, newspaper editor and poet, ten years younger than Matthew Arnold, to whom he was unrelated. His first volume of poetry was published only four years after the older poet’s debut, and was acknowledged in a review of Matthew’s Poems (1853), ‘The two Arnolds.’ While the reviewer, William Edmondstoune Aytoun, was critical of Matthew Arnold’s poems and theories, proclaiming that ‘imitation is his curse’ (Aytoun 1854, p.311), and identifying borrowings from Homer, Milton and Keats, his attention focused squarely on the more experienced man. His relative generosity to Edwin Arnold depended on the poet’s youth and enthusiasm, but also smacks of concealed humour. After a blatant Keatsian plagiarism, Aytoun exclaims ‘O Edwin! what could tempt you...?’ (p.313), a familiarity never attempted in reference to Matthew, while the question of whether Edwin Arnold ‘is really and truly a poet’ (p.314), is ambiguously answered by comparison with the developmental stages of a ‘splendid gamecock.’ Matthew Arnold’s priority is not surprising at the beginning of a career, but must have become increasingly irksome over the next thirty-five years. Thus when Matthew Arnold died in 1888, Edwin seized the opportunity to mark the end of this long era of unwanted twinship in ‘To Matthew Arnold. ("From Edwin Arnold")’ (Arnold 1888a, p.34):

I pluck thee by the shroud, and press thy cold
Forgetful hand; to lay this obolus
Into its honoured palm! (4-6)

As the poet is ferried across the Styx to the Elysian fields, the elegist’s manner is as familiar and importunate as his touch of the dead writing-hand. The classical motif acknowledges Arnold’s neoclassical values, but the more than hinted reproach that the hand is ‘forgetful,’ suggests that Matthew would hardly have welcomed such a tribute in life. Direct address is coercive not tender here; the speaker addresses the unconscious corpse precisely because it cannot answer back. This one-sided conversation frees the speaker to re-write history:

Good Friend! dear Rival! bear no grudge to those
Who had not time, in Life’s hard fight, to show
How well they liked thee (12-14)

The wonderful oxymoron ‘dear Rival’ gives away the elegist’s competitiveness, and unintentionally lays bare the ensuing evasions. If the poem is an offering designed to smooth Matthew’s entry into the afterlife, it is a very equivocal one. Although his grave at Laleham churchyard in Middlesex is excluded, the dead body provides an equivalent focus, journeying to its resting-place at the beginning, and illuminated by Edwin’s ‘funeral torch’ at the end:

Dead Poet! let a poet of thy House
Lay, unreproved, these bay-leaves on thy brows!
We, that seemed only friends, were lovers: Now
Death knows it! and Love knows! and I! and Thou! (25-8)
This graduates from forcing unwanted attentions on the dead, to preposterous and unsupportable exclamations. Edwin was not 'a poet of thy House,' while his request for permission to present the bay wreath 'unreproved,' makes his claimed spiritual intimacy ridiculous; the reader is left with the inappropriate image of Matthew weakly protesting at the final 'and Thou!' Even the speaker's use of the modesty topos is too active and vigorous for credibility:

Thou, that didst bear my Name, and deck it so
That — coming thus behind — hardly I know
If I shall hold it worthily, and be
Meet to be mentioned in one Age with thee — (17-20)

After his namesake's death, Edwin reclaims his surname; Matthew carried 'my Name' (my emphasis), while the smug intervening clauses imply that his achievements - such as The Light of Asia (1879), his epic best-known poem - already glorify the name enough. Edwin is not just Matthew's survivor, but his self-appointed continuation. His bold but pushy tone supports Thomas Seccome's statement that he 'confidently expected the reversion of the Laureateship after Lord Tennyson's death'; for the namesake must be displaced before the Laureate's place can be claimed. However this misjudged tribute can only have made its writer look absurd, since the elegist's self-concern almost obliterates its ostensible subject.

Edwin Arnold's poem suggests just how threatening similarity or perceived sameness can be for the less-known poet; after all, Charles Tennyson changed his name to Charles Turner in order to distinguish his sonnets from the work of his famous younger brother. ‘Similarity’ could cover various traits and manners, but in this chapter I concentrate on perceived similarity between poets working in two separate traditions: the established male tradition, and the developing female line.

---

1 DNB, Supplement 1901-1911 (1920), v.i, p.58. See below pp.204-5 and II, pp.210-12.
2 'Nothing is less generous than the poetic self when it wrestles for its own survival' (Bloom 1975, p.18).
3 Compare II, pp.313, 378-9. For a representatively warm obituary see 'Mr. Matthew Arnold' 1888, pp.500-1.
Felicia Hemans.

Bring flowers, pale flowers, o'er the bier to shed,
A crown for the brow of the early dead!
For this through its leaves hath the white rose burst,
For this in the woods was the violet nursed!
Though they smile in vain for what once was ours,
They are love's last gift — bring ye flowers, pale flowers!
Felicia Hemans, 'Bring Flowers,' 25-30.

When Felicia Hemans died in Dublin on 16 May 1835 aged forty-two, by nineteenth-century standards she was not quite among the 'early dead'; yet her adolescent poetic career and public image as a beautiful, melancholic, tragic poetess, helped to construct her death as premature and poignant. When Wordsworth dedicated a stanza to her memory in the 'Extempore Effusion upon the Death of James Hogg' (Wordsworth 1849-50, v.V, p.145) it was in contrast to Coleridge, Hogg, Charles Lamb and Walter Scott, 'ripe fruit, seasonably gathered' (35). Although the rapidity with which 'brother followed brother' into death (23) was shocking, the speaker reserves his overt grief for Hemans:

Mourn rather for that holy Spirit,
Sweet as the spring, as ocean deep;
For Her who, ere her summer faded,
Has sunk into a breathless sleep. (37-40)

The conventional association of the poet with nature takes a specifically feminine turn here. Hemans is spiritualised and compared with early seasons, while her 'breathless sleep' suggests a painless and untroubled end. Hemans's poetic repertoire dealt largely in themes of death, the afterlife, reunion with loved ones and the grave, and this lent a special poignancy to writing about her death and her grave.

Felicia Hemans was an important example for women poets during the first half of the century. Although her poetry had a wide and varied contemporary audience, and her admirers included Byron as well as Wordsworth, the poets who wrote elegies and grave-tributes for her were women: Lady Emmeline Stuart-Wortley, Letitia Landon, Elizabeth Barrett and Cecil Frances Humphreys. This gender-specific response suggests that women poets were searching for role-models and that self-reflexive impulses were important in the composition of tribute-poetry. In their identification with Hemans's poetic vocation, these women recognised that her grave might be a source of inspiration, even a rallying-point. Hemans's life, poetry, death and

---

1Hemans 1839, v.IV, p.223.
2David Macbeth Moir announced that 'The highly-gifted and accomplished, the patient, the meek, and long-suffering Felicia Hemans is no more' (Moir 1835, p.96), while the Athenaeum observed that 'she had not as yet reached the full strength of her powers' ('Mrs. Hemans' 1835, p.392).
3Wordsworth was sixty-five when Hemans died, and qualifying as 'ripe fruit' himself, this daughter-figure's death must have been disconcerting.
4See II, pp.52-5, and specifically 'The Grave of a Poetess' (text in II, p.369) and 'Written after visiting a tomb near Woodstock, in the County of Kilkenny' written before and after visiting Mary Tighe's grave (Hemans 1839, v.VI, p.265); also pieces such as 'The Graves of a Household' (v.V, p.301), 'The Antique Sepulchre' (v.VI, p.167), and 'The Burial in the Desert' (text in II, p.412).
interment were problematically interconnected in a way unacknowledged by Wordsworth's image of sweet spirituality. The status of a famous male poet is so secure that he need not be buried in Poets' Corner in order to be remembered; but no woman poet lay amongst the host of immortal and forgotten poets housed in Westminster Abbey. There was a place where the poetic fraternity could be commemorated together, but the female poet was buried privately and alone.

Issues connected with the poet's gender are explored with unusual explicitness in these tributes, notably through particular tropes such as the song, harp, laurel wreath or floral tribute. While the manner of Hemans's burial was partly a question of chance circumstances, tribute-poets used the occasion to explore and interrogate the conventional theme of the grave of the poetess. As the grave-choosing poems I discussed in Chapter 1 suggest, the location, landscape and associations of a poet's grave are peculiarly significant, and admirers have poetic expectations of them; but while Wordsworth, Browning and Tennyson's graves were later represented with relative complacency, commemorating Hemans prompted uncertainty and questioning.

After a long illness Felicia Hemans died in a rented house in Dawson Street, Dublin, and was buried in St. Anne's Church in the same street. A year later the family had commemorated her in St. Asaph's Cathedral, Liverpool, with a memorial tablet above her mother's grave, but the grave itself remained unmarked. Hemans had overcome the transgressive implications of separation from her husband by writing to support her five children, and this reversion to the matriarchal family was reflected in the manner of her commemoration. Rose Lawrence considered that she deserved better than an obscure vault in a Dublin church, and saw the preferred grave in maternal terms:

There was something very repugnant to the feelings of some who loved her, in this destination: better if the half-expressed wish of her heart might have been accomplished — "To thy earth, mother! take home thy weary one!" (Lawrence 1836, p.410n)

Lawrence implies that this is a quotation from Hemans; I cannot locate it, and without knowing the context, it could refer to reunion with the mother's body or mother earth. Lawrence sees it as the former, and is consoled by the prospects of a spiritual reunion - 'they are re-united in heaven' - but the idea of a return to the maternal body is constant. This motif works as compensation for the bereaved's unease about Hemans's strange exiled grave, the chance outcome of financial pressure and pragmatism, yet while it is understandable that the mother's vault performed the memorial function, the neglect of Hemans's grave is troubling.

Harriet Hughes considered her sister's grave-site irrelevant compared with her spiritual destiny, yet even for her the incongruity of the Dublin grave with Hemans's sensibility made it difficult to imagine her resting in peace:

1 Although Aphra Behn's grave is daily trodden under foot in the cloisters.
3 Compare Hemans's 'Mother! oh, sing me to rest,' which includes the lines 'Lay this tired head on thy breast!' and 'Take back thy bird to its nest' (Hemans 1839, v.VII, p.30).
Yet it is sadly painful to me to think of her lying in that strange city, in the midst of noise and crowds: she — such a creature of the woods and mountains! I had the most anxious desire that she might, if possible, be laid beside our dear mother; (Lawrence 1836, p.410n)

Hemans was a champion of the natural, untamed grave-site in 'The Graves of a Household' and 'Burial of the Emigrant's Child in the Wilderness,' yet her Wordsworthian aesthetic was violated by every aspect of her own grave. When a marble memorial was later fixed to the wall above the vault, it was inscribed with two of her own verses, which suggest the irrelevance of the earthly grave:

Calm on the bosom of thy God,
Fair spirit! Rest thee now!
E'en while with us thy footsteps trod
His seal was on thy brow.

Dust to its narrow house beneath
Soul to its place on high!
They that have seen thy luck in death,
No more may fear to die.¹

This preoccupation with calm and rest is reflected in Lady Emmeline Stuart-Wortley's 'A Grave for the Gifted' (Stuart-Wortley 1837a, p.65). Hemans is not positively identified as the subject, but the poem's details strongly suggest her. The speaker begins with the rhetorical flourish, 'A Grave for the Gifted! — Where — where shall it be?' and suggests a sea-side place. However this location is not associated with Wordsworth's spirit 'as ocean deep,' or the spiritual sea of eternity, but is a restless and disconcertingly 'hollow-voiced' element. Stuart-Wortley seems to be responding to Hemans's anxious poems about maritime death,² but the image also represents the poet's troubled life:

Oh, no! let those ashes at last sink in rest —
Now the strong Passion-whirlwinds have died in her breast! (3-4)

Where Oscar Wilde thought a sea-grave appropriate for Shelley, Stuart-Wortley suggests Hemans's emotional life was so beset by destabilising storms of emotion, that this grave would be a posthumous satire on her fate.³ The denial of a sublime, Byronic sea-grave is given a more positive and conventional aspect: 'Let her sleep 'neath the Skies' gracious weepings of dew!' (8). Where the sea was meaninglessly 'hollow-voiced' (2), nature's tender and restrained grief allows the dead to sleep in peace. This movement from sea to land is completed in the...

¹Hemans employed these lines in dramatic and lyric contexts. In 'The Siege of Valencia. A Dramatic Poem,' Scene IX, they are a 'death-hymn' for a daughter, sung by 'Voices heard Without, Chanting,' while the bereaved father reflects that the music gives him 'mournful peace' (Hemans 1839, v.III, p.379, 83-90). The lines are printed separately as 'A Dirge,' with a final stanza which claims heaven as the brightest home (v.IV, p.330).
³In his serialised recollections H. F. Chorley quoted from Hemans's letters: 'To me there is no more perfect emblem of peace, than that expressed by the Scriptural phrase —“There shall be no more sea”'; in a letter to an aspiring woman poet Hemans described fame as a ‘tumultuous, yet dazzling sea' (Chorley 11 July 1835, p.529); See above pp.27 and n, 28, 151 and contrast pp.109-10, also II, pp.317, 407-11.
third stanza, where the dead woman is an embattled bird gently wafted 'To a nest of repose' (10). After her life's 'loud savage storm' (11), she is carried to safety by 'the breeze, [which] a sweet message from Heaven's shore shall bear!' (12). After death, the poet will be commemorated in a gentle, temperate style more like her own poetic voice; yet the voice of the tribute-poet never quite supports this peaceful message. The bouncing Byronic anapaests, dogged questions and passionate exclamations which aptly described the troubling sea in the first two stanzas, are an incongruous medium for the pastoral grave. In her eagerness to rise to the occasion, the tribute-poet flaunts her poetic energy, to the point where one wonders at her stated regret about the death of the 'Lovely One.'

The original question 'Where shall it be?' is echoed and answered by an evocation of a richly symbolic natural landscape for the grave. The scene is approved by natural voices which are both mournful and vigorous: 'the faint-thrilling voice of some fountain is heard, / And the rich air is rent by Night's passionate bird' (15f). The fountain indicates the well of inspiration, while the nightingale connotes poetic feeling, and these motifs are articulated by a fecund scene, where bees plunder flowers and 'the fragrant Spring-rains' perform a kind of ecstatic pagan dance on the maternal 'Earth's breast' (19). The grave is elided by a series of eight clauses describing in rich detail where it should be, and only mention of 'the whitest of roses' (21) suggests the focus has narrowed to the grave itself. An eclectic combination of botanical symbols grow on the imagined grave; yet only the rejection of the traditional poet's emblem finally tells us the 'gifted' was a poet:

Where the sunflower shall burn, and the lily shall bend!
And the Acacia its leaves with the willow's shall blend —
Oh! the old Kingly Laurel's illustrious gloom
Overshadowed her life — be that far from her tomb! (25-8)

While the paired flowers and trees indicate a harsh mixture of suffering and mourning (the thorny acacia and weeping willow), the lone laurel identifies the dead by its absence. The laurel usually affirms immortal genius, but here fame cast a 'gloom / [Which] Overshadowed her life' (27-9). The laurel is significantly patriarchal, and this masculine character opposes the dead poet's emphatic femininity, suggesting that what might be 'illustrious' for a man, was unpropitious for this particular woman.

This claim that poetic fame ruined the woman's life marks a division between personal and public identities which is substantially different for male and female poets. While men belong unquestioningly in the public arena, women's traditional domestic character (ironically a role which contributed to Hemans's own fame) makes entry into the male domain difficult. The association of a tempestuous life with the poet's laurel is made explicit in the final stanza:

A Grave for the Gifted! — a Grave for the Young!
Since sealed the pure lips that so thrillingly sung;
But far from the Laurel — the Tempest — the Billow —
Where stillness is deepest, there spread ye her pillow! (28-32)

1See p.167.
2[Now the sweet fountain of music from which that prophetic strain gushed has ceased to flow'] (Moir 1835, p.96).
This echo of lines 1 and 13 undermines the quest seemingly answered by the elaborately
evoked burial-place; the absence of these threatening elements is finally most important. The
symbolically intense landscape, 'with a blossomy richness oppressed' (20), seems hardly 'Where
stillness is deepest' (32). This reminds us of the speculative nature of the enterprise; the grave
is still to be found, yet Stuart-Wortley seems to argue that only obscurity can fulfil the need for
perfect stillness. This final gesture of laying the dead to rest gives a sinister aspect to the
poem's dynamic, buoyant rhythm, lush description, exclamations and alliterative repetition
'... shall burn, ... shall bend / ... shall blend!' Who is this supposedly ideal grave for? The dead
poet will hardly be conscious of the grave's environs, and while Hemans's poetry, like the
inspirational fountain, is 'thrilling,' the speaker does not try to converse with her subject's spirit.
Stuart-Wortley pays tribute to Hemans in her mildly melodramatic style, but the vibrant grave-
scene is as much a showcase for her own descriptive powers as affirmation of the dead
woman's 'nest of repose,' and suggests an unacknowledged desire to succeed 'the Gifted and
Beautiful lost One' (5).

The thirteen year age-gap between the elegist and her subject was great enough for
Hemans to be Stuart-Wortley's model, predecessor and poetic mother, but too small for a
position as daughter or acolyte to be comfortable. This unease might account for the marked
obliquity of 'The Grave of the Gifted,' divided between assuming her subject is instantly
recognisable, and subsuming the subject's identity into a general reflection on the perils of a
poetic career for women. By contrast, Letitia Landon's commemorative technique employed
direct address, identification and sympathy with an explicitly named subject. While Landon was
nine years younger than Hemans, they were perceived as part of the same generation, and by
1835 Landon's celebrity (or notoriety) was such that she could confidently testify to the older
poet's benign influence.

In 'Stanzas on the Death of Mrs. Hemans' (Landon 1841, v.II, p.245), first published in
August 1835, Landon pays homage by quoting from her subject's poetry and showing her own
debt to Hemans's work. Landon's role is the improvisatrice; loose rhymes and alternating four
and three-stressed lines arranged in eight-line stanzas give an impromptu quality which
suggests the urgency of the speaker's grief. The key to this grief is self-reflexive. The epigraph
'The rose — the glorious rose is gone,' is taken from Hemans's 'The Nightingale's Death-Song'
(Hemans 1839, v.VI, p.128, 3), and pictures the dead poet as a dead flower; but Landon locates
herself as the nightingale which 'sing[s] mournfully' and welcomes its own death: 'And I, too, will
depart' (4). In the opening stanzas Landon applies the terms of Hemans's 'Bring Flowers' to the
poet herself; but while Hemans's poem ends with the bright flowers of glory, Landon emphasises
the pale flowers of the bier. The 'Stanzas' discard some of the mannerisms of public elegy in
order to convey more of Landon's personal tenderness for the poet. In a topos often associated
with infant death, Hemans appears as a 'Flower brought from Paradise / To this cold world of
ours' (77-8), then recalled. This affection has its source in feminine identification; Hemans's

1Compare II, pp.189-93.
3The motif is taken up later: 'The red rose wastes itself in sighs / Whose sweetness others
breathe!' (84-5).
A creative project is characterised as a Wordsworthian elevation of everyday life - 'Thy song around our daily path / Flung beauty born of dreams' (17-18), and the trope of fame's cost is summed up as 'A fated doom is her's who stands / The priestess of the shrine' (52-3). Landon is implicated in her formula for Hemans's influence on other poets - 'they have thanked thee — many a lip / Has asked of thine for words' (86-7).

This model of the woman poet as innately passionate also reflects on the portrayal of Hemans; where conventionally the dead poet was represented as an unstrung harp, the chords of Hemans's soul were 'Wound to a pitch too exquisite'; she was literally 'too highly strung' (58, 61). The woman poet's portrait again terminates at her grave - but the speaker's sense of material loss obstructs her desire to transcend it:

```
Oh, weary One! since thou art laid
Within thy mother's breast —
The green, the quiet mother-earth —
Thrice blessed be thy rest!
Thy heart is left within our hearts,
Although life's pang is o'er;
But the quick tears are in my eyes,
And I can write no more. (105-13)
```

Hemans, whose poems for children and her own mother were well-known, completes a cycle through reunion with the maternal earth in burial, although we know her actual grave falls short of this natural ideal. The poem as a whole is weighed down by an undirected sense of melancholy, where Landon's identification with her subject - 'I cannot choose but think thou wert / An old familiar friend' (97) - ends in self-pity. Although the speaker claims that Hemans's warm heart will be enshrined in the hearts of her readers, in the final couplet our attention is drawn back to the speaker. She is overwhelmed by weeping, yet as the poem dissolves we are reminded that only the living can weep 'quick' tears.

The posthumously-published tribute 'Felicia Hemans' (Landon 1839, p.246) mourns the loss of Hemans's 'beloved presence' (2) and her poetry's influence with greater circumspection. Unlike the short, breathless lines of the 'Stanzas,' here stately and sober five-stressed lines are massed in groups of sixteen, creating a monumental form which suggests sober intentions, perhaps even a declaration of succession. Within this formal structure, the qualities ascribed to Hemans remain implicitly personalised and feminine, 'lovely things' (6) and profound thoughts, substantiated by a feminine transformation of the adamic naming trope:

```
The leaf or flowers which thou hast named inherit
A beauty known but from thy breathing there:
For thou didst on them fling thy strong emotion,
The likeness from itself the fond heart gave; (11-14)
```

1[She threw something of her own spirit round her ... with her books, and her harp, and the flowers which sometimes half filled her little rooms' - although female visitors to Hemans noted that 'the strings of her harp were half of them broken' (Chorley 13 June 1835, p.452).

2See also Landon's article in The New Monthly Magazine, 'On the Character of Mrs. Hemans's Writings' (Landon 1835, pp.425-33).
Hemans redefined natural objects, breathing new meaning into them, aesthetic value which will be inherited by association with those forms in futurity - as the speaker says, 'One glorious poet makes the world his own' (24: my emphasis). However this dominating imagery is softened and feminised; Hemans held 'gentle sway' over 'The heart's sweet empire' (25-6), and her name and 'song' were especially prized in America by 'the wide Atlantic's younger daughters' (31). When fame weaves a crown for the woman poet, Landon does not imagine masculinised laurels, but a 'soft wreath' of 'stranger and far flower[s]' (27-8).

As with Stuart-Wortley, Landon's choice of a flower garland to represent female genius expresses the conviction that Hemans's fame and literary success were 'purchased all too dearly' (33). The cost of personal anguish is again expressed in a maritime image, as being 'like the tumultuous billow, / Whose very light and foam reveals unrest' (39-40). The speaker abandons direct address of her subject's spirit, to testify from personal experience to the woman poet's condition. While the 'kingdom of the lute is lonely' for all (47), the sea image is recuperated to express the affirmative perceptions of 'mind in woman, but revealing / In sweet clear light the hidden world below' (49-50). Landon identifies with Hemans's destiny, and portrays the woman poet's fate in terms of physical (and sacrificial) suffering:

The fable of Prometheus and the vulture
Reveals the poet's and the woman's heart. (55-6)

Hemans's fate is loving too freely in a world hostile to feeling, so that death must have come as a relief. Landon's passionate identification means that her desire to lay Hemans to rest appears more personal and sincere than Stuart-Wortley's. The tribute-poem terminates at an unparticularised and spiritualised image of the poet's tomb:

Fame's troubled hour has cleared, and now replying,
A thousand hearts their music ask of thine.
Sleep with a light, the lovely and undying
Around thy grave — a grave which is a shrine. (77-80)

The 'cruel sneer[s]' which still 'Jar the fine music of the spirit's chords' (59-60) for the speaker, have lost their power over Hemans; in fact, thousands owe a debt of stylistic influence to her, and 'their music ask of thine.' Landon celebrates this chorus of appreciative tribute with her own grateful but idiosyncratic solo. The poet's grave transcends its material origins, and becomes a shrine. Hemans sleeps peacefully, surrounded by a light which as the ambiguous syntax suggests, is 'lovely and undying' as she is herself. Landon has designed a fantasy of her own future, where the 'weary dove' would 'Fold up its golden wings and be at peace' (74-5); and when 'Felicia Hemans' was printed after Landon's own death, this self-reflexive motive must have appeared especially poignant.¹

¹See II, pp.151-3, 371-2, and Stuart-Wortley's poems on Landon's death, 'To the Departed,' 'And is she dead' and 'The Dreamer's Grave' (Stuart-Wortley 1838a, v.l, pp.72, 96, 173; compare Shelley's seeming anticipation of his own death at the end of Adonais.)
Elizabeth Barrett did not write a direct tribute to Hemans; her poem 'Felicia Hemans' (Browning 1897, p.128) is dedicated 'To L. E. L., referring to her monody on the Poetess,' and argues with 'Stanzas on the Death of Mrs. Hemans.' Barrett's approach is characteristically confident; far from acquiescing in Landon's flower wreath symbol for women's poetry, she hails Landon as 'Thou bay-crowned living One that o'er the bay-crowned Dead art bowing' (1), both poets undefined by and transcending gender. Barrett directly addresses the monodist in a voice of corrective equality and authority, taking Landon's expressions and motifs but turning and adding to them. Even the alternating four and three-stressed lines of the 'Stanzas' are retained, but run together to make one elastic, energetic seven-stressed line. She urges Landon to derive a different influence from Hemans:

Take music from the silent Dead whose meaning is completer,  
Reserve thy tears for living brows where all such tears are meeter,  
And leave the violets in the grass to brighten where thou treadest,  
No flowers for her! no need of flowers, albeit 'bring flowers,' thou saidest. (4-8)

Barrett robustly denies the relevance of mourning poems to Hemans's destiny; Landon's melancholy is presented as a lack of spiritual conviction. The violets traditionally associated with graves, are restored to life's path, while the speaker warns against bringing 'near the solemn corse — a type of human seeming' (13). The floral tribute, like the floral crown, expresses human transience rather than the transcendent immortality of Hemans's soul and her poems. She also rejects Landon's myth of the suffering woman poet, questioning 'Would she have lost the poet's fire for anguish of the burning? — / The minstrel harp, for the strained string?' (18-19); a trial but a glorious one, poetic vocation is placed above suffering.

Returning to the laurel crown motif in the final stanza, Barrett affects to console the monodist by imagining the country's response to the death she desired:

Be happy, crowned and living One! and as thy dust decayeth,  
May thine own England say for thee what now for Her it sayeth —  
'Albeit softly in our ears her silver song was ringing,  
The foot fall of her parting soul is softer than her singing.' (32-6)

This reassurance to 'Be happy' is juxtaposed with an apparently casual reference to Landon's body after death - 'as thy dust decayeth.' Barrett takes the monodist at her own word, and imagines people talking of Landon's death as a gentle release. There is a teasing and disingenuous air to this finale which at once questions the sincerity of Landon's expression, implies the contrast between the two poets's approaches - and leaves Barrett herself as the dominant voice. As Dorothy Mermin suggests, this is an ambivalent tribute which declares succession to a tradition which she is in the act of adapting and revising.

Stuart-Wortley, Landon and Barrett treat the poet's death and burial abstractly and without documentary specificity. While the work is conventionally claimed as the poet's most

---

1First published as 'Stanzas Addressed to Miss Landon, and suggested by her "Stanzas on the Death of Mrs. Hemans."', by 'B' in The New Monthly Magazine, 45 (1835), p.82. Context as well as chronology leads me to refer to Barrett Browning by her maiden name here.


3Mermin 1989, pp.74-5.
lasting monument, the tension between Hemans's works and her grave is suggestive enough to be addressed at length by a later woman poet, Cecil Frances Humphreys (later Mrs. Alexander).

Humphreys was seventeen and already composing poetry when Hemans died. In 'The Grave of Mrs. Hemans' (Humphreys 1896, p.351), she differs from Landon or Barrett in making no direct engagement with Hemans's identity as a woman poet. However, while she is preoccupied with the moral or religious effects of the grave, gender remains an unresolved problem. The poem begins with an exclamation of shock - 'This her grave! Ah me!' (1), but a description of the actual site is postponed, while the speaker evokes what Hemans's grave should have been. This fantasy is a grave in the style of Hemans's poetry, set in a Romantic pastoral landscape, and harmoniously involved in daily and seasonal cycles. This 'grass-green churchyard far away' (2) contains conventional elements such as birdsong, violets, ivy and flowers, which combine to 'make her slumbers sweet' (8), but Humphreys individualises the poet's grave:

> And the wind in the tall trees should lend her
> Musical delight on stormy days,
> With a sound half chivalrous, half tender,
> Like the echo of her own wild lays. (9-12)

Not only does the dead poet consciously take pleasure in 'the stormy days' Stuart-Wortley and Landon wished to protect her from, but nature's voice is redefined according to Hemans's 'wild lays.' The tribute-writer harmonises the ambivalent and muddled signals of Hemans's career and grave, making a kind of poem of the poet's last resting-place. The grave Humphreys imagines is so vivid that the real grave is bathetic:

> Was it meet to leave her in the city
> Where no sun could fall upon her face?
> Lift the cold, grey stone, in love and pity
> Bear her out unto a fairer place. (13-16)

This grave is unsympathetically suggestive of neglect, but from another perspective it simply confirms Landon's legend of the woman poet's destiny. The flagstone is cold as the 'world's cold hand' which wreathed her brow in Barrett's poem, and its oppressive material weight contradicts her poetry's spiritual transcendence. Although Humphreys pleads for a more harmonious grave, she finds consolation in the poet's irrepressible power to transform external reality. Hemans may not be explicitly defined as a poet, but in the first four stanzas she appears passive, her

---

1 See also II, pp.144-5, 374-5, 413-15.

2 Thomas Miller's brief poem 'The Grave of a Poetess' places the tomb in the familiar churchyard landscape; yet the scene is exceptionally obscure and secluded, and the poetess's affection for the churchyard suggests that her death was fated:

Let her be laid within a silent dell,
Where hanging trees throw round a twilight gleam,
Just within hearing of some village-bell,
And by the margin of a low-voiced stream;
For these were sights and sounds she once loved well.
Then o'er her grave the star-paved sky will beam;
While all around the fragrant wild-flowers blow,
And sweet birds sing her requiem to the water's flow. (Miller 1841, p.173)
femininity emphasised by the repetition of 'her' and 'she'; by contrast the generic portrait of a poet which follows is masculine and active. The oceans 'scarcely bound him' (23), and all natural forms 'Are but symbols of the Poet's creed' (28):

For our nature is the clay he fashions,
    Finds his faith within the hearts of men,
Gives his mighty language to their passions,
    Moves the soul, and lays it calm again. (29-32)

This generic poet is adamic, even godlike in his moulding of human nature, his 'mighty' language which aims to define emotion, and his ability to stir up and soothe the human spirit. This model of the poet's intimate role in everyday life is turned into an argument for burying poets at the centre of urban existence, and Humphreys takes as her proof the focus of the male patriarchal tradition, Poets' Corner in Westminster Abbey:

Is not England's greatest glory granted
    In the centre of her busiest life,
And her old memorial abbey haunted
    With a murmur of perpetual strife?

Thousand curious, careless glances scan it,
    And the corner where her poets lie,
Listening, underneath their weight of granite,
    To the sea of life that surges by. (37-44)

In contrast with the rural grave's Romantic isolation, a brotherhood of poets is found, conscious and alert at the centre of the city. The 'weight of granite' is no longer a burden, and the traditional link between the poetry of nature and poets' graves in nature is broken. Honourable exception is made of three great poets buried in sublime and native graves: Shakespeare's is like a ship 'in a land-lock'd haven' (45), safe from any storm,1 Wordsworth is at Grasmere (49-50), and Walter Scott 'Hath all Dryburgh for a burial pile' (56).2 These representatives of the male poetic tradition possess the environments of their graves in a way Hemans does not; Shakespeare is beside 'his own immortal Avon' in 'his guarded grave' (47-8), Wordsworth is embraced by 'his mountains' (49).

The poet who clinches Humphreys's argument is Robert Burns. Although he was an instinctive writer for whom nature 'Stoop'd her highest laurels to his reaching' (59), Burns was buried in the crowded old churchyard at Dumfries.3 'High aspiring genius' can lie away from nature's 'daisied bosom' (61-2), and find a more useful and Christian place in the cities: 'Let the Poet lie among his brothers' (65). In one respect, this account is typical of the later Victorian revaluing of communal centres of commemoration such as Poets' Corner, and the slow

---

1See II, pp.356-8. The wording on Shakespeare's gravestone in Holy Trinity Church, Stratford-on-Avon, shows this concern with security:

    Good friend, for Jesus' sake forbear
    To digg the dust enclosed heare;
Blest be the man that spares these stones,
    And curst be he that moves my bones.


3See pp.30 and n, 175n.
movement away from Romantic idealism. In Humphreys's devotional idiom, nature's beauties are only weak images of God's ideal, lesser than 'the song divine.' By uniting poetry's spiritual purpose with interment in a church, the emotions of worship, distilling calm, hymns and prayers, will stand in place of the effects of nature. Thus a city church is as beautiful an environment for the grave as Wordsworth's or Scott's, and a more tangible locus of spiritual meaning:

> Therefore leave her in the gloom and riot;
> Hope and truth shall be her grave-flowers here,
> Human hearts throb round her, for the quiet
> Of the calm day, and the starlight clear;

> For the music-breathing wind of summer
> Words of love and pity shall be said;
> And her own strain tell the careless comer,
> Pass not lightly by our Poet's bed. (77-84)

Humphreys revises her initial reaction to Hemans's grave, transcending the 'gloom and riot' with metaphorised details from the imagined grave; yet the distinct gendering of the Poet as masculine, and Nature, England and Hemans herself as female is never resolved. Humphreys implies that gender is unimportant by associating Hemans with her friends Wordsworth and Scott; but the woman poet is left in a limbo, where she is 'our Poet' although the Poet has been characterised as male. In her desire to transcend all distinctions in the name of Christian fellowship, Humphreys fails to convince us that a 'grass-green churchyard far away' might not be the most expressive and fitting site for Hemans's grave.
True, our Wordsworth hath not left his mountains,
He lies tranquil in their grand embrace,
Lull'd his ear by Rotha's silver fountains,
Rydal's shadow on his silent face.

Cecil Frances Humphreys, 'The Grave of Mrs. Hemans,' 49-52.¹

When William Wordsworth died on 23 April 1850 (St. George's Day and Shakespeare's birth and death day), he had been Poet Laureate for seven years. He wrote virtually no poetry as Laureate; the award recognised past achievements so the elderly poet could truly rest on his laurels. The response to Wordsworth's death was respectful but low-key compared with the national reaction to Tennyson's in 1892.² As the last major survivor of the Romantic generation, Wordsworth's death was a significant national event; yet there was no question of his being buried with his brother poets in Westminster Abbey.³ As Cecil Frances Humphreys formulated the scene, 'our' poet rests sublimely at home, soothed by the river's voice; the laurel wreath would be an irrelevance, even an impudence here.⁴

The Romantic generation had shunned the anti-pastoral scene and dubious honour of Poets' Corner, usually in favour of a grave in a natural landscape of personal significance; only Thomas Campbell was buried there in 1844. Burns was in the old churchyard at Dumfries, Coleridge in a Highgate church and even Southey, who served as Laureate for thirty years, was buried near his home at Crosthwaite, Keswick.⁵ The rejection of establishment recognition was partly incidental, exacerbated by unstable literary reputation, sudden or foreign deaths, or scandalous personal lives, as with Keats, Shelley, Byron or Landon; but an individualistic ethos of burial in places associated with life and family prevailed over the largely discredited tradition of public and state commemoration of the poetic fraternity.

In accounts of Wordsworth's grave at St. Oswald's, Grasmere, Westminster Abbey was evoked only to be dismissed. William Knight remarked that Grasmere was a 'fitter resting-place for Wordsworth — a quiet spot amongst the graves of the "statesmen," in a region imperishably associated with himself — than a corner in Westminster Abbey would have been' (Knight 1889, v.III, p.491). This minimises Wordsworth's Laureate identity by placing him democratically

¹Humphreys alludes to Wordsworth's description of Newton's statue 'with his Prism and silent Face' in Book 3 of the Prelude (Wordsworth 1926, Book 3, 59).
²One paper announced the death in a few paragraphs beneath a picture of Rydal Mount: 'we announce the death of William Wordsworth, one of the last and most illustrious of a race of poets now all but extinct ... Full of years and of honours, the venerable bard has passed from amongst us, to rejoin his illustrious friends and contemporaries, Coleridge and Southey. We have no wish, now that the tomb is about to receive his mortal remains, to submit to the cold analysis of criticism the inspirations of his genius. In the fullest and noblest sense of the word, he was a poet' ('Death of the Poet Wordsworth' 1850, p.296).
³The disputes began with the question of how to commemorate the poet locally (in Grasmere Church) and nationally (with a bust or statue in Westminster Abbey).
⁴Wordsworth's laurels have little to do with the Laureateship. In 'Adieu, Rydalian laurels!' they shelter 'a Poet of your own' (4), who weaves poems of flowers (Wordsworth 1849-50, v.IV, p.143).
⁵See II, pp.311-12, 374-5.
amongst the Dales yeomen, and immortalises the landscape by its association with the poet. Isabella Fenwick considered even a monument inappropriate:

[When I think of a monument in Westminster Abbey, and know his feeling and opinion of such things, I do dislike the idea with all my disliking feelings. I never heard him approve much of any memorial excepting for statesmen and warriors ... Who that has visited, or shall ever visit, his grave in the churchyard among the mountains would wish for any monument? (Taylor 1885, v.II, pp.56, 61)

Unlike the independent Dales 'statesmen,' and implicitly unlike Wordsworth himself, these statesmen are public and political figures. Fenwick views the unmarked grave as complete in its natural simplicity; yet even when the headstone was erected, its extreme plainness - inscribed only with the name and year of death - suggested unaffected nature. In Wordsworth's 'The Brothers,' or The Excursion Book VI ('The Church-yard among the Mountains'), the unmarked grave seldom indicates neglect, but is rather a sign legible only to the local community. This harmony between Wordsworth's public image, his poetics and the grave, (unlike the troubling discontinuities and ironies of Felicia Hemans's) made the site appear patterned and intentional as a poem. Wordsworth's material grave fulfilled the literary pilgrim's expectations to an exceptional degree.

The grave's iconography is significantly personal; Wordsworth played an active part in creating the Grasmere churchyard landscape. He instigated the family plot as early as 1812, when his children Catherine and Thomas died. These early headstones were expressive and elaborate, detailing birth and death-dates, parents, a biblical text, even a poem praying for God's help in coming to terms with the loss (see Middleton 1910, p.51). In 1819, with money from Sir George Beaumont, Wordsworth planted young yew trees in the churchyard. The posthumous family grew over the years, including Sara Hutchinson (d.1835) and Dora Wordsworth (d.1847), and the poet marked out his and his wife's plots in advance.

This intimate participation in the landscape of his death helped guarantee Wordsworth his desired grave at the centre of an extended family of beloved children, relatives and friends; it also guaranteed a near-consensus of praise for the grave. Nathaniel Hawthorne was less satisfied. Visiting in 1855 he objected to the great poet being 'packed so closely with his kindred' (see Figure 15b, p.177), where the density of burial in the ancient churchyard necessitated that 'the earth over him must all have been human once' (Hawthorne 1941, p.169). However, he valued Wordsworth's grave above Southey's, and testified to the sanctity of the poet's remains. Hawthorne remarked that the bald grass over the grave 'looks as if people had

1 Despite her 'disliking,' Isabella Fenwick supported the public subscription for the figurative monument in Poets' Corner.
2 There is evidence of this early preoccupation with poets' graves and families in Wordsworth's tribute-poems 'At the Grave of Burns. 1803. Seven Years after his Death' and 'To the Sons of Burns, after Visiting the Grave of their Father' in 'Memorials of a Tour in Scotland, 1803' (Wordsworth 1849-50, v.III, pp.2, 8).
3 See II, p.302n. Wordsworth wrote to a local man asking if he would remove a family monument inappropriate to the churchyard - he was refused, but the obelisk fell down in a storm and was not replaced (De Selincourt 1988, v.VII, p.532).
4 The church-yard, where [Southey] lies, is not so rural and picturesque as that where Wordsworth lies buried; ... Wordsworth's grave is much better, with only a simple head-stone,
stood upon it'; but we soon see how this occurred. Where later generations might leave a wreath or take a photograph, the Victorians took organic mementoes. Hawthorne gathered his trophy with a startling combination of pragmatism and superstition:

I plucked some grass and weeds from it; and as he was buried within so few years, they may fairly be thought to have drawn their nutriment from Wordsworth's mortal remains — and I gathered them from just above his head. (Hawthorne 1941, p.169)

Hawthorne sees nothing macabre in his action. Sprigs of grass, violets or daisies are not just a record that I was there, to be pressed between the pages of a Poetical Works; Hawthorne considers that he obtains a relic of genius. While Wordsworth is a potent entity here, the pilgrim's act also makes him appear passive, almost abused.

However, as the modest Laureate's final text, the Grasmere grave spoke with such a Wordsworthian voice that aftercomers had a more than usually difficult struggle to find distinctive voices. Effective tributes thrive on gaps and incompleteness, which can be supplied by the ingenuity of the after-coming poet; but where grave iconography or the subject's voice is too rigid or perfect, the tribute-poet's job has already been done. M. L. Armitt asserted that the 'churchyard, encircled by its yews and the great mountains, has perhaps inspired more and better poetry than any other plot in England' (Armitt 1912, p.152): 'more' may be right, 'better' is debatable.

One of the best-known (and better!) tributes is Matthew Arnold's 'Memorial Verses. April, 1850' (Arnold 1885b, v.III, p.165) which compares the stirring influence of Byron and Goethe with Wordsworth's more precious emotional comfort. These vivid representatives of European Romanticism were long dead, but now 'The last poetic voice is dumb — / We stand to-day by Wordsworth's tomb' (4-5). Arnold explores the poet's distinctive qualities and only returns to the material site at the end of the poem, but he makes an explicit connection between poetic voice and the grave. The poet is 'dumb,' and this is emphasised by the blunt invocation of the grave, and the strained half-rhyme of 'dumb' with 'tomb'; yet compared with Byron and Goethe, whose influences belong in the past tense, Wordsworth's continues to speak timelessly through the poem. Hailing the dead, the speaker fervently praises the poet's 'soothing voice' (35), and hopes that although 'Wordsworth has gone from us,' 'Ah, may ye feel his voice as we!' (40-1). The poet was contemporary, part of an age of doubt and anxiety; yet he also transcended it and offered comfort to its sufferers: 'He spoke, and loosed our heart in tears' (47). This motif of articulation goes beyond a metaphor for poetry, and suggests an authoritative, even prophetic or godly 'voice.' Unlike the agitating and torrid spirits of Goethe and Byron, Wordsworth refreshed and revitalised 'Spirits dried up' (56).

The inimitability of this voice is not a decisive obstacle to Arnold's writing, partly because of his unstated reservations about Wordsworth; but the reminder of the grave makes an implicit criticism of poets who have copied a Wordsworthian valuing of nature:

and the grass growing over his mortality — which, for a thousand years, at least, it never can over Southey's' (Hawthorne 1941, p.179).

1See pp.141 and n, 148, 156.
Figure 15a. St. Oswald’s Church, Grasmere, with the River Rotha flowing beside.

Figure 15b. The Wordsworth family plot, St. Oswald’s churchyard, Grasmere. The idea of a unified posthumous family clearly appealed to the poet, but visitors and poets preferred to focus on his grave alone. See pp. 175, 179, 180-1, 185, etc.
Keep fresh the grass upon his grave,
O Rotha, with thy living wave!
Sing him thy best! for few or none
Hears thy voice right, now he is gone. (71-4)

The River Rotha, which runs close by the churchyard (see Figure 15a, p.177), is charged with maintaining the grave in Wordsworthian style; it must refresh and revitalise, but also sing for the dead poet, since later poets mishear nature's voice. As always, this trope of inimitability appears disingenuous used by the succeeding poet, albeit with Arnold's characteristic modesty. He only sketches in the grave's landscape to substantiate his reflections on Wordsworth's value, and manages to pay tribute to that voice without compromising his own.

As with Keats's and Shelley's, Wordsworth's grave became an increasingly popular subject for tribute-poetry as time passed. Richard Wilton, a Cumbrian cleric specialising in domestic and religious verse, wrote several poems on the subject. His 'Gray at Grasmere (1769) and Wordsworth's Grave (1869) A Centenary Sonnet' (Wilton 1873, p.274) heroically attempted to bring these two overdetermined subjects together. Gray's account of a walking tour taken shortly before his death contributed significantly to touristic interest in the Lakes, so Wilton's sonnet associates Gray's first sight of the paradisical 'Green vale, grey church' (4), with the 'Elegy' and Wordsworth. Yet the more remote poet must give way to Wordsworth:

For sweetest "Elegy" that name is dear;
But not more dear than his who yonder lies,
To guard whose fame the mountains round him rise,
And to reflect it, smiles his loved Grasmere.
There, in that "country churchyard" we may hail
The "heaving turf" where a great Poet slumbers; (5-10)

Again the scenery is defined according to the dead poet, protecting and amplifying his fame, so the entire landscape becomes a dispersed memorial. However Wilton also makes a parallel between Stoke Poges and St. Oswald's, by describing the Grasmere churchyard in terms quoted from the 'Elegy.' Mapping these two influential scenes together, Wilton suggests the two poets are of comparable stature - but Wordsworth is the greater since he needs no epitaph:

While lake and island, village, rock, and vale,
Resound for ever his melodious numbers,
Who o'er this Paradise shed fairer beauty
With deathless songs of Nature, Man, and Duty. (11-14)

Wilton suggests that Wordsworthian pilgrims literally will read the poetry in its native environment, but also makes a metaphorical relationship between nature and Wordsworth's verse. Gray may have identified the 'Paradise,' but the later poet glorified it even further with

1Compare Arnold's 'The Youth of Nature':
Rydal and Fairfield are there;
In the shadow Wordsworth lies dead.
So it is, so it will be for aye.
Nature is fresh as of old,
Is lovely; a mortal is dead. (Arnold 1885b v.III, p.92, 8-12)

2Compare II, pp.359-60.
immortal ‘songs.’ Wilton’s tribute is obliquely arranged, so that Gray becomes the yardstick against which Wordsworth’s achievement is measured, and in this contrast the tribute-writer plays a lesser role, as if objectively recording a contest.

This concern with cessation and continuity of voice is pursued in ‘The Poet’s Grave’ (Wilton 1873, p.257) where Wilton records the poet’s absence from his native landscape. The cycles and sounds of nature continue harmoniously, yet, echoing the ‘Immortality Ode,’ ‘from all has passed a glory’ (12). While in the original poem, the lost ‘glory’ signified adult disillusion, here it is the poet himself - who is identifiable without naming. The river no longer ‘Makes sweet melodies for ever’ (8), but ‘laments aloud — / Nature sorrowing for her Poet’ (16). Wilton projects a dialogue between the poet and nature; although ‘No more ... / Will the Poet sing’ (1718) to his landscape, pathetic fallacy can repay the tribute at the grave:

But to him will sing for ever
  Mountain breezes o’er his grave,
  Mountain stream with whispering wave,
  Leafy glen with rustling quiver.

  Birch and aspen will bend o’er him,
  Circling pines a requiem sigh,
  While the river murmurs by,
  And the mountain towers before him! (21-8)

As the passive auditor of a chorus of natural voices, Wordsworth is the focus for a lament which can never end.1 This dispersed and universalising memorial proves the poet’s superiority to conventional commemoration. Alone in a sublime scene, the poet proves his unrivalled status, while the attentive songs of nature continue to speak in a Wordsworthian idiom.2

This delicate strategy of allusion takes a different form in Joseph John Murphy’s ‘The Yews of Borrowdale’ (Murphy 1890, p.63).3 Responding to Wordsworth’s 1803 poem ‘Yew-trees,’ the speaker makes a pilgrimage to see the trees immortalised by the poet; indeed they seem excepted from time, since fifty years have passed but the reality and the poetic representation still tally - ‘these are what they were’ (5). These funereal trees lead the speaker in imagination from a displaced commemorative site, to the the poet’s grave and its yews:

To Grasmere’s churchyard then my thoughts returned,
  Where Wordsworth waits the rising of the dead.
  For there four yews were planted by his hand,
  And shadow now his low but honoured grave. (7-10)

These trees are still young, but have visibly grown, representing a cycle of renewal and continuity, since they will live on ‘long after these of Borrowdale / Into their parent dust have mouldered back’ (12-13). The speaker then anticipates a distant future, when even the

---

1Compare Eliza Fletcher’s ‘Thoughts on Leaving Grasmere Churchyard, April 27, 1850, after the Funeral of William Wordsworth’ (text in II, pp.375-6), 1-5.

2See II, p.207, also Wilton’s ‘Grasmere,’ a later sonnet where the memory of Wordsworth ‘fills’ and ‘haunts’ the valley, until a serendipitous moment fuses the ‘silvery music’ of church bells, with the River Rotha and ‘The Bard’s pure strains’ (Wilton 1902, p.96).

3See also II, pp.171-2. A note states that the poem was written in 1855, five years after Wordsworth’s death and Tennyson’s yew in In Memoriam; see II, p.315.
Grasmere yews will be 'verging to decay' (15), and pilgrims from remote places will come to find their spiritual home with Wordsworth; yet this scene is predicated not only on generations of trees, but a series of poems. By introducing himself into the series, Murphy nourishes his poetry on Wordsworth's 'parent dust,' and modestly insinuates himself into a corner of the Wordsworth legend. He looks forward to a time when pilgrims 'spell the lichen-stained and time-worn name / Upon the stone that marks his place of rest' (20-1), ageing the stone so that it is more in keeping with the venerable genius it commemorates than the stark new headstone. The pilgrims extend their reflections to the key elements of the landscape - alien to them, but made universal by Wordsworth's spiritualised reading of nature - so they 'call the place their spirits' fatherland' (26-7).

An intriguing feature of 'The Borrowdale Yews' is the attempt to balance immortality and stasis. When the speaker imagines the future, he pictures something very like the present - the symbolically coherent and charismatic grave-site. Murphy may in part be reflecting contemporary opinion, for while pilgrims were literally beating a track to the grave, the posthumous publication of *The Prelude* and several ungenerous biographies left Wordsworth's reputation in confusion. Murphy would then be defending the poet against a critical backlash; yet the atmosphere of stasis, of being unable to re-imagine the grave, suggests the image's resistance.

Hardwick Drummond Rawnsley's sonnet 'Wordsworth's Tomb' (Rawnsley 1882, p.62) pays closer attention to the local detail of the grave, and implicitly favours it against pretentious or public records; yet he is not satisfied to leave the stone to speak for itself. The grave-marker of local stone is deliberately functional:

Plain is the stone that marks the Poet's rest:
Not marble worked beneath Italian skies —
A grey slate head-stone tells where Wordsworth lies,
Cleft from the native hills he loved the best. (1-4)

Unlike the imported Italian statuary approved by the status-conscious Victorian middle class, and associated with ostentatious public commemoration, the great poet's stone is local slate, which harmonises with his reputation, his poetry, and the landscape; and the syntax allows us to read Wordsworth too as 'cleft' from the hills. Like the pastoral grave imagined for Hemans, 'No heavier thing' covers the body than daisy-covered turf (alluding to 'To the Daisy'), and the only funeral requiems are the Rotha's 'lullabies' (7). The inscription completes this minimal scene, being an 'eloquently terse' record of 'the years he lived to sing' (9-10). Rawnsley documents the perfect and expressive grave sensitively, yet he cannot resist embellishment:

1Hawthorne found that 'a distinct foot track leads to the corner nearest the river-side' and he and his son were lucky to be 'left to find Wordsworth's grave all by ourselves' (Hawthorne 1941, p.168).
2In his essay 'Wordsworth,' Matthew Arnold considered that 'The poetry-reading public was very slow to recognise him, and was very easily drawn away from him' (Arnold 1913, p.123).
3Rawnsley's first parishes were Wray on Lake Windermere, then in 1883 Crosthwaite at Keswick, where Southey was buried in the churchyard. In 1882 he took up Wordsworth's campaign against the incursion of railways into the Lake District, and became known as the 'Guardian of the Lakes' (Gaze 1988, pp.30-1, and Jenkins and James 1994, pp.10-12). See below, p.183n. As a co-founder of the National Trust Rawnsley was also a pioneer of heritage conservation.
But Fancy hears the graver's hammer ring,
And sees, 'mid lines of much remembered verse,
These words in gold beneath his title wrought —
"Singer of Humble Themes and Noble Thought." (11-14)

This strategy suggests the writer's anxiety that he has not exercised his 'Fancy' in his own sonnet; he tries to go beyond the scene, and bring something extra to it. However the addition (the product of Rawnsley's imagination) can only appear superfluous or whimsical after the speaker's endorsement of the grave as it is. Gold letters are too close in ethos to Italian marble, and his rather literal conceit detracts from the expressive terseness. Despite the careful juxtaposition of humble and noble, Rawnsley's tribute ends on a false note.¹

Even when the grave characterises the dead poet as productively as Wordsworth's does, there can be a split between what the tribute-poet considers a suitable public response to it, and more personal versions. The change in emphasis between William Allingham's sonnet 'On Reading of the Funeral of the Poet Wordsworth' (Allingham 1850, p.258) and 'W. W. (April 23rd, 1850),' published after Allingham's death in 1889, suggests that the public version must aspire to monumentality and fixedness.² In the sonnet, the speaker recalls standing on 'Mona's shore' (1), looking across the Irish sea to the distant and indistinct peaks of Cumbria. Although so far away, the speaker's attention was focused on a 'viewless vale' (6), identified as Grasmere by naming Wordsworth in the title. When the sun broke through the clouds, the light streamed down 'with sudden revelation' (3) greater than a simple effect of nature, 'A superadded radiancy' (4). This transcendent moment is linked with the poet in the transition from octave to sestet, where like Richard Wilton, Allingham alludes to 'there hath past away a glory from the earth': 'Such glory, rock-built, Westmoreland, was thine, / Such glory now, alas! is thine no more' (7-8).

The admission of loss is restricted to just this one line. Allingham splits the sonnet, to allow a respectful pause before recuperating the loss to the native landscape in the present tense:

Not so! His honoured grave to thee belongs;
The pedestal for an eternal Thought;
Set in its solemn temple fitly wrought
Of waters, clouds, and giant mountain-throngs —
Enriched with what they gave his life and songs,
And by the exalted Spirit unforgot. (9-14)

This is the speaker's nearest approach to the concrete grave-site, which remains an abstract focus of longing; but despite its inaccessibility, Allingham seems conscious of a public purpose in viewing the landscape as the poet's memorial. The motif is partly a tribute to Wordsworth's

¹Compare Tennyson's (ignored) advice for succinct wording on the memorial in Grasmere church: 'Is Wordsworth a great poet? Well then don't let us talk of him as if he were half known' (Swaab 1996, p.238). Rawnsley's record of a visit to St. Oswald's in Literary Associations of the English Lakes also alludes to Matthew Arnold (and his Laleham grave), A. H. Clough, Edward Quillinan and Tennyson in 'this Vale of Poets.' Rawnsley also imagines at length a headstone in memory of John Wordsworth (Rawnsley 1906, v.II, pp.170-9). See below pp.185-7, 192-5, 202, and compare II, pp.268-71.

²See above pp.50, 65-9, also II, pp.107-8.
poems such as 'The Thorn,' or 'To the Daisy,'¹ where the unknown grave's hurtful materiality is softened by dispersing the process of memorialisation through nature. However it is also a grand conception, where the grave is the 'pedestal' of an altar, set within an elemental 'temple' consecrated by God. Far from losing Wordsworth's beneficent presence, the landscape is more glorified than before, while Allingham's voice shows strain in the awkward rhyme of 'mountain-throngs' for 'songs', and the last line's bathetic 'unforgot.'

Although 'W. W. (April 23rd, 1850)' (Allingham 1889, p.68) initially appears more impersonal, treating the same scene with 'I' turned into a 'poet-loving Youth,' it is a heartfelt parable of apprenticeship. The Youth again stands on the shore looking across to the Cumbrian hills; but he speaks aloud his desire to go there and experience Wordsworth's landscapes, perhaps even

"... May see the Prince himself, may humbly meet
His venerable eye, may hear his voice." (7-8)

Still preoccupied with this tantalising dream, the Youth hears that 'The wise old Poet of the mountain-land / Is gone away for ever' (10-11). In this euphemistic phrase, death is gentle as a journey; but the apprentice's quest is articulated only in the moment of frustration:

"... You may seek
But never shall you find him crooning song
Among the shadows of the folded hills,
By lonely tarn or dashing rivulet,
Down the green valley, up the windy fell,
In rock-built pass, or under whispering leaves,
Or floating on the broad translucent mere
Between two heavens. You will but find his grave." (12-19)

In this suspenseful movement, the full reason for the search's redundance is postponed, dramatising the anticlimactic termination at the grave. If this admonishment makes the poet's presence inaccessible, it also evokes the scenery of Wordsworth's poetry, echoing 'Airey-Force Valley' or the boat-stealing episode in The Prelude. As if to test the truth of this, the Youth goes out to his familiar viewpoint, and looks across to Cumbria. Superficially clear and bright, this site of imagination is suddenly 'forlorn' and 'emptied of its joy' (23, 24), until he looks again and sees:

a halo round the peaks.
Something of Him abides there, and will stay;
Those Mountains were in Wordsworth's soul; his soul
Is on those Mountains, now, and evermore. (26-9)

Instead of the sonnet's deliberate monumental metaphor, or 'the grave' the Youth was warned about, there is an ephemeral yet immortal 'halo' to replace the lost 'glory.' This nostalgic, self-mythologising scene restages the sonnet's momentary experience as an episode in a poet's development, even a revelation of vocation; the apprentice decides to follow, and the tense

¹The poem begins 'Sweet Flower! belike one day to have / A place upon thy Poet's grave' (Wordsworth 1849-50, v.V, p.129).
becomes present. Wordsworth remains inaccessible, but Allingham did cross the water to seek out the next generation's prince of poets - Alfred Tennyson.

For his admirers, Wordsworth was a difficult act to follow in the second half of the century; he represented an inimitable combination of natural and spiritual forces. In chapter 3 (pp.144-8) I examined Alexander Anderson's disillusion and reconciliation with Keats as a role model; in the long, mature poem 'Grasmere' (Anderson 1912, p.250) Anderson describes his poetic development as a figurative journey directed by 'A gentle Spirit [who] was my guide' (4), only named as Wordsworth in the final line. He related to the spirit as a weak acolyte to his 'Master' (63, 93), a paternal, sympathetic teacher who inspired with 'whispers that were half-divine' (8). The speaker learnt to appreciate the religious truths in nature, to hear the 'inmost melody' of 'singing rills' (19-20) and communicate this soothing insight to others. He was happy to remain a follower - 'I could see / In his own light' (21-2), and remained deaf to the more turbulent inspiration of other poets.²

Inevitably the speaker grew away from his mentor as he came to manhood, at the cost of becoming deaf to a stream's 'grand psalm' (35) or 'The inner harmony of things' (43). Led astray by the railway's power and speed, the 'Surfaceman' heard only rare echoes of 'the Master's psalm' (63).³ The disappointed mentor seeks out his feverish and wayward apprentice, who has forgotten '... When nature, like a mother, sings / And lays thee kindly to her breast' (91-2). The passive wandering soul, subject first to his guide's influence, then the railway's, responds with almost fifty lines of passionate reredication to his original faith.

This newly confident voice is still subordinated to a Wordsworthian model, but the acolyte finds his immature creed valid in maturity. Where Keats was repudiated for being unable to change with him, the speaker 'joy[s] to find no change in thee,' and can differentiate between immature stasis and immortal truth. His most important insight is into death's meaning, which he finds in the physical landscape:

For now we stood among the dead,
    And each green mound beside my feet
Seemed unto some high purpose wed,
    And that high purpose, as was meet,

Mingled with everything I saw,
    Stream, lake, and tree, and distant hill; (141-6)

These green graves affirm a spiritual continuity with everything in nature, a moral text which makes the contemplation of nature a 'high purpose'; yet this tribute to Wordsworthian sensibility is articulated in accents strongly reminiscent of In Memoriam. Poised between dead and living

¹See also II, pp.209-10, 448.
²'Nor heard, far off, the breakers rise / And dash on rocks of other song' (27-8). Compare the sea-grave Stuart-Wortley thought unsuitable for Felicia Hemans (p.165 and n), or Arnold's portrayal of Byron in 'Memorial Verses.' The Romantic sea was unstable and dangerous, opposed to the 'Sea of Faith' which became such an image of desire as religious certainty faded.
³See Wordsworth's sonnets 'On the projected Kendal and Windermere Railway' and the more conciliatory (if less convincing) 'Steamboats, viaducts, and railways' (Wordsworth 1849-50, v.II, p.319 and v.IV, p.171).
mentors the speaker barely expresses his sense of insight, but the Wordsworthian spirit confirms his response by ‘whisper[ing] words of bliss / And comfort in my eager ear’ (151-2). At this zenith of conviction, when the Master’s voice ‘grew sweet and sweeter still’ (154), the voice suddenly stops:

It ceased, like summer winds that pass,  
And I was left alone to stand,  
Watching the sunshine on the grass,  
And yearning for that Spirit’s hand.

The Rothay sang; there came to me  
One murmur of its gentlest wave;  
The sunshine fell on grass and tree,  
And at my feet was Wordsworth’s grave. (157-64)

This coming to consciousness beside the grave signifies a stage in the developmental process; not Wordsworth’s actual death, since Anderson was only five in 1850, but the apprentice’s realisation that he must stand alone with his adult convictions, and it is ‘his’ voice which terminates the poem. Anderson inverts the topos of contemplation at the grave providing an impetus for abstract reflection, so that we move from a fantasy journey and developmental narrative, to the material site. The final stanza is quietly impressive, suggesting an atmosphere of calm and harmony but confronting us with the grave; yet ‘the Rothay sang’ to confirm poetic continuity, and sunlight illuminated the grave as a shrine.

Where Allingham and Anderson explored Wordsworth’s influence on them individually, William Watson locates an ambitious survey of influence at ‘Wordsworth’s Grave’ (Watson 1936, p.226). This long poem begins and ends at the grave like a typical tribute poem; however by contextualising Wordsworth as the Romantic movement’s spiritual zenith, Watson uses him as a stick to measure (or beat) contemporary poetry. Locating the poem at the grave is misleading, since Watson’s attention is focused elsewhere, but apt because he considers that the true genius of poetry is dead and buried with Wordsworth. Inevitably this stance problematises Watson’s own place in the scheme, since he criticises and apologises for his own generation, while using an ambitious form and didactic manner himself.

The poem’s genesis suggests that combining a personal view of literary history with a grave-tribute was not unproblematic. A note to the collected edition of Watson’s poems remarks that though ‘begun at Rydal in May 1884,’ the poem was ‘finished rather more than three years later,’ and first published in September 1887. Such an interval suggests a block in the poem’s original plan, instigated in the poet’s characteristic landscape - and I speculate that Watson needed to get away from Wordsworth’s immediate environment, to feel sufficient creative freedom to solve the problem. The poem begins with a key feature of the churchyard:

Rotha, remembering well who slumbers near,  
And with cool murmur lulling his repose. (3-4)

1There is a sense of retrospective regret here, often apparent when the lives of mentor and apprentice overlap before the younger could be aware of any future significance. See above pp.129-37 for my discussion of William Edmondstoune Aytoun’s and William Bell Scott’s laments on Shelley and Keats.

 Appropriately, Wordsworth's sleep is soothed by a river which metaphorically continues his consciousness and poetic voice; all nature remembers him, 'tis we forget' (8). Yet forgetting or repressing memory is exactly what Watson does to keep his poem afloat.

Wordsworth is a stable figure, representing 'fixity' and 'faith,' while readers are 'faithless' and 'vagrant soul[s]' (9-10). As with Anderson's apprentice, although we may worship 'misbegotten strange new gods of song' (12), the lost soul can only return to herself by returning to him (1546). If the poet is referred to initially in the third person, remote as the 'mystery' revealed in his works, the second section changes to a eulogistic direct address, which examines the distinctive genius of the 'Poet who sleepest by this wandering wave' (25). Watson defines Wordsworth in relation to an elegiac topos, the procession of poets - Milton, Shakespeare, Shelley and Coleridge - yet his greatness lies in being 'unlike' them. Where Shelley or Byron's worlds were tempestuous, Wordsworth's quality was 'peace on earth' (40), faith's conscious soul-security rather than Keats's Lethean oblivion.

At least these precursors and contemporaries of Wordsworth experienced emotion: modern poets display technical virtuosity, but 'simulate emotion felt no more' (48). This awareness of rehearsing outmoded gestures shows unusual self-knowledge, and is a bold - or arrogant - indictment of redundancy and bathos in late-century poetry. At the same time Watson's celebration of a godlike Wordsworth, the 'authentic Presence pure' (49) who made nature sing, creates an obstructive ideal. Compared with contemporary 'word-mosaic artificer[s]' (53; presumably Dante Gabriel Rossetti and Swinburne), his was a spontaneous 'lofty song' straight from the heart, 'insisting to be sung' (58).

Watson cannot consider Wordsworth's achievement without reflecting negatively on his contemporaries' evasion of readers' spiritual needs. He stigmatises the 'loudly weak' and finds a deficiency even in the two leading poets:

Where is the singer whose large notes and clear
   Can heal, and arm, and plenlsh, and sustain?
Lo, one with empty music floods the ear,
   And one, the heart refreshing, tires the brain. (125-8)

If Tennyson and Browning make one decent poet between them, Watson also denigrates the 'loquacious throng' of poetasters (129), and their trivialising of poetry's high aims as the 'little masters make a toy of song' (130). Only at this point does Watson recognise the irony of his own place in this mediocre generation; he has proved he can 'deafen[s] with shrill tumult' (124) like the next man:

   Enough; — and wisest who from words forbear.
   The gentle river rails not as it glides;
   And suave and charitable, the winsome air
   Chides not at all, or only him who chides. (137-40)

This motif of an expressive silence recalls Rawnsley's terse eloquence, and anticipates reactions to Tennyson's death; Watson however cannot emulate the 'gentle river.' Speaking for

---

1In Watson's 'Byron and Wordsworth,' the former's song is a flame, while Wordsworth's is a cool brook (Watson 1884, epigram LVI).
the whole body of poets, Watson imagines them 'falter, half-rebuked' at Nature's charges of irrelevance, inflation and artificiality, and wistfully suggests a return to an ideal communion. Watson returns to real time and place in the poem's closing stanzas - the poet's grave in its native environment. Wordsworth is still 'at home' (165) in nature, and in his beloved Cumbrian landscape; but he is also lost to the 'long home' of the grave. Nature's voice 'so like his own / That almost, when he sang, we deemed 'twas thou' (171-2), continues to speak even around his silent grave; but the poem's termination is signalled by 'retreating day,' which recalls the 'parting day' with which Gray's 'Elegy' begins, and an almost eerie stillness. The poet cannot change now, and Watson's tribute sinks into the static qualities of spiritual peace by which he characterises Wordsworth's poetry:

Here one may scarce believe the whole wide world
Is not at peace, and all man's heart at rest.

Rest! 'twas the gift he gave; and peace! the shade
He spreads, for spirits fevered with the sun.
To him his bounties are come back — here laid
In rest, in peace, his labour nobly done. (183-8)

In this conservative and nostalgic movement, the ostensible subject 'Wordsworth's Grave,' is invoked for the elegiac treatment of ideal security and peace Watson finds in the poetry. Out in the world is 'toil' and 'pain,' yet ironically the gravesite is so dominating that it is difficult to believe everywhere is not like this.

While Watson took liberties with the humble Laureate's grave, his personal subordination to the master did not waver, and his Wordsworth-centred poetic theory was a tribute as well as a digression.\(^1\) Watson's poem was popular, and was reprinted in a small novelty edition with illustrations.\(^2\) While responses to the Grasmere grave remained fixed on certain motifs of yews, the Rotha, Rydal, and the poet's calm and inimitability, by the 1890s Tennyson's Laureate career almost entirely obscured Wordsworth's seven, verseless years of duty. Many younger poets remained faithful to his spirit, but as time passed Wordsworth could be adapted to other purposes.

I suggested that Hardwick Drummond Rawnsley weakened his 1882 sonnet 'Wordsworth's Tomb' by being unable to let the description speak for itself; when he revisited the site thirty years later in the early stages of the First World War, the 'Singer of Humble Themes and Noble Thought' was nowhere to be seen. Instead 'At Wordsworth's Grave' (Rawnsley 1915, p.219)^3\) takes the political sonnets as an inspiration, and compares the Napoleonic threat with the German offensive. The familiar yew and Rotha appear, but the river is transformed to a 'freeborn stream' (1), which speaks of the poet in a martial context. The speaker plays the part of the isolated contemplative - 'To-day from all the world I go apart' (3) - but his intent is active and applied, seeking truth in chaos. In the earlier sonnet Rawnsley spoke of the poet in the

---

\(^1\) See II, pp.295-6. Watson was the only tribute-poet I discuss born significantly after the death of his subject (in 1858). Wordsworth also inspired retrospective tributes from Anderson (born 1845) and Rawnsley (born 1850); Tennyson's elegists were mostly in late middle-age.

\(^2\) One paper based Watson's claim to the Laureateship on 'the calm and noble beauty of "Wordsworth's Grave"' ("The Laureateship" 1892, p.491).

\(^3\) See also pp.180-1, 192-5, 202, also II, pp.268-71.
respective third person, now he addresses him directly. A century dissolves 'as in [a] dream' (4), and in a rather odious manoeuvre,

All of yourself that doth immortal seem
Comes from the grave to bear a patriot's part. (5-6)

Wordsworth’s spirit is resuscitated by the nation’s urgent need for ‘song-banners’ and the ‘pealing clarion,’ while in tuning up his battle-cry the speaker forgets the material grave. Imitating ‘Milton! thou should’st be living at this hour,’ the speaker hails the poet, ‘Wordsworth! an empire needs you at this hour’ (9), and demands his libertarian inspiration:

Oh! turn not, mighty spirit, to your rest,
But bid us forth as happy warriors go
With freedom’s unimaginable power. (12-14)

One cannot help thinking that at the age of sixty-five, and a Churchman at that, Rawnsley should have thought twice before depicting young soldiers as ‘happy warriors’; but in his patriotic fervour he enlists even Wordsworth’s peaceful grave in the fight against a ‘second tyrant’ (10). Spirited and daring as the challenge is, the poem indicates the failures of sensibility possible for one whose love of country and love of God turns any war into a holy war. ‘At Wordsworth’s Grave’ is the final poem in a series of 148 sonnets written in 1914-15, suggesting that the allusion to Wordsworth’s political sonnets is not mere chance. Yet only by doing violence to the spirit of the grave and Wordsworth’s memory can the grave’s quietly potent iconography, or the Victorian vision of nature’s peaceful votary be changed.

‘However as this phrase comes from Wordsworth’s much-anthologised poem ‘The Character of the Happy Warrior,’ Rawnsley can also be seen as simply responding to a different aspect of the Wordsworthian tradition.'
Elizabeth Barrett Browning and Robert Browning.

[C]ertainly if ever there was a union indicated by the finger of Heaven itself, and sanctioned and prescribed by the Eternal laws under which poor transitory Sons of Adam live, it seemed to me, from all I could hear or know of it, to be this!

Letter from Thomas Carlyle to Robert Browning, 23 June 1847.¹

Carlyle's letter to Robert Browning after his marriage to Elizabeth Barrett and their flight to Italy, identifies a quality of destiny which typified later representations of the poets as a couple. Carlyle's mixed tone of prophecy and qualification, balancing the drama of sanction and prescription with gloomy definitions of the human state and uncertainty about his information, recognised that for two such eccentric and accomplished people to join in the marriage enterprise was unusual - almost too good to be true. The well-known biographical facts and myths of their union combine to make a story with its own internal logic: the love affair of two poets, flight to the romantic south, then an ideal complementary union of masculine energy and intellect, with feminine sensibility and spirituality.²

This story affected how the Brownings' individual works were received in their lifetimes, as critics speculated on possible mutual influence, and thrived upon Robert's exploration of marriage themes and Elizabeth's 'Sonnets from the Portuguese' (1851).³ The story's internal tension also had a unique effect on representations of their deaths and graves; for disrupting the myth of perfect union, they died twenty-eight years apart, in different countries and situations. The questions of gender-difference and poetic identity raised in relation to Hemans's memory, are revisited in representations of their graves. Tribute-poems on the Brownings are significantly less self-referential or preoccupied with the tribute-writer as aftercomer, inheritor or usurper, than was so for Keats, Shelley or Wordsworth; the relation between elegist and subject tends to be subordinated to the exceptional relationship between the two poets.

Elizabeth Barrett Browning died peacefully at Florence on 29 June 1861, aged fifty-five, and was buried in the Protestant Cemetery at Florence. There was no debate about the place of interment. Elizabeth was estranged from most of her family, a long-term resident of Florence, while the hot weather gave no leisure for other arrangements. Her passionate interest in Italian political liberty justified the grave in the minds of even English admirers. Her monument, a large marble sarcophagus raised on short columns commissioned from Frederic Leighton, was not erected until 1865 (see Figure 16, page 190). I found very few verse tributes to Barrett Browning in English Poetry, and this was one instance when the omission of some women poets from the NCBEL may have undermined the database's usefulness; Barrett Browning was unquestionably a significant precursor for mid- and late Victorian women poets, but it appears

¹Carlyle 1993, v.21, p.239.
²In his obituary J. T. Nettleship remarked that 'It would be trenching too closely on sacred ground to do more than allude to the perfect spiritual union of Browning's married life. We discern and reverence the perfection of mutual influences as a phenomenon in the history of poetic art ... Their soul's bond was a palpable fact, but a beautiful mystery' (Nettleship 1889, p.405).
³The Saturday Review generously remarked that 'the only considerable poetess who ever married an original poet may well be excused for copying, and perhaps exaggerating, his casual peculiarities' ('Mrs. Browning' 1861, p.42).
that they did not wish to acknowledge that influence overtly. James Thomson was one of the few poets to respond to her death directly. Thomson excludes Browning from his poem, but this autonomous treatment has little to do with her priority as a woman poet.

James Thomson begins 'E. B. B.' (Thomson 1895, v.l, p.251)^ with the two organic symbols actually used on the coffin: 'The white-rose garland at her feet, / The crown of laurel at her head' (1-2).² Where in 'Felicia Hemans' Elizabeth Barrett repudiated the flower garland in favour of the laurel wreath, at her own funeral there were both. But as Thomson elucidates, the roses were a symbol of Italy, a political motif to accompany the crown of poetic genius. Thomson describes her peaceful death in a quotation from her own poem 'The Sleep' - ' "He giveth His belovèd sleep" ' (6),³ but the rest of the poem is concerned with practical and political motives. There is no overt gender specificity in Thomson's description, instead Barrett Browning is a warrior in the cause of Italian political freedom:

```
Soldiers find their fittest grave
In the field whereon they died;
So her spirit pure and brave
Leaves the clay it glorified
To the land for which she fought
With such grand impassioned thought. (7-12)
```

The right grave for the author of Casa Guidi Windows and Poems before Congress is Italian, and her 'clay' is a precious legacy which substantiates her political conviction.⁴ When Thomson links her with other poets, it is not Browning or a woman poet,⁵ but those other Italian poet-exiles, 'Keats and Shelley [who] sleep at Rome' (13).⁶ Writing in 1861, Thomson was concerned that this 'Very sacred English dust' (18) was compromised by its place in turbulent and as yet ununified Italy:

```
Fairest land while land of slaves
Yields their free souls no fit graves. (23-4)
```

Thomson's final 'prayer' (19) shows a concern for Italy's future in keeping with Barrett Browning's, but the poem also expresses a latent anxiety about the moral function of graves of genius. As Godwin did in the 'Essay on Sepulchres,' Thomson sees that the symbolic resonance

---

¹Compare II, pp.282-3.
²Barrett Browning had been suggested as a candidate for the Laureateship in 1850: 'there is no living poet of either sex who can prefer a higher claim than Mrs. Elizabeth Barrett Browning' (Chorley 1850, p.585). The poet herself was not troubled by such possibilities: 'So Wordsworth is gone! — the firmament is darkened of that star! They should give the Laureateship to Leigh Hunt, it seems to us, if they dont abolish the office, ..., which very likely they will do in these times, when "bays" have grown to mean nothing else but chesnut horses' (Heydon and Kelley 1974, p.9).
³See below p.198.
⁴The Saturday Review made a less sympathetic reading of Barrett Browning's Italian influences ('Mrs. Browning' 1861, p.42).
⁵The Athenaeum referred to her as 'the greatest of English poetesses of any time,' and said that like Joanna Baillie and Felicia Hemans she proved that 'Genius has no sex' ('Elizabeth Barrett Browning' 1861, p.19).
⁶In 'English Graves in Italy,' R. Magnan Leonard describes the Protestant Cemeteries of Rome and Florence, concentrating on Shelley, Keats and Barrett Browning, and quotes the first three stanzas of Thomson's poem (Leonard 1896, pp.69-70).
Figure 16. Frederic, Lord Leighton. Tomb of Elizabeth Barrett Browning in the Protestant Cemetery, Florence. This monument is clearly designed with posterity and Barrett Browning's status as a great (woman) poet in mind. The sarcophagus is raised on pillars, suggesting that the visitor look up to her admiringly. The relief profile represents Poetry, and reliefs of harps on the other three sides symbolise poetic genres. See p. 188 and contrast p. 191.
of graves is undermined by neglect. The poets' remains are valuable 'heirlooms' (21) which might have been better cared for in their native country; a doubt possibly prompted by the returning credibility of Poets' Corner.

These national and political considerations are largely absent from Alfred Austin's 'At Her Grave' (Austin 1898, p.112) which appraises Barrett Browning's feminine genius in a patronising tone she would have hated. While Thomson used a brief form of the poet's name as a title, but referred to her respectfully in the third-person, Austin's title is oblique, but his address is almost distastefully direct. Austin sees Barrett Browning's grave as deceptively humble, concealing her public fame: 'Lo, here among the rest you sleep, / As though no difference were / 'Twixt them and you' (1-3). This 'difference' is characterised, in accordance with her public persona, by spirituality rather than genius. She was 'divine,' animated by a 'heavenly breath' (6-7), which survives physical death. Austin endorses her Italian grave by repeating its location - 'Yes, here in Tuscan soil you lie, / With Tuscan turf above' (11-12) - and by imaging her songs as sweet, wild Tuscan roses (16-20).

Yet Austin's praise suppresses her serious vocation; the poems are mere 'thoughts' which grew 'Untrained, unchecked' and 'sweet, with song!' (18-20). This negative gender distinction is emphasised by Austin's image of the bereaved Browning as 'The Poet of Olympian mien' (21), distraught but composed in his 'adamantine soul' (25). The speaker's gratitude to her lover in 'Sonnets from the Portuguese' is partly responsible for this masterful image of Browning, but Austin takes it further. Barrett Browning's gender and vocation are a fatal combination: 'A poet, and a woman too! / The burden was too great' (29-30). Austin does not elaborate on this exclamation; presumably he considers that the contradiction speaks for itself. Having delivered this coup de grâce, he can afford to be a little generous. He laments that 'Spring brings back the birds of Spring, / But not, alas! your voice' (39-40), and describes his poem as a bunch of 'votive flowers' which will have 'decayed' by the next day. While I doubt that Austin refers intentionally to Barrett Browning's objection to the 'type of human seeming' in 'Felicia Hemans,' the effect of his tribute is unfortunate:

So round your sleep I soft let fall
Frail emblems of regret;
The lowly wind-flower, tulip tall,
The iris mantling wayside wall,
And weeping violet. (41-5)

There is no sign of the laurel wreath, only 'Frail emblems.' In his wisdom Austin considered this a suitable tribute for the century's most ambitious woman poet, and although the poem ends by affirming that 'The glory of your afterglow / Will never wholly fade' (49-50), the effect lacks emotional conviction. This might be borne out by later events; Austin and Browning maintained a feud through the 1870s which was never resolved. 'At Her Grave' was published in 1898, when Browning was dead and Austin had been Laureate for a couple of years. From this secure position, gracious tributes to previous poets were expected, but by the century's end Barrett

---

1 This suggests Austin visited before the erection of the Leighton monument.

2 See II, pp.311, 372-3.
Browning's literary reputation was at a low ebb, and there seems at least a hint of triumph in Austin's gesture.

Robert Browning died aged seventy-seven at Venice on 12 December 1889, the publication day of his last book, Asolando: Fancies and Facts. Although like his wife he died in Italy, he had spent much of the intervening twenty-eight years in England, his literary reputation had markedly improved after Dramatis Personae (1864) and The Ring and the Book (1868-9), and the British establishment had embraced him. Tennyson and Browning represented two sides of Victorian poetry - as Watson saw it in 'Wordsworth's Grave,' the musical and the philosophical. If most commentators would not divide Robert Browning's memory from that of his wife, his death in Venice brought two sets of literary mythology into conflict. As one half of the indivisible lover-poet couple, he should be buried with her at Florence; but as one of the last two great Victorian poets, he should be buried in England, in Westminster Abbey.

Although Browning was not known to object to funerary pomp in the way Wordsworth or Dickens were, poems such as 'The Bishop Orders His Tomb at Saint Praxed's Church' associated ostentatious death rituals with corruption and hypocrisy. 'Michael Field' recalled that 'Robert always said he would like to be offered the Laureateship, for the pleasure of refusing it. He thought poetry out of and beyond the judgement of politicians' (Field 1933, p.43). This scepticism suggests that he would have considered a grave in Westminster Abbey a mixed compliment. However, Charles Dickens's private burial in Poets' Corner in 1870 had helped to give a new credibility to public commemoration.²

We see consciousness of the rival myths - Browning as widower or literary brother - influencing preparations for the funeral.³ According to Alexandra Sutherland Orr, Browning wanted to be buried where he dropped, but such humanistic casualness was at odds with his son's deference to the family mythology. Just as he later built Pippa's Tower, edited the courtship correspondence, and purchased Casa Guidi, Pen Browning felt his parents should be together in death. Pen approached the Protestant Cemetery for a vault, but the cemetery had been closed for some years. Certain only of a memorial service in Westminster Abbey, Pen was preparing a legal battle for permission for an exceptional burial at Florence, when the grave in Poets' Corner was offered.

This solved part of the problem; but the popular feeling remained strongly in favour of the romantic reunion, which was dependent on Elizabeth's exhumation. According to the Chapter of Westminster's delicate etiquette, 'it was understood that the Dean would sanction Mrs Browning's interment in the Abbey, if a formal application ... were made to him' (Richardson 1986, p.273). This possibility was voiced in an emotive sonnet, one of three by Hardwick Drummond Rawnsley. 'A Cry from Florence' (Rawnsley 1893, p.101) polemically addressed the

---

¹See above, pp.186-7.
²Dean Stanley's memorial sermon quoted substantially from Dickens's will: '"I direct that my name be inscribed in plain English letters on my tomb ... I conjure my friends on no account to make me the subject of any monument, memorial, or testimonial whatever. I rest my claims to the remembrance of my country upon my published works, and to the remembrance of my friends upon their experience of me' (Stanley 1870, p.15). This was the first time that personal and private wishes had been successfully combined with a grave in Poets' Corner.
failure to reunite the Brownings in death. Dated for Browning's death-day, the sonnet suggests that Elizabeth's 'heart' could not rest peacefully until reunited with his. The poet's dead heart comes alive, perpetuating the romantic myth of the lover-poets:

Take home the heart, her heart that cannot rest
Though in Etruria's southern-natured ground,
Take home the heart that fire and fulness found
In that sure heart whose secret she possesst,
Take home the heart, the heart that at its best
Was bettered for his singing, whose strong sound
Was sweeter by her song, for she was crowned
Queen of a heart that was her King contest. (1-8)

Although the sonnet is Rawnsley's preferred form, its use here is particularly apt; the Sonnets from the Portuguese provide the tone, a few images and the formal inspiration for Rawnsley's treatment. Unlike the rarefied and spiritual poet of many accounts, the almost obsessively repeated motif of the heart expresses a restless physical longing.

Rawnsley's opening statement of distress is quickly displaced by the heady attraction of a relationship which is past and immortal. With its enjambed lines and relentless rhythm, the octave makes a supportive framework for the involved and circular syntax which expresses their mutual influence and reliance. The poem's subjects do not need to be named because the circumstances were well known, but the alternation of 'her,' 'his' and indefinite articles confirms the lovers' genders while fusing them in an androgynous unity. The syntax enacts their complementary relation; she found passion in Robert's 'sure' and optimistic credo, while his enigmatic character was comprehensible to her. In a similar reflection back and forth, they exchanged masculine and feminine qualities, Robert strengthening her poetry, Elizabeth sweetening his, because each was crowned loving lord over the other.

Rawnsley's sonnet transcends the problem of the poets' division with such confidence that it begins to seem unthinkable. In the sestet, the poets' hearts are treated as a motif of poetic immortality:

Hearts such as these have never ceased from beating,
Hearts such as these by sympathy divine
Will palpitate in death, harmonious measure. (8-11)

These hearts are metaphorical, but also uncomfortably physical, throbbing out an eerie posthumous song. The pressure of the Brownings' myth is almost unbearable at this point, and Rawnsley has to suppress the traditional consolation of a spiritual union which would make the body superfluous; the material emphasis is necessary because he seeks a practical outcome to his sonnet. Rawnsley voices the public wish that the love story reach a harmonious conclusion, but he creates more drama by making the speaker of this wish ambiguous:

1The heart motif occurs in sonnet III, where the Belovèd is addressed as 'O princely Heart!,' V which begins 'I lift my heavy heart up solemnly,' XXV 'A heavy heart, Belovèd, have I borne,' and XXXIV 'With the same heart, I said, I'll answer thee' (Browning 1897, p.312).
And still I hear a spirit voice entreating,
Let Arno give the Thames her poet-treasure,
One grave the dust of two immortals' shrine. (12-14)¹

Knowing Elizabeth's spiritualist convictions (a point of real division in the marriage), we might associate this 'spirit voice' with her; yet she would hardly refer to herself as a 'poet-treasure,' and the voice must be attributed to a more generalised sense of poetic justice. The two rivers represent Florence and London, and suggest a mood of generous cooperation to match the poets' complementary relation. However the ideal 'shrine' remained incomplete, and Browning's 'dust' crossed the water alone. The reunion plan was thwarted by personal feeling; Pen could not bear to disturb his mother's grave. As Alexandra Orr summed up:

Mr. Browning's own country had indeed opened a way for the reunion of husband and wife. The idea had rapidly shaped itself in the public mind that since they might not rest side by side in Italy, they should be placed together among the great of their own land ... But Mr. Barrett Browning could not reconcile himself to the thought of disturbing his mother's grave, so long consecrated to Florence. (Richardson 1986, p.273)

This was one of the last personal decisions which Browning's relatives made unassisted. The state machinery took over, beginning in Italy where the municipality of Venice had wanted to give Browning a state funeral. In its place a gondola procession was staged to the mortuary island of San Michele in the Lagoon, and this exotic public performance displaces the inaccessible Florence grave in most accounts. In tribute-poems the Venetian rituals are often combined with the funeral itself in Westminster Abbey on 31 December 1889.

In Rawnsley's other poems about Browning's death, Elizabeth's presence was subdued or elided. This seems less a withdrawal of sympathy, than a positive endorsement of state commemoration. With the same death-date as 'A Cry from Florence,' the matching sonnet 'Robert Browning. December 12th, 1889' (Rawnsley 1893, p.99) changes the focus from personal to public grief, and from Florence to England. In place of the repeated plea to 'Take home the heart,' a chorus tolls out 'Browning is dead!' Instead of the heart's voice, the sea 'sobs sorrowful' (3), drowning out Browning's last poems, 'his latest tender song' (6), like the 'deep notes' of an organ (anticipating Westminster Abbey; compare below p.215). The 'sure heart' of 'A Cry from Florence' is appreciated for its native independence and optimism: Browning lies 'with Florence on his heart / Writ large; but larger, England' (9-10).

This change of emphasis is completed in a final sonnet, where Elizabeth's presence disappears. 'Robert Browning, Westminster Abbey, December 30th, 1889' (Rawnsley 1893, p.100) records the body's arrival from Italy the day before the funeral. The Venetian atmosphere is evoked so that it can be surpassed by the Abbey's sublimity:

From Rivo Alto's silent palace hall,
From San Michele's wilderness of flowers,
Comes one for rest beneath our Abbey Towers
Whose song and soul shall never sleep at all. (1-4)

¹Compare the arrival of Hallam's body in In Memoriam XIX: 'The Danube to the Severn gave / The darkened heart that beat no more' (1-2).
The place of death and the mortuary island are unpeopled empty spaces, as if bereaved of Browning’s presence; by contrast the poet’s spirit wears a ‘brighter crown’ than Venetian honours. The poet finds the ‘rest’ supposedly denied to his wife at the heart of the British state, while his songs find immortality. He is a philosopher and ‘tireless spirit’ (6), a warrior in the cause of truth and ‘resolute right’ (9), comparable with two fathers of poetry by whom he will lie in Poets’ Corner:

Lie here, for gentle Spenser can desire
No knightlier guest, nor Chaucer in his dust
A truer harp. Lie here — here comes no death. (12-14)

This is straightforward panegyric, but also invokes the line of literary succession suggested by Poets’ Corner. As Wordsworth was characterised by Rydal, Rotha and the Grasmere churchyard, Browning is described by the symbolic elements of his grave: the material context of the poet’s remains really does influence how poets are imagined. Browning is associated with Spenser’s high ideals and epic vision, and Chaucer’s humanistic, psychological and moral interests (see Figure 17, p.196). Most strikingly he is joined not with his wife, but a fraternity of immortal poets. His progressive and optimistic genius will live on through after generations, and ‘no death’ comes to the few deemed high enough for graves in the Abbey.

The earliest published of Rawnsley’s poems on Browning was a long tribute ‘The Poet’s Home-Going’ (Rawnsley 1890, p.2), which charted a visionary version of the poet’s gondola journey. I do not wish to examine the poem at length, as Rawnsley’s ideas are best contained in a compact form; but it does have something interesting to say about Browning’s division between marital and fraternal mythologies. He goes as a poet, holding the bardic harp (20), inspired to ‘a new majestic strain, / Rememberable music’ (21-2). When he comes ashore, the ‘Singer’ is crowned with ‘The crown that cannot wither’ (106), which stimulates him to thoughts ‘full-grown’ which had only ‘struggled into birth’ during his life (110-11). Yet despite this welcome, he still searches amongst the crowds of genius, as if ‘looking for fulfilment of all love’ (119). He is greeted by a succession of poets; ‘young Shelley, spoken with at last’ (127), Dante, Sappho finally ‘made pure of heart’ (139), then a crowd of Romantics, Burns, Keats, Byron, Coleridge and Southey, all perfected.

In this poetic procession, one group is elevated above Browning’s Romantic precursors; the first division, to which Browning belongs, includes Milton, Shakespeare, Chaucer, Wordsworth and, in an idiosyncratic touch, D. G. Rossetti. But although claimed by Chaucer, and walking hand-in-hand with Wordsworth, ‘head and shoulders as a king / Above the souls who found life’ (172-3), ‘perfect happiness’ (176) is impossible without Elizabeth. Robert’s spirit calls for the ‘one angel voice’ (194) still wanting, and in Rawnsley’s formulation, she is not only his wife, but his saviour: ‘she whose mind / Was mirror of God’s being to me blind / Who smote my harp in darkness’ (196-8). Antipathetic as this distortion would have been to Browning, it

---

1See pp.185-7, 192-5, 202, and II, pp.268-71.
2Pen had crowned his father with a wreath of laurel inside the coffin.
3This bathetically alludes to Browning’s Memorabilia: ‘Ah, did you once see Shelley plain, / And did he stop and speak to you [?]’ (Browning 1888-94, v.VI, p.190, 1-2); for the procession motif see p.131 and n.
Figure 17. 'The late Robert Browning - the Funeral Ceremony in Westminster Abbey, January 1890.' This sketch shows the open grave in Poets' Corner; the floral wreaths have been laid aside and the coffin lowered in. The monuments of Chaucer and Spenser are prominent on the left, and the artist has ensured that Milton's name is legible on the right. The choir sing Joseph Bridge's setting of Elizabeth Barrett Browning's 'The Sleep.' See pp.189, 198.
restores a specialness to the marital relationship which all the poetic geniuses of history could not replace. His call brings Barrett Browning into being, crowned with the unfading 'amaranth' and the 'upgathered love of years' (199-200), while their spiritual reunion, when 'with such glow / Souls met and mingled' (203), is presented as consolation for the bereaved on earth. Yet far from joining together in a spiritual marriage of equal and mutual 'poet-soul[s]' (62), she is a Muse and religious corrective. Barrett Browning's vocation disappears behind this love, her spirit 'seemed to know / Her bliss his perfect glory' (202): bliss for her, glory for him.

Even where tribute-writers sought to transcend Browning's death by reference to his poetry's immortal qualities, the reunion motif supported his greatness. In William Sharp's 'Robert Browning' (Sharp 1909, p.144) twelve adapted sonnets guide the reader from Browning's gentle death in robust age to his poetry's future influence. Taking as its epigraph a stanza from the well-known optimistic 'Epilogue' to Asolando, the poem begins by challenging grief: 'what need is there to mourn?' for Browning's fulfilled life, spared the confused indignities of old age. Venice was an apt scene for his death, a beloved city surrounded by an eternal sea rather than a turbulent one, 'healing waters in their miracle / Of changeless and regenerative round' (33-4). Amongst a crowd of allegorical figures who conduct the poet's triumphant death rituals, a passive Barrett Browning is presented:

Joy spake not, for, from out the Deathless land, 
She led God's loveliest gift, his long-lost Bride. (59-60)

After 'The strange and solemn silence that is death' (35), his wife, restored to beautiful youth, looks on him with a longing gaze 'Sweet beyond words' (65), and speaks in a tone all the more precious for their long separation - 'Sweet, sweet the voice that long had silent been!' (66). Death is stripped of its terrors by this picture of perfect spiritual reunion; 'all was well, since She was there, his Queen' (69). However, Barrett Browning herself is subordinated to the dominating presence of her husband as dead poet. She is a 'Bride,' heavenly and sweet, and her voice retains few connotations of poetic vocation.

This role as a helpmate and supporter is confirmed by Sharp's attention to Browning's permanent literary legacy and its connection with state commemoration in Poets' Corner. His values, personified as 'Dreams, Fair Hopes, and Graces, / ... Powers and Dominations and Desires' (70 --1), congregate in the Abbey, peopling its rarefied and sublime atmosphere:

---

^1See II, pp.301-2, 332-3.
^2When Frances Turner Palgrave wrote to the Dean on 20 December 1889 to support Elizabeth's interment beside Robert in the Abbey, he reversed their priority: 'She is much more distinguished among poetesses, than he amongst men. What a splendid motif for a sculptor!' (WAM 61728).
^3Compare II, pp.275-6, 372.
^4“One who never turned his back but marched breast forward, 
   Never doubted clouds would break, 
   Never dreamed, though right were worsted, wrong would triumph: 
   Held we fall to rise, are baffled to fight better, 
   Sleep to wake.” (Browning 1888-94, v.XVII, p.130)
In solemn, sad, processional array
There where the sunshafts through stained windows stream,
And flood the gloomful majesty with splendour,
And charm the aisles from out their brooding grey. (76-9)

These invisible spirits will live on within readers' hearts and minds, represented by the mourners at the funeral ceremony.¹ Sharp elides the material site of Browning's grave, but replaces it with the poet's monumental achievement:

No carven stone, no monumental fane,
Can equal this: that he hath builded deep
A cenotaph beyond the assoining reign
Of Her whose eyes are dusk with Night and Sleep,
Queenly Oblivion: (100-4)

The speaker denies the significance of ostentatious memorials, yet the poet's works are a 'cenotaph.' While this is a potentially unfortunate image for poetic immortality, since a cenotaph is a symbolic empty tomb, the displacement of the tomb by a symbol avoids the pitfalls of materiality. Any grave and monument, even Westminster Abbey itself will eventually decay, but a metaphorical cenotaph is only a symbol and will be kept alive through memory. In Browning's case, 'he hath built his lasting monument / Within the hearts and in the minds of men' (110-11).²

One of the few poems to bring the marital myth to bear at Westminster Abbey and represent fairly how Elizabeth's presence was evoked at the funeral, is Mackenzie Bell's 'Browning's Funeral' (Bell 1909, p.13; text in II, pp.379-80).³ The poem is made up of two sonnets, 'Venice, December 15th, 1889,' and 'Westminster Abbey, December 31st, 1889.' The funeral appears sublimely protracted, one long dramatic ceremony from Venice, where the 'flower-wreathed bier' (1) floats across the Lagoon as sun sets, to the dim and gloomy Abbey in London. Bell imagines the riches of Venice transformed in the minds of the bereaved, 'Like dreams, amid the fevered sleep of pain, / Rich domes and frescoed palaces arise' (7-8). His own slightly gratuitous addition is the hope that the mourners will recognise 'How fit such obsequies' (10) were for the author of 'In a Gondola,' an 'ageless story' to extend Venice's 'deathless glory' (13-14).

The second sonnet describes the Abbey, where Venice's 'soundless waters' are replaced by the 'solemn music' of Croft and Purcell combining in 'dirge-like tones, Grief's very soul' (5). This music keys the mourners' emotions to an almost unbearable pitch before 'soon "He giveth His beloved Sleep" / Brings to our anguished hearts relief, control' (6-7). This is the chorus of Elizabeth Barrett Browning's 'The Sleep,'⁴ which had been set to music by Joseph Bridge

¹Michael Field' saw this endorsed by the statuary in Poets' Corner: '[T]he company of the sculptured Dead, in silent calm attest[ing] the unison of the Past with the Prophetic Present in lifting that mighty hymn to the "ineffable Name"' (Field 1933, p.37). Tennyson was not well enough to attend the ceremony, but his son Hallam was one of the pall-bearers.
²Maria S. Porter claimed Browning as a democratic and popular poet, preferred to Tennyson by working men. She saw artisans scattering flowers and laurel in the coffin's path, and particularly noticed a sickly worker tremulously throw down 'a large white chrysanthemum' before 'weeping passionately he disappeared into the crowd' (Porter 1893, p.57).
³Compare II, pp.219-20.
⁴See above p.189.
specifically for the service. As in Rawnsley's 'The Poet's Home-Going,' she brings a note of religious comfort and consolation; but that is not all:

Memories of stately Florence, and the deep
Love-sacrament which bound him to his spouse
Changeless through changeful years. And now in heaven
They meet in bliss — meet to renew their vows
Beyond the soiling touch of earthly leaven.
While England, as 'tis right, in sacred trust
Keeps through the centuries his hallowed dust. (21-8)

Florence represents the Brownings' married life, and Elizabeth's grave, a pledge of reunion unfulfilled until her husband's death. Bell recuperates the disunity of their bodies with an imagined spiritual reunion. While she is his spouse, and the reference to 'In a Gondola' affirms Browning as a poetic authority, the reunion itself is expressed in terms of equality - 'They meet in bliss' for a spiritual re-marriage. With that accomplished, there is less need to regret Elizabeth's Florentine grave, and Bell affirms the national importance of holding the poet's 'hallowed dust.'

The Westminster Abbey Funeral Fee Book (1811-99) records that Robert Browning's elegant gravestone of polished coloured Italian marbles was not laid until the summer of 1894, after Tennyson's burial in the adjacent grave. At that time, only the male side of the poetic myth was evident. But Pen Browning eventually found a way to bring his mother home symbolically to join his father in the Abbey. In 1906 he gained the Dean's consent for the following words to be inscribed at the foot of Browning's gravestone: 'His wife Elizabeth Barrett Browning - 1806-1861 - is buried in Florence.'

---

1See Maria S. Porter's 'Robert Browning':

Weep not for him, O ye, who loved him best,
United there to her he held most dear,
Soul of his soul, 'and with God be the rest' (Porter 1893, p.57, 14-16)

As a note explains the final phrase comes from Browning's 'Prospice,' 'O thou soul of my soul, I shall clasp thee again.'

2Letter of thanks from R. Barrett Browning of 4 August 1906 (WAM 61741).
Alfred Tennyson.

For Arnold died, and Browning died, and he
The oldest, wisest, greatest of the three —
Dies, and what voice shall dirge for him to-day?
Andrew Lang, ‘On the Death of Lord Tennyson,’ 5-7.1

When Alfred Tennyson died on 6 October 1892 at Aldworth, the family home in Sussex, his phenomenal popularity left no doubt about where he would be buried and how commemorated. He was transported to London by train from Haslemere to Waterloo, and buried beside Robert Browning in Poets’ Corner on 12 October. A great outpouring of elegiac verse gave voice to a national sense of loss, loss of an era and its Laureate,2 but as Andrew Lang’s formula suggests, these tributes were preoccupied with the difficulty of writing an adequate elegy for the ‘oldest, wisest, greatest’ poet, once the triumvirate of major Victorian poets was finished. This superlative quality, being last as well as best, created great representational problems for Tennyson’s elegists. Not only was he the consummate Laureate, a patriot and personal friend of Queen Victoria, dead at the good age of eighty-three, but he was the author of a great public elegy, the ‘Ode on the Death of the Duke of Wellington’ (1852),3 and a personal elegy on epic scale, In Memoriam (1850). This was certainly a hard act to follow. In his hagiographic account of the poet’s life, Robert F. Horton suggested the problem:

[It cannot be that the beauty and completeness of his life will be forgotten. Such a treasure no nation can afford to forget. Of that there must be an In Memoriam, and it must be woven of immortelles. (Horton 1900, p.308)

This imperative rhetoric asserts the national importance of remembering a ‘treasure,’ a life perfect as an art object,4 but at the same time it demands what seems impossible; another In Memoriam to record that memory, a poem as immortal as the original. To do justice to a great man, textual records should live up to his high example - which they routinely fail to do, and this is partly why great elegies are more often written by great poets about lesser ones than vice versa.5 In Memoriam was crucial to the public perception of Tennyson at his death, and was closely associated with the Laureateship.6

---
2Margaret Oliphant wrote that ‘The reign of splendour and greatness is over; the myrtle crown of the Victorian age no longer crowns any living brow, but is laid reverently upon the storied dust. The two great voices have sunk into silence ... The first that is left among us now may be great, but is no longer one of the greatest. The minor voices chirp on in the silence: the great organ-notes will sound no more’ (Oliphant 1892, p.748). For the organ metaphor, see below p.215.
3Tennyson chose the ‘Ode’ to read aloud in 1891, almost forty years after Wellington’s death (Oliphant 1892, p.748).
4In ‘Lacrimae Musarum’ William Watson laments that ‘The life that seemed a perfect song is o’er’ (Watson 1936, p.187, 2).
5Harold Bloom suggests that ‘major elegies for poets, do not express grief but center upon their composers’ own creative anxieties. They offer therefore as consolation their own ambitions (Lycidas, Thyrisis), or if they are beyond ambition (Adonais, Whitman’s Lilacs, Swinburne’s Ave Atque Vale) then they offer oblivion’ (Bloom 1975, p.151).
6Reading In Memoriam encouraged Prince Albert to put Tennyson forward for the vacant office. Rowland E. Prothero remarked that ‘“In Memoriam” is essentially a poem of the century ... It
The first edition of *In Memoriam* was published anonymously (although the authorship was widely known) on 1 June 1850, five weeks after Wordsworth's death, when people were looking for his successor. The poem went through three editions in three months, and by the summer's end, Tennyson was being hailed as the major living poet. Henry Taylor remembered Wordsworth as having reached at the time of his death a peak of celebrity strikingly at odds with his ethics of humility. But *In Memoriam* appeared as a symbolic marker of the genius who could take over this position:

Those who mourned the loss of Wordsworth might have been reconciled by these poems, if by any, to the transference which took place of pre-eminence in popular estimation as a poet from him to Tennyson. (Taylor 1885, v.II, p.60)

That is, only poems this good could justify such fickleness. Appearing so 'seasonably for us mourners,' the elegies were in Taylor's view a peculiarly native work, drawn deep from 'the depths of this country's poetic heart' (pp.61-2). The profound hold which *In Memoriam* kept on Victorian readers is suggested by an anecdote of the mid-1860s. On a train journey, Taylor struck up a conversation about Tennyson with an elderly, cantankerous man. Although *Idylls of the King* and *Enoch Arden* were Tennyson's recent publications, it was *In Memoriam* which brought out the man's softer side:

> He spoke of "In Memoriam," and said he had made a sort of churchyard of it, and had appropriated some passage of it to each of his departed friends; and that he read it every Sunday and never came to the bottom of the depths of it. (p.62)

The unselfconscious use of this 'churchyard' metaphor is striking. Coming to the end of life, the man personalises the poem's landscape, by adopting sections of text as emotionally-charged metaphorical graves of personal friends. Every Sunday he could wander around this textual churchyard, a gentle evocation of dead friends which might even replace the need to go to the grave.¹ Such testimony, coming from so unpromising a source, affirms Tennyson as the deep and devotional author of an elegy which is intimate, personal, philosophical, consolatory and national. Thirty years later the poem still had the last word:

> The Abbey was crowded from end to end, and many were seen reading *In Memoriam*; the great consolation at his burial was his own great consolation to all who are bereaved; the poem which might well be in the house of mourning for ever, to point
> Upon the last low verge of life
> The twilight of eternal day. (Horton 1900, p.300)²

There is something peculiarly Victorian about this scene of mourners unselfconsciously reading a poet's elegy at his own funeral; but it is also the perfect tribute, a gesture which testifies to Tennyson's greatness, as well as recalling the poem which made him Laureate in the first place.

¹In 'In Memoriam' Arabella Shore fervently thanks Tennyson for helping her to express grief for her sister's death, and imagines a similar figurative memorial: 'An "In Memoriam" in our hearts, / A marble tablet, ever dwells' (Shore 1890, p.38, 33-6).
²This is a misquotation from *In Memoriam* L, the famous 'Be near me' lyric (15-16).
The personal circumstances behind *In Memoriam*, the death of a best friend at a young age, also feed into responses to the Laureate's death. In his long tribute poem ‘Tennyson, Obiit, Aldworth, October 6th, 1892’ (Rawnsley 1893, p.3) Rawnsley saw the elegist and his friend reunited in heaven rather as Browning and his wife were in ‘The Poet’s Home-Going’:

There rang from Heaven triumphant angel-chime,
And voices cried, "Behold the twain are one,
The friend beloved, who left him ere his prime,
The friend who made Love's great Memorial Rhyme." (27-30)

Rawnsley sounds intermittently awkward in his desire to attain a Tennysonian sublimity in commemorating the ‘music-maker of the earth’ (19), ‘The first, last, Laureate of a golden day, / Untouched by time’ (23-4); yet the circumstances of the poet’s death and burial were innately rich in symbolism. Like the Brownings’ love story, the narrative of Tennyson’s death appeared determined or preordained, and state rituals and elegies alike aspired to this formal coherence. On his death-bed, Tennyson requested his Shakespeare, which fell open at his favourite lines in *Cymbeline*, and when he became unconscious, ‘[T]he most glorious moon rose and flooded the room with a clear, mysterious light, and suddenly lit up the whole of his face and bed and he looked grand and peaceful’ (Henderson 1978, p.207). The poet’s fascination with moonlight effects made this moment appear portentously Tennysonian.

This symbolic richness had its fullest expression in the presentation of the coffin. The body lay in state for five days, decorated with flowers and laurels, before the coffin was carried in procession from Aldworth on the evening before the funeral. In deference to Tennyson’s dislike of hearses, his body left the house in a rustic cart; however, it was transferred to a train at Haslemere for transportation to London:

[T]he coffin with the dead Laureate under a pall embroidered with white English roses, the last verse of ‘Crossing the Bar’ and his initials, surmounted by a baron’s coronet, and a wreath of laurel from Virgil’s tomb, and crosses of flowers from all parts of Great Britain, was placed in a wagonette decorated with stag’s horn moss, scarlet lobelia and Virginia creeper in all its autumn glory.

(Henderson 1978, p.207)

The awkward structure of this sentence, with its accumulation of subsidiary clauses, confirms the mass of detail which characterised even this rustic stage of the Abbey ritual. The pall was decorated with undying white roses to represent England and poetry, an extract from Tennyson’s epitaphal verse ‘Crossing the Bar,’ his initials (recalling the A. H. H. of *In Memoriam*) and the symbol of his baronetcy. The wreath of ‘laurel from Virgil’s tomb’ identified Tennyson as an

---

1 In ‘“In Memoriam”:’ Shore has Arthur Hallam approve the poet’s return to ordinary life on the grounds of his vocation: ‘Nor think your friend from yon sky-land / Scorns your return to earthly ways’ (93-4). Compare II, pp.303, 337-9.

2 *Cymbeline* V. iv. 263. As Posthumous finally embraces Imogen, he says ‘Hang there like fruit, my soul, / Till the tree die!’ See Theodore Martin’s sonnet ‘Tennyson and “Cymbeline”,’ (Martin 1892, p.767). A copy of *Cymbeline* was buried with Tennyson.

3 The pali was made at Ruskin’s Keswick School of Industrial Art; in Westminster Abbey the coffin was covered by a Union flag.
inheritor of the Virgilian tradition, belonging with the fathers of poetry, while the rustic hearse was seasonal if eccentric, the autumn foliage expressing vividness in decline. This organic symbolism extended to the funeral itself, where Alfred Austin placed a branch of bay from Delphi on the coffin, to signify the continuity of genius from classical to modern times. Memorial wreaths were designed to express the poet’s identity, but also that of the giver and their relation to him:

There was also a wreath from Shakespeare’s garden at Stratford-on-Avon and one from Clevedon, where Arthur Hallam lay. Mr and Mrs Gladstone sent a wreath from Hawarden and the Queen sent one of laurel, one of flowers and one of metal inscribed in her hand ‘A tribute of affectionate regard from his Sovereign.’ (Henderson 1978, p.206)

These notable mourners, dead and alive, suggest why Tennyson’s was probably the most important and public poetic funeral of the century. The Shakespearian wreath, though purely symbolic, complemented Cymbeline at the death-bed. The Clevedon wreath was a tribute to personal friendship and In Memoriam, while the Prime Minister’s and Queen Victoria’s wreaths combined state and personal sentiment. The queen’s three different wreaths indicated three different relations, the metal one immortalising her personal feeling.

This symbolic plenitude, apparently extending to every side of Tennyson’s life and career, demanded full, similarly ambitious and sublime tributes. Yet Tennyson’s elegists felt themselves by definition to be minor and inferior, and the topoi of modesty and inimitability were almost masochistically exercised by some. At the same time, everyone wanted to record and be part of such a momentous occasion, to stand out from the crowd of lamentation, and to negotiate some kind of future for themselves. Many of these poems were simply mediocre; but some authors were motivated by thoughts of the vacant Laureateship, and the precedent set by

---

1See Rawnsley 1900c, p.201, chapter IX, ‘Tennyson and Virgil.’ In T. H. Warren’s ‘In Memoriam Alfred Lord Tennyson,’ the poet is said to echo Homer, Virgil, Horace, Theocritus, and Catullus (Warren 1898, p.17, 7-10).

2Austin gathered the bay explicitly for this purpose; however, four years of dispute passed before the Laureateship was settled on him.

3Arthur Hallam’s grave was itself a significant poetic site, as shown by Andrew Lang’s ‘Clevedon Church. In Memoriam H. B.:’

   But there hath he that woke the sleepless love
   Slept through these fifty years,
   There is the grave that has been wept above
   With more than mortal tears.
   And far below I hear the Channel sweep
   And all his waves complain,
   As Hallam’s dirge through all the years must keep

   See also T. E. Brown’s ‘A Sermon at Clevedon, Good Friday’ and ‘Clevedon Verses. I, Hallam’s Church, Clevedon’ (Brown 1900, pp.74, 88), and Rawnsley’s ‘Old Clevedon Churchyard, with Steep and Flat Holmes in the Distance,’ where two islands in the Bristol Channel are ‘rock-built monuments’ to ‘those immortal friends’ (Rawnsley 1877a, p.141).

4Tennyson’s friendship with the Queen began when she invited him to visit in the months after Prince Albert’s death.

5See II, pp.312, 376-8.
In Memoriam in 1850. 1 Despite Tennyson's recuperation of the Laureateship, poets deserving of honour looked down on the appointment, while it was coveted by those whose achievement did not merit particular reward. Tennyson himself had hoped, like Elizabeth Barrett Browning, that Leigh Hunt would get it instead, and had been appalled and harassed by the quantities of bad poetry he was sent. 2

Remembering a country house party in early October 1892, when Tennyson's death was expected every day, William Mallock satirised a couple of aspiring Laureates. The two rival poets, who Mallock suggests were Lewis Morris and Edwin Arnold ('Sir E. and Sir L.'), 3 'evinced much becoming anxiety' about the Laureate's illness (Mallock 1920, p.90). However, this emotion did not prevent them so indulging at dessert that no one was surprised when they kept to their rooms next day. When Tennyson's death was reported on the 7th, they emerged 'like men ... rid of a burden,' and again no one was surprised when each had an elegy in the following day's newspapers. 4 Mallock identifies these 'long columns of elegy on the irreparable loss which the country had just suffered,' as hinting 'that a poet existed who was not unfit to repair it.' 5

Mallock's exquisite pleasure in this anecdote might make us doubt its truth, but Edmund Gosse's manuscript account of Tennyson's funeral describes both men with a degree of irritation which suggests he had a motive for such disapproval. Edwin Arnold was 'very seedy and wretched, brawling, in vain, with the vergers for a more honourable position' (British Library MS Ashley 4538: reprinted in Henderson 1978, pp.208-9). Tennyson's funeral ceremony was unquestionably an occasion for literary men to be seen, but Gosse sees Arnold vulgarly jockeying for a prominent place inside the Abbey (See Figure 18, p.206 for the crowds at the funeral). Though more restrained, the reference to Lewis Morris is hardly flattering, and Gosse ends with a rather jaded summary, as if the whole ceremony was tainted:

As I left I saw Lewis Morris fatuously balancing his huge body, tied in a wasp-like frock-coat, on his heels, and nodding self-consciously to his friends. The

1 The Dial had harsh words for these hopefuls: 'In making a selection from the many tributes in the form of verse, we are confronted by an embarrassment of wealth, and do not need to draw upon the poor stuff that was sent to the newspapers by such possible — or rather impossible — laureates as Sir Edwin Arnold, Mr. Alfred Austin, Mr. Lewis Morris, and Mr. Robert Buchanan' ('Tennysoniana' 1892, p.266).


3 Lewis Morris was scornful of Arnold's best known poem, The Light of Asia; see Morris 1905, p.100.

4 Edwin Arnold's 'On the Death of Lord Tennyson' (Daily Telegraph, 7 October), begins 'No "moaning of the bar!" Sai! forth, strong Shpi!'; Lewis Morris's offering was 'October 6th, 1892' (The Times, 7 October). Hopkins wryly comments that 'Sir Edwin Arnold in his last portraits looks so exactly like a man who would have been Laureate if invited.' Arnold's telegram to Alfred Austin on his becoming Laureate in 1896 began 'Accept my heartiest congratulations with which no grudge mingles, although I myself expected the appointment' (Hopkins 1954, p.166); see above pp.161-2.

5 In fairness to Morris and Arnold, Alfred Austin's 'The Passing of Merlin' (The Times, 7 October) best fits this description; it was ninety-five lines long, and ended with this hopeful couplet: 'Some patriot hand will sweep the living lyre, / And prove, with native works, that Merlin was his sire.'
whole thing was enormous, crushing, exceedingly well-done, national and prosaic.\(^1\)

Morris's bloated body perilously restrained in a dressy coat suggests a similarly inflated ego, and his coy greetings give the impression of a Laureate-hopeful playing his role carefully.\(^2\) Gosse's selection of these two for special scorn can be accounted for partly by their names. We have seen that Edwin Arnold's attitude towards his namesake Matthew's death was more aggressive than elegiac, while William Morris was one of the few surviving high Victorian poets, and a possible Laureate.\(^3\) In Gosse's eye at least, Lewis and Edwin's surnames happily expressed their second-hand and imitative style, and affirmed that these latecomers could never live up to comparison with their more gifted and original brothers in poetry; so how dare they aspire to succeed Tennyson himself?\(^4\)

This impulse to protect Tennyson's memory from debased successors fed back into poetic responses to his death; the sense that there could be no poetry after Tennyson conflicted with the individual's desire to be the one to elegise him adequately. Some poets sought to disassociate themselves from the Laureate competition, partly as a matter of personal dignity, but also because their genuine sense of loss for this ultimate poet-patriarch, made them suspicious of their competitors' performed griefs. Yet the characteristic response - that respectful, dignified silence was a better tribute than ignominious failure - was a paradox fatal to poetry.

Tribute-poets are caught between affirming the immortality of the dead poet's voice, its continuing presence in the future, and making a claim for themselves. These interests are united as well as paradoxical, for living poets identify with their dead predecessors, and wish to maintain the myth of poetic immortality more defiantly if they acknowledge that such recognition is personally unattainable. Hemans's authorial voice was variously compared to a fountain's sound, wind in the trees, nightingale's song, breathing, lute or harp, but concern with finding her a peaceful, 'quiet' grave worked against these voices' survival. Wordsworth was memorialised by natural voices and songs, particularly by the River Ro\-tha; this confirmed his universality, but also suggested the irrelevance of the very poems which formed these tropes. The Brownings were singers and harpists, makers of songs rather than mediums for nature, while the throbbing heart symbolised their love as well as their poetry.

\(^{1}\)Edward Burne-Jones shared Gosse's disappointment, and consoled himself by imagining that 'as he sleeps by Chaucer I daresay they woke and had nice talks in the night ... I suppose he'll be hurrying off to Virgil soon' (Burne-Jones 1904, v.l, p.78); compare above p.195.

\(^{2}\)Lewis Morris had his own view of the delay in appointing a new Laureate (Morris 1905, pp.106-7). The newspapers suggested that with Austin, these poets' 'much advertisement has ... had the unexpected effect of belittling whatever measure of real fame may be accounted their due' ('The Laureateship' 1892, p.491).

\(^{3}\)See above, pp.161-2, also Sharp 1996, pp.71-80. William Morris was approached about the Laureateship, but refused on political grounds.

\(^{4}\)"The first question is not so much Who is to be the next Laureate? as, Shall the Laureateship be continued at all?" ('The Laureateship' 1892, p.491). This article was accompanied by a rogues' gallery of bewhiskered candidates (Arnold, Austin, Buchanan, Dobson, Kipling, Lewis and William Morris, Meredith, Patmore, Swinburne and Watson), but endorsed Swinburne, with Patmore in reserve.
Figure 18. 'The Last Look: A Sketch at the Funeral of Lord Tennyson at Westminster Abbey yesterday,' October 1892. Every aspect of Tennyson's funeral was documented in the illustrated papers, from the moonlit coffin laid in state to the nocturnal digging of the grave. This image of crowds peering down to see Tennyson's coffin suggests both a frankness about contemplating the grave and hints at the vulgarity Gosse mentions. See pp.201, 204.
The problem of poetic voice becomes the overt and primary subject of tribute-poems written for Tennyson. The initial and overwhelming difficulty, ‘what voice shall dirge for him today?’ (Lang) was stated in Wilfred Scawen Blunt’s ‘Alfred Tennyson’ (Blunt 1914, v.II, p.362). The sonnet begins by echoing the dead poet’s voice:

Tears, idle tears! Ah, who shall bid us weep,
Now that thy lyre, O prophet, is unstrung? (1-2)

This quotation from a lyric from The Princess, ‘Tears, idle tears, I know not what they mean,’ defers to Tennyson’s lingering authority even as Blunt’s speaker questions the poet’s spirit; Tennyson’s works prove that he did know what tears mean. The paradox is that grief is ‘idle’ because the authority on grief is no longer there to direct it, yet the speaker still addresses Tennyson as ‘prophet.’ It is unclear whether Blunt speaks for the nation as a whole or for poets specifically, but ‘tears’ and weeping appear to be metaphors for articulation of feeling rather than grief itself. The impossibility of finding a new ‘voice’ to lead a ‘requiem’ is predicated on memory, as the speaker recalls the impact of In Memoriam:

as when Grief was young,
And thou in thy rapt youth, Time’s bards among,
Captured our ears, and we looked up and heard
Spring’s sweetest music on thy mourning tongue
And knew thee for Pain’s paradisal bird. (4-8)

Blunt maintains a one-sided dialogue with the absent visionary, based on this poignant originary moment, but the strategy of direct address only emphasises its fictionality: ‘We are alone without thee in our tears’ (9). In Memoriam is still the last word in grief. The little poem ends with a statement of willing defeat:

We know not how to weep without thy aid,
Since all that tears would tell thyself hast said. (13-14)

By these paradoxically ‘mute chauntings’ (10), Blunt avoids the fact of the figurehead’s silence, appealing to him for aid or pity. Suppressed silence becomes an overtly troubling value in Andrew Lang’s ‘On the Death of Lord Tennyson’ (Lang 1923, v.III, p.31) which takes its lead from another prestigious Victorian elegist - Matthew Arnold:

Silence! ‘The best’ (he said) ‘are silent now,
That younger bearer of the laurel bough,
Who with his Thyrsis, kindred souls divine,
Harps only for Sicilian Proserpine: (1-4)

An emphatic demand for ‘Silence!’ makes a startling opening, as if the poem should end in its beginning; but the speaker persists by borrowing another voice as an authority, from Arnold’s ‘Stanzas from the Grande Chartreuse’ (113-4). The irony continues, because Arthur Hugh Clough, the subject of ‘Thyrsis’ is dead, as is its author, Arnold, and Browning. Every voice is

1Compare II, pp.221-2.
2First published in The Illustrated London News (15 October 1892), p.492 as ‘Plea for Silence,’ where a note supports Lang’s ‘legitimate sensitiveness’ at ‘the somewhat too hasty production of a deluge of memorial verses.’
revived only to confirm death and silence, and in Tennyson's case, 'the Muse went with him the
darkling way, / And left us mute!' (8-9).

Here muteness is followed by the graphic 'silence' of an ellipsis, which marks a change
of mood, a recuperation of quiet. The speaker reinterprets silence using - of course - In
Memoriam as a model:

. . . Peace! who shall rhyme or rave?
The violet blooms not on the new-made grave,
And not in this first blankness of regret
Are eyes of men who mourn their Master wet.
New grief is dumb: himself through many a year
Withheld the meed of his melodious tear
While Hallam slept. (9-15)

Instead of representing lost poets, here silence is the most authentic and meaningful response to
loss; the organic metaphor implies that grief must lie dormant before maturing into elegy, and
Tennyson's grave is too new. Real grief is a condition of unreflective and uncreative sadness.
While we now know that Tennyson began In Memoriam very soon after Hallam's death, Lang's
misinterpretation of the long period of delay before publication shows his concern lies mostly
with the readers for whom the poem was 'the meed of his melodious tear.'

Only at the end does Lang reveal the reason for his engagement with silence, and the
apparently self-addressed remark 'Peace! who shall rhyme or rave?' (9) is applied to his facile
fellow poets:

rapid rhymers, when the Poet dies,
Wall punctual, and prompt, and unafraid,
In copious, instant ditties ready made.
Oh, peace! Ye do but make our loss more deep,
Who wail above his unawaking sleep. (16-20)

After a tightly controlled first half, Lang is carried away with righteous indignation, using an
energetic rhythm and alliteration of 'r' and 'p' in a fair imitation of such 'instant' verses. He
targets opportunistic newspaper verses and broadsides, churned out with little regard for artistic
merit or sincerity, to meet consumer demand. The bitter irony remains that the death of the
'Master,' the 'greatest' poet, prompts insultingly poor elegies; the flood of easy laments show
only how much has been lost. However there is one last irony; Lang undoes his own
prescription, because he fails to confine himself to criticising the over-hasty elegists, and
smuggles in his own elegy at the same time. This disingenuousness is narrowly overcome by
Lang's evident love for Tennyson's memory.

Theodore Watts (later Watts-Dunton), whose close friendship with the poet gave him the
authority to endorse Hallam Tennyson as his father's biographer, showed another way in which

---

1See William Watson's idea of Wordsworth, above pp.184-6.
2Tennyson is repeatedly acknowledged as 'master.' John Payne's elegy is called 'The Dead
Master. A Threnody.' See also Austin Dobson's 'Alfred, Lord Tennyson' (Dobson 1913,
p.319, 9, 21) and Theodore Watts-Dunton's 'What the Silent Voices Said. A Sonnet
Sequence' (Watts-Dunton 1906, p.243, 34, 58).
3Compare II, pp.249.
rich symbolism made the Tennyson story appear destined.¹ ‘What the Silent Voices Said. A Sonnet Sequence’ (Watts-Dunton 1906, p.243)² is a tribute structured around the role of Tennyson's 'The Silent Voices' at the funeral, in its choral setting by Emily Tennyson.³ Beginning in Poets' Corner during the service, the speaker frets about whether 'We twain shall meet again on some bright shore' (2), or if the poet's 'very greatness' will divide them in the afterlife. What gives him hope is a strange light which flickers around the Abbey walls, a 'golden hand' which transforms into a golden scroll, a sign of affirmation. The speaker speculates on who is responsible for this sign, and recalls Browning's funeral, 'When minster-spirits seemed to haunt the fane: — / Heroes of song and those whose blood was spilt / For England' (25-7). In imagination, the scroll 'Shone with the master's words' (34) which inspired the speaker in youth, and his faith is restored. 'Sweet was the sweet wife's music, and consoling' (57), and by the end of the poem the 'spirit-voices' confirm that Watts's lesser talent is no obstacle to their reunion: "To follow him be true, be pure, be brave: / Thou needest not his lyre" (69-70).

The silence motif appears again in Alfred Hayes's 'Requiescat' (Hayes 1895, p.72), which affects to protect Tennyson and his reputation.⁴ As the epitaphal title (he rests or he sleeps) suggests, this is a more complacent response, although a poem calling for quiet remains odd: 'Peace! — for no feebler voice avails to sing / The loss of him who best hath sung of loss' (1-2). In Memoriam remains the authority on bereavement, displacement is impossible as the chiasmus 'loss of ... of loss' suggests, and this pays tribute to the poet's literary immortality. The silence extends to the moonlit death scene, where the natural world was 'mute' and even 'the great night held its breath' (4); only God could remove the Laureate's 'transitory chaplet,' and replace it with 'An everlasting wreath' (8-9).

The call for quiet is reinforced by the image of the poet's moonlit deathbed, which makes a temple of silenced nature:

```
Peace! — let no sacrilegious strain
Discordantly profane
The sanctuary of silence where he lies,
Heedless of human worship (10-13)
```

¹See Hamilton 1992, pp.177-96.
²Compare II, pp.296, 374.
³When the dumb Hour, clothed in black,
Brings the Dreams about my bed,
Call me not so often back,
Silent Voices of the dead,
Toward the lowland ways behind me,
And the sunlight that is gone!
Call me rather, silent voices,
Forward to the starry track
Glimmering up the heights beyond me
On, and always on! (Tennyson 1907-8, v.VII, p. 190)

In Freshwater churchyard where Emily Tennyson was buried in August 1896, Tennyson is commemorated with the lines 'Speak, living voice! with thee is not death; / Thy life outlives the life of dust and breath.' There is another 'living voice' in 'In the Valley of Cauteretz' (Tennyson 1907-8, v.II, p.269), an area associated with both Arthur Hallam and Arthur Hugh Clough.

⁴Compare II, p.243.
For Hayes the environment of Tennyson's death is explicitly religious, and inadequate tributes are a blasphemous violation of the 'sanctuary of silence.' Like Lang, Hayes considers that discussions of superlative genius are never adequate, and he too ignores his own far 'feebler voice' by adopting this lofty position. Yet he goes further and warns the after-generation away from the grave in a gesture reminiscent of Shakespeare's epitaph: 'Nor let a hasty hand presume / To lift the hallowed laurel from his tomb' (16-17). Unlike the 'hand of death' which crowned Tennyson at the end of the first stanza, the identity of this hand is uncertain. Although Hayes clearly refers to aspiring Laureates, the desecrating hand could also belong to tribute-poets, critics and invasive biographers.

However, the final word on speech and silence does not belong to the biographers. Edmund Gosse's bitter manuscript account of Tennyson's funeral was not his only memorial. The simple poem 'In Poets' Corner' (Gosse 1894, p.91) sensitively records his individual response to the poet's death, and the gradual formation of that feeling in words. As the title suggests, the poem physically begins in the South Transept, but enacts the speaker's difficult liberation from constraint and materiality.

Where Andrew Lang and Alfred Hayes endorsed silence through rhetoric, Gosse's first response was literally speechless:

When first the clamorous poets sang, and when,
Acclaim'd by hosts of men,
While music filled with silver light and shade
Cloister and colonnade,
With pomp and catafalque and laureate crown
We laid him softly down
To sleep until the world's last morning come,
My stricken lips were dumb. (1-8)

The poem begins with others' reactions to the death; there were multitudes of tribute poems, 'hosts of men,' even the spacious Abbey was 'filled' with music. This sense of crowds and excess is helped by the combination of accumulated nouns and connective 'ands' with awkward alliteration of the 'cl' sound, and the compression of linear time into one simultaneous moment ('When ... when... While'). The first person plural and the tender 'softly' in line 6 are the first hints of the speaker's participation in this spectacle, and not until the long sentence's final clause does the personal statement come: 'My stricken lips were dumb'; even within Gosse's own poem, the 'clamorous poets' almost displace his personal grief. The public funeral, the treatment of Tennyson as public property and a national institution, disables the reader's personal relation with his poetry; yet the example of Lang's poem alerts us to the subdued personal note in this withdrawal. Silence indicates shock, but also pride, an attitude of lofty

---

1 See above p.173n.
2 When the Queen sent Tennyson a concerned telegram during his last illness, he gloomily reflected 'O, that Press will get hold of me now!' (Martin 1980, p.581); compare above pp.53-4.
3 Eric Griffiths's account of reticence in Tennyson's poetry suggests that his admirers may have been responding to specific poems as well as reviving an elegy convention to meet a national tragedy (Griffiths 1993, pp.28-47).
refusal to participate in the competitive public arena, and it is this individual response which is examined in the second stanza.

In the present tense, the speaker has returned to the grave alone to show that his silence was not neglectful, but the sign of too much feeling. Peace and obscurity provide a freer environment for emotion - indeed, the illusion of neglect is a precondition for expression:

But now that all is silent round his grave,  
Dim, from the glimmering nave,  
And in the shadow thrown by plinth and bust  
His garlands gather dust. (9-12)

After music and noisy verse, the Laureate lies in silence, overshadowed by monuments, while the complexly symbolic wreaths decay. Obscurity is a more benign and intimate environment for the dead idol and his pilgrim. The symbolic associations of sound and silence are reversed, for this death-like quiet allows the speaker to find his voice again:

Here, in the hush, I feel the chords unstrung  
Tighten in throat and tongue;  
At last, at last, the voice comes back, — I raise  
A whisper in his praise. (13-16)

As his vocal chords tighten, Gosse appears fleetingly as that traditional image for the dead poet, the unstrung harp; and while we might associate grief with tension (the 'stricken lips'), this was precisely what was missing. The chords retighten, although the halting and anxious phrasing of 'At last, at last, the voice comes back, — I raise / A whisper' suggests how tentative this is: the lineation may allow us to 'raise' an expectation, but Gosse can only manage a 'whisper.'

Tennyson's death undid his admirer's poetic faculty, so Gosse's pilgrimage was a successful quest to recover his voice. However this voice still has little to do with public appreciation by 'hosts of men.' The final stanza uses this intimate and personal voice to address the master of 'the anguish of the perfect phrase' (21) in a respectful prayer of thanks for thirty years of stimulating 'music.' While the speaker dissociates himself from the throngs of tribute-poets, his 'whisper' is genuinely humble; for the poem ends on a high note of exclamation which pictures Tennyson as retaining the voice of consummate power: 'Organ of God, with multitudinous swell / Of various tone, farewell!' (23-4).

For the tribute poet, the process of articulation is vital; if at one extreme, facility is stigmatised, at the other silence is psychic death. Gosse's poem dramatises how the mighty edifice of Westminster Abbey could obscure even the greatest men buried there. Yet the double loss, death and alienation from the dead, could be recuperated only by returning to the same scene, and to Tennyson's material remains. '[H]is grave and 'His garlands,' earthly signs of the dead poet, were necessary so that Gosse could engineer this intimate and personal 'farewell' within the national Abbey. The surviving poet could speak again, albeit in the marginal voice of a 'whisper.'
Figure 19. 'Tennyson and Browning's Tombs in Poets' Corner,' by Holland Tringham. This late-1890s drawing focuses on the juxtaposition of ancient (Chaucer and Spenser below the window) and modern poets. The vacant chair hints at loss or at the visitors who come to pay their respects.
Conclusion: Great poets and small poets.

It would hardly be worth while to quarrel with the world on account of the scanty space and little honor it awards to poets; for even their own special Corner contains some whom one does not care to meet; and, I suppose, all the literary people who really make a part of one's inner life ... might lie together along one side of the Transept, and be separately and splendidly emblazoned ... But we must not look at the matter in just this way; and I should be willing that small poets, as well as great ones, all who are anywise known by tale or song, or who have even striven to be so, should meet here.


These poems have taken me on pilgrimage to all sorts of graves: grim city burial-grounds, elegantly sociable cemeteries, English graveyards abroad, churchyards overlooking the sea. But it is fitting to end in Poets' Corner, the ancient and state-sanctioned site for commemorating British literary figures. For this crowded section of the South Transept houses not only the relics of poets who might 'make a part of one's inner life,' such as Chaucer and Spenser or Browning and Tennyson (see Figure 19, p.212); it includes 'poets' in the broader sense of writers, artists and composers, and also those whom Hawthorne terms 'small poets,' men whose literary fame did not long survive them, who arrived in the Abbey by luck rather than merit, or who have simply been forgotten over the years. When Gosse made his tribute to Tennyson 'In Poets' Corner,' he had forgotten that this important commemorative site contains the remains of the ancestors of 'clamorous poets,' as well as the great voices of English poetry. Poets' Corner is a material record of literary fame's unpredictability.

In one respect, however, the dead members of this elite group are absolutely predictable. The inhumation of poets in a site of national significance perpetuates a masculine tradition. Even visiting Poets' Corner today, one finds amidst the congregated monuments only small modern wall plaques to the memory of Jane Austen and the Brontë sisters (remembered as novelists rather than poets), while Elizabeth Barrett Browning appears as an afterthought on her husband's grave. Poets' Corner, like *English Poetry*, only appears to make a unified record of past literary achievement and immortal names; the question of which authors are remembered and which forgotten reaches only an approximate and temporary resolution.

If we needed any confirmation of the second-class position women held among poets (a group who habitually characterise themselves as neglected and ridiculed), it would be provided by the comparatively few tributes written to them. The traditional conviction that spiritual worth transcends the material body and grave appears in this case as a lack of concern by poets about the site of the body. Women poets were simply viewed as less important, and it seems possible that squeamishness about the female body, even after death, contributed to their obscure graves. Virtually all poets are represented as transcending death, on the premise that their

---

1. "Every young man's heart," Malraux says, "is a graveyard in which are inscribed the names of a thousand dead artists but whose actual denizens are a few mighty, often antagonistic, ghosts." "The poet," Malraux adds, "is haunted by a voice with which words must be harmonized" (Bloom 1975, p.26).

2. Hawthorne wryly observed another connection between Poets' Corner and less-read poetry: "the name always reminds me of the poetical department in village-newspapers" (Hawthorne 1941, p.594).
works will live on, but in the case of Hemans this spiritualising impulse is gendered and becomes a reason for disregarding the grave; the implication is that women's graves belong in the private domain, and are unlikely to be visited by pilgrims. Elizabeth Barrett Browning's tomb is undoubtedly impressive, but its grandeur derives from her husband's exceptional character, and still attracted few tribute-poets who regarded her with equivalent seriousness. While the graves of male poets seem to gain iconographic power from the historic tradition, those of women poets must wait for the future. We might therefore see poems which focus on the woman poet's grave as having a recuperative and consciously gendered motive.

The symbolic association of silence with speech indicates another reason why Poets' Corner is a fitting place to end. The voices of Tennyson's tribute-poets crying 'Silence!' still ring in our ears, and although Westminster Abbey is at the centre of the capital, it shares this one characteristic with its antitype, the country churchyard. Death is silent and serious and therefore the burial-place needs to be removed from the business and noise of everyday life; anyone who has visited a cemetery and found trains roaring past or mowing-machines labouring back and forth will have found such noises intrusive, even improper. The dead lie mutely underground hidden beneath grass or stone, pigeonholed in coffins, vaults or eerily house-like catacombs, mausolea or columbaria; visitors and pilgrims are quiet out of respect or grief. We help to maintain the fiction that death is sleep by not disturbing those who 'Rest in Peace.'

Yet while the elderly or bereft may contemplate this unconsciousness happily, for most of us prolonged silence is dangerous, and implies our cooperation with death. We pause and reflect, but it is not long before words begin to form in the mind or in the mouth. As one Victorian epitaph advises:

```
Steal from all the world awhile, and seek
From all its sorrows respite here; —
And let this quiet churchyard speak
Its lesson to thy soul, — and rear
Altars to wisdom all around:
Tongues are in every sculptured stone —
An oracle each grassy mound,
Pleading with eloquence their own. — (Snow 1847, Epitaph XLIX)
```

The lesson here is (as usual) the certainty that we die and must look to our souls; but by its very reticence the grave makes us find words, whether from a simple desire to assert one's vitality and return to more cheerful thoughts, or the more complex strategies employed in many of these grave-poems. Epitaphs and tomb-inscriptions record the voices of the bereaved, or affect to speak in the voices of the dead; mourners go to the grave to weep, remember and talk to

---

1 See Alexander Anderson's 'A City Reverie':
   And then we pass to join the dead,
   To share the silence which they crave,
   While the great world with iron tread
   Roars on and never heeds a grave. (Anderson 1912, p.95, 69-72)

2 See Wilfred Scawen Blunt's 'On a Grave in the Forest':
   Hush, gentle stranger. Here lies one asleep
   In the tall grass whom we must not awaken.
   For see, the wildest winds hush here and keep
   Silence for her and not a leaf is shaken,
   Lest she should wake and find herself forsaken. (Blunt 1914, v.l, p.362, 1-5).
their dead;\(^1\) while monumental symbols and grave-flowers articulate personal and cultural responses to the ugly fact of death and loss. Even the uncanny sexton often does duty as a churchyard guide, explaining the stories behind the tombs.\(^2\)

By breathing life into dead poems I hope to have proved that poets go to the grave to revive the voices of the dead, but also to find their own voices. The grave is a place of silence, but this is what makes it such fertile ground for literary transformation. The poet’s confrontation with the grave is dangerous because it asserts what most authors would rather forget, that consciousness ceases, they will die, and their works will probably be forgotten: a self-reflexive implication which must be negotiated by anyone writing about death.\(^3\) If the poet submitted to this symbolic silencing, then s/he would probably write no more; but the sheer number and variety of poems indicates that this is not what happens. Confronted with eternal silence, the poet fills the space with the sound of his or her own voice, replacing the unimaginable sign of death and termination with imaginable fantasies of continuity and immortality, both earthly and spiritual.\(^4\) The grave is brought temporarily under imaginative control, so that contrary to expectations that writing about the grave is morbid or gloomy, this defiant wish-fulfillment makes the grave a curiously life-affirming literary subject.\(^5\)

Tribute-poets perform critical acts by meditating on the graves of Romantic and Victorian precursors, breathing life into their heroes, and resuscitating their works and memories.\(^6\) Such active and engaged imaginative seeking of contact with the dead brings the past to life again, no matter how briefly. The tribute-writer goes to the grave as much to celebrate as to grieve, to build a relationship which death and the passing of time has made impossible, and create new life out of death and loss. This concentration of creative energy,

\(^2\)Jerome K. Jerome parodies this garrulous figure in Three Men in a Boat, ch.7, where the narrator records a rare moment of silent contemplation outside a country churchyard, which is shattered by the elderly sexton’s importunings that he ‘Come and see the skulls!’ (Jerome 1994, pp.63-6).
\(^3\)See II, p.307.
\(^4\)See Wordsworth’s ‘Essays upon Epitaphs, I’: ‘The sensations of pious cheerfulness, which attend the celebration of the sabbath-day in rural places, are profitably chastised by the sight of the graves of kindred and friends, gathered together in that general home towards which the thoughtful yet happy spectators themselves are journeying. Hence a parish-church, in the stillness of the country, is a visible centre of a community of the living and the dead’ (Owen and Smyser 1974, v.II, pp.55-6).
\(^5\)As Garrett Stewart notes: ‘the rhetoric of dying must transpose life’s terms into death, familiarize the ineffable’ (Stewart 1984, p.11).

Most nineteenth-century writers would have seen this affirmation in strictly spiritual terms, as Dorothy Wordsworth does in this comparison of two homes as the Wordsworths left Grasmere vicarage after the deaths of William and Mary’s children Catherine and Thomas in 1812: ‘I was the last person who left the house yesterday evening. It seemed as quiet as the grave; and the very church-yard where our darlings lie, when I gave a last look upon it [seemed] to cheer my thoughts. There I could think of life and immortality — the house only reminded me of desolation, gloom, emptiness, and cheerless silence’ (De Selincourt 1970, v.III, p.95); compare above p.87.

\(^6\)See the ‘Essay on Sepulchres’: ‘Why should Milton and Shakespear, and lord Bacon, and sir Philip Sidney die? Perhaps yet they shall not wholly die. I am not contented to visit the house in Bread-Street where Milton was born, or that in Bunhill-Row where he died, I want to repair to the place where he now dwells. Some spirit shall escape from his ashes, and whisper to me things unfelt before. ... I wish to live in intercourse with the Illustrious Dead of All Ages’ (Godwin 1993, p.22).
and the post-Romantic aspiration towards an increasingly remote immortality, is also evident in
testamentary poems where a speaker locates himself as author of his own grave. Since the
grave chosen almost always lies in a rural churchyard, nature urges a continuity between
generations which defies time's passing, and projects the textual and material grave into an
unknowable future.

We accept that children are dependent upon their parents, but only later do we come to
understand the extent to which parents, living and dead, depend upon their children. Commemoration and remembering always depend on a mutual reliance between generations; if
memorial rituals are not regularly renewed, the personal significance of graves, monuments and
family narrative dies away in a few generations. This has largely been the fate of the Victorian
cemeteries. Time passes, families mutate and disperse until the cemetery is full of abandoned
memorials, decaying at their own rate or speeded along by institutional or antisocial vandalism.¹

The central question in poems about the grave is what can be kept and what must be
lost; when a poet dies, their body will decay and their grave may vanish, but we can keep their
poems. A central paradox in these poems is that loss is gain, typically presented in terms of
religious consolation: earthly losses are translated into heavenly or spiritual gains. However
Katharine Tynan’s poem ‘Recompense’ (Tynan 1918, p.A3f)² suggests how this paradigm can
have an emotional application:

That which I saved I lost
And that I lost I found,
And you are mine, oh tender little ghost,
Whose grave is holy ground.

That which I kept is flown,
So fast the children grow,
The only child I keep to be my own
I lost long years ago. (1-8)

A mother compares her living children and dead child, and finds that while the living are
changed into strangers, the dead child is unaltered. In revisiting ‘We Are Seven,’ the poem
affirms the preservative value of memory. Deprived of a primary relationship with her maturing
children, the lonely mother finds ‘Recompense’ for these losses in her memories and the child’s
grave. While her memory has erased the living children’s younger selves, it has become fixated
with the image which can never develop. The dead child has become a mental monument
which will only fall with the decay of the mother’s mind or her death.³

This impulse towards preservation is especially strong in poems about the graves of
children. Fathers revisit fantasies of their child’s future, images all the more potent for being
unattainable, and immortalise both poignant child-portraits, and the future life denied to the

¹See Tony Harrison’s v1994, p.12.
³Compare William John Courthope’s ‘Sonnet’:
  O come not to my grave when I am dead:
The soul you loved was never buried there;
...
  O let your mind my cemetery be!
So shall I live in Heaven, living in thee. (Courthope 1865, p.40, 1-2, 13-4)
child. The complex emotions of child-bereavement are concentrated on the site of the child's body, and by textualising this significant site the father-poet seeks to immortalise it. If the child does not survive to confirm continuity over time, then the poet makes a written record of their relationship which he hopes will survive into a future moment he cannot live to see.

The duration of 'immortality' implied here is actually quite short, perhaps fifty years. It is enough for a grieving individual, but hardly compares with the immortality pursued by poets. The mother in Tynan's poem is still preoccupied with the 'holy ground' of the child's grave; yet we have repeated proofs that the grave is not exempt from processes of decay or change. It may be less vulnerable than a living, breathing person, but like any material object it cannot be controlled and fixed. This universal truth recapitulates the memento mori function of so many of these poems, but also suggests another reason for the popularity of the grave as a subject for poetry.

As I have argued, bringing the material grave into a poem makes death seem controllable by translating the unknown into imaginable terms; yet the poem also preserves the grave and the poet's feelings about the dead person. By textualising the material grave, the poet greatly magnifies that site's significance, whether it be real or imaginary, and the poem becomes a memorial. Similarly a poet leaves behind poems after death which become a mental monument, or more excitingly, may allow 'the poet' to be resuscitated through acts of reading. For while Tynan's lonely speaker contemplates a passive and silent image, a reader enters into dialogue with the reawakened mind of the dead. The publication and distribution of multiple copies of a poetry volume potentially turns the grave into a dispersed memorial site. And now, with the advent of electronic information technology which gathers texts and makes them accessible on a global scale, long-obscured sites of mourning could find a renewed and general significance. Grave poetry merits recognition not least for this attempt to fuse together the material and spiritual and give another lease of life to the memory of individuals. For the grave is a fundamental fact, a universal symbol of termination which has an unusual capacity for transcending cultural barriers.

Ironically one possible obstacle to this renewed significance for contemporary readers is the very accessibility of the idiom and form in which most of these poems are written. Generally

---

1 This emphasis on preservation has been readdressed recently in discussions of models of bereavement. Tony Walter has proposed that the purpose of grief may not simply be to 'leave the deceased behind and form new attachments,' but to talk about them and find a secure place for them in the present (Walter 1996b, pp.7-25).

Arthur Young's response to his fourteen-year-old daughter's death in 1797 is one of many Romantic and Victorian accounts which appear to substantiate Walter's thesis, albeit in a religious not secular context: 'I buried her in my pew, fixing the coffin so that when I kneel it will be between her head and her dear heart. This I did as a means of preserving the grief I feel, and hope to feel while breath is in my body' (Pollock 1987, p.127).

2 See above pp.56-60.

3 This relation between body and text seems to be acknowledged in the use of the word 'remains' to describe the dead body and writings found after a writer's death, as in the Remains in Verse and Prose of Arthur Henry Hallam (1863), Poetical Remains of the Late Mrs Hemans (1836) or Life and Literary Remains of L. E. L. (1841). Compare also the rarer use of 'relics' to describe unpublished writings, and the now obsolete term for a widow, 'relict.'

4 There are already a number of memorial sites and 'virtual graveyards' on the Internet, and several companies are investigating the practicability of 'virtual funerals' to ease the participation of the elderly and infirm.
these poets were satisfied to participate in and uphold a common language of loss and commemoration. This shared language, like the country churchyard trope, appealed to poets because it appeared transcendent and timeless. Anxious and unsettled by the speed of change and rising urban and commercial influences, many rejected a Browning-derived model of contemporary scenes and characters, dramatic monologue, and consciously modern vocabulary and syntax.\(^1\) Instead they embraced Romantic, specifically Wordsworthian vocabularies of nature, order and spirituality, a set of values which they thought would survive fads and fashions, and sought to negotiate the future by means of an epitaphal poetics and supposedly universal language.\(^2\)

Tennyson's death and the extraordinary response it prompted, mark a crisis point for this communal idiom. These commemorations are the apogee of the bardic cult of which he was the unwilling patriarchal head, but may also be read as elegies for the genre in which they are composed. The man who had represented the ideal poet for more than forty years was finally silenced and buried, liberating a mood of innovation and experiment which had been developing gradually from continental and proto-modern influences. The communal idiom went into a decline which was accelerated by the First World War's traumatic and malign influence, and to which modernism seemed the final coup de gràce.\(^3\) Yet while this style of poetry is still ridiculed as sentimental and conventional, it has never quite died, and is being constantly remade and continued by poets and authors attracted to its nostalgic resonance and idealism.\(^4\)

I have aimed to show the continuity of this language by presenting relatively fresh and unfamiliar poems and secondary materials. The appendices in volume II indicate the two main lines of inquiry which might be followed from my work. Appendix 1, the survey of incidences of grave images, gives a rough indication of which poets were most concerned with the spiritual, material and rhetorical effects of mortality, and suggests materials of use to researchers in nineteenth-century elegy. On a broader level, I hope that adding the works of eighty or so poets to English Poetry's coverage indicates the direction taken by the projected revision. Appendix 2 suggests a large number of generic studies which could be done on specific images and types. While I argue for the historically specific use of these types and images in the nineteenth-century, their strength and significance derive from ancient origins and use and renewal through the centuries. Most of these images could be traced back to classical antecedants and forward to the present day, and used (for instance) to analyse how far differences in burial practice influence mortality topoi.

While English Poetry contains some volumes published after 1900, its coverage formally ends with that date. It would be interesting to follow the study into the modern era, up

\(^1\)This is particularly true of the tribute-poetry upon which much of my argument is based. However proto-modern strategies were adopted by a number of poets in the period 1870-1900, notably by women such as Jean Ingelow, May Kendall and Augusta Webster.

\(^2\)See Anderson and Watson's responses to Wordsworth's grave on pp.183-6.

\(^3\)Paul Fussell characterises the innocence of pre-war culture by its endorsement of a Tennysonian high diction or '"raised," essentially feudal language,' which was damaged and ironised by the experiences of 1914-18 (Fussell 1977, pp.18-24).

\(^4\)See Wordsworth 'Essays upon Epitaphs, II': 'An experienced and well-regulated mind will not, therefore, be insensible to this monotonous language of sorrow and affectionate admiration; but will find under that veil a substance of individual truth' (Owen and Smyser 1974, p.66).
to the aftermath of the First World War or the break-out of the Second, since the principal mode of disposal changed from burial to cremation. An integrated contextualisation of memorial imagery in poetry would be a good indicator of real cultural change. I would also be interested in examining attitudes towards the rapidity with which burial follows death in different classes, cultures and religions. Some societies order that burial take place within 24 hours of death, and argue that leaving the body is disrespectful to the dead; this preference for quick disposal now dominates contemporary British attitudes. However, the Victorians considered quick burial undignified, associated with poverty, the lower classes and emergency measures during epidemics. Waiting for the funeral might lend gravitas to the mourning process, or could be a simple result of raising money for burial-costs.

I found the poems commemorating the deaths of children the most difficult and compelling area of my work, and think a comparison of the rhetorical gestures of parents writing in memory of their children with those of adult children writing for their parents would repay inquiry. I did not have time or space to elaborate the clear differences between the strategies male and female parents used to describe their dead children, nor to consider the importance of the child's age or gender. It would also be instructive to compare child-elegies in which the material grave is not used at all, and to consider at greater length the therapeutic function of such composition.

The section of Appendix 2 given over to tribute-poems for precursor-poets is especially detailed because I consider the material is of interest to anyone researching nineteenth-century poetry, biography or criticism, not just those working on death. The poems show reputations in the process of formation, and testify to the last period in which a poet could be a figure of truly popular and national importance. The poems I present are almost all written from a position of conscious inferiority, and it would be interesting to reintegrate this material with the familiar critical tradition of great writers composing elegies for lesser writers, or to compare it with other tributes which do not fit either category. Women's literary representations of the woman poet's grave could give dramatic suggestions as to how women poets viewed their emerging tradition, and I would like to research this area in more detail. One advantage of pursuing a specific image through many different poetic genres is that one develops a new respect for conventions and traditions. Having read male and female poets side by side, I am impressed both by the vigour and ingenuity with which male poets dispute the grave, and by the ingenuity with which female poets bring new perspectives to the shared tradition.

Poets' Corner is an apposite analogy for the English Poetry database, since both present a somewhat incongruous company of immortals, usurpers, and the forgotten, and are haunted by the ghosts of the absent. But while the material form of Poets' Corner is fixed, barring occasional inscriptions on the memorial window, the future of English Poetry is vacillating.

Jay Winter summarises the new, tragic urgency of preservation after the First World War: 'Commemoration was a universal preoccupation ... The need to bring the dead home, to put the dead to rest, symbolically or physically, was pervasive. ... Those who tried to reunite the living and the dead, to retrieve their bodies and to give them a secure and identifiable resting place, faced staggering problems. There was the scale and chaos of the battlefields at the end of the war; there was as well terrible uncertainty as to the survival of thousands of men who simply had vanished in combat' (Winter 1996, p.28).
uncertain and flexible. The database may turn out to be a graveyard, full of dead, unread poems; but I think it more likely that the accessibility of little-known texts will keep critics interrogating their reading strategies and expand the number of potential readers who make chance discoveries. The database keeps alive the memory of some who would otherwise remain forgotten; and by encouraging critical readers to question the selection of poets and texts included, it might lead to still others being sought out and revived. The voices of the dead poets will keep returning, so we can say with Godwin,

They are not dead. They are still with us in their stories, in their words, in their writings, in the consequences that do not cease to flow fresh from what they did: they still have their place, where we may visit them, and where ... we shall not fail to be conscious of their presence. (Godwin 1993, p.23)
References are to Bibliography 1.

Page.

223 Henrietta Tindal [Mrs. Acton Tindal], 'The Burial in London' (Tindal 1850, pp.106-8); See I, pp.43-4.

224 Charles Dickens, 'City Graves' (Dickens 1850, p.277); See I, pp.45-6.

225 Anon, 'To My Little Son, Two Months Old' (The Early Dead 1857, p.154); See I, p.75.

226 Bryan Waller Procter, 'Edward, my Son. Died in his 6th Year' (Procter 1877, pp.94-6); See I, pp.89-91.

227 __________, 'The Burial Club, 1839' (Procter 1877, pp.226-7); See I, pp.91-2.

228 Mary Shelley, 'The Choice ' (Shelley 1876, pp.7-14); See I, pp.125-8.

232 Emma Blyton, 'To the Memory of Keats' (Blyton 1858, p.22); See I, pp.140-1.

233 Oscar Wilde, 'The Tomb of Keats' (Wilde 1877, pp.476-8); See I, pp.149-51.
Henrietta Tindal [Mrs. Acton Tindal], 'The Burial in London' (Tindal 1850, pp.106-8); See I, pp.43-4.

THE BURIAL IN LONDON.

These lines were suggested by the circumstance of an American girl, who was dying in London, earnestly entreating not to be buried there—where the snow was blackened and the graves crowded.

H! bury me not in that smoky town,
Where the sunrise is so dim,
And the crowded river flows blackly forth
Through battlements old and grim;

Where no freshness comes with the breath of morn,
And the weeny flow'rets die,
And no stillness reigns with the stars at night,
But the human tide rolls by.

For I could not rest in that drear graveyard,
Where no blades of green grass spring,
And no shadow falls from the summer trees,
Nor the wild birds ever sing;
Where the dead are rock'd by the rolling wains,
As they lie their shrouds within,

And their vaults are rent by the mighty roar
Of the city's toil and sin.

A strange gray mist from those many graves
With the evening gloom steals by;
'Tis a winged plague that is bred from death,
'Tis rank with mortality:
And my heart grows faint, for it seems to me
That the living grudge the dead
The span of earth that should cover them,
And their last deep narrow bed!

Ah! carry me back to my fatherland,
Beyond the Atlantic wave,
And the pure white snow on my head shall rest,
And the sunrise gild my grave.
Oh! lay me to sleep in those green arcades
Where the vine, and plane, and oak,
Knit together in verdant brotherhood,
For in my far land there is room, as yet,

Where the buds of spring, and the summer flowers,
And the fruits of autumn glow,
In the best-loved haunts of the bird and bee,
Where the streams to music flow.
For in my far land there is room, as yet,
For the living and the dead,
Lay down his careworn head.

Ah! sweetly, my mother, thy child will sleep
Afar from the haunts of life,
From the din of the troubled multitude,
Its passion, and pain, and strife,—

In the peace of the sinless wilderness,
With the glorious works of God,
While the dreamy eyes of the stars keep watch
O'er the grave by man untrod.
CITY GRAVES.

I walked straight through the gathering fog,
   By drains and ditches fed,
Until I saw the City church
   High towering over head,
And came to where the grave-yard holds
   Its half-unburied dead!

Hard by the Thames, those high-piled graves
   Higher and higher grow,
Where living men, at morn and eve,
   By thousands come and go;
Where ledgers pile the desks above,
   And gold lies hid below.

Within those walls, the peace of death—
   Without, life's ceaseless din;
The toiler, at his work, can see
   The tombs of his mouldering kin;
And the living without, grow, day by day,
   More like the dead within.

I saw the wheezy beadle pause,
   Panting with gold and lace,
He turned the key in its creaking lock.
   With handkerchief over his face.
And pale-faced urchins gambolled round
   The "consecrated" place.

I saw from out the earth peep forth
   The white and glistening bones,
With jagged ends of coffin-planks,
   That e'en the worm disowns;
And once a smooth round skull rolled on,
   Like a football, on the stones.

I thought of those who hear the sounds
   Of Life across the foam,
In foreign climes, in savage lands,
   Who rear Religion's dome;
They might have taught our rulers first
   To spare our lives at home.

Too late the wished-for boon has come,
   Too late wiped out the stain—
No Schedule shall restore to health,
   No Act give life again
To the thousands whom, in bygone years,
   Our City Graves have slain!
Anon, 'To My Little Son, Two Months Old.'

They said that I should give to thee
The name thy elder brother wore, —
Thy elder brother, whom my knee
Hath dandled, whom I hold no more.
I cannot give thy brother's name
To thee, my little infant son!
In dust he sleepeth, yet the same
He seems as either precious one
Of those that still remain with me:
I cannot give his name to thee
The plaything on our parlor floor,
Who with us is no longer seen, —
Oh no! I call thee not Eugene!

'Twould seem to blot him from his place, —
Though he to fill our bitter cup
Hath died, I cannot thus efface
His memory. No! I reckon up,
With these dear children, the loved others
Who slumber in their early grave;
As mine I cite, their several names —
The buried with the living brothers
And sister, that my Maker gave,
And love as well the absent claims
As those around my fireside seen, —
Oh, no! I name thee not Eugene!
Bryan Waller Procter, 'Edward, my Son. Died in his 6th Year' (Procter 1877, pp.94-6); See I, pp.89-91.

EDWARD, MY SON.
DIED IN HIS 6TH YEAR.

For evermore—for ever, evermore
Lies he within these arms, O mother Earth!
Then clasp him to thee, gently,—with thy soft
And tendrest folding—for he was the best
And dearest (unto me) in all the world!
He was my own—O, in familiar love
How often have I told him thus, and pressed
His head against my heart, caressing it.
For but to touch him was a sweet delight—
To look on him—do know that he was near,
And well, and full of careless happiness.

Sickness is in our house, and pain and woe
(Pain of the inmost heart—unending woe)
And Death has come—and gone! He leaves no track—
None—but a frightful void, which change, nor time,
Nor prosperous days
Can ever again refill. A little time
And we were happy. In our cheerful room
(From which the light has fled) we looked around
And saw bright faces, and heard happy words—
Some still remain: but he, whose look was bright
Beyond the rest, and on whose "pretty tongue"
Hung tender accents that were dear to us,
And sweeter than all music—where is he?
Our best and best beloved,—Dead and gone!

My best beloved, hast thou fled,
And left me—me who loved thee so,
(Who loves thee still—though cold and dead)
Beyond what thou didst ever know?

They tell me that I made thee, Dear,
Mine idol, breaking God's great law:
If so, I pay, with bitter tear,
For errors that I never saw!

They say that earth is filled with flowers,
That mine may be a happy lot,
That life is rich in sunny hours,
It may be—but I see them not.

I only see a little shape
That used to cling about my heart,
And never struggled to escape,
And yet it did at last depart.

Oh happier far art thou than we,
Who wander in the desert, blind,—
Thou hast left pain and poverty,
And all the wrongs of life behind.

We strove whilst thou wast here (let's say
Thus much to cheat our sorrow still)
To make thy life one sunny day,
And shield thee, in our hearts, from ill.
THE BURIAL CLUB, 1839.

Soh!—there's another gone,
   How purple he looks,—but wait!
We'll tumble him into his coffin;
   And bury the body straight.

No one will see where the poison
   Has trickled and left its trace!
How curled up he is! I wonder
   How the blue came into his face.

We'll find him a shroud for a shilling;
   We'll cover the limbs up tight:
Who see him shall swear we are willing
   To do our duty to-night.

Dead! That's a guinea for each:
   No need to spend aught on his meals;
There's the little one—but she's a-dying;
   And Connor, the boy,—but he steals.

I was once, I confess, chicken-hearted:
   His moans made me tremble and shrink:
But I thought of the club and the money,
   Grew bolder, and gave him the drink.
THE CHOICE.

My Choice!—My Choice, alas! was had and gone
With the red gleam of lost autumnal sun; ¹
Lost in that deep wherein he bathed his head,
My choice, my life, my hope together fled;—
A wanderer here, no more I seek a home,
The sky a vault, and Italy a tomb.
Yet as some days a pilgrim I remain,
Linked to my orphan child² by love's strong chain;
And since I have a faith that I must earn,
By suffering and by patience, a return
Of that companionship and love, which first
Upon my young life's cloud like sunlight burst,
And now has left me, dark, as when its beams,
Quenched in the night of dreadful ocean streams,
Leave that one cloud, a gloomy speck on high,
Beside one star in the else darkened sky;—
Since I must live, how would I pass the day,

¹ Shelley was drowned, it will be remembered, on the 8th of July, 1822. In the autumn of 1821, Mrs. Shelley arrived in London from Italy, where, from the letter already quoted, she seems to have left this poem.
² Percy Florence, now Sir Percy Florence Shelley.
A POEM ON SHELLEY'S DEATH.

In a strange guise thou dost descend, or how
Could love soothe the fell remorse,—as it does now?—
By this remorse and love,—and by the years
Through which we shared our common hopes and fears,
By all our best companionship, I dare
Call on thy sacred name without a fear;
And thus I pray to thee, my friend, my Heart!
That in thy new abode, thou'lt bear a part.
In soothing thy poor Mary's lonely pain,
As link by link she weaves her heavy chain!
And thou, strange star! ascendant at my birth,
Which ruined, they said, kind influence on the earth,
So from great parents sprung, I dared to boast Fortune my friend, till set, thy beams were lost!
And thou, Inscrutable, by whose decree
Has burst this hideous storm of misery!
Here let me cling, here to these solitudes,
These myrtle-shaded streams and chestnut woods;
Tear me not hence—here let me live and die,
In my adopted land—my country—Italy.

A happy Mother first I saw this sun,
Beneath this sky my race of joy was run.
First my sweet girl, whose face resembled his,
Slept on bleak Lido, near Venetian seas.

Yet still my eldest-born, my loveliest, dearest,
Clung to my side, most joyful then when nearest.
An English home had given this angel birth,
Near those royal towers, where the grass-clad earth
Is shadowed o'er by England's loftiest trees:
Then our companion o'er the swift-passed seas,
He dwelt beside the Alps, or gently slept,
Rocked by the waves, o'er which our vessel swept,
Beside his father, nursed upon my breast,
While Leman's waters shook with fierce unrest.
His fairest limbs had bathed in Serchio's stream;
His eyes had watched Italian lightnings gleam;
His childish voice had, with its loudest call,
The echoes waked of Este's castle wall;
Had paced Pompeii's Roman Market-place;
Had gazed with infant wonder on the grace
Of stone-wrought deities, and pictured saints,
In Rome's high palaces:—there were no taints
Of ruin on his cheek—all shadowless
Grim death approached—the boy met his cares,
And while his glowing limbs with life's warmth shine,
Around those limbs his icy arms were thrown.

The alteration is in Mrs. Shelley's writing.
* This passage originally stood thus,—
If in thy new abode thou'lt bear a part,
In might may lighten thy poor Mary's pain.

1 Here also I have had to supply the note of interrogation.
2 No hyphen in the MS.
3 Clara Shelley, who died in 1818.
4 In the Shelley Memorials we read:
5 While they were at Este, their little

1 Originally another, but altered by Hunt to old, and finally by Mrs. Shelle-ley to royal.
2 No hyphen in the MS.
Thy very weakness was my tower of strength,
Methought thou wert a spirit from the sky,
Which struggled with it's chains, but could not die,
And that destruction had no power to win
From out those limbs the soul that burnt within.—
Tell me, ye ancient walls, and weed-grown towers,
Ye Roman airs and brightly painted flowers,
Does not his spirit visit that recess
Which built of love enshrin'd his earthly dress?—
—No more! no more!—what though that form be fled,
My trembling hand shall never write thee—dead—
Thou liv'st in Nature, Love, my Memory,
With deathless faith for eye adoring thee,
The wife of Time no more, I wed Eternity.

Tis thus the Past—on which my spirit leans,
Makes dearest to my soul Italian scenes.
In Tuscan fields the winds in odours steeped
From flowers and cypresses, when skies have wept,
Shall, like the notes of music once most dear,
Which brings the unstrung voice upon my ear
Of one beloved, to memory display
Past scenes, past hopes, past joys, in long array.
Pugnano's trees, beneath whose shade he stood,
The pools reflecting Pisa's old pine wood,
The fire-flies' beams, the aziola's cry
All breathe his spirit which can never die.—
Such memories have linked these hills and caves,

1 This and the following line are printed as they originally stood in the MS. The words soil, earth, and land are written in and cancelled in such a way as to leave a doubt, which were finally adopted; land is in line 87, in Hunt's writing.

1 William Shelley died at Rome in 1819, while Shelley was engaged in composing The Cenci,—a tragic interruption of his tragedy, which, as Lady Shelley says (Memorials, p. 115), "draws the broken-hearted parents to the neighbourhood of Leghorn, where they took a small house (Villa Vahervano), about half way between the city and Monte Nero."

2 This refers to Allegna, or Alba, as she is sometimes called the daughter of Miss Clare Clairmont and Byron.

1 No hyphen in the MS.

2 Fire-flies in the MS.
These woodland paths, and streams, and sundered waves

Fast to each sad pulsation of my breast,
And made their melancholy arms the haven of my rest.

Here will I live, within a little dell,
Which but a month ago I saw full well:
A dream then pictured forth the solitude
Deep in the shelter of a lovely wood;
A voice then whispered a strange prophecy,
My dearest, widowed friend, that thou and I
Should there together pass the weary day,
As we before have done in Spezia's bay,
As through long hours we watched the sails that neared
O'er the far sea, their vessel ne'er appeared;
One pang of agony, one dying gleam
Of hope led us long, beside the ocean stream,
But keen-eyed fear, the while all hope departs,
Stabbed with a million stings our heart of hearts.

The sad revolving year has not allayed
The poison of those bleeding wounds, or made
The anguish less of that corroding thought
Which has with grief each single moment fraught.
Edward, thy voice was hushed—thy noble heart

---

1. This would seem to indicate that the poem was composed within two or three weeks of Shelley's death, in which case, sad revolving year, in line 72, must be taken merely as referring to the lapse of time, not the lapse of a year.

2. Mrs. Williams, the "Jane" of Shelley's exquisite song, "The keen stars were twinkling."

3. That originally, but altered to their in Mrs. Shelley's writing.

4. Leigh Hunt suggests an emendation, thou too? thou too? . . . for thy voice was hushed; but, as the pen has not been drawn through either of the readings, I leave Mrs. Shelley's in the text.

5. That originally, but altered to their in Mrs. Shelley's writing.

6. Williams, who was drowned with Shelley.

7. Leigh Hunt suggests an emendation, thou too? thou too? . . . for thy voice was hushed; but, as the pen has not been drawn through either of the readings, I leave Mrs. Shelley's in the text.
Emma Blyton, 'To the Memory of Keats' (Blyton 1858, p.22); See I, pp.140-1.

22

POETICAL TRIBUTES.

To the Memory of Keats.

Take thy repose, young bard—thy bier is laid In the soft calm of an Elysian shade; The pilgrim bends o'er thy sepulchral spot, Mourning thy blighted hopes and ill-timed lot; 'Tis nought to thee, though thousands weep thy fate, The praise thou shouldst have had has come too late. Too late—thy country owns thy promised worth, For thou art slumbering in the breast of earth! What matters now, when thou hast gained thy rest, That burning tears once wrung thine inmost breast, Curdling the life-blood of thy writhing soul, Producing feelings thou couldst not control? Now thou hast soared to nobler heights than fame, Beyond the selfish critic's praise or blame; 'Mid shades of ruined Rome thy bones decay, Mingling at last with their own native clay. What, though no proud, eulogious pyramid Graces the spot where thy young corse is hid? Still o'er that fragrant mound the tear is shed— The tear of sympathy for one long dead. Oh, KEATS! for ever hushed is thy mute lyre— Unstrung it may no more its bard inspire; Yet kindred hands may kindred notes prolong, And to thy memory tune a mournful song. Enough for me to mourn thy once sad state, And leave to nobler pens to trace thy fate; Still round thy name the laurel shall entwine, And in thy works thy monument shall shine!
THE TOMB OF KEATS.

BY OSCAR WILDE.

As one enters Rome from the Via Ostiensis by the Porta San Saba, the first object that meets the eye is a marble pyramid, close at hand on the left. There are many Egyptian obelisks in Rome, tall, snake-like spires of red sandstone, mottled with strange writings, which remind one of the pillars of flame which led the children of Israel through the sea away from the land of the Pharaohs; but more wonderful than to look upon is this gaunt, wedge-shaped pyramid, standing in this Italian city, unshattered amid the ruins and wrecks of time, looking older than the Eternal City itself, like terrible lines turned to stone. And so, in the middle ages, men, supposing it to be the sepulchre of Remus, who was slain by his own father, the founder of the city, so ancient and mysterious, it may have now, perhaps unfortunately, more accurate information and know that it is the tomb of one Caius Cestius, a Roman man of small note, who died about 36 B.C.

Yet though we cannot care much for the dead man himself, his sepulchre will be, even dear to English-speaking people, because at evening its name is written on the marble slab that has been put over it.

Recently some well-meaning persons have placed a marble slab on the wall of the cemetery with a medallion-profile of Keats on it, and some mediocre lines of poetry. The face is ugly, and rather hatchet-shaped, with thick, sensual lips, and it looks as if the poet himself, who was very beautiful to look upon. "His coun-

Try, says a lady, who saw him at one of Hazlitt's lectures, "lives in my mind like a song; his beauty and brightness; it had the expression as if he had been singing on some glorious sight." And this is the idea which Severn's picture of him gives when he says, "But his beauty, I hope will soon be taken down. I think the best representation of the dead poet had once told his friend that he thought the "infinite pleasure he had received in life was in watching the growth of flowers," and how another time, after lying a while quite still, he murmured in some strange prescience of early death, "I feel the sorrow growing over me." And this time-worn stone and these wild flowers are but poor memorials of one so great as Keats; most of all, too, in this city of Rome, which pays such honour to her dead; where popes, and emperors, and saints, and cardinals, lie hidden in "porphyry wombs," couched in baths of jasper and chalcedony, and malachite, abla
cr, with precious stones and metals, and tended with continual service. For very noble is the site, and worthy of a noble monument; behind thoms the gray pyramid, symbol of the world's age, and filled with copies of the sphinx, and the lotus leaf, and the glories of old Rome; in front is the Monte Testaccio, built, it is said, with the broken fragments of the vessels in which all the nations of the East and the West brought their tribute to Rome; and a little distance off, along the slope of the hill under the Aurelian wall, some tall gaunt cypresses like burnt-out funeral torches, to mark the spot where Shelly's "heart of hearts") lies in the earth; and above all, the soil which we tread is very Rome!

If I stood beside the mean grave of this divine boy, I thought of it as of a Priest of Beauty slain before his time; and the vision of the virtues of the poet, and the beauty of the tomb, would be coloured bust, like that of the young Rajah of Koolapoor at Florence, a lovely and life-like work of art.
Guido’s St. Sebastian came before my eyes as I saw him at Genoa, a lovely brown boy, with crisp, clustering hair and red lips, bound by his evil enemies to a tree, and, though pierced by arrows, raising his eyes with divine, impassioned gaze towards the Eternal Beauty of opening heavens. And thus my thoughts shaped themselves to rhyme:—

**HEU MISERANDE PUE**

Rid of the world’s injustice and its pain,  
He rests at last beneath God’s veil of blue;  
Taken from life while life and love were new  
The youngest of the martyrs here is lain,  
Fair as Sebastian and as foully slain.  
No cypress shades his grave, nor funeral yew,  
But red-lipped daisies, violets drenched with dew,  
And sleepy poppies, catch the evening rain.

O proudest heart that broke for misery!  
O saddest poet that the world hath seen!  
O sweetest singer of the English land!  
Thy name was writ in water on the sand,  
But our tears shall keep thy memory green,  
And make it flourish like a Basil-tree.

*Rome*, 1877.
Bibliography 1: Poets.


________, *St. Augustine's Holiday and Other Poems* (London: Kegan Paul, Trench & Co. 1886).


________, *By the Way: Verses, Fragments, and Notes* (London: Longmans, Green and Co. 1912).

________, *Flower Pieces and other poems* (London: Reeves & Turner 1888).


________, *Life and Phantasy* (London: Reeves and Turner 1889).


________, *A Song of Labour and Other Poems* (Dundee: Printed at the Advertiser Office 1873).


Anderson, George, and Finlay, John (eds.), The Burns Centenary Poems, a collection of fifty of the best out of many hundreds written on occasion of the centenary celebration (Glasgow: T. Murray & Son 1859).


______, Poems on Various Subjects (Carlisle: printed by J. Mitchell, for the Author 1798).


______, The songs and ballads of Cumberland, to which are added dialect and other poems; With biographical sketches, notes, and glossary. Edited by Sidney Gilpin (London: Geo. Routledge and Sons, Edinburgh: John Menzies 1866).

Anster, John, Ode to Fancy; with other poems (Dublin: printed by Richard Milliken 1815).


______, Poems. By Edwin Arnold ... With a preface written for this edition by the author (Boston: Roberts Brothers 1880).


Arnold, Matthew, *Alaric at Rome. A Prize Poem, recited in Rugby School, June XII, MDCCXXIV* (Rugby: Combe and Crossley 1840).


______, *The Last Days of Herculaneum; And Abradates and Panthea* (London: printed for Baldwin, Cradock, and Joy 1821).


______, *At the Gate of the Convent and Other Poems* (London: Macmillan 1885).


______, *Rome or Death!* (Edinburgh, London: W. Blackwood & Sons 1873).


Austin, Alfred (cont.), *The Season: A Satire ... New and revised edition (Being the third)* (London: John Camden Hotten 1869).


B., R. [Robert Buckley], *Lines written in Blacklands churchyard* (1871).


Barbauld, Anna Laetitia, *The Works of Anna Laetitia Barbauld. With a Memoir by Lucy Aikin. 2 v.* (Boston: Published by David Reed 1826).

Bance, William, *The Battle of Balaclava: a ballad* (Charlton: The Author [c.1855]).


Barbauld, Anna Laetitia, *The Works of Anna Laetitia Barbauld. With a Memoir by Lucy Alkín. 2 v.* (Boston: Published by David Reed 1826).


_______, *Poems and Sonnets. 2 v.* (London: John Camden Hotten 1871).

_______, *Poems Real and Ideal* (London: Remington and Co. 1884b).

_______, *The Poetical Works of George Barlow. 11 v.* (London: Henry J. Glaisher [1902-14]).

_______, *Song-bloom* (London: Remington and Co. 1881).

_______, *Song-spray* (London: Remington and Co. 1882).


_______, *Under the dawn* (London: Chatto & Windus 1875).


_______, *Poetical pieces* (Dorchester: Printed by G. Clark [etc.] 1820).

_______, *A Selection from Unpublished Poems* (Winterbourne Monkton, Dorchester: Published at the school 1870).


Barrett, Eaton Stannard, *All the talents' garland: or, A few rockets let off at a celebrated ministry. Including Elijah's mantle, the Uti Possidetis, and other poems of the same author. By*


______, *Metrical Effusions, or Verses on Various Occasions* (Woodbridge: Printed and Sold by S. Loder ... Sold also by R. Baldwin 1812).


______, *A New Year’s Eve, and Other Poems* (London: John Hatchard and Son 1828).


______, *The Reliquary: By Bernard and Lucy Barton* (London: John W. Parker 1836).


*The Battle of Inkerman; a ballad, with Balaklava, Alma, Sinope, etc. By a retired Liverpool Merchant* (London 1855).


______, *Fifty Lyrical Ballads* (Bath: printed by Mary Meyler 1829).


______, *Songs, Ballads and Other Poems, by the late Thomas Haynes Bayly; Edited by his Widow. 2 v.* (London: Richard Bentley 1844).


Beattie, James, *Poems on Several Occasions* (Edinburgh: Printed for W. Creech 1776).


______, *Gleanings from a Tour in Palestine and the East* (London: Hodder and Stoughton 1887).


______, *Voices from the Lakes, and Other Poems* (London: Nisbet and Co. 1877).


______, *Contributions to a Ballad History of England and the States sprung from Her* (London: Chatto & Windus [1868]).


______, *Poems* (London: Elkin Mathews and John Lane 1893).


Bethune, John, *The Bethunes: or, The Fifeshire Foresters* (London: Jarrold and Sons [1863]).
Bethune, John (cont.), Poems by the late John Bethune; with a sketch of the author's life, by his brother (Edinburgh: Adam and Charles Black, Perth: James Dewar 1840).


Bickersteth, Songs in the House of Pilgrimage (Hampstead: Printed by J. Hewetson [c.1880]).
Bickersteth, Winged Words (London: John F. Shaw [1861]).
Bickersteth, Yesterday, To-day, And For Ever: A Poem in Twelve Books (London, Oxford: Rivingtons 1873).

Bigg, John Stanyan, Night and the Soul. A dramatic poem (London: Groombridge and Sons 1854).


Binyon, Lyric Poems (London: Elkin Mathews & Io: Lane 1894).
Binyon, Porphyrion and other poems (London: Grant Richards 1898).


Blackie, Musa Burschicosa: A Book of Songs for Students and University Men (Edinburgh: Edmonston and Douglas 1869).

Blackwood, H. S., Songs, Poems, & Verses by Helen, Lady Dufferin (Countess of Gifford). Edited, with a Memoir and some Account of the Sheridan family, by her Son the Marquess of Dufferin and Ava (London: John Murray 1894).


Blyton, Emma, *Poetical Tributes to the Memories of British Bards, and other poems* (London: A. W. Bennett 1858).


________, *The Land of Light and other Hymns of Faith and Hope* (London: Samuel Bagster & Sons [1912]).


________, *The Song of the New Creation, and Other Pieces* (London: James Nisbet 1872).


________, "Until the Day Break," and *Other Hymns and Poems Left Behind* (London: Hodder and Stoughton 1890).


________, *Among the Flowers, And Other Poems* (London, Belfast: Marcus Ward & Co. 1878).


________, *Easter Lilies for nineteen hundred and fifteen* (London: Arthur L. Humphreys [1915]).


________, *A Lost God* (London: Elkin Mathews 1891).

________, *Preludes and Romances* (London: George Allen & Sons 1908).


________, *Through the Gateway* (London: Arthur L. Humphreys [1900]).

________, *Where Lilies Live and Waters Wind Away* (London, Belfast: Marcus Ward & Co. [1889]).


Bowles, William Lisle, *Bowden Hill; The Banks Of The Wye; Cadland, Southampton River*. By the Rev. W. Lisle Bowles (Southampton: Baker and Fletcher, Printers [etc.] [1806]).


______, *A memorial volume of sacred poetry, by the late Sir John Bowring. To which is prefixed, a memoir of the author, by Lady Bowring* (London: Longmans, Green, Reader and Dyer 1873).


Bridges, Victor George de Freyne, *Edward Fitzgerald, and other verses* (London: Hodder & Stoughton [1932]).


_______, *Retrospection, with other poems* (London: John Warren 1822b).


_______, *The Star of Attéghéi; The Vision of Schwartz; and Other Poems* (London: Edward Moxon 1844).


_______, ‘Stanzas Addressed to Miss Landon, and suggested by her “Stanzas on the Death of Mrs. Hemans”,’ *The New Monthly Magazine*, 45 (1835), 82.


_______, *Human Fate. A Poem. By the Late Sir Egerton Brydges ... Now First Printed (Verbatim) from the Author's MSS. in the Possession of Charles Clark. With an Appendix. A Very Limited Number Printed* (Great Totham: Charles Clark's Private Press 1850).


_______, *Modern aristocracy, or the bard's reception; the fragment of a poem, written in March 1830* (Geneva: Printed by A. L. Vignier 1831).


Bulwer, H. L. E., Baron Dalling and Bulwer, *Ode on the Death of Napoleon; Lines on the Neapolitan Revolution; and other poems* (London: Gossling and Egley 1822).


———, *Tancred, A Tale; And Other Poems. By the Author of Conrad, A Tragedy* (London: Printed for the Author; By B. McMillan 1819).


*Bursten Dike: a ballad. Printed for the benefit of the suffering thousands unhoused by the dire calamity in Bommelerward Gelderland, on January the 7th, 1861* (Newmarket: W. A. Wright 1861).


______, *The bard of the dales; or poems and miscellaneous pieces, with a life of the author, written by himself* (Stokesley: W. F. Pratt 1858).


________, The rural muse poems by John Clare (London: Whitaker & C. S. Ave 1835).


Cobbold, Richard, The Bottle; or, Cruikshank illustrated ... A poem: Dedicated to all thinking men, who regard God's laws of temperance, sobriety, and domestic peace, more than the bottle (Diss: Printed and sold by E. E. Abbott, London: D. Bogue ... and Sherwood, Gilbert and Piper [1848]).


________, Valentine verses; or, lines of Truth, Love, and Virtue (Ipswich: E. Shalders 1827b).


Coleridge, Mary Elizabeth, Poems. By Mary Elizabeth Coleridge (London: Elkin Mathews 1908).


________, Pretty Lessons in Verse, for Good Children; with Some Lessons in Latin, in Easy Rhyme ... The Fourth Edition, with Many Cuts (London: John W. Parker 1845).


________, The Inn of Strange Meetings and other poems by Mortimer Collins (London: Henry S. King & Co. 1871).

Conder, Josiah, The Choir and the Oratory; Or Praise and Prayer (London: Jackson and Walford 1837).

________, The Star in the East; With Other Poems (London: Taylor and Hessey 1824).


________, *The Poetical Works* (London: Hodder and Stoughton 1877).


________, *The Maid of the Cyprus Isle, and other poems* (London: Printed for Sherwood, Neely, and Jones ... Sharpe ... Walker ... Harper and Co, ... R. Rees ... and Lloyd [etc.] 1815).

________, *Redwald: A Tale of Mona: And other poems* (Brentford: Printed by and for P. Norbury; and Sold by Baldwin, Cradock, & Joy [etc.] 1819).

________, *Songs of a Stranger* (London: Taylor and Hessey 1825).


________, *Dartmoor, and other poems* (London: Printed for T. Cadell ... By T. J. Manchee [etc.] 1823).


________, *Egypt and other poems* (London, New York: John Lane, The Bodley Head 1912a).


________, The Romance of King Arthur by Francis Coutts (London: John Lane, The Bodley Head, New York: John Lane Company 1907).

________, The Spacious Times and Others: By Francis Coutts (London: John Lane, The Bodley Head, New York: John Lane Co. 1920).


Craigmyle, Elizabeth, A Handful of Pansies By Bessie Craigmyle (Aberdeen: John Adam 1888).

Croft, Sir Herbert, The Wreck of Westminster Abbey, being a selection from the Monumental Records of the most conspicuous personages who flourished towards the latter end of the Eighteenth Century ... By the author of Kirkhampton Abbey. Fifth edition, with ... additions (London: Charles Stalker [1788]).

Croker, John Wilson, The Amazoniad; Or, Figure and Fashion: A Scuffle In High Life. With Notes Critical and Historical, Interspersed with Choice Anecdotes of Bon Ton. Second Edition, with Additions (Dublin: Printed by John King [etc.] 1806).


________, Scenes from Scripture with Other Poems (London: Colburn and Co. 1851).


_________, *Poems and Songs...* With an Introduction, Glossary and Notes by Peter Cunningham (London: John Murray 1847).

_________, *Sir Marmaduke Maxwell, A Dramatic Poem; The Maid of Galloway; The Legend of Richard Faulder; and Twenty Scottish Songs* (London: Taylor and Hessey 1822).

_________, *Songs: Chiefly in the Rural Language of Scotland* (London: Printed for the Author, By Smith & Davy [etc.] 1813).


Dallas, Robert Charles, *Adrastus, A Tragedy; Amabel, or The Cornish Lovers; And Other Poems* (London: Printed for James Cawthome 1823).


________, *Ode to the Duke of Wellington and Other Poems, written between ages of eleven and thirteen years* (London: John Murray [etc.] 1819).


Daniel, George, *Democritus in London with The Mad Pranks and Comical Conceits of Motley and Robin Good-Fellow: To which are added Notes Festivous etc.* (London: William Pickering 1852).

________, *The Ghost of "R—L Stripes," which was Prematurely Stifled in its Birth in January, 1812. By Jeremiah Juvenal* (London: Published by M. Jones ... Printed by E. Thomas [etc.] 1812).


Darley, George, *The anniversary; or, poetry and prose for MDCCCXXIX. Edited by Allan Cunningham* (London: Published by John Sharpe 1829).


________, *Nepenthe: A Poem in Two Cantos... With an Introduction by R. A. Streatfield* (London: Elkin Mathews 1897).

________, *Poems of the late George Darley. A Memorial Volume printed for private circulation* (Liverpool: A. Holden [1850]).

________, *Sylvia; or, The May Queen. A Lyrical Drama* (London: John Taylor 1827).


______, Muse's Wreath; composed of original poems (London: The Author 1830).

Davidson, John, Ballads & Songs (London, Boston: John Lane, The Bodley Head 1894).

______, Fleet Street and Other Poems (London: Grant Richards 1909).


______, The Testament of a Prime Minister (London: Grant Richards 1904).


Day, Eliza, Thoughts occasioned by The Death of Maria: Who departed this Life, August 8, 1788. Also on A Beloved Friend: Likewise on Visiting Eusebia's Tomb (London: printed for the Author and sold by T. Scollick, T. Hunt and J. Parsons 1789).

Death of the Duke of Wellington [A ballad] ([London 1852]).

The Death of Napoleon. A Prize Poem, Recited in Rugby School, June 22, MDCCCXLVII. (Rugby: Crossley and Billington 1847).

De Jean [Frazer], J., Poems (Dublin: James McGlashan 1851).

______, Poems for the People (Dublin: J. Browne 1845).


______, The Histroniade: Or, Theatric Tribunal; A Poem, Descriptive of the Principal Performers at Both Houses. In Two Parts. By Marmaduke Myrtle (London: Printed for R. S. Kirby ... C. Chapple ... J. Ginger [etc.] 1802).

______, Poems, Consisting of Essays, Lyric, Elegiac, &c. ... Written between the 13th and 16th Year of his Age (Dublin: Printed by J. Jones [etc.] 1792).

______, Poems, moral, and descriptive (London: Printed by J. Crowder ... for Vernon and Hood ... and Lackington, Allen, and Co. [etc.] 1800).

De Vere, Sir Aubrey, Ode to the Duchess of Angouleme (London: Printed for Layman, Hurst, Rees, Orme & Browne [etc.] 1815).

Dibdin, Charles Isaac Mungo, *Comic Tales & Lyric Fancies; including The Chessiad, a Mock-Heroic, in Five Cantos; and The Wreath of Love, in Four Cantos. By C. Dibdin, the younger* (London: G. B. Whittaker 1825).

________, *Mirth and Metre consisting of Poems, Serious, Humorous, and Satirical; Songs, Sonnets, Ballads & Bagatelles* (London: Printed for Vernor, Hood and Sharpe ... by W. Wilson 1807).


________, *A Metrical History of England; Or, Recollections, in Rhyme, Of some of the most prominent Features in our National Chronology, from the Landing of Julius Caesar to the Commencement of the Regency, in 1812. 2 v.* (London: Printed for the Proprietor by Joseph Hartnell ... And Sold by Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, and Browne ... By R. W. Elliston [etc.] 1813).

Dickens, Charles, 'City Graves,' *Household Words,* v.11 (Saturday 14 December 1850), 277.


________, *Historical Odes and Other Poems* (London: Smith, Elder & Co. 1864).


________, *Mano: a poetical history of the time of the close of the tenth century concerning the adventures of a Norman knight which fell part in Normandy part in Italy. In four books* (London: George Routledge & Sons 1883).


______, *Sixty-five Sonnets; With Prefatory Remarks on the Accordance of the Sonnet with the Powers of the English Language: Also, A Few Miscellaneous Poems* (London: Printed for Baldwin, Cradock, and Joy [etc.] 1818).


______, *To the Memory of General Gordon [1885]).


______, *Poems* (London: Printed for the Author; And Sold by Longman and Rees 1801).


______, *Poetics: Or, a series of poems, and disquisitions on poetry. 2 v.* (London: Printed for J. Johnson and Co. [etc.] 1812).

The Early Dead; or, Our Loved and Lost Ones. A Selection of Poetry. To Which is Added Texts of Scripture, and Extracts from the Best Prose Writers, On Affliction (London: Wertheim and Macintosh [1853]).


Egerton-Warburton, Rowland Eyes, Counsel for cottagers and a looking-glass for landlords (London: The Chiswick Press 1887).

Egerton-Warburton, Rowland Eyes,


Poems (Chester: J. Seacombe 1833).


Elegy supposed to be written in the Cathedral on the occasion of the funeral of Wellington. By a graduate of the University of Oxford (London 1852).


Elgee, Jane Francesca, Poems by Speranza (Lady Wilde): New edition (Dublin: M. H. Gill [1864]).


Selections from the poems of Charlotte Elliott ... With a memoir by her sister, E. B. (London: The Religious Tract Society [1873]).


More Verse and Prose: By the Cornlaw Rhymer. 2 v. (London: Charles Fox 1850).

Night, a descriptive poem, Part I in four books (London: Printed for Baldwin, Cradock, and Joy [etc.] 1818).


Ellison, Mrs. A., *Original Poems By A. Ellison, Clough Road, Sheffield, Late of Ashton-under-Lyne, 1875. Third Edition* (Manchester: John Heywood [1875]).


______, *Stones from The Quarry; or, Moods of Mind. By Henry Browne* (London: Provost and Co. [1875]).

______, *Touches on the Harp of Nature; In the Same Key as Burns' Grand Anthem* (London: William Edward Painter 1839b).


Evans, Sebastian, *Brother Fabian's Manuscript; and other poems* (London: Macmillan 1865).


Fane, Julian Charles Henry (cont.), *Julian Fane, Ad matrem. 1849-1857. Poems* (London: [Privately printed] [1857]).


Fanshawe, Catherine Maria, *Memorials of Miss Catherine Maria Fanshawe* (Westminster: Privately Printed by Vacher and Sons 1865).


______, *Mystic Trees by Michael Field* (London: Eveleigh Nash [1913]).


______, *Sight and Song. Written by Michael Field* (London: Elkin Mathews and John Lane 1892).


Finola, [Elizabeth Willoughby Varian], *Never forsake the ship, and other poems* (Dublin: McGlashan & Gill 1874).


Fletcher, Eliza, *Autobiography of Mrs. Fletcher, of Edinburgh, with selections from her letters and other family memorials. Compiled and arranged by the Survivor of her family [M. R., i.e. Lady Richardson]. Second edition* (Edinburgh: Edmonston and Douglas 1875).


Fry, Caroline, *Death, and Other Poems* (London: published for the Author by Ogle, Duncan, & Co. 1823).

Gale, Norman Rowland, *A Book of Quatrains* (Rugby: Norman Gale [1909]).


Gale, Norman Rowland, *Cricket Songs and other trifling verses penned by one of the Authors of "Thistledown."* (Rugby: George E. Over 1890).

Gale, Norman Rowland, *A Flight of Fancies* (Rugby: Norman Gale [1926]).

Gale, Norman Rowland, *Here be blue and white violets from the garden wherein grew meadowsweet* (Rugby: George E. Over at The Rugby Press [n.d.]).


Galt, John, *The Demon of Destiny; And Other Poems* (Greenock: W. Johnston and Son 1839).


________, *The Fortunes of Faith; or, Church and State. A Poem* (London: Charles Fox 1841).

Gillington, May Clarissa [later May Byron], *Poems. By M. C. Gillington and A. E. Gillington* (London: Elliot Stock 1892).


Gilmore, John [Vicar of St. Luke's, Lower Norwood], *The Death of the Fisherman, A Ballad* (London: Macintosh [1867]).

Glen, William, *Heath flowers, being a collection of poems, chiefly lyrical, written in the Highlands* (Glasgow: Printed by D. Mackenzie for the author 1817).

________, *The Lonely Isle: A South-Sea Island Tale, in Three Cantos* (Glasgow: Printed by D. Mackenzie [etc.] 1816).

________, *Poems: Chiefly Lyrical* (Glasgow: Printed at the Stanhope Press: By and for R. Chapman 1815).


________, *Inscription for the rose-tree brought by Mr. W. Simpson from Omar's tomb in Naishápûr, and planted to-day on the grave of Edward Fitzgerald, at Boulge* (London 1893a).


_______, *Irish Songs and Ballads* (Manchester: Alexander Ireland 1880).


_______, *Silverpoints* (London: Elkin Mathews and John Lane 1893).


Greenwell, Dora, *Camera obscura* (London: Daldy, Isbister, & Co. 1876)

_______, *Carmina Crucis* (London: Bell & Daldy 1869).


_______, *The soul's legend* (London: Strahan & Co. 1873).

_______, *Stories that might be true: With other poems* (London: William Pickering 1850).


_______, *New symbols* (London: Chatto and Windus 1876).
Hake, Thomas Gordon (cont.), *Parables and Tales. ... with illustrations by Arthur Hughes* (London: Chapman and Hall 1872).


______, *Poetic Lucubrations; Containing The Misanthrope and Other Effusions* (London: Hunt and Clarke 1828).


Hamerton, Philip Gilbert, *The Isles of Loch Awe and Other Poems of my Youth. With Sixteen Illustrations* (London: W. E. Painter 1855).


______, *Poems and Essays of a Miscellaneous Character on Subjects of General Interest* (Glasgow: Thomas Murray and Son, Edinburgh: Paton and Ritchie 1863).


______, *Late Lyrics and Earlier, with many other verses* (London: Macmillan & Co. 1922).


______, *The Vale of Arden and Other Poems* (London: John Lane at The Bodley Head 1895).


______, *Poems, By Felicia Dorothea Browne* (Liverpool: Printed by G. F. Harris, for T. Cadell and W. Davies [etc.] 1808).


Heraud, John Abraham, *The Descent into Hell, Second Edition, Revised and Re-arranged, with an Analysis and Notes: To which are added, Uriel, a Fragment and Three Odes* (London: James Fraser 1835).


______, *The Legend of St. Loy; With Other Poems* (London: Baldwin, Cradock, and Joy 1820a).

______, *Tottenham; A Poem* (London: H. Hodson, Printed [etc.] 1820b).


________, *Later Poems* (London: Grant Richards 1913).


________, *Our Lady of May And Other Poems* (London: The Catholic Truth Society 1902).


________, *Verse-tales, Lyrics and Translations* (Liverpool: W. & J. Arnold 1880).


________, *New Poems* (London: George Bell & Sons 1907).


________, *The works of Thomas Hood. Comic and serious: In prose and verse. Edited, with notes, by his son. 7 v.* (London: Edward Moxon & Co. 1862-1863).


Horne, Richard Henry [Hengist], *Ballad romances* (London: Charles Ollier 1846)

________, *Galatea secunda, an odaic cantata, addressed to H. R. H. Prince Alfred, Duke of Edinburgh, on his first arrival in the colony of Victoria. ... The music composed by J. Summers* (Melbourne: Printed for Private Circulation 1867).


________, *The last words of Cleanthes.* (Reprinted from Longman's Magazine, September 1883) (London: Spottiswoode and Co. [1883]).


________, *The Two Georges: A Dialogue of the Dead ([Melbourne] [1865?]).


________, *Birds and flowers and other country things ([London]: J. Green & Co. [1838]).


________, *The Forest Minstrel, and Other Poems* (London: Baldwin, Cradock, and Joy 1823).

________, *Marien's Pilgrimage, A Fire-side Story: And Other Poems* (London: Darton and Co. [1859]).


Humphreys, Cecil Frances [after Alexander], *The Legend of the Golden Prayers and other poems* (London: Bell and Daldy 1859).


________, *Ultra-Crepidarius; A Satire on William Gifford* (London: John Hunt 1823).

Hutchieson, J. C. (ed.), *Fugitive Poetry 1600-1878* (London: Frederick Warne and Co. [1878]).

Hyslop, James, *Poems ... With a Sketch of his Life, and Notes on his Poems, By the Rev. Peter Mears* (Glasgow: C. L. Wright 1887).


________, *Poems, 2 v.* (London: Longman, Green, and Co. 1888).

________, *Poems By Jean Ingelow: Third Series* (London: Longmans, Green, and Co. 1885).


________, *Ballads in Imitation of the Antient* (London: Printed for T. N. Longman and O. Rees ... by Biggs and Cottle [etc.] 1801).

________, *Effusions of Love from Chatelar to Mary, Queen of Scotland. Translated from a Gallic Manuscript, in the Scotch College at Paris. Interspersed with songs, sonnets, and notes explanatory, by the translator. To which is added, historical fragments, poetry, and remains of the amours, of that unfortunate Princess* (London: Printed for B. Crosby and Co. [etc.] 1808a).

________, *The Fisher Boy. A Poem Comprising his Several Avocations, during the four Seasons of the Year* (London: Printed for Vernor, Hood, & Sharpe [etc.] 1808b).

________, *Jack Junk or a cruise on shore: A Humorous Poem by the Author of the Sailor Boy* ([London] [1814]).

________, *Neglected Genius. A Poem. Illustrating the Untimely and Unfortunate Fate of Many British Poets; From the Period of Henry the Eighth to the aera of the Unfortunate Chatterton.*
Containing Imitations of their Different Styles, &c. &c. (London: Printed by W. Wilson ... For George Cowrie and Co. ... and Sherwood, Neely, And Jones [etc.] 1812).

Ireland, Samuel William Henry (cont.), Rhapsodies (London: Printed by D. N. Shury ... And Sold by Longman and Rees [etc.] 1803).

_______, The Sailor-Boy. A Poem In Four Cantos: Illustrative of the Navy of Great Britain. ...


_______, Stultifera Navis; or, The Modern Ship of Fools (London: Printed by William Savage ... for William Miller 1807b).


Jones, Ebenezer, Studies of Sensation and Event; Poems (London: Charles Fox 1843).


_______, Infantine Effusions. By Ernest Charles Jones, written by him, between the eighth and tenth years of his age (Hamburg: Printed by F. H. Nestler 1830).

_______, The Revolt of Hindustan; or, The New World, A Poem (London: Effingham Wilson 1857).

_______, Songs of Democracy ([London] [1856b]).

'Josephine,' Jottings for Juveniles In Simple Verse (London: Houlston and Wright 1862).

Joyce, Robert Dwyer, Ballads of Irish Chivalry: ... Edited, with Annotations, by his brother P. W. Joyce (London: Longmans, Green, & Co., Dublin: M. H. Gill & Son 1908).

_______, Ballads, romances, and songs (Dublin, London: James Duffy 1861).

_______, Bland (Boston, Mass.: Roberts Brothers 1879).

_______, Deirdrè (Boston: Roberts Brothers 1877).

_______, Legends of the wars in Ireland (Boston, Mass.: James Campbell 1868).

Kay, Alexander J., Lines written in the cloisters of Westminster Abbey ([Clapham]: Printed by the Author 1875).


Keegan, John, Legends and Poems ... Edited by the late J. Canon O'Hanlon ... With a memoir by D. J. O'Donoghue (Dublin: Sealy, Bryers & Co. 1907).


Kemble, Frances Anne, Poems (London: Richard Bentley 1883).

Kendall, May, Dreams to Sell (New York, London: Longmans, Green, and Co. 1887).


Kennedy, Charles Rann, Francis Beaumont: A Tragedy (Birmingham: James Guest [1860?]).


'Kensal Green' [Colin Hurry], Premature Epitaphs Mostly Written in Malice (London: Cecil Palmer 1927).


______, *The hours of the passion and other poems* (London: Grant Richards 1902).


Knox, Lucy [The Hon. Mrs. O. N.], *Four Pictures From a Life And Other Poems By the Hon. Mrs. O. N. Knox* (London: Kegan Paul, Trench & Co. 1884).


Lamb, Lady Caroline, *Fugitive pieces and Reminiscences of Lord Byron: containing an entire new edition of the Hebrew melodies, with the addition of several never before published; the whole illustrated with critical, historical, theatrical, political, and theological remarks, notes, anecdotes, interesting conversations, and observations, made by that illustrious poet: together with his Lordship's autograph; also some original poetry, letters and recollections of Lady Caroline Lamb. By I. Nathan* (London: Whittaker, Treacher, and Co. 1829).


______, *Blank verse by Charles Lloyd and Charles Lamb* (London: Printed by T. Bensley; for John and Arthur Arch [etc.] 1798).


Lamb, Charles (cont.), *Poetry for Children: By Charles and Mary Lamb: To which are added Prince Dorus and some uncollected poems by Charles Lamb: Edited, prefaced and annotated by Richard Herne Shepherd* (London: Chatto and Windus 1878).


______, *The Queen of the fairies: (A village story); and other poems: By Violet Fane* (London: Chapman and Hall 1876).


______, *The golden violet, with its tales of romance and chivalry; And other poems* (London: Longman, Rees, Orme, Brown, and Green 1827).


______, *The Venetian bracelet, the lost Pleiad, a history of the lyre and other poems* (London: Longman, Rees, Orme, Brown, and Green 1829).

______, *The Vow of the Peacock, and Other Poems* (London: Saunders and Otley 1835).


______, *To Elizabeth Barrett Browning and other verses* (London: Printed for private circulation only 1917).


Lawless, Emily, *The Inalienable Heritage and Other Poems by Emily Lawless ... With A Preface by Edith Sichel ([London R. Clay & Sons] 1914).

________, *The point of view (some talks and disputations)* (London, Bungay: Tichard Clay & Sons 1909).


________, *Forest Notes: By Eugene and Annie Lee-Hamilton* (London: Grant Richards 1899).


________, *Imaginary Sonnets* (London: Elliot Stock 1888).


________, *The New Medusa, and other poems* (London: Elliot Stock 1882).


________, *Sonnets of the Wingless Hours* (London: Elliot Stock 1894).


________, *Strains from the Strand. Trifles in Verse* (London: Tinsley Brothers 1882).


________, *Scotch Words and the Baptism of the Bairn* (London, New York: George Routledge 1869b)


________, *Ina, and Other Poems* (Calcutta: W. Newman and Company 1856).

________, *Sorrows, Aspirations, and Legends, from India* (London: John Snow 1858).


________, *The life and correspondence of M. G. Lewis ... With many pieces of prose and verse, never before published. 2 v.* (London: Henry Colburn 1839).

________, *Poems* (London: Printed by D. N. Shury ... And sold by Hatchard 1812).


________, *Tales of Wonder; Written and collected by M. G. Lewis* (Dublin: Printed for P. Wogan [etc.] 1805).


________, *The King's Last Vigil, and Other Poems* (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner and Co. 1894).


Linton, William James, *The American Odyssey: Adventures of Ulysses (So much as may interest the present time); Exposed, in modest hudiabistic measure, by Abel Reid and A. N. Broome ... To which is appended an allegory of King Augeas* (Washington: Printed for the Author 1876).
Linton, William James (cont.), *Bob-Thin: or the poorhouse fugitive. ... Illustrated by T. Sibson - W. B. Scott - E. Duncan - W. J. Linton* ([Privately printed] 1845).

______., *Cotoninetales: A Domestic Epic: By Hattie Brown: A young lady of colour lately deceased at the age of 14* ([Hamden, Conn.]: Appledore U. S. Press [1891]).


______., *Famine: a Masque* (Hamden, Conn.: Appledore U. S. Press 1875a).

______., *Heliconündrums* ([Hamden, Conn.; Appledore U. S. Press] [1892]).


______., *Love-Lore and Other, Early and Late Poems* (Hamden, Conn.: Appledore Press 1895a).

______., *The Plaint of Freedom. (To the Memory of Milton.) [In verse. By W. J. Linton]* (Newcastle-upon-Tyne: Privately printed 1852).


______., *Pot-Pourri* (New York: S. W. Green [1875b]).

______., *Ultima Verba* ([Hamden, Conn.]: Appledore Private Press 1895b).

______., *Voices of the Dead. Charlotte Corday and Marat. Mazzini and the Countess Ossoli, etc.* ([1879]).


______., *Poems on various subjects* (Carlisle: Printed by F. Jollie for J. Richardson ... and sold by C. Law ... T. Pearson [etc.] 1795).


________, *Letters to Julia, in Rhyme ... Third Edition. To which are added: Lines Written at Ampthill-Park* (London: John Murray 1822).


________, *Tales in Verse Illustrative of The Several Petitions of The Lord's Prayer. ... Second Edition* (London: Marsh and Miller 1829).


________, *Glenaveril, or The Metamorphoses. By the Earl of Lytton. 2 v.* (London: John Murray 1885).


________, *The poems of Owen Meredith (Honble Robert Lytton.) Selected and revised by the author. Copyright edition. 2 v.* (Leipzig: Bernhard tauchnitz 1869b).

Macarthur, Mrs. James, *The Necropolis: an elegy, and other poems* (Glasgow: David Bryce 1842).


________, *Underglimpses and Other Poems* (London: David Bogue 1857).


________, *The Hope of the World and other poems* (London: Richard Bentley 1840).

________, *Interludes and Undertones, or, Music at Twilight* (London: Chatto and Windus 1884).


________, *Songs and poems* (London: Cochrane and McCrone 1834).

________, *Studies from the Antique and Sketches from Nature* (London: Virtue Brothers & Co. 1864).


Maginn, William, *Miscellaneous writings of the late Dr. Maginn edited by Dr. Shelton Mackenzie. 5 v.* (New York: Redfield 1855-7).
Maginn, William (cont.), *Miscellanies: Prose and Verse... Edited by R. W. Montagu. 2 v.* (London: Sampson Low, Marston, Searle & Rivington 1885).


Mant, Richard, *The British Months; A Poem, in Twelve Parts. 2 v.* (London: John W. Parker 1835).


________, *The Happiness of the Blessed considered as to the Particulars of their State; their Recognition of Each Other in that State; and its Difference of Degrees. To which are added, Musings on the Church and her Services... Fourth Edition, with Additions* (London: Printed for J. G. & F. Rivington 1837).

________, *The matin bell: or, the church's call to daily prayer* (Oxford, London: John Henry Parker 1848).

________, *Poems by the Rev. Richard Mant* (Oxford: At the University Press, for the Author [etc.] 1806).

________, *Scriptural narratives of those passages in Our Blessed Lord's life and ministry, which are subjects of annual commemoration in the church; preceded by preliminary notices of the days on which they are commemorated, and followed by reflexions and collects: adapted to the greater holydays of the United Church of England and Ireland; and designed, together with biographical notices of the apostles, evangelists, and other saints, to form a course of reading on all the holydays of the church* (Oxford: Printed by W. Baxter, for J. Parker, London: and C. J. G. and F. Rivington 1830).

________, *The Slave, and Other Poetical Pieces; Being an Appendix to Poems* (Oxford: At the University Press, for the Author; And Sold by J. Parker; and Longman and Rees [etc.] 1807).

‘Maria Sophia’, *The Grave of the Suicide; the Parting Kiss; and other poems* (London: William Charlton Wright 1824).


________, *A Summer Night and Other Poems* (London: Methuen and Co. 1891).


Miller, Hugh, *Poems, written in the leisure hours of a Journeyman Mason* (Inverness: R. Carruthers 1829).


______, *Original poems for my children* (London: David Bogue [1852]).


Milliken, Richard Alfred, *The Groves of Blarney. To which are added The Dream of Napoleon [etc.]* (Waterford: W. Kelly [1830]).


______, *The river-side, a poem, in three books* (Cork: Printed by J. Connor [etc.] 1807).


Mitford, Mary Russell, *Christina, the Maid of the South Seas; A Poem* (London: Printed by A. J. Valpy ... for F. C. and J. Rivington [etc.] 1811a).


______, *Narrative Poems on the Female Character, in the various Relations of Life. ... v. I* (London: Printed by A. J. Valpy ... Sold by Messrs. F. C. and J. Rivington [etc.] 1813).


Moir, David Macbeth ['Delta'], *Domestic Verses* (Edinburgh: Neill and Co. 1843).


______, *A Dream of Idleness, and other poems* (London: Edward Moxon & Co. 1865).

______, *Pastiææ the Eider & Other Poems ... With a Prefatory Note by Austin Dobson* (London: R. Brimley Johnson 1901).


______, *Memoirs of the Life and Writings of James Montgomery including selections from his correspondence, remains in prose and verse, and conversations or [sic] various subjects*. By John Holland and James Everett. 7 v. (London: Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans 1854).


Motherwell, William, *Minstrelsy ancient and modern, with an historical introduction and notes [and an appendix containing the music of several ballads]* (Glasgow 1827).


Mulock, Dinah Maria [Mrs. Craik], *Poems by the Author of “John Halifax, Gentleman,” etc.* (Boston: Ticknor and Fields 1866).


______, *The Burns centenary poems: A collection of fifty of the best out of many hundreds written on occasion of The Centenary Celebration, including the six recommended for publication by the judges at the Crystal Palace Competition, many of the highly commended, and several prize poems. Selected and edited by George Anderson and John Finlay* (1859).


______, *Verses New and Old* (London: Bell and Daldy 1865).


________, *Songs and Sonnets of Springtime* (London: C. Kegan Paul & Co. 1881).


________, *The Condensed Vocal Parts to the Carols for Christmas-tide; set to Ancient Melodies by the Rev. T. Helmore ... The words, principally in imitation of the original, by the Rev. J. M. Neale* (London: Novello and Co. 1854b).


________, *Songs and Ballads for The People* (London: James Burns 1843).


________, *Ballads and Verses of the Spiritual Life* (London: Elkin Mathews 1911).

________, *Lays and Legends* (London: Longmans, Green, and Co. 1886).


________, *Many Voices: Poems* (London: Hutchinson & Co. [1922]).

________, *Pomander of Verse* (London: John Lane at The Bodley Head, Chicago: A. C. McClurg and Co. 1895).


________, *Songs of Love and Empire* (Westminster: Archibald Constable 1898).


________, *Songs to a Singer and other Verses* (London: John Lane, The Bodley Head, New York: John Lane Company 1906).


________, *Poems by John Nicholson ... With a sketch of his life and writings, by John James ... Re-printed from the originals published in the poet's lifetime* (Bingley: Thomas Harrison 1876a).


________, *The Burns centenary poems: A collection of fifty of the best out of many hundreds written on occasion of The Centenary Celebration, including the six recommended for publication by the judges at the Crystal Palace Competition, many of the highly commended, and several prize poems. Selected and edited by George Anderson and John Finlay* (Glasgow: Thomas Murray and Son, Edinburgh: John Menzies 1859).


________, *The Dream and Other Poems* (London: Henry Colbom 1840).


________, *Love Not* ([London] [1850?]).


Opie, Amelia, *The Black Man's Lament; Or, How to Make Sugar* (London: Harvey and Darton 1826).

______, *Elegy to the memory of the Late Duke of Bedford; written on the evening of his internment [sic]* (London: Printed for T. N. Longman and O. Rees ... by Taylor and Wilks [etc.] 1802).


O'Ryan, Jeremiah, *The Tipperary Minstrel: being a collection of the songs written by the late ... J. O'Ryan, ... Commonly [sic] known as Darby Ryan, the poet* (Dublin: Printed for the booksellers 1861).


______, *Songs of a Worker. ...* (London: Chatto and Windus 1881).


———, *Poems* (Dublin: Printed by Alex. Stewart [etc.], London: Mr. Phillips 1801).


———, *Idyls and Songs by Francis Turner Palgrave: 1848-1854* (London: John W. Parker and Son 1854).

———, *A Lyme Garland: Being verses, mainly written at Lyme Regis, or upon the scenery of the neighbourhood* (Lyme, Dunster: Printed for the School Fund [1874]).


Park, Thomas, *Cupid turned volunteer: In a series of prints, designed by Her Royal Highness the Princess Elizabeth; and Engraved by W. N. Gardiner: With poetical illustrations by Thomas Park* (London: Printed by W. Bulmer and Co. ... for E. Harding ... And sold by W. N. Gardiner [etc.] 1804).


———, *Sonnets and Other Small Poems* (London: Printed for G. Sael [etc.] 1797).

Parkes, Bessie Rayner [after Belloc], *Ballads and Songs. By Bessie Rayner Parkes* (London: Bell and Daldy 1863).


A Parody on "Mary's Ghost;" or, *The Doctors and Body-Snatchers. A Pathetic Tale, with Numerous Additions* (Norwich: Printed by Christopher Berry 1845).


———, *Hamid the Luckless and other tales in verse* (London: David Nutt 1904a).


Pearce, Paulin Huggett, *The Duke of Wellington’s Grand Funeral Ode, with a prologue of the Queen’s reign, and a new anthem with music* (Newington Butts: W. Brickhill 1854).


______, *Gerard’s Monument; And Other Poems. ... 2nd Ed., Revised and Enlarged* (London: C. Kegan Paul 1878).


______, *Told in a Coble And Other Poems* (Leeds: J. S. Fletcher & Co. 1884).


________, *Things New and Old* (Griffith and Farran, New York: E. P. Dutton 1882).


Prince, John Critchley, *Autumn Leaves: original poems, etc.* (Hyde: G. Booth [1856]).

________, *Dreams and Realities, in verse and prose* (London: Simpkin and Marshall 1847).

________, *Hours with the Muses. ... Third edition, enlarged* (London: Simpkin, Marshall, and Co. 1842).


Proctor, Bryan Waller [Barry Cornwall], *Bryan Waller Procter (Barry Cornwall). An Autobiographical Fragment and Biographical Notes, with Personal Sketches of Contemporaries, unpublished lyrics, and letters of literary friends: Edited by Coventry Patmore* (London: George Bell 1877).


________, *English Songs, and Other Small Poems* (London: Chapman and Hall 1851).


———, *A New Song called The Sea, The Sea: To which is added, The Last Shilling, Tho' you leave me now in sorrow, Irish Mary, The Marseillois Hymn* (Belfast 1834).

———, *The poetical works of Barry Cornwall. 3 v.* (London: Henry Colburn and Co. 1822).


———, *Dunluce Castle, A Poem: Edited by Sir Egerton Brydges* (Kent: Printed by Johnson and Warwick. At the Private Press of Lee Priory [1814]).

———, *Elegiac Verses, Addressed to a Lady [viz. Lady Brydges, on occasion of the deaths of her sons, G. M. and E. W. G. Brydges]* (Kent: Printed at the Private Press of Lee Priory; by John Warwick 1817).


———, *The Sacrifice of Isabel: A Poem* (London: Printed by Bensley and Son ... for Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, and Brown 1816).

———, *Woodcuts and Verses* (Kent: Printed at the Private Press of Lee Priory; by John Warwick 1820).


Radcliffe, Ann, *Gaston de Blondeville, or The court of Henry III. Keeping festival in Ardenne, a romance. St. Alban's Abbey, a metrical tale; With some poetical pieces. By Anne Radcliffe ... To which Is prefixed: A memoir of the author, with extracts from her journals. 4 v.* (London: Henry Colburn 1826).


———, *A Light Load* (London: Elkin Matthews 1891).

———, *Songs and other verses* (London: John Lane The Bodley Head, Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co. 1895).


______, *Sonnets Round the Coast* (London: Swann Sonnenschein; Lowrey and Co. 1887).


______, *Odes and Addresses to Great People. ... 3rd ed.* (London: Henry Colburn 1826).


Richardson, Charlotte, *Poems, chiefly composed during the pressure of severe illness. By Charlotte Richardson. Published by subscription for the benefit of the author, by the editor of her former publication. [Volume II of Poems written on different occasions]* (York: Printed by Thomas Wilson and Son, Sold by Wilson and Son; W. and R. Spence; Todd and Sons; J. Wolstenholme, London: Sold by J. Johnson; Longman, Hurst, Rees, and Orme; J. Hatchard 1809).

_______, *Poems written on different occasions, by Charlotte Richardson. To which is prefixed some account of the author, Together with the reasons which have led to their publication, by the Editor, Catharine Cappe. Printed by Subscription for the benefit of the author. Second edition* (York: Printed by T. Wilson and R. Spence, Sold by Wilson and Spence; J. Todd; J. Wolstenholme, London: Sold by J. Johnson, J. Hatchard, J. Mawman 1806).


_______, *Petition to the Deil: And Other War Verses* (Paisley: Alexander Gardner 1917).

_______, *Poems* (Dundee: John Leng & Co. 1878).


Rodd, James Rennell (cont.), *Feda with Other Poems, Chiefly Lyrical. By Rennell Rodd ... With an Etching by Harper Pennington* (London: David Stott 1886a).


______, *Songs in the South by Rennell Rodd* (London: David Bogue 1881).


______, *War poems with some others: By Lord Rennell of Rodd* (London: Edward Arnold & Co. 1940).

Rodger, Alexander, *Peter Comclips, A Tale of Real Life; With Other Poems & Songs* (Glasgow: David Allan 1827).


______, *Scotch Poetry; Consisting of Songs, Odes, Anthems, and Epigrams* (London: Printed and Published by R. Carlile 1821).

______, *Stray Leaves from the Portfolios of Alisander the Seer, Andrew Whaup, and Humphrey Henkeckle. Edited by Alexander Rodger* (Glasgow: Charles Rattray 1842).


______, *The poetical works of Samuel Rogers with a memoir by Edward Bell* (London: George Bell and Sons 1875).


Rose, William Stewart (cont.), *Rhymes* (Brighton: Creasy and Baker 1837).


________, *The Poetical Works, with Memoir and notes by W. M. Rossetti* (London: Macmillan 1914).


________, *From the Hills of Dream: Mountain Songs and Island Runes* (Edinburgh: Patrick Geddes & Colleagues [1897]).


________, *Songs and poems old and new: By William Sharp (Fiona Macleod)* (London: Elliot Stock 1909).

________, *Sospiri di Roma: By William Sharp* (Roma: Printed for the Author by La Società Laziale 1891).


________, *The Poetical Works of Percy Bysshe Shelley: including various additional pieces from MS. and other sources. The text carefully revised, with notes and a memoir by William Michael Rossetti* (London: E. Moxon & Co. 1870).


________, *The wandering jew. ... Edited by Bertram Dobell* (London: Published for the Shelley Society by Reeves and Turner 1887).


______, *The sad years*: by Dora Sigerson (Mrs. Clement Shorter) (London: Constable and Company 1918).


______, *The Troubadour and Other Poems*: By Dora Sigerson Shorter (Dublin: Maunsel and Roberts 1910).


Sims, George R., *The Dagonet and other poems containing The Dagonet Ballads The Ballads of Babylon The Lifeboat and other poems* By George R. Sims (London: George Routledge & Sons Limited 1903).


______, *In Cornwall and Across the Sea, With Poems Written in Devonshire etc.* (London: Griffith, Farran, Okeden & Welsh 1885a).


Smedley, Menella Bute, *Child-World: By the authors of “Poems written for a child”* (London: Strahan and Co. 1869).

______, *Lays and Ballads from Ancient History etc. By S. M.* (London: James Burns [1856]).


______, *The Story of Queen Isabel and other verses* (London: Bell and Daldy 1863).

______, *Two dramatic poems* (London: Macmillan 1874).


Smith, Horatio, *Horace in London: Consisting of imitations of the first two books of the odes of Horace. By the authors of the rejected addresses, or the new theatrum poetarum [Horace and James Smith]* (London: Printed for John Miller ... and John Ballantayne and Co. [etc.] 1813).


Sotheby, William, *The battle of the Nile, a poem: by William Sotheby* (London: Sold by Hatchard ... Rivingtons ... Cadell and Davies ... and Faulder [etc.] 1799).

______, *Italy and Other Poems* (London: John Murray 1828).

______, *Lines Suggested by the Third Meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, Held at Cambridge, in June, 1833. By the late William Sotheby ... With a short memoir of his Life* (London: G. and W. Nicol; J. Murray 1834).

______, *Poems: consisting of a tour through parts of North and South Wales, sonnets, odes, and an epistle to a friend on physiognomy* (Bath: Printed by R. Crutwell and sold by R. Faulder ... and T. Baker 1790).

______, *A song of triumph* (London: Printed for John Murray ... by W. Bulmer and Co. [etc.] 1814).


Spencer, William Robert, *Poems by the late Hon. William R. Spencer; A New Edition with Corrections and Additions; To Which is Prefixed A Biographical Memoir by the Editor* (London: James Cochrane & Co. 1835).


______, *Songs and Poems; In Three Parts* (Edinburgh: William Blackwood and Sons 1839).


Story, Robert, *Craven Blossoms: or, Poems chiefly connected with the district of Craven* (Skipton: J. Trasker 1826).


_______, *Poems. 2 v.* (Edinburgh, London: W. Blackwood & Sons 1885).


_______, *Fragments and Fancies* (London: Saunders and Otley 1837a).

_______, *Honour to labour, a lay of 1851* (London: W. N. Wright 1851a).

_______, *Hours at Naples, and Other Poems* (London: Saunders and Otley 1837b).

_______, *Impressions of Italy and Other Poems* (London: Saunders and Otley 1837c).

_______, *The Knight and The Enchantress; With Other Poems* (London: Longman, Rees, Orme, Brown, Green, and Longman 1835a).

_______, *Lays of Leisure Hours. 2 v.* (London: Thomas Hookham 1838a).


_______, *London at Night; And Other Poems* (London: Longman, Rees, Orme, Brown, Green, & Longman 1834).


_______, *On the approaching close of The Great Exhibition. And other poems* (London: W. N. Wright 1851b).

_______, *Poems* (London: John Murray 1833).

_______, *Queen Berengaria's Courtesy, and Other Poems. 3 v* (London: J. Rickerby; J. Hatchard and Son 1838b).

_______, *Sonnets, written chiefly during a tour through Holland, Germany, Italy, Turkey, and Hungary* (London: Joseph Rickerby 1839a).


_______, *The Village Churchyard; And Other Poems* (London: Longman, Rees, Orme, Brown, Green, & Longman 1835c).


Swain, Charles (cont.), * Beauties of the mind, a poetical sketch; With lays, historical and romantic* (London: Simpkin and Marshall 1831).

______ , *Dramatic chapters, poems and songs* (London: David Bogue 1847).


______ , *Rhymes for childhood, by John Swain* (Leeds: Webb and Millington [1846]).


'Sylva, Carmen' [Elizabeth, Queen of Romania], *Sweet Hours* (London: R. A. Everett & Co. Ltd. 1904).


Talfourd, Thomas Noon, *The dramatic works of Sir Thomas Noon Talfourd. Eleventh edition; To which are added, a few sonnets and verses* (London: Edward Moxon 1852).

______ , *Poems, on various subjects. Including a poem on the education of the Poor; an Indian tale; and the offering of Isaac, a sacred drama* (London: Printed by A. J. Valpy ... Sold by Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme and Brown, Reading: Rushe [1811]).


_______, *The dominie's disaster, and other poems. By a member of the Musomanik Society of Anstruther* (Cupar 1816).

_______, *Elegy on Trottin' Nanny; or, a threnody, written and prentit to immortalize the memory of Agnes Bertholet, alias Trottin' Nanny, message-carrier between St. Monance and Anstruther* (Cupar 1814).

_______, *Papistry Storm'd; Or, The Dingin' Down o' The Cathedral. Ane Poem, in Sax Sangs.*

M. W. T. (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd 1827).


_______, *The early poems of Alfred Lord Tennyson: edited ... by John Churton Collins* (London: Methuen 1900).


_______, *Sonnets and Fugitive Pieces* (Cambridge: B. Bridges 1830).


_______, *Sonnets, Lyrics and Translations* (London: Henry S. King 1873).


_______, *Days and Hours* (London: John W. Parker 1854).


_______, *The peripatetic; or, Sketches of the heart, of nature and society; In a series of politico-sentimental journals, in verse and prose, of the eccentric excursions of Sylvanus Theophrastus; Supposed to be written by himself. 3 v.* (London: Printed for the Author, and sold by him [etc.] 1793).

Thelwall, John (cont.), *Poems, Chiefly Written in Retirement*, By John Thelwall; With Memoirs of the Life of the Author. Second Edition ([Hereford] [1805?a]).

______, Poems, written chiefly in retirement; with Memoirs of the Life of the author; The Fairy of the Lake, A Dramatic Romance; Effusions of Relative and Social Feeling; and Specimens of the Hope of Albion (Hereford: Printed by W. H. Parker; sold by West and Hughes, R. Phillips 1801).


______, Some Ballads (London: Grant Richards 1902).


______, Poems by W. T. Moncreiff (Lambeth: Printed, (For Private Distribution Only) at the Author's Private Press 1829).


Thomson, James, [B. V.], *The Poetical Works of James Thomson: The City of Dreadful Night*:

By James Thomson (‘B. V.’): Edited by Bertram Dobell: With a Memoir of the Author. 2 v. (London: Reeves & Turner ... and Bertram Dobell 1895).

Thornbury, George Walter, *Historical & Legendary Ballads & Songs. By Walter Thornbury.*


______, Lays and Legends or Ballads of the New World (London: Saunders and Otley [etc.] 1851).
Thornbury, George Walter (cont.), *Songs of the Cavaliers and Roundheads, Jacobite Ballads, &c. &c.*... with illustrations by H. S. Marks (London: Hurst and Blackett 1857).
________, *Select poems of Edward Hovel Thurlow, Lord Thurlow* (Chiswick: C. Whittingham 1821).

________, *Rhymes and Legends* (London: Richard Bentley and Son 1879).
________, *Laurella and other poems* (London: Henry S. King & Co. 1876).
________, *Sounds and Sweet Airs* (London: Elkin Mathews 1905).


________, *A batch of war ballads* (London: T. Bosworth 1854a).
Tupper, Martin Farquhar (cont.), Geraldine, A Sequel to Coleridge's Christabel: With other poems (London: Rickerby 1838).


______, King Alfred's Poems: Now first turned into English Metres (London: A. Hall, Virtue, etc. 1850).


______, Sacra Poesis (London: James Nisbet 1832).


Tupper, Mary Frances, Poems by Three Sisters. (Mary-Frances; Ellin-Isabelle; Margaret-Elenora) (London 1864).

Tuttlett, Mary Gleed ['Maxwell Gray'], The Forest Chapel and other poems (London: William Heinemann 1899).


______, Late Songs (London: Sidgwick & Jackson, Ltd. 1917).


______, Louise de la Vallière and other poems (London: Kegan, Paul, Trench & Co. 1885).

______, A Lover's Breast-Knot by Katharine Tynan (Mrs Hinkson) (London: Elkin Mathews 1896).


______, Poems (London: Laurence and Bullen 1901).


Virgil, The Minor Poems of Vergil metrically translated into English by Joseph J. Mooney to which is prefixed a translation of Foca's Life of Vergil (Birmingham: Cornish Bros. 1920).

Virgil, The works of Virgil: translated into English Verse by Mr. Dryden, etc. [The life of P. Virgilius Maro, written by W. Walsh. 4 v. (London: pr. for J. and F. Rivington 1772).

Voices from the Willow and the Palm. Rhythms of grief and hope selected [from various authors] for the Suffering and the Thoughtful (London 1874).


Wade, Thomas, Prothanasia: and other poems (London: John Miller 1839).


Wadsworth, Caroline, Songs and Poems (Birmingham 1872).


Ward, Frederick William Orde, The Last Crusade: Patriotic Poems (London [1917]).


______, *Songs for Sufferers: (From a Sick-room): By F. W. Orde Ward* (London: Charles H. Kelly [1916]).


Watt, William, *Poems, on sacred and other subjects; and songs, humorous and sentimental: By the late William Watt. Third edition of the songs only - with additional songs* (Glasgow: William Eadie & Co. 1860).


______, *Summer; An Invocation to Sleep; Fairy Revels; and Songs and Sonnets. By Cornelius Webb* (London: C. and J. Ollier 1821).


______, *The Burden of the Bell and Other Lyrics* (London: Edward Lumley 1850).


______, *In Memoriam, Izaak Walton, Obilt. 15th December, 1683. Twelve Sonnets and an Epilogue* (London: Wm. Satchell [1884]).


______, *The Quest of Sancgreall, the Sword of Kingship, and other poems* (London: John Russell Smith 1868).

White, Henry Kirke, *The poetical works of Henry Kirke White* (London: Bell and Daldy [1830]).


Wiffen, Jeremiah Holmes, *Aonian Hours; And Other Poems* (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, and Brown 1819).

________, *Julia Alpinula; With The Captive of Stamboul and Other Poems* (London: John Warren 1820).


________, *The Seven Days, or the Old and New Creation* (Oxford: John Henry Parker 1850).


________, *Lyrics; sylvan and sacred* (London: George Bell & Sons 1878).
Wilton, Richard (cont.), *Sungkin: Rondeaux and Sonnets* (London: "Home Words" Publishing Office [1882]).

______, *Wood-notes and Church-bells* (London: Bell and Daidy 1873).


______, *Poems and Songs* (Glasgow: Kerr & Richardson 1883).


______, *Pygmalion* (London: Macmillan 1881).


______, *Lyrical ballads, with a few other poems* (London: Printed for J. & A. Arch [etc.] 1798).


________, *The Prelude, or Growth of a Poet's Mind; An Autobiographical Poem; By William Wordsworth* (London: Edward Moxon 1850).


________, *Poetical Sketches of Scarborough: Illustrated by twenty-one engravings of humorous subjects, coloured from original designs, made upon the spot by J. Green, and etched by T. Rowlandson. The second edition* (London: Printed for R. Ackermann ... By J. Duggens [etc.] 1813).

________, *Scarborough castle, a poem; By the Ven. and Rev. Archdeacon Wrangham* (Scarborough: Sedman and Weddill 1823).


________, *[A Volunteer Song: A Collection of Pieces of Verse Numbered I.-XI. By Francis Wrangham]* (York: A. Bartholoman, Printer [1805]).


Bibliography 2: Secondary works consulted.

Place of publication is London, unless otherwise stated.

Abbott, John Stevens Cabot, *The Life of Napoleon Bonaparte. With biographies of the Bonaparte Family and Napoleon the Third* ([1883]).
Acland, Alice, *Caroline Norton A biography* (1948).
Adams, Morley, *In the Footsteps of Borrow & Fitzgerald* ([1914]).
______, *‘Mount Auburn,’ The American Quarterly Observer, 3 (July 1834), 149-72.
Addison, Joseph, *A Poem on the Last Day; with The Force of Religion; or, Vanquished Love. By Dr. Edward Young. To which is prefixed an Account of the Life of the Author; with Mr. Addison’s Meditations Amongst the Tombs; and the Joys of Heaven* (1778).
Alpers, Paul, *‘Lycidas and Modern Criticism,’ ELH 49 (Summer 1982), 468-96.
Ambleside Parish Church, *Order of Service for the dedication by the Lord Bishop of Carlisle of the Wordsworth Memorial Chapel ... April 26, 1952* (Ambleside 1952).
Anderson, William, *Re-union of Christian Friends and their Infant Children in the Heavenly Kingdom to which is prefixed a Pastoral Letter, on the occasion of the death of his ... son (William W. Anderson)* (Edinburgh 1868).
Andrew, Fergus, *Burns’s Scotland illustrated by John Mackay* (Edinburgh 1978).
Anecdotes of Napoleon Bonaparte, his ministers, his generals, his soldiers and his times (Manchester 1846).

Ansell, Charles, *On the Rate of Mortality at Early Periods of Life ... and other statistics of families, in the upper and professional classes* (1874).

Archer, Charles Maybury, *The Complete Guide to the Lying-in-state of the Duke of Wellington, at Chelsea Hospital, with account of death, sketch of life, etc.* ([1852]).


________, *Western Attitudes towards Death: From the Middle Ages to the Present* (Baltimore 1974).

Armitt, Mary Louisa, *The Church of Grasmere: a history ... With illustrations by Margaret L. Sumner. Edited by W. F. Rawnsley* (Kendal 1912).


Armstrong, Margaret Neilson, *Fanny Kemble: A Passionate Victorian* (1938).


Arnold, Edwin, *Wandering Words, etc. [Sketches of travel, etc.]* (1894).


Askenazy, Szymon, *Thaddeus Kosciuszko* ([1917])

Atkins, Frank, of Bournemouth, *The Story of St. Peter's Parish Church, Bournemouth ... Seventh edition* (Gloucester 1956).


________, *The Poetry of the Period* (1870).

________, *A Vindication of Lord Byron [Occasioned by Mrs. Stowe's article “The True Story of Lord Byron's Life”]* (1869).

________, *The Poet's Diary. Edited by Lamia* (1904).

Austin, Edwin, *Burial Grounds and Cemeteries: a practical guide to their administration by local authorities, etc.* (1907).


Baddeley, Sir John James, *An Account of the Church and Parish of St. Giles, without Cripplegate, in the City of London. Compiled from various old authorities* (1888).


Badham, Paul and Paul Ballard (eds.), *Facing death an interdisciplinary approach* (Cardiff 1996).


Baedeker, Carl, *Italy ... Second Part. Central Italy and Rome. Tenth Revised Edition* (1890).


Barber, Bernard, 'Place, symbol and utilitarian function in war memorials,' *Social Forces,* 28 (1949), 64-8.


Barker, Thomas Burgess, *Abney Park Cemetery: a complete descriptive guide to every part of this beautiful depository of the dead. With ... a ground plan, etc.* ([1869]).


Barrie, James Matthew, George Meredith (1909).

Barlett, Phyllis, George Meredith (1963).
Bassett, Steven (ed.), Death in towns urban responses to the dying and the dead, 100-1600 (Leicester 1992).

Bartlett, Phyllis, George Meredith (1963).

Bassett, Steven (ed.), Death in towns urban responses to the dying and the dead, 100-1600 (Leicester 1992).

Benbow, William, A Scourge for the Laureate, in reply to his famous letter (from The Courier') of the 13th of December, 1824 ... abusive of ... Lord Byron, &c. &c. ([1825]).

Bendann, E., Death Customs: an analytical study of burial rites (1930).


Besant, Annie, "When a Man dies, shall he live again?" A lecture, etc. (1904).

Besant, Sir Walter and Mitton, Geraldine Edith, Westminster ... With a chapter on the Abbey by Mrs. A. Murray Smith (1902).


Bichat, Marie François Xavier, Physiological Researches on Life and Death ... Translated ... by F. Gold ([1815]).

Bickersteth, Edward, Dean of Lichfield, Christian Mourners not Hopeless Mourners: a sermon preached on the occasion of the death of Mrs. Ebetts (1869). 

________, My Hereafter (1883).


________, The Blessedness of the Holy Dead, being a sermon preached ... September 1, 1872 [On the occasion of the death of Warren Stormes Hale] (1872).

________, The Master's Home-Call; or Brief memorials of Alice Frances Bickersteth ... Third Edition (1872).

________, The risen Saints: what does Scripture reveal of their estate and employments? The sequel to an essay on the state of the blessed dead before the resurrection (1865).

________, The Second Death; or, the Certainty of everlasting punishment (1869).

________, The Shadowed Home, and the Light Beyond (1875).


Bigelow, Jacob, A History of the Cemetery of Mount Auburn (Boston and Cambridge 1860).

Bigland, Eileen, Mary Shelley (1959).


________, Why not come to Birchington (Birchington 1948).

Bishop, Elizabeth, Collected Prose (1994).


Blackwood, Frederick, Narrative of Journey from Oxford to Skibbereen ... Second edition, etc. (1847).


Blair, George, Biographic and Descriptive Sketches of Glasgow Necropolis (Glasgow 1957).

Blanchard, Samuel Laman, The Cemetery at Kensal Green: the grounds & monuments. With a memoir of ... the late Duke of Sussex ([1843]).

Blanshard, Frances Bradshaw, *Portraits of Wordsworth, etc.* (1959).

Blaquiere, Edward, *Narrative of a second visit to Greece, including facts connected with the last days of Lord Byron, extracts from correspondence, official documents, &c.* (1825).


Blore, Edward, *The Monumental Remains of Noble and Eminent Persons, comprising the sepulchral antiquities of Great Britain, engraved from drawings by Edward Blore ... with historical and biographical illustrations [by Philip Bliss]* (1826).


Bowden, J. E., *Life and Letters of Frederick William Faber, etc.* (1869).


Bowles, Caroline, *Chapters on Churchyards* (1829).


Bradley, Walter Elliot, *The Story of St. Kentigern's Church, Crosthwaite, Keswick...* Second edition (Gloucester [1937]).

Bradley, afterwards Smith, Emily Tennyson, *Annals of Westminster Abbey... With a preface by the Dean of Westminster, and a chapter on the Abbey buildings by J. J. Micklethwaite* (1895).

______, *The Roll-Call of Westminster Abbey... With illustrations and plans* (1902).


Brayley, Edward W., *The History and Antiquities of Westminster Abbey and Henry the Seventh's Chapel; their tombs, ancient monuments, and inscriptions. Also the most remarkable epitaphs, and notices of the persons interred; with memoirs of the abbots and deans, from the earliest period to the present time... Illustrated with highly-finished engravings by Le Keux, Woolnoth, Byrne, Scott, &c. from drawings by John Preston Neale* (1856).

Bremont, Anna de, *Oscar Wilde and his mother* (1914).

Bridge, Horatio, *Journal of an African Cruiser: comprising sketches of the Canaries, the Cape de Verds... and other places... on the West Coast of Africa. By an officer of the U. S. Navy. Edited by Nathaniel Hawthorne* (London and New York 1845).

*A brief history of the manor and parish of Stoke-Poges, Bucks.* ([1844]).


Brightwell, C. L., *Memorials of the Life of Amelia Opie, selected and arranged from her letters, diaries and other manuscripts... Second edition* (Norwich 1854).

Brindley, William, and W. Samuel Weatherley, *Ancient Sepulchral Monuments, containing illustrations of... examples from various countries and from the earliest periods down to the end of the eighteenth century* (1887).


Broderip, F. F., *Memorials of Thomas Hood. Collected, arranged, and edited by his daughter. With a preface and notes by his son. Illustrated, with copies from his own sketches. 2 v.* (1860).


Brooke, Stopford Augustus, *Tennyson: His art and relation to modern life. 2 v.* (1900).


Brooks, Chris and A. Saint (eds.), *The Victorian Church, architecture and society* (Manchester 1995).


Brown, Stephanie and Stephen Hobson (eds.), *Intimations of Mortality* (Tiverton, Devon 1995).


Browne, Charles Thomas, *Life of Robert Southey* (1854 [1853]).


Buckland, William, Dean of Westminster, *A Sermon preached in Westminster Abbey, on the 15th day of November, 1844; being the day of thanksgiving for the removal of the cholera* (1849).


Bullock, Albert Edward, *Westminster Abbey and St. Margaret's Church ... Illustrated by ... phototypes ... With biographical and descriptive preface. 2 v.* (1920).

Bunbury, Selina, *A Visit to the Catacombs, or First Christian Cemeteries at Rome: and a midnight visit to Mount Vesuvius* (1849).


*The Burials Question further Examined from a Layman’s Point of View. Is there a Grievance?* (1880).

Burke, James, *The Life of Thomas Moore* (1879).


Bunman, Peter and Henry Stapleton, *The churchyards handbook advice on the history and significance of churchyards, their care, improvement and maintenance* (1988).


Burnett, John (ed.), *Destiny Obscure. Autobiographies of Childhood, Education and Family from the 1820s to the 1920s* (1994).

*Burnomania: the celebrity of Robert Burns addressed to all real Christians* (Edinburgh 1811).

*Burns Centenary, 21st July 1896, great demonstration at Dumfries ... speeches by Lord Rosebery at Dumfries and Glasgow* (Dumfries 1896).


C., I., *A Handkercher for Parents Wet Eyes Upon the Death of Children* (1652).


Campbell, Henry, *Dante Gabriel Rossetti, 3 papers read to the Rossetti Society of Birchington* (Birchington 1993).
Cansick, Frederick Teague, *A Collection of Curious and Interesting Epitaphs, copied from the existing monuments of Distinguished and Noted Characters in the ancient church and burial grounds of Saint Pancras, Middlesex. 2 v.* (1869).


Carpenter, Edward Frederick, *Westminster Abbey. Described by ... E. Carpenter ... Photographed by Hallam Ashley ... Richard Tilbrook, Eric West* (Norwich [1956]).


Castle, Luanne, 'Mourning the Six Million: The Holocaust Elegy in North American Literature,'


Chadwick, Owen, *The Victorian Church. 2 v.* (1970-2).


Cherry, J. L., *The Life and Remains of John Clare ... With illustrations by Birket Foster* (London and Northampton 1873).


Chicago John Crerar Library, A list of Books, Pamphlets and Articles on Cremation, including the Cremation Association of America collection (Chicago 1918).


Chislett, William, *George Meredith, A Study and an appraisal* (Boston 1925).

Chorley, Henry Fothergill, Memorials of Mrs. Hemans, with illustrations of her literary character from her private correspondence, etc. 2 v. (1836).

________, 'Our Weekly Gossip,' *Athenaeum* (1 June 1850), 585.

________, 'Personal Recollections of the late Mrs. Hemans,' *Athenaeum* (13 June 1835), 452-4.

________, 'Personal Recollections of the late Mrs. Hemans. - No. III,' *Athenaeum* (11 July 1835), 527-30.


'Church Vaults. - St. Sage-cum-Marjorum,' *Punch*, v.17 (1849), 139.


Clarke, M. Dudley, *Birchington, Kent... With plan of the town* (New York and London [1908]).


Cline, Sally, *Lifting the Taboo. Women, death and dying* (Boston 1995).

Clodd, Edward, *Concerning a Pilgrimage to the Grave of Edward Fitzgerald* (1894).


Cobb, John Storer, *A Quartercentury of Cremation in North America. Being a report of progress in the United States and Canada for the last quarter of the nineteenth century; to which have been added ... a few words about the advance in Europe during the same period* (Boston 1901).


________, *A Short History of the British Working Class* (1932).


Coles, Cyril Alfred Gordon, *Some notes concerning All Saints’ Church, Birchington in the Isle of Thanet, Kent, etc.* (Margate [1945]).


Collison, George, *Cemetery Interment: containing a concise history of the modes of interment practised by the ancients; descriptions of Père la Chaise, the Eastern cemeteries and those of America; the English metropolitan and provincial cemeteries, and more particularly of the Abney Park cemetery at Stoke Newington, etc.* (1840).

Colman, Benjamin, *A Devout Contemplation on the Meaning of Divine Providence, in the Early Death of Pious and Lovely Children. Preached upon the ... death of ... Elizabeth Wainwright, etc.* (Boston 1714).


Conklin, Robert Josiah, *Thomas Cooper the Chartist, 1805-1892, etc.* (Manila 1935).

Conway, William, Rector of St. Margarets, Westminster, *The Victory over Death. A sermon preached in Westminster Abbey on ... October 29th 1865, after the funeral of the late Viscount Palmerston, etc.* (1865).


Cooper, Thomas, *The Life of Thomas Cooper. Written by himself* (1872).

Corkran, Alice, *The Poets' Corner, or Haunts and Homes of the Poets ... Illustrated by Allan Barraud, etc.* (London and New York [1892]).


Correspondence respecting the proposed expropriation of the old protestant cemetery at Rome. *Presented to both houses of parliament by command of Her Majesty. May 1889* (1889).


Coveney, Peter, *The Image of Childhood, the Individual and Society: A Study of the Theme in English Literature* (Harmondsworth 1967).

Cox, William Albert, *The Centenary of the Death of Kirke White, etc. ([Cambridge] [1906]).*


Craig, E. T., *The Portraits, Bust, and Monument of Shakspere ([1886]).*

Crawford, Iain, "Large Was His Bounty, and His Soul Sincere" - Gray's *Elegy, Theme, and Intertextuality in* *Great Expectations,* *Dickens Quarterly, 4:4* (December 1987), 195-9.


Croft, H. J., *Guide to Kensal Green Cemetery ... New edition ([1867]).*

Cromwell, Oliver, *1658, August-November. Last Illness, Death and Funeral. The True Manner of the most Magnificent Conveyance of his Highnesse Effigies from Soomerset-house to Westminster on Tuseday November ... 1658* (1658).


Cruickshank, Brodie, *Eighteen Years on the Gold Coast of Africa, including an account of the native tribes, and their intercourse with Europeans. 2 v.* (1853).


Cunningham, A., *Anecdotes of Napoleon Bonaparte and his times, compiled from every authentic source* (1839).


Curle, Richard Henry Parnell, *Aspects of George Meredith ... With a portrait after the painting by G. F. Watts* (1908).


______, *Poetic Form and British Romanticism* (New York 1986).


Cuthbert, Rev. Alexander, *Infants asleep in Jesus; or, Light on little graves* (Edinburgh 1855).


Daley, William Allen, Medical Officer of Health for Hull, *Cremation and Public Health* ([1926]).


D'Arblay, Alexander Charles Louis, *The Vanity of all Earthly Greatness. A funeral sermon ... on the occasion of the death of His Majesty, George the Fourth* (1830).


Davies, Jon (ed.), *Ritual and remembrance, responses to death in human societies* (Sheffield 1994).


Davis, Gustavus Fellowes, *Children instructed to fear the Lord. A sermon occasioned by the death of Miss Sarah F. Davis, who departed this life November 4, 1834: with a brief memoir. By her father* (Hartford 1834).
Davis, Lucius Clarke (ed.), *The Story of the Memorial Fountain to Shakspeare at Stratford-upon-Avon* ... Also accounts of the Herbert and Cowper window, Westminster Abbey; the Milton window, St. Margaret's Church, Westminster; and the Bishops Andrewes and Ken reredos, St. Thomas's Church, Winchester, England - gifts of Geo. W. Childs. (Cambridge, Mass. 1890).


Davis, Thomas Osborne, *Essays, Literary and Historical ... Centenary edition, including several pieces never before collected. With preface, notes, &c. by D. J. O'Donoghue ... and an essay by John Mitchel* (Dundalk 1914).


Deans, William, of Pirniefield House, Leith, *Melrose and Its Environs, containing a short history and description of the abbeys of Melrose and Dryburgh and of Abbotsford, etc.* (Edinburgh [1834]).

‘Death of the Poet Wordsworth,’ *The Illustrated London News* (27 April 1850), 296.


De Quincey, Thomas, *Recollections of the Lake Poets ... Edited with an introduction by Edward Sackville-West* (1948).


_______, The uncommercial traveller and other uncollected writings (1958).


Dobbs, Brian and Judy, Dante Gabriel Rossetti, an alien Victorian (1977).

Dodd, Catherine Isabel, Eagle-Feather [A biography of Mary Wollstonecraft Shelley] (1933).


Donald, A. Low, Robert Burns (Edinburgh 1986).

Donaldson, Thomas Levertone, On the present Condition of the Royal Tombs in Westminster Abbey, around the shrine of Edward the Confessor ([1852]).


Donner, Henry W., Thomas Lovell Beddoes. The making of a poet (1935).


Dowd, Quincy, Funeral Management and Costs: A World-Survey of Burial and Cremation (Chicago 1921).

Dowden, Edward, The Life of Percy Bysshe Shelley. 2 v. (1886).

_______, Southey [Biography] (1879).

Downing, Andrew Jackson, 'Public Cemeteries and Public Gardens,' The Horticulturist, 4 (July 1849), 9-12.


Driskel, Michael Paul, As Befits a Legend. Building a Tomb for Napoleon, 1840-1861 (Kent, Ohio 1993).


Duncan, Robert Hon., Burns Club Secretary, The Story of the Edinburgh Burns relics, with fresh facts about Burns and his family (Edinburgh 1910).


Eassie, William, Cremation of the Dead: its history and bearings upon public health (1875). The Early Dead; or, Our Loved and Lost Ones. A Selection of Poetry. To Which is Added Texts of Scripture, and Extracts from the Best Prose Writers, On Affliction ([1853]).

The Early Dead; or Transplanted Flowers: a collection of thoughts, poetical and scriptural on the death of children (Worcester 1857).


'Elizabeth Barrett Browning,' Athenaeum (6 July 1861), 19-20.

Elliot, Gil, Twentieth Century book of the dead (1972).


Elliott, Edward Bishop, Mary's choice! A Funeral sermon, preached in the Parish Church, Tuxford, June 9, 1833, on occasion of the death of his wife (Retford [1833]).

Elliott, Emory, 'The Development of the Puritan Funeral Sermon and Elegy: 1660-1750,' Early American Literature, 15 (1980), 151-64.

Ellis, Stewart Marsh, George Meredith, etc. Second edition (1920).

Emery, Anna, A recent instance of the power of Divine Grace, exemplified in the experience and happy death of A. E. (1819).


Enoch, Esther Ethelind, Frances Ridley Havergal. An enlarged edition ([1937]).


Erichsen, Hugo, The Cremation of the Dead considered from an aesthetic, sanitary, religious, historical, medico-legal, and economical standpoint (Detroit 1887).


Eustace, John Chetwode, A Tour through Italy, exhibiting a view of its Scenery, its Antiquities, and its Monuments; particularly as they are objects of Classical Interest ... with an account of the present state of its cities and towns and occasional observations on the recent spoliations of the French. 3 v. (1813-19).


________., A Classical Tour through Italy ... Eighth edition, etc. 3 v. (1841).


Everett, Michael D. (ed.), Napoleon. Extracts from the Diary of Major General A. Emmett, R. E. in charge of the funeral and record of the exhumation of the body of Napoleon, by Captain Charles C. Alexander (Sheffield 1987).

Faber, Frederick William, The Burial Service, its doctrine and consolations (1838).


Farquharson, Dr., On Cremation, being one of the Aberdeen City Lectures delivered on November 30th, 1899 (Aberdeen 1899).

Farr, Jonathan, Parental Sorrow comforted. Two sermons [on Jerem. xxxi. 15 and 1 Kings iv.26], on the death of children to which is added a prayer for a sick child, and a prayer on the death of a child (Cambridge [Mass.] 1835).


Farrington, Susan Maria, Peshawar cemetery, North West Frontier Province, Pakistan (1988).

Faxon, Alicia Craig, Dante Gabriel Rossetti (Oxford 1989).

Fawcett, Benjamin, Children shouting their hosannas to Christ. A sermon [on Matt. XXI.15,16] occasioned by the death of [Phebe L.] a child, who was eight years old ... preached October 22, 1769 (Shrewsbury 1770).

Federnmayer, Eva, 'Beyond Formalism: Problems of Interpretation in Harold Bloom's antithetical Criticism,' in Tibor Frank (ed.), The Origins and Originality of American Culture (Budapest 1984), 467-75.


Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge, 'A visit to the grave of Shelley,' The London Investigator, v.II (April 1855), 1-3.

Ferguson, Samuel, *Ogham Inscriptions in Ireland, Wales and Scotland* (Edinburgh and Dublin 1887).


Findlay, Jessie Patrick, *Sir Walter Scott, the Great Unknown ... Illustrated from photographs* (Edinburgh [1912]).


Fitzgerald, Maurice Henry, *In memoriam Robert Southey. A Sermon preached in Crosthwaite church on Sunday, August 15th, 1943* ([1943]).


________, *That ne'er shall meet again: Rossetti, Millais, Hunt* (1971).

Fletcher, Eliza, *Autobiography of Mrs. Fletcher, of Edinburgh, with selections from her letters and other family memorials. Compiled and arranged by the Survivor of her family [M. R., i.e. Lady Richardson]. Second edition* (Edinburgh 1875).


Foggo, George, Secretary of National Monuments Society, *Report of the proceedings at a public meeting, held at the Freemason's Hall ... 29. May, 1847 [sic], to promote the admission of the public without charge, to Westminster Abbey, St. Paul's Cathedral, and depositories of works of art, of natural history, and objects of historical and literary interest in public edifices* (1837).


(New Haven 1945).

Forrai, Maria S., *A look at death photographs by Maria S. Forrai* text by Rebecca Anders
foreword by Robert C. Slater (Minneapolis 1978).


Foxcroft, Thomas, *Divine Providence adored and justified in the early death of God’s children*

* A sermon [on Matt. xiv. 12] ... With a prefatory epistle ... by Mr. Cooper* (Edinburgh 1746).


Frith, William, Minister at Gunnersbury, *Tears of the Pilgrims in the Sunlight of Heaven; or, words of comfort to the afflicted and bereaved ... With recommendary preface by ... H. Allen ... Revised edition* ([1872]).


Fulford, Tim, Landscape, Liberty and Authority: Poetry, Criticism and Politics from Thomson to Wordsworth (Cambridge 1996).


Galignani, A. and W., Galignani's Travellers Guide through Italy ... compiled from the works of Coxe, Eustace, Forsyth, Reichard, etc. Sixth edition (Paris 1822).

Garden, M. G., Memorials of James Hogg, the Ettrick Shepherd. Edited by his daughter Mrs. Garden, with preface by Professor Veitch, LL.D. Third edition, with an introduction by Sir George Douglas (Paisley 1903).

Gardner, Averill, '"Literary Petty Larceny": Plagiarism in Oscar Wilde's Early Poetry,' English Studies in Canada, 8:1 (March 1982), 49-61.

Gardner, Joseph E., 'Dowson's Pastoral,' Nineteenth Century Literature, 46:3 (December 1991), 376-95.


Gildea, Sir James, For Remembrance and in honour of those who lost their lives in the South African War, 1899-1902 (1911).

Gilfillan, George, The Life of Sir Walter Scott (Edinburgh 1870).

Gill, Richard T., 'Whatever happened to the American way of death?' The Public Interest, 123 (Spring 1996), 105-17.


*William Ewart Gladstone. In Westminster Hall, Whitsun eve, 1898. [Thoughts of a watcher at the lying-in-state]* (Biggleswade [1898]).


Glyde, John, *The Life of Edward Fitz-Gerald ... With an introduction by E. Clodd* (1900).


Grasmere Publicity Association, *The Official Guide to Grasmere, etc.* (Keswick [1963-]).

Graves, Robert, 'Personal Recollections of Wordsworth and the Lake Country,' in *The Afternoon lectures on English Literature* (1863).


Greenburg, R. A., 'Ruskin, Pugin and the Contemporary Context of The Bishop Orders His Tomb,' *PMLA,* lxxxiv (1960), 1588-94.


Greenoak, Francesca, *God's Acre the flowers and animals of the parish churchyard ... illustrations by Clare Roberts foreword by Richard Mabey* (1985).


Griffin, John, *A child's memorial; or a New Token for Children: Containing an Account of the Early Piety and Happy Death of Miss Dinah Doudney, of Portsea, Aged nine years, Delivered to a Congregation of Children, in Orange-Street Chapel, on New Year's-Day, 1805. To which is added, an account of Miss Sarah Barrow, who was burnt to death, April the 4th, 1805. Seventh Edition* (Portsea [1805]).


________, *Mary Shelley. A biography* (1938).

________, *Trelawny* (1950).


H., M. D., *Outline of ancient and modern Rome; comprising an account of Italy, from its most remote antiquity to A. D. 1839, and embodying the history of Christianity from its earliest date. In question and answer. By a Lady ([1839]).*


Haberkamm, Helmut, *"These Vs Are All the Versuses of Life": A Reading of Tony Harrison's Social Elegy "V",* in C. C. Barfoot (ed.), *In Black and Gold: Contiguous Traditions in Post-War British and Irish Poetry* (Amsterdam 1994), 79-94.

Haden, Francis Seymour, *Earth to Earth. A plea for a change of System in our Burial of the Dead, etc.* (1875a).
Haden, Francis Seymour (cont.), Earth to Earth: a plea for a more rational observance of the conditions essential to the proper burial of the dead ([1875b]).

Hagger, J., Monumenta, or, Designs for Tombs, Wall-Monuments, Head-Stones, Grave-Crosses, &c. (1868).


Hakewill, Arthur William, Modern Tombs, or gleanings from the Public Cemeteries of London, measured, drawn and etched by A. W. H. With a preliminary essay (1851).

Hakewill, James, A picturesque tour of Italy from drawings made in 1816-17 by J. H. (1820).


Hall, Christopher Newman, Wellington and War; a funeral sermon on 2 Sam. iii. 38 (1852).


Hall, S. T., Biographical Sketches of remarkable people, chiefly from personal recollection, with miscellaneous papers, and poems (London and Burnley 1873).

Hall, William, Shakespeare's Grave. Notes of traditions that were current at Stratford-on-Avon in the latter part of the seventeenth century, now first printed from the original manuscript [of W. H.], etc. Edited by J. O. Halliwell-Phillips (Brighton 1884).

Halladay, Jean R., Eight Late Victorian Poets Shaping the Artistic Sensibility of an Age: Alice Meynell, John Davidson, Francis Thompson, Mary Coleridge, Katharine Tynan, Arthur Symons, Ernest Dowson, Lionel Johnson (Lewiston, Queenston, Lampeter 1993).

Halliwell, James Orchard, The Last Days of William Shakespeare ([1863]).


Hamilton, James, Minister of the National Scotch Church, Regent Square, Memoirs and Remains of J. D. Burns (London and Edinburgh 1869).


Hamilton, William, The Origin of the Poet Laureate (1879).

Hammett, Sir John Alex., George Meredith. His Life and art ... A new and revised edition, etc. (Edinburgh 1911).


Hammond, Joseph, A Queen Indeed! A funeral sermon on the death of Her Majesty Queen Victoria (1901).

Hammond, Peter, Dean Stanley of Westminster (1987).


Handel, G. F., Saul. An oratorio ... composed ... by G. F. Handel. Book of words ([1884]).


Haswell, William, *The Parents' Consolation on the Death of their Children. A sermon, preached at the parish church of Tynemouth, on Sunday the Sixth Day of October, 1793* (Newcastle upon Tyne [1793]).


Haverkamp, Anselm, 'Mourning Becomes Melancholia - a Muse Deconstructed: Keats's Ode on Melancholy,' *New Literary History* (Spring 1990), 693-706.

Haweis, Rev. Hugh Reginald, *Ashes to Ashes: a Cremation prelude* (1875 [1874]).

Hawthorne, Nathaniel, *The English Notebooks. Based upon the original manuscripts in the Pierpont Morgan Library and edited by Randall Stewart* (1941).


Haywood, William, *Plans and Views of the City of London Cemetery at Little Ilford in the County of Essex formed under the Direction of the Commissioners of Sewers of the City of London and under the superintendence of William Haywood, Architect* (1856).


Hennessy, James P., *Monckton Milnes. The flight of youth, 1851-1885* (1951 [1952]).

_______, *Monckton Milnes: the years of promise, 1809-1851* (1949).


Heron, Robert, *A Memoir of the Life of the late Robert Burns* (Edinburgh 1797).


Hinchcliffe, Peter, 'Elegy and Epithalamium in In Memoriam,' *University of Toronto Quarterly*, 52:3 (Spring 1983), 41-62.

An *Historical Description of Westminster Abbey, designed chiefly as a guide to strangers* (1783).

The *History of the Church of Crosthwaite, Cumberland* (1853).


Hogg, James, *Domestic Manners of Sir Walter Scott ... With a memoir of the Ettrick Shepherd by Rev. J. E. H. Thomson* (Stirling 1909).

James Hogg, the *Ettrick Shepherd. Memorial Volume. Being the speeches delivered on the unveiling of the memorial...at Ettrickhall, on 28th June, 1898. With an introductory sketch by R. Borland* (Selkirk [1898]).


______, *The Life of Percy Bysshe Shelley. 2 v.* (1858).


Holloway, John, *The Child's Welfare, the substance of a funeral sermon [on 2 Kings iv. 26] containing the experience of Miss L. Fuller, who died Decr 16, 1806, aged 11 years and four
months. Preached at the Baptist Meeting, Reading, December 28th. Third Edition (Reading 1808).

Holmes, Isabella M. [Mrs. Basil], The London Burial Grounds. Notes on their history from the earliest times to the present day (1896).


Home, Beatrice, Westminster Abbey etc. (London and Toronto 1925).

The Home and Grave of Byron; an historical and descriptive account of Newstead Abbey, Annesley Hall, and Hucknall-Torkard, etc. (1852).

Homer, Jonathan, The Mourners Friend, or consolation and advice offered to Christian Parents in the death of their little children, as contained in a sermon [on Sam. xii. 23], preached at Newton, December 7, 1792. By Jonathan Homer, Pastor of a Church in Newton (Boston [Mass.] 1793).


Hood, Edwin Paxton, Wordsworth, a biography (1856).

Hooper, Luther, Studies in Westminster Abbey sketched and drawn on stone by L. H. (1867).


Hopps, John Page, The Etherealisation of the Body. An address delivered at the cremation of Alice Dunn (1894).


Horton, Robert Forman, Alfred Tennyson: A Saintly Life (London and New York 1900).


Howe, Harold Wilberforce, Greta Hall (1943).

Howitt, Mary, An Autobiography. Edited by her daughter Margaret Howitt. 2 v. (1891).

Howitt, William, Homes and Haunts of the Most Eminent British Poets (1857).


Hoyle, Joshua Fielding, Stoke Poges Church (Oxford 1923).

Hudson, Derek, Martin Tupper: His rise and fall (1949).

Hudson, Derek, Munby: Man of Two Worlds (1972).


Humphreys, Margaret, Empty Cradles (1994).
with further revision, and an introduction, by his eldest son. 3 v. (1860b).
________, Essays by Leigh Hunt. Edited, with introduction and notes, by Arthur Symons (1887).
________, Lord Byron and some of his contemporaries; with recollections of the author's life,
and of his visit to Italy (1828).
Hunt, Violet Brooke, The Story of Westminster Abbey. Being some account of that ancient
foundation, its builders and those who sleep therein (1902).
Huntingdon, Richard, and Peter Metcalf, Celebrations of Death: The Anthropology of Mortuary
Ritual (Cambridge 1979).
Hurst, Sidney Cecil, The Silent Cities. An illustrated guide to the war cemeteries and memorials
to the 'missing' in France and Flanders: 1914-1918. Containing 959 illustrations and 31 maps,
etc. (1929).
Husni, Samira Aghacy, William Allingham, an annotated bibliography (Beirut 1984).
Hussey, Frank V., Old Fitz: Edward Fitzgerald and East Coast Sailing (Ipswich 1974).
Hutchings, W., 'Syntax of Death: Instability in Gray's "Elegy Written in a Country Churchyard,"'
Studies in Philology, 81:4 (Fall 1984), 496-514.
Hyde, H. Montgomery, Oscar Wilde a biography (1976).
Illiano, Antonio, 'From Gray's Elegy to Foscolo's Carne: Highlighting the Meditation and the
Sublimation of the "Sepulchral",' Symposium, 47:2 (Summer 1993), 117-31.
In After Days. Thoughts on the future life by W. D. Howells, Henry James, John Bigelow,
In the Land o' Burns, illustrated by early Victorian engravings (Glasgow 1988).
Inglis, Ken, 'Entombing unknown soldiers: from London and Paris to Baghdad,' History and
________ 'The homecoming: the war memorial movement in Cambridge, England,' Journal of
Ingram, John Henry, Oliver Madox Brown. A biographical sketch, 1855-1874 (1883).
Irvine, William and Park Honan, The Book, the Ring, and the Poet: A Biography of Robert
Browning (1975).
Irving, Washington, The Sketch Book of Geoffrey Crayon, Gent., edited by Haskell Springer
(Boston 1978).

Jackson, Thomas (ed.), *The Mourning Mother comforted: being passages in prose and verse, original and selected, on the death of children* ([1861]).


James, Henry, 'Daisy Miller' in *Selected Short Stories* (Harmondsworth 1963).


Janeway, James, *Death's triumph dash'd* (1674).

______, *A Token for Children: being an exact account of the conversion, holy and exemplary lives, and joyful deaths of several young children. To which is now added, prayers, and graces, fitted for the use of little children* (New York and London 1977).


*The Jewellers' Book of Patterns in Hair Work. Containing a great variety of copper-plate engravings of devices and patterns in hair; suitable for mourning jewellery* (Clerkenwell n.d.).


Jones, P. Herbert and George A. Noble (eds.), *Cremation in Great Britain* (1931).


Kastenbaum, Robert (ed.), *Between Life and Death* (New York 1979).

*The Keats House, Wentworth Place, Hampstead. A historical and descriptive guide ... Illustrated* (1926).


Keats, John, *The Keats Letters, Papers, and other relics, forming the Dike Bequest in the Hampstead Public Library, reproduced in fifty-eight collotype facsimiles, edited with full transcriptions and notes and an account of the portraits of Keats with fourteen reproductions by G. C. Williamson ... together with forewords by T. Watts-Dunton and an introduction by H. Buxton Forman* (1914).

*The Keats-Shelley Memorial in Rome. An international project for buying and preserving the house in which Keats died and for perpetual care of the graves of the two poets ([Rome 1906]).*

Kemble, Fanny, [Frances Anne], *Further Records. 1848-1883. A series of letters ... forming a sequel to Record of a Girlhood and Records of Later Life, etc. 2 v.* (1890).

________, *Record of a Girlhood. An autobiography* (1879).

________, *Records of later life ... 3 v.* (1882).


King, Thomas Davies, *Shall we open Shakespeare’s grave? No. A reply ... to the question put by Mr. J. P. Norris, in the July number of the “Manhatten”* (Montreal 1884).


______, *Through the Wordsworth country. A companion to the Lake District. With ... sixteen full-page illustrations by H. Goodwin, etc.* Second edition (1906).


Lang, Andrew, *The Life and Letters of John Gibson Lockhart ... From Abbotsford and Milton Lockhart MSS. and other original sources*. 2 v. (1897 [1896]).

________, *Sir Walter Scott* (1906).


Lang, Cosmo Gordon, Baron of Lambeth, Bishop of Stepney and Archbishop of York and Canterbury, *His Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury on Adam Lindsay Gordon. Delivered on the occasion of the unveiling of the Adam Lindsay Gordon Memorial in Westminster Abbey on 11th May, 1934* (Reprinted from D. Sladen's Westminster Abbey Memorial Volume) ([1934]).


'The Laureateship,' *The Illustrated London News* (15 October 1892), 491.

Lawrence, Rose, *The Last Autumn at a favourite Residence (with other poems ... 2nd edition): and recollections of Mrs. Hemans* (Liverpool and London 1836).


______, *The Spirit of Rome: Leaves from a Diary* (1906).

______, *Vernon Lee's letters. With a preface by her executor (Irene Cooper Willis)* (1937).


LeMoyne, F. Julius, *Cremation. An argument to prove that cremation is preferable to inhumation of dead bodies* (Pittsburgh 1878).

Leonard, R. Magnan, 'English Graves in Italy,' *Great Thoughts from Master Minds*, 3d ser. 25 (2 May 1896), 69-70.


*A Letter to the ... Dean and Chapter of Westminster on the intended alterations in the interior of Westminster Abbey. By a Clergyman of the Church of England* (1844).

Lewis, Teresa, *Cremation* (Edinburgh and London [1874]).


Linden-Ward, Blanche, *Silent City on a Hill: Landscape of Memory and Boston's Mount Auburn Cemetery* (Columbus, Ohio 1989).


Lindley, Kenneth, *Graves and graveyards ... photographs and rubbings by the author* (1972).


Lindsay, Jack, *George Meredith, his life and work* (1956).


Linton, William James, *Memories* (1895).


Lockhart, Charles Stewart Montgomerie, *The Centenary Memorial of Sir Walter Scott, Bart.* (1871).

Lockhart, John Gibson, *The History of Napoleon Buonaparte* ([1906]).


Lockhart, John Gibson, *Narrative of the Life of Sir Walter Scott* (London and New York [1906]).

Lodge, Oliver J., *Raymond; or, Life and Death. With examples of the evidence for survival of memory and affection after death* (1916).

Loftie, William John, *Westminster Abbey ... With illustrations chiefly by H. Railton* (1890 [1889]).


Lord, Millicent, *Tales from Westminster Abbey* (1893).


Loudon, Irvine, 'Deaths in childbed from the eighteenth century to 1935,' *Medical History*, 30 (1966), 1-41.


Ludwig, Allan, *Graven Images; New England stonecarving and its symbols, 1650-1815* (Middletown, Conn. [1966]).


MacCall, J., *Life of James Clarence Mangan* (Dublin [1887]).


MacDermott, F., *William Penn, Thomas Gray, and an account of the historical associations of Stoke Poges ... Compiled for the Penn-Gray Society by F. McDermott. With a reproduction of the original fair copy of Gray's Elegy in the Poet's own handwriting, etc.* (1930).


MacDowall, William, *Burns in Dumfriesshire: a sketch of the last eight years of the poet's life* (Edinburgh 1870).

MacEwen, Daniel, *Utilization, Cremation and Burial considered as Service, Sentiment and Sanitation* (1914).

McFarland, Philip, *Sojourners* (New York [1979]).

Macfarlane, John, *Why woepest Thou? or, the Cry from Ramah hushed by the Voice from Heaven. ... A manual for bereaved parents* (1854).


Mackay, Alexander G., *Vergil's Italy* (Bath 1971).


———, *Through the Long Day, or, Memorials of a literary life during half a century.* 2 v. (1877).


Macksey, Richard, 'Keats and the Poetics of Extremity' *MLN,* (September 1984), 845–84.


MacQueen, Ian, *Bournemouth, St. Peter's* (Sherborne 1971).


———, *Memoirs of Life and Literature* (1920).


Manuel, David Gilmour, *Dryburgh Abbey in the light of its historical and ecclesiastical setting* (London and Edinburgh 1922).


Martin, Selina, *Narrative of a three years' residence in Italy, 1819-22. With illustrations of the present state of religion in that country ... Second edition, enlarged* (1831).


Mason, E. T. (ed.), *Personal Traits of British Authors.* 3 v. (New York 1885).


Masson, David, *The Life of John Milton; narrated in connexion with the political, ecclesiastical, and literary history of his Time.* 7 v. (1859-94).

Masson, Rosaline Orme, *Pollok and Aytoun* ([1898]).
Masterman, Charles Frederick Gurney, *From the Abyss. Of its inhabitants. By one of them* (1902).


Meara, David, *Victorian Memorial Brasses* (London, Boston, Melbourne and Henley 1983).


Milman, Arthur, *Henry Hart Milman ... A biographical sketch, etc.* (1900).

Milman, Henry Hart, Dean of St. Paul's, *A Sermon [on 2 Chronicles xxxiii. 12] preached ... on the occasion of the melancholy death of Her R. H. Princess Charlotte of Wales, etc.* (1817).

Milner, John, Chaplain in the Royal Navy, *The Burial Question: a Voice from the Cemeteries, etc.* (1878).

*A Milton Memorial. A sketch of the life of John Milton, compiled with reference to the proposed restoration of the Church of St. Giles', Cripplegate (where he was buried). By Antiquitatis historiae studiosus* (1862).

Miner, Madonna, 'Gender, Reading and Misreading,' *Reader: Essays in Reader-Oriented Theory*, 13 (Spring 1985), 10-18.


'Mr. Matthew Arnold,' *Athenaeum* (21 April 1888), 500-1.

'Mrs. Browning,' *The Saturday Review* (13 July 1861), 41-2.

'Mrs. Hemans,' *Athenaeum* (12 May 1835), 391-2.


Moir, David Macbeth ['Delta'], 'Sabbath sonnet, by Mrs. Hemans,' *Blackwood's Magazine* (July 1835), 96-7.


Montagu, Basil, *The Funerals of the Quakers* (1840).

Montagu, Lady Mary Wortley, *Letters of the Right Honourable Lady M-y W--y M--e ... A new edition. To which are now first added, poems by the same author. 2 v.* (1784)

*Monumental Inscriptions: Isleworth, Middlesex Parish Church (dedicated to All Saints)* ([Isleworth] [1993]).

Moodie, John M.D., *Cemeteries as receptacles for the dead ... and as substitutes for parks. Wills or testaments, with the proper distribution of these to females ... Potatoes, as an article of food, etc.* (Edinburgh 1848).


Morison, John, *The Mighty Fallen! A tribute to the memory of Arthur, Duke of Wellington: a sermon, etc.* ([1852]).


Morris, Harrison Smith, *Two Epitaphs [chosen by John Keats and David Gray]. (Reprinted from the "Bulletin and Review of the Keats-Shelley Memorial, Rome," no. 2) ([1913]).


Moseley, William, *The new token for children: or, A sequel to Janeway's. Being an authentic account, never before published, of the conversion, exemplary lives, and happy deaths of twelve children. Second addition [sic], revised (1805).*

*Mourning Mottos ([1846]).*

Moyse, Peter, *John Clare the poet and the place, [photos] (Helpston c.1993).*

Munday, James, *Spade v. Torch, or, the Perils of Cremation with a glance into the Wherefore of Man. A reply to W. Eassie's "Cremation of the Dead"* (Hammersmith [1875]).


Murphy, Graham, *Founders of the National Trust* (1987).


Murray, Hugh, *This Garden of Death. (The History of York Cemetery)* (York [n.d.]).


Nash, Joseph John Glendinning, *A Memorial Sermon [on Prov. xxxi. 31] preached ... for the late C. G. Rossetti, etc. With an appendix, containing two of her poems* (1895).


Neve, Philip, *A Narrative of the disinterment of Milton's coffin, in the parish-church of St. Giles, Cripplegate, on Wednesday, 4th of August, 1790; and of the treatment of the corpse, during that and the following day* (1790).


Newstead Abbey: its present owner [Colonel Thomas Wildman], with reminiscences of Lord Byron (London and Nottingham [1857]).


Nicoll, John, Dante Gabriel Rossetti (1975).

Nicoll, W. Robertson and Thomas J. Wise (eds.), Literary Anecdotes of the Nineteenth Century: Contributions towards a Literary History of the Period (1895).

Nitchie, Elizabeth, Mary Shelley, Author of "Frankenstein" (New Brunswick, New Jersey 1953).


Norlin, George, 'The Conventions of the Pastoral Elegy,' American Journal of Philology, 32 (1911), 294-312.

Normand-Romain, Antoinette Le, Anne Pingeot, Reinhold Hohl, Jean-Luc Daval, Barbara Rose, Sculpture: The Adventure of Modern Sculpture in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries (1986).

Notes on Mount Auburn Cemetery, Edited by an Officer of the Corporation; Intended to Serve as Stranger's Guide Book (Boston 1849).

O'Byrne, George Aloysius, Robert Browning. - In memoriam ... An epicedium, etc. (Nottingham 1889).


Oliphant, Margaret, 'Tennyson,' Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine (July-December 1892), 748-66.


Order of procession of the funeral of the Right Hon. Charles James Fox, from the Stable-yard, St. James's, to Westminster Abbey, on Friday, October 10, 1806 (Soho [1806]).

Order to be observed in the Publick Funeral Procession of the late Right Honourable W. Pitt, from the Painted Chamber ... into Westminster Abbey, on Saturday the 22d day of February 1806 (1806).


Ormond, Leonée, Alfred Tennyson. A Literary Life (Basingstoke 1993).


Osborne, James, Extramural Burial. The three schemes. I. The London Clergy Plan. II. The Board of Health or Erith Plan. III. The Woking Necropolis Plan. With general remarks (1850).

Osler, William, Science and Immortality [Ingersoll Lecture] (1904).


Ouseley, G. J. R., England Regenerated, through Justice to Ireland, or a programme of reforms proposed to a Reformed Parliament. With Appendices on Food and Drink Reform, Burial and Cremation. Third edition, enlarged (1888).


________, *A Tract upon Tomb-stones; or, Suggestions for the consideration of persons intending to set up that kind of monument to the memory of deceased friends. By a member of the Lichfield Society for the Encouragement of Ecclesiastical Architecture ... Third edition.* (Oxford and London 1853).

Palgrave, Gwenillian F., *Francis Turner Palgrave: Journals and memories of his life* (1899).

Palgrave, Mary E., *A Child in Westminster Abbey, and other stories* ([1898]).


Parker, David, 'Dickens and the Death of Mary Hogarth,' *Dickens Quarterly*, XIII.2 (June 1996), 67-75.


Paton, John, *The Book of St. Michael's Church, Dumfries* ([1904]).


Pennebaker, J. and R. C. O'Heeron, 'Confiding in Others and Illness Rate among Spouses of Suicide and Accident Death Victims,' *Journal of Abnormal Psychology*, 93 (1984), 473-6.


Phillips, David Lindsay, *No Poets' Corner in the Abbey: the dramatic story of William McGonagall* (Dundee 1971)


Piper, William, *Sketches of memorials for churchyards and cemeteries* ([1879]).


Porter, William, *Cremation in the nineteenth century* (Sandy Hook, Conn. 1883).


Potter, Olave Muriel, *The Colour of Rome, historic, personal, & local ... With illustrations by Yoshio Markino, an introduction by Douglas Sladen, and an essay by the artist* (1909).


Prime, Samuel Irenaeus, *Thoughts on the death of little children ... With an Appendix selected from various authors. Fourth Edition* (New York 1853).


Proctor, Bryan Waller, B. W. Procter (Barry Cornwall). An autobiographical fragment and biographical notes, with personal sketches of contemporaries, unpublished lyrics, and letters of literary friends ... Edited by Coventry Patmore (1877).


Puckle, Bertram S., *Funeral Customs: their origin and development* (1926).
Pugin, Augustus Welby, *Contrasts, or, a parallel between the noble edifices of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries and similar buildings of the present day, shewing the present decay of taste*. Second edition (1841).


Rawnsley, Hardwick Drummond, 'The Associations of St. Kentigern's Church, Crosthwaite, with Literature, Science and Art' in Francis C. Eeles, *The Parish Church of St. Kentigern, Crosthwaite, etc.* (Carlisle 1953).

________, *John Ruskin's message to his time. Sermon, St. Kentigern's Church, Crosthwaite, January 28th, 1900* (Keswick 1900b).

________, *Literary Associations of the English Lakes. Third edition. 2 v.* (Glasgow 1906).

________, *Memories of the Tennysons. By the Rev. H. D. Rawnsley, Honorary Canon of Carlisle* (Glasgow 1900c).


Raymond, James Grant, *The Life of Thomas Dermody: interspersed with pieces of original poetry, and containing a series of correspondence with several eminent characters*. 2 v. (1806).


Reiman, Donald H., *Percy Bysshe Shelley* (Boston [1969]).

*Remarks on the Exclusion of Lord Byron’s Monument from Westminster Abbey* [By J. C. Hobhouse, Baron Broughton] (1844).

*Remember your Dead. Being words of comfort for the bereaved* (Liverpool and London 1906).


Richardson, James, *Vanishing lives style and self in Tennyson, D. G. Rossetti, Swinburne and Yeats* (Charlottesville 1988).

Richardson, James Smith, *The Abbey of Dryburgh, Berwickshire. Description by J. S.*


Robinson, Joseph Barlow, *Epitaphs collected from the cemeteries of London, Edinburgh, Glasgow... with original and selected epitaphs from Tennyson, Longfellow... The whole collected and arranged by J. B. Robinson* (1859).

Robinson, Thomas, *A Sermon [on 2 Sam. iii. 38] preached... on occasion of the funeral of... the Duke of Wellington* (1852).

Robinson, William L., *Cremation and Urn-Burial, or the cemeteries of the future* (1889).

*God’s acre beautiful, or, The cemeteries of the future. 3rd ed.* (1883).


Rogers, Charles D.D., *Ettrick Forest, the Ettrick Shepherd, and his monument. A guide to the romantic scenery at St. Mary’s Loch, Ettrick, and Yarrow, illustrated* (Edinburgh 1860).

Rogers, Frederick, *Labour, Life and Literature. Some memories of sixty years* (1913).

*Rome and its neighbourhood visited in eight days. With a plan of the principal monuments.*

[Translated from the Italian] (Rome 1873).


________, *The Burns Rosary. Undying words of love and appreciation by admirers of the poet* (Dundee 1923).

Rossetti, Dante Gabriel, *Pictures, drawings, designs and studies by the late D. G. Rossetti, deceased; comprising a few specimens in oil and water colour; and numerous works in crayons, coloured chalks, pen and ink, Indian ink, pencil, &c ... which, by order of the executor, will be sold by auction by Messrs. Christie, Manson & Woods ... May 12, 1883, etc.* ([1883]).


________, 'The Rural Cemetery Movement,' *Essex Institute Historical Collections,* 109 (July 1973), 231-40.


Rowland, Wilfred James, *Some Difficulties of the Burial Law in Cemeteries* ([1929]).


Rutherford, John of Kelso, *Rutherford's Guide to Melrose, Abbotsford, Dryburgh, Kelso, and Jedburgh etc.* (Kelso, Edinburgh [1850]).

Rutter, Francis Vane Phipson, *Dante Gabriel Rossetti, painter and man of letters* ([1908]).


________, 'Last Clouds: A Reading of "Adonais"," Studies in Romanticism,* 23 (Fall 1984), 379-400.


________, *Trelawny the incurable romancer* (1977).


Sanders, Andrew, *Charles Dickens, Resurrectionist* (London and Basingstoke 1982).


________, 'Feminism and Deconstruction: Re-Constructing the Elegy,' *Tulsa Studies in Women's Literature*, 5:1 (Spring 1986), 13-27.


________, *Mourning and Panegyric the poetics of pastoral ceremony* (University Park and London 1988).


Schur, Owen, *Victorian pastoral Tennyson, Hardy, and the subversion of forms* (Columbus, Ohio 1989).


________, *Consecration versus desecration. An appeal to the Lord Bishop of London against the Bill for the destruction of city churches and the sale of burial grounds [Signed: F. R. I. B. A.]* ([1854]).

Scott, William Bell, *Autobiographical Notes of the life of William Bell Scott ... and notices of his artistic and poetic circle of friends, 1830 to 1882. Edited W. Minto. Illustrated by etchings by himself, etc. 2 v.* (1892).

________, *Memoir of David Scott, containing his Journal in Italy, Notes on Art and other papers* (Edinburgh 1850).


Sencourt, Robert [Robert Esmond Gordon George], *The Life of George Meredith* (1929).

A Series of Photolithographs of Monumental Brasses in Westminster Abbey, with reproductions of prints of those now lost. Mostly from rubbings taken by E. M. Beloe ... The photolithographs executed by Mr. W. Griggs (King’s Lynn 1898).


_______, *The Life and Letters of Joseph Severn* (1892).


Sharpin, Edward Colby, *Death Scenes: extracted from biographical and other works* (Yarmouth 1842).


_______, *Rambles in Germany and Italy in 1840, 1842, and 1843. 2 v.* (1844).


Sheppard, S., *Characteristics of the Genius and Writings of L. E. L. With illustrations from her works and from personal recollections* (1841).

Shepperley, William, *Funeral Tombs, Tablets, and Escutcheons, in stone and marble, suitable for Cemeteries and Churches, designed ... by W. Shepperley* (Nottingham 1844).


Simmons, Jack, Southey (1945).


Sinclair, J. D., An Autumn in Italy, being a personal narrative of a tour in the Austrian, Tuscan, Roman and Sardinian states, in 1827 (Edinburgh and London 1829).


Slater, Peter Gregg, Children in the New England mind in death and in life (Hamden, Conn. 1977).


Smith, Eric, By mourning tongues studies in English elegy (Ipswich 1977).

Smith, Theophilus, Original designs of Christian memorials, adapted for churchyards and cemeteries, consisting of headstones, wood and stone crosses ... together with remarks on burial places, inscriptions, etc. series 1, 2. ([1864-73]).

Smith, Walter, Cremation. A lecture delivered at a meeting of the Salford Corporation Gas Department Mutual Improvement Society January 10, 1881 (Salford 1881).

Smythe, George Lewis, Biographical Illustrations of Westminster Abbey (1843).

________, Monuments and Genii of St. Paul’s Cathedral, and of Westminster Abbey; with historical sketches and descriptions of both churches; forming a new and correct biography of all that is interesting in the lives and achievements of the most illustrious characters of the United Kingdoms ... Additionally embellished with coloured views and elevations. 2 v. (1826).

Solomon, Myer, *A Funeral sermon [on Chron. xxix. 28] on the death of His late Majesty George IV* (1830).

Sotheby, William, *To Members of the Society of Dilettanti this unpublished memorial, etc.* ([1822]).


________, *Lives of Uneducated Poets, to which are added Attempts in Verse by John Jones* (1836).

Souvenir of the programme of the memorial service for Thomas Hardy ... at Westminster Abbey, Monday January 16th 1928 ([1928]).


Speight, Alexanna, *The Lock of Hair: Its history, ancient and modern, natural and artistic; with the art of working in hair. Illustrated by numerous designs* (1871).

Spencer, Henry E., *Burial and Cremation. A lecture* ([1881]).


________, *Historical Memorials of Westminster Abbey ... Seventh edition with the author's final revisions* (1890).


________, *Sermons on special occasions, preached in Westminster Abbey* (1882).
Stanley, Edward, Bishop of Norwich, *A Few Thoughts on the necessity and means of establishing forthwith a General Public Cemetery in the immediate vicinity of the City of Norwich, and on some collateral advantages which might attend its formation. Addressed to Edward, Bishop of Norwich* (Norwich 1848).


Stennett, Samuel, *The Victorious Christian receiving his Crown. A funeral sermon, occasioned by the death of the Rev. John Gill, D.D., preached October 27, 1771 ... With the address delivered at the grave in Bunhill Fields, by Benjamin Wallin, M.A. To which is prefixed ... Dying thoughts, written by Dr. Gill a little before his decease. The whole revised by J. A. Jones* (1852).


Steven, James, *A recent instance of the Lord's goodness to children, exemplified in the happy death of James Steven, of Camberwell, near London, who died March 8, 1806, aged 8 years and 8 months ... Edited by J. Campbell. The fifth edition* (1815).


*Stoke Poges Gardens of Remembrance* ([Stoke Poges] [1937]).


Stone, Elizabeth, *God's Acre: or, historical notices relating to Churchyards* (1858).

Storey, Edward, *A right to song, the life of John Clare ... photographs by John Baguley* (1982).


Strang, John, *Necropolis Glasguensis; with observations on ancient and modern tombs and sepulture* (Glasgow 1831).

Stretton, Hesba [Sarah Smith], *The children of Cloverley* ([1905]).
Stretton, Hesba [Sarah Smith] (cont.), *Little Meg's Children* ([1905]).


Stuart, Alice Vandonckum, *David Gray, the poet of the Luggie. A centenary booklet* ([Kirkintilloch 1961]).

Sturgeon, Mary O., *Westminster Abbey: its memories and its message ... With an etched frontispiece and fifteen drawings by Louis Weirter* (1921).

Styan, Kate E., *A Short History of Sepulchral Cross-Slabs, with reference to other emblems found thereon ... With notes and illustrations of examples found in the British Isles* (1902).


"Sydney's" Letter to the King; and other correspondence, connected with the reported exclusion of Lord Byron's monument from Westminster Abbey (1828).

Symington, Andrew James., *Wordsworth: a biographical sketch, with selections from his writings, etc.* 2 v. (1881).


Taylor, Joseph, *The Danger of Premature Interment proved from many remarkable instances of people who have recovered after being laid out for dead and of others entombed alive for want of being properly examined prior to Interment* (1816).


Tegg, William (ed.), *Epitaphs, ... together with a selection of epigrams. Compiled and collated by W. Tegg. Third thousand* (1875).


Tennyson, Hallam, *Alfred Lord Tennyson: a memoir. 4 v.* (1898).

'Tennysoniana,' *The Dial* (1 November 1892), 265-7.


Thompson, Sir Henry, *Burial and Cremation,* being a Paper read at the International Congress of Hygiene, held in London (1891).


Trendall, E. W., *A New Work on Monuments, Cenotaphs, Tombs, and Tablets, etc. etc. with their details drawn to a large scale, by which the Workman can erect each design with facility* ([1858]).


Trikoupes, Spuridon, *Translation of the Funeral Oration delivered in Greek ... at Missolonghi ... 10th / 22nd April, 1824, in honour of the late Lord Byron* (1836).


Trinder, Peter W., *Mrs Hemans* (Cardiff 1984).


Tuell, Anna K., *Mrs. Meynell and her Literary Generation. With a bibliography* (New York [1925]).


Twining, Agatha G., *What to Remember about Westminster Abbey ... With the Story of the Unknown Warrior's Grave. By ... David Railton* (1931).

Ulmer, William A., *"Thyrsis" and the Consolation of Natural Magic,* *The Arnoldian,* 12:1 (Fall 1984), 32-43.

Underwood, Alvan, *A Sermon [on 2 Kings XIV. 26] occasioned by the death of two only children of P. Hayward, etc.* (Hartford [Conn.] 1807).


Wakley, James Goodchild, *'Cremation,'* *The Lancet,* I (1879), 456-7.
Walker, George Alfred, *Burial-Ground Incendiariam. The last fire at the Bone-House in the Spa-Fields Golgotha, or the minute anatomy of Grave-digging in London* (1846).

________, *Gatherings from grave-yards: particularly those of London. With a concise history of the modes of interment among different nations from the earliest periods, and a detail of dangerous & fatal results produced by the unwise & revolting custom of inhuming the dead in the midst of the living* (London and Nottingham 1839).

________, *Interment and disinterment: or, a further exposition of the practices pursued in the metropolitan places of sepulture, and the results as affecting the health of the living. In a series of letters to the Editor of the Morning Herald* (1843).


Walter, Tony [Julian Antony], *The eclipse of eternity a sociology of the afterlife* Tony Walter (Basingstoke 1996a).

________, *Funerals and how to improve them* Tony Walter (1990).


Walters, David Eurof, *Syr Lewis Morris* (Abertawe [1910]).


Walton, Mrs. O. F., *Little Dot* ([1873]).

Walvin, James, *A child's world a social history of English childhood, 1800-1914* (Harmondsworth 1982).

*War Graves of the Empire. Reprinted from the Special Number of The Times November 10, 1928* (1928).


Ware, Fabian, *The Immortal Heritage: An Account of the Work and Policy of The Imperial War Graves Commission during twenty years 1917-1937 ... with an Introduction by Edmund Blunden and thirty-two photographs* (Cambridge 1937).


Watkins, Daniel P., 'Personal Life and Social Authority in Keats's *Isabella;* Nineteenth Century Contexts* (Spring 1987), 33-49.
Watt, Ian, 'Around Conrad's Grave in the Canterbury Cemetery: A Retrospect,' in Gene M.

Watts-Dunton, Theodore, Old Familiar Faces (1916).

Weaver, Lawrence, Memorials & Monuments, old and new: two hundred subjects chosen from
seven centuries (1915).

Webb, Timothy, 'Religion of the Heart: Leigh Hunt's Unpublished Tribute to Shelley,' Keats-
Shelley Review, 7 (Fall 1992), 1-61.

Weber, F. Parkes, Aspects of Death and their effects on the living, as illustrated by minor works
of art, especially medals, engraved gems, jewels, &c. Fourth edition, revised and much
enlarged (London and Leipzig 1922).


Weinfield, Henry, The Poet without a name: Gray's Elegy and the Problem of History

Weinstein, Mark Allen, William Edmondstoune Aytoun and the Spasmodic controversy (New


Herald (New York 1875).

Wells, Sir Thomas Spenser, Bart., Cremation or Burial? (Cambridge 1880).

________, Lecture on Cremation (Parker Museum 1885).

West, Jane, Delighted with Grasmere: an idyll of the Vale (Upton-upon-Severn 1995).

Oxford 1923).

Westminster Abbey Funeral Fee Book (1811-99).

Westminster Abbey. Funeral of the late Robert Browning, on Tuesday, December 31st, 1889, at
12 noon (Order of service) (1889).

Westminster Abbey. Funeral of the Right Hon. Lord Tennyson, ... October 12th, 1892, etc. Order
of service [including the text of “Crossing the Bar” and “The Silent Voices”] ([1892]).


Westminster Abbey, May 28, 1898. The Order for the Burial of the Dead [The funeral service of
William Ewart Gladstone] ([1898]).

Westminster Abbey Order of service at the burial of Rudyard Kipling, on Thursday January 23rd,
1936, at 12 noon (1936).

Westminster Abbey Sunday next before Advent, November 24th, 1957, etc. [Order of services,
with the words of the psalms, hymns and anthems, including those used in celebration of
evensong in commemoration of the bicentenary of William Blake] ([1957]).

Westminster Abbey, the monuments photographs by Joe Whitlock Blundell introduction by John


1990).
Wheeler, Thomas Martin, *A brief memoir of Feargus O' Connor* ([1855]).


Whiter, Walter, *A dissertation on the disorder of death: or that state of the frame under the signs of death called suspended animation; to which remedies have been sometimes successfully applied. ... In which it is recommended that the same remedies should be applied to cases of natural death, etc.* (Norwich and London 1819).


Whittick, Arnold, *War memorials, etc.* (1946).


Wilde, Jane Francesca, *Ancient Legends, mystic charms, and superstitions of Ireland ... To which is appended a chapter on "The ancient race of Ireland," by ... Sir W. Wilde ... 2 v.* (1887).

______, *Notes on Men, Women, and Books ... Selected essays. First series* (1891).

______, *Social Studies* (1893).


Williams, David, *George Meredith, his life and lost love* (1977).

Williams, John De Kewer, "Iron and clay." A funeral sermon [on Dan. ii. 31, etc.] for the Duke of Wellington (1852).

Williams, R. E., *Cremation and other modes of sepulture, etc.* (Philadelphia 1884).


Wilson, Douglas, 'Reading the Urn: Death in Keats's Arcadia,' in Donald Keesey (ed.), *Contexts for Criticism* (California 1994), 166-78.


Winwar, Frances [Frances Grebanier], *The Rossettis and their Circle* (1934).


Wood, Rev. Basil, *A Memoir of Bowyer Smith, a pious child, who died January 30th, 1811, aged 7 years and 2 months. Tenth edition* ([1811]).

Wood, Esther (of Hampstead), *Dante Rossetti and the Pre-Raphaelite movement* (1894).


Wotherspoon, George, *Cremation, ancient and modern; the history and utility of fire-funeral* (1886).


Wright, Thomas, *Views of Westminster Abbey. Notes by T. Wright, etc.* ([1896]).

Wright, Thomas, of Olney, *The Life of Edward FitzGerald ... 2 v.* (1904).


Zandee, Jan, *Death as an Enemy, according to ancient Egyptian conceptions. Translated by W. F. Klasens-van der Loo, assisted by A. Klasens* (Leiden 1960).

Representations of the grave in nineteenth-century English poetry:

A selected commentary.

Ph.D. Thesis submitted for examination in October 1997

by

Samantha Matthews.

Department of English, University College London.

NB. The thesis proper occupies volume I. Volume II contains appendices and other documents which may be of assistance to the examiners, including an anthology of representative poems.
VOLUME II: APPENDICES AND SUPPORTING DOCUMENTS.

Contents.

APPENDIX 1: SURVEY OF INCIDENCES OF SEARCH TERMS 'GRAVE,' 'GRAVES,' 'TOMB,' 'TOMBS' AND 'BURIAL' IN ENGLISH POETRY 1800-1900.

Early Nineteenth Century 1800-1835.

page.
13 Acton, Eliza.
" Adcock, Anna.
" Anderson, Robert.
14 Anster, John.
15 Atherstone, Edwin.
" Baillie, Joanna.
16 Banim, John.
" Barbauld, Anna Laetetia.
" Barham, Richard Harris ['Thomas Ingoldsby'].
" Barrett, Eaton Stannard ['Cervantes Hogg'].
17 Barton, Bernard.
19 Bayly, Nathaniel Thomas Haynes.
20 Blake, William.
21 Bloomfield, Robert.
" Boswell, Sir Alexander ['Simon Gray'].
" Bowles, Caroline [Caroline Southey].
22 Bowles, William Lisle.
23 Bowring, Sir John.
24 Boyd, Henry.
25 Brand, Barbarina, Lady Dacre.
" Brydges, Sir Samuel Egerton.
26 Bucke, Charles.
" Bunn, Alfred.
" Burns, Robert.
27 Byron, George Gordon Noel.
28 Callanan, Jeremiah Joseph.
" Campbell, Thomas.
29 Cary, Henry Francis.
" Castillo, John.
30 Clare, John.
33 Cobbold, Richard.
" Coleridge, Hartley.
" Coleridge, Samuel Taylor.
34 Conder, Josiah.
35 Costello, Louisa Stuart.
" Cotite, Joseph.
36 Crabbe, George.
37 Croker, John Wilson.
38 Croly, George.
39 Cunningham, Allan.
" Dallas, Robert Charles.
40 Daniel, George.
" Darley, George.
41 Day, Eliza.

41 Dermody, Thomas ['Marmaduke Myrtle'].
42 De Vere, Sir Aubrey.
43 Dibdin, Charles Isaac Mungo, the younger.
" Dibdin, Thomas John.
44 D'Israeli, Isaac.
" Doubleday, Thomas.
" Dyer, George.
45 Elliott, Charlotte.
" Elliott, Ebenezer [the 'Cornlaw Rhymers'].
47 Emra, Lucy.
48 Erskine, Thomas, 1st Baron Erskine.
" Fanshawe, Catherine Maria.
" Fry, Caroline [after Wilson].
" Galt, John.
49 Gilbert, William.
" Gilfillan, Robert.
" Glen, William.
50 Grant, Sir Robert.
" Hallam, Arthur Henry.
" Hamilton, Janet.
" Heber, Reginald.
52 Hemans, Felicia Dorothea.
" Héraud, John Abraham.
53 Herbert, William.
" Hogg, James.
" Hood, Thomas.
55 Howitt, Mary.
" Hunt, James Henry Leigh.
" Hyslop, James.
56 Ireland, Samuel William Henry [Anser Pen-dragon].
" Keats, John.
" Kenyon, John.
58 Knowles, James Sheridan.
" Lamb, Lady Caroline.
" Lamb, Charles.
" Landor, Walter Savage.
61 Le Grice, Charles Valentine.
" Lewis, Matthew Gregory.
" Leyden, John.
" Lloyd, Charles.
" Lover, Samuel.
" Luttrell, Henry.
62 Lyte, Henry Francis.
" Macaulay, Thomas Babington, Lord Macaulay.
" Maginn, William.
" Mangan, James Clarence.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page</th>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Page</th>
<th>Author</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>69</td>
<td>Mant, Richard.</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>Roscoe, William Stanley.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'Maria Sophia.'</td>
<td></td>
<td>Rose, William Stewart.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>70</td>
<td>Merivale, John Herman.</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>Scott, Walter.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Milliken, Richard Alfred.</td>
<td>89</td>
<td>Sewell, Mary.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Milman, Henry Hart.</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>Shelley, Percy Bysshe.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>71</td>
<td>Mitford, John.</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>Smith, Horatio [or Horace].</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mitford, Mary Russell.</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>Smith, James.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>72</td>
<td>Moir, David Macbeth ['Delta'].</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>Southey, Robert.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>73</td>
<td>Montgomery, James.</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>Spencer, William Robert.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Moore, Thomas ['Thomas Little'].</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>Story, Robert.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>77</td>
<td>More, Hannah.</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>Strong, Charles.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Motherwell, William.</td>
<td>97</td>
<td>Talfourd, Thomas Noon.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>78</td>
<td>Moutrie, John.</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>Tannahill, Robert.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>80</td>
<td>Opie, Amelia.</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>Thelwall, John.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Park, Thomas.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Thomas, William Thomas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Peacock, Thomas Love.</td>
<td>101</td>
<td>[A. Collegian, W. T. Moncrieff].</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>82</td>
<td>Planché, James Robinson.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Thurlow, Edward, 2nd Baron</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pollok, Robert.</td>
<td>102</td>
<td>Tighe, Mary.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Proctor, Bryan Waller ['Barry Cornwall'].</td>
<td></td>
<td>Watt, William.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>84</td>
<td>Quillinan, Edward.</td>
<td>103</td>
<td>Watts, Alaric Alexander.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Reynolds, John Hamilton ['Peter Corcoran'].</td>
<td>105</td>
<td>White, Henry Kirke.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>106</td>
<td>Whitehead, Thomas.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>107</td>
<td>Wickham, Edmund.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>86</td>
<td>Richardson, Charlotte.</td>
<td>108</td>
<td>Wilson, John ['Christopher North'].</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Roberts, Emma.</td>
<td>109</td>
<td>Wortley, William.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>87</td>
<td>Rogers, Samuel.</td>
<td>110</td>
<td>Wrangham, Francis.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Mid-Nineteenth Century 1835-1870.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page</th>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Page</th>
<th>Author</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>106</td>
<td>Adams, Sarah Fuller [née Flower].</td>
<td>116</td>
<td>Brown(e), Frances.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Aird, Thomas.</td>
<td>117</td>
<td>Brown, Thomas Edward.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Alexander, William.</td>
<td>118</td>
<td>Browning, Elizabeth Barrett.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>107</td>
<td>Alford, Henry.</td>
<td>119</td>
<td>Browning, Robert.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Allingham, William.</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>Buchanan, Robert Williams.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>108</td>
<td>Arnold, Matthew.</td>
<td>121</td>
<td>Burgon, John William, B.D. Dean of Chichester.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bailey, Philip James.</td>
<td>123</td>
<td>Campbell, George Douglas [Duke of Argyll].</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>110</td>
<td>Barnes, William.</td>
<td>124</td>
<td>Caswall, Edward.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>111</td>
<td>Beddoes, Thomas Lovell.</td>
<td>125</td>
<td>Charles, Elizabeth.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bell, Charles Dent.</td>
<td>126</td>
<td>Clive, Caroline [née Caroline Clive].</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>112</td>
<td>Bennett, William Cox.</td>
<td>127</td>
<td>Clive, Caroline [née Caroline Clive].</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bethune, Alexander.</td>
<td>128</td>
<td>Clough, Arthur Hugh.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>113</td>
<td>Bethune, John.</td>
<td>129</td>
<td>Coleridge, Sara.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>114</td>
<td>Bickersteth, Edward Henry.</td>
<td>130</td>
<td>Collins, Mortimer.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bigg, John Stanyan.</td>
<td>131</td>
<td>Conington, John.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>115</td>
<td>Blackwood, Helen Selina Sheridan.</td>
<td>132</td>
<td>Cook, Eliza.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Lady Dufferin (Countess of Gifford).</td>
<td>133</td>
<td>Cooper, Thomas [Adam Hornbrook].</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Blagden, Isa.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Davies, William.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Blanchard, Samuel Laman.</td>
<td>134</td>
<td>Davis, Thomas Osborne.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Blyton, Emma.</td>
<td>135</td>
<td>Dobell, Sydney Thompson.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>116</td>
<td>Brontë, Anne.</td>
<td>136</td>
<td>Domett, Alfred.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Brontë, Charlotte.</td>
<td>137</td>
<td>Doyle, Sir Francis Hastings Charles.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
134 Egerton-Warburton, Rowland Eyes [Rambing Richard].
135 Eliot, George [Marian Evans],
137 Evans, Anne.
138 Faber, Frederick William.
139 FitzGerald, Edward.
140 Hanmer, Sir John.
141 Hake, Thomas Gordon.
142 Hamner, Sir John.
143 Hawkshaw, Ann.
144 How, William Walsham.
145 Inchboid, John William.
146 Ingram, John Kells.
147 Jones, Ebenezer.
148 Joyce, Robert Dwyer.
149 Keble, John.
150 Kemble, Fanny [Frances Anne].
151 Landon, Letitia Elizabeth, [L. E. L.].
152 Landor, Robert Eyres.
153 Leighton, Robert.
154 Leslie, Mary E.
155 Linton, William James [A. N. Broome, Hattie Brown].
156 Locker-Lampson, Frederick [Frederick Locker].
157 MacCarthy, Denis Florence.
158 Mackay, Charles.
159 Martin, Theodore.
160 Massey, Gerald.
162 Meredith, George.
163 Miller, Thomas.
164 Montgomery, Robert.
165 Morris, William.
166 Moxon, Edward.
167 Mulock, Dinah Maria [after Craik].
168 Munby, Arthur Joseph [Jones Brown].
171 Murphy, Joseph John.
172 Neale, John Mason.
173 Newn, Francis William.
175 Nicoll, Robert.
176 Noel, Roden.
177 Norton, Caroline Elizabeth Sarah.
178 Ogilvy, Eliza.
179 Ord, John Walker.
180 Othenam, Henry Nutcombe.
181 Palgrave, Francis Turner.
182 Parkes, Bessie Rayner [after Belloc].
183 Patmore, Coventry Kersey Dighton.
184 Paton, Joseph Noel.
185 Pfeiffer, Emily Jane.
186 Plumptre, Edward Hayes.
187 Praed, Winthrop Mackworth.
188 Prince, John Critchley.
189 Procter, Adelaide Anne.
190 Rands, William Brighty.
191 Roscoe, William Caldwell.
192 Rossetti, Christina Georgina.
193 Scott, William Bell.
194 Shore, Arabella.
195 Shore, Louisa Catherine.
196 Smetham, James.
197 Smith, Alexander.
198 Smith, William Chalmers.
199 Sotheby, William.
200 Stoddart, Thomas Tod.
201 Stuart-Wortley, Lady Emmeline Charlotte Elizabeth.
202 Sutton, Henry Septimus.
203 Swain, Charles.
204 Taylor, Henry.
205 Tennyson, Alfred Tennyson, First Baron.
206 Tennyson, Charles [Charles Turner].
207 Tennyson, Frederick.
208 Thackeray, Rose E.
209 Thornbury, George Walter.
210 Tindal, Henrietta [Mrs. Acton Tindal].
211 Trench, Richard Chevenix.
212 Tupper, Martin Farquhar.
213 Wade, Thomas.
214 Waugh, Edwin.
215 Whitehead, Charles.
216 Williams, Isaac.
217 Williams, Sarah ['Sadie'].
218 Wilton, Richard.
219 Wingate, David.
220 Woolner, Thomas.
Late Nineteenth Century 1870-1900.

209 Anderson, Alexander.
210 'Aquila.'
211 Armour, Margaret.
212 Arnold, Edwin.
212 Attenborough, Florence G. 
213 ["Chrystabel"].
214 Austin, Alfred.
214 Barlas, John Evelyn [Evelyn Douglas].
215 Barlow, George [James Hinton].
216 Barlow, Jane.
217 Beardsley, Aubrey.
218 Beeching, Henry Charles.
219 Bell, Henry Thomas Mackenzie.
220 Benson, Arthur Christopher.
221 Binyon, Robert Lawrence.
222 Blunt, Wilfred Scawen.
223 Bourdillon, Francis William.
224 Bridges, Richard Seymour.
225 Bulen, Arthur Henry.
226 Calverley, Charles Stuart.
227 Cambridge, Ada [after Mrs. G. A. Cross].
228 Canton, William.
229 Carpenter, Edward.
230 Chapman, Elizabeth Rachel.
231 Coleridge, Mary Elizabeth.
232 Courthope, William John [Novus Homo].
233 Couts-Nevill, Francis Burdett Thomas [5th Baron Latymer].
234 Craigmyle, Elizabeth [Bessie].
235 Crosland, Thomas William Hodgson.
236 Custance, Olive [Lady Alfred Douglas].
237 Davidson, John.
238 De Vere, Aubrey Thomas [Sir Aubrey Hunt].
239 Dixon, Richard Watson.
240 Dobson, Henry Austin.
241 Dodgson, Charles Lutwidge.
242 Dolben, Digby Mackworth.
243 Doudney, Sarah.
244 Doughty, Charles Montagu.
245 Dowden, Edward.
246 Dowson, Ernest Christopher.
247 Ellison, Mrs. A.
248 Ferguson, Samuel.
249 Field, Michael, [Katherine Harris Bradley and Edith Emma Cooper, ‘Arran and Isla Leigh’].
250 Findlater, Mary Williamina.
251 Gale, Norman Rowland.
252 Garnett, Richard.
253 Gilbert, William Schwenck.
254 Gillington, May Clarissa [later May Byron].
255 Gosse, Edmund William.
256 Graves, Alfred Perceval.
257 Gray, John.
258 Guiney, Louise Imogen.
259 Hamerton, Philip Gilbert.
260 Hardy, Thomas.
261 Havergal, Frances Ridley.
262 Hayes, Alfred.
263 Henley, William Ernest.
264 Hickey, Emily Henrietta.
265 Higginson, Nesta [Moira O'Neill].
266 Holmes, Edmond Gore Alexander.
267 Hope, Laurence [Violet (Adela Florence) Nicolson].
268 Hopkins, Gerard Manley.
269 Hopper, Nora [Chesson].
270 Image, Selwyn.
271 Johnson, Lionel Pigot.
272 Kendall, May.
273 King, Harriet Eleanor Hamilton.
274 Kipling, Rudyard.
275 Knox, Lucy [The hon. Mrs. O. N.].
276 Lamb, Mary Montgomerie [Mary Montgomerie Singleton / Violet Fane].
277 Lang, Andrew.
278 Larminie, William.
279 Lawless, Emily.
280 Lee-Hamilton, Eugene J.
281 Lefroy, Edward Cracroft.
282 le Gallienne, Richard.
283 Leigh, Henry Sambrooke.
284 Lindsay, Lady Caroline Blanche Elizabeth.
285 Lyall, Sir Alfred Comyns.
287 Macdonald, Leila [Mrs. Hubert Crackenthorpe].
288 Mallock, William Hurrell.
289 Mansfield, Charlotte [after Madame Raffalovich].
290 Marriott Watson, Rosamund [‘Graham R. Tomson’].
291 Marston, Philip Bourke.
292 Marzials, Theophilus.
293 Matheson, Annie.
294 Merivale, Herman Charles [Felix Dale].
295 Meynell, Alice.
296 Monkhouse, Henry Cosmo.
297 Morris, Lewis.
298 Mulholland, Rosa.
299 Murray, Robert Fuller.
300 Myers, Ernest James.
301 Myers, Frederick William Henry.
302 Naden, Constance Caroline Woodhill.
303 Nesbit, Edith [after Bland, after Tucker].
304 Newbolt, Henry John.
305 Newmarch, Rosa.
307 O’Sullivan, Vincent.
262  Payne, John.
264  Phillips, Stephen.
265  Phillips, Susan K.
267  Probyn, May.
268  Probyn, May.
271  Radford, Dollie.
272  Radford, Ernest.
273  Raleigh, Sir Walter Alexander.
274  Rawnsley, Hardwick Drummond.
275  Rhoades, James.
276  Robertson, James Logie [Hugh Haliburton]
277  Robinson, Agnes Mary Frances [after Darmesteter, after Duclaux].
278  Rodd, James Rennell [1st Baron Rennell].
279  Rolleston, Thomas William Hazen.
280  Russell, George William [' A. E.'].
281  Sargant, Alice.
282  Sharp, William [Fiona Macleod].
283  Sigerson, Dora [Mrs. Clement Shorter].
284  Sigerson, George.
285  Simcox, George Augustus.
286  Sims, George R.
287  Skipsey, Joseph.
288  Sladen, Douglas B. W.
289  Stevenson, Robert Louis.
290  Sweetman, Elinor.
291  Swinburne, Algernon Charles.
292  'Sylva, Carmen' [Elizabeth, Queen of Romania].
293  Tadema, Laurence Alma.
294  Thomas, Rose Haig.
295  Thompson, Francis.
296  Thomson, James ['B. V.'].
297  Todhunter, John.
298  Traill, Henry Duff.
299  Trench, Frederic Herbert.
300  Tuttiett, Mary Gleed [pseud. Maxwell Gray].
301  Tynan, Katharine [Hinkson].
302  Veley, Margaret.
303  Waite, Arthur Edward.
304  Ward, Frederick William Orde [F.Harald Williams].
305  Warren, John Byrne Leicester, 3rd Baron de Tabley [William Lancaster / George F. Preston].
306  Warren, Sir Thomas Herbert.
307  Watson, William.
308  Watts-Dunton, Theodore.
309  Webb, Cornelius.
310  Webster, Augusta.
311  Wilde, Oscar Fingall O'Flaherty Wills.
312  Woods, James Chapman.
313  Woods, Margaret Louisa.
314  Wordsworth, Elizabeth.
315  Wratislaw, Theodore.
APPENDIX 2: ACCOUNT OF TROPES AND POEM TYPES IN WHICH GRAVES APPEAR IN ENGLISH POETRY 1800-1900.

Description of Categories.

Part I: Elegiac poems written on the death of an individual.

1. Private and personal.

301 a. By an adult child for a parent.
   " b. By a parent for a child.
   " c. Spouses.
302 d. Siblings and other relations.
303 e. Friends.
   " f. Pets and animals.

2. Public.

304 a. Royalty.
305 b. Statesmen and politicians.
   " c. Churchmen.
   " d. People of achievement.
   e. Military graves: national heroes and anti-heroes.
      (i) Napoleon.
      " (ii) Wellington.
      " (iii) Heroes who sacrifice their lives to their country.
      " (iv) The commemoration of national events.

3. Poets.

307 a. The poet’s unlucky fate and wish for immortality.
   " c. Early-dying Romantics: Keats, Shelley and Byron.
309 d. Scots: Burns, Scott and Campbell.
310 e. Women: Hemans, Landon, Barrett Browning and Christina Rossetti.
312 g. Victorians: D. G. Rossetti, FitzGerald, Arnold and Browning.

Part II: Literary genres and tropes.


314 a. Graveyard meditation in the manner of Gray’s ‘Elegy.’
   " b. Hymn to Melancholy, adapting the vocabulary and site of the grave.
   " c. Death the leveller.
   " d. Children playing in the graveyard.
315 e. The Sexton.
   " f. Meditation on a relic of the deceased.
   " g. Christian devotional poems.

5. The grave as a function of narrative.

316 a. Ballad: allegorical or moral metrical tale.
   " b. Gothic-influenced ‘Tragedy,’ dramatic poem or tale.
   " c. Re-telling of national and classical legends.

6. Graves in hostile or extreme landscapes.

317 a. Sea.
318 b. Desert.
   " c. Mountain or frozen waste.
7. Pathetic meditations on the graves of marginal social figures.

319 a. Exiles and emigrants.
* b. The poor.
320 c. Criminals.
* d. Victims.
* e. Black slaves.
* f. The nameless and lonely.
321 g. Suicides.

8. The material grave as a central subject.

321 a. Epitaphs and inscriptions.
* b. Grave-choosing: lyric speakers anticipate and describe their own graves.
322 c. Ancient tombs.
* e. Speaking from the grave.


324 a. Women.
* b. The buried body as an erotic subject.

10. Figurative graves.

325 a. The burial of days, years and emotions.
* b. As a trope of public protest: social justice.
* c. As a trope of public protest: Irish Famine and nationalist rhetoric.
326 d. Grave and harvest imagery.
* e. Graves as prisons and prisons as graves.

11. Comic graves.

327 a. The grave as a humorous subject.
* b. Satire.

---

**Anthology.**

**Part I: Elegiac poems written on the death of an individual.**

1. Private and personal.

328 a. Robert Anderson, 'Stanzas on Visiting a Mother's Grave.'
329 a. William Cox Bennett, 'By a Grave in Lee Churchyard.'
330 b. Henrietta Tindal, 'Is it well with the child?' and she answered "It is well".'
331 b. Elizabeth Rachel Chapman, 'In Memoriam R. M. Obiit Nov. XXI. MDCCXC. Aetat. VII.'
332 c. Charlotte Richardson, 'He Sleeps. 1805.'
333 d. John Moultrie, 'My Brother's Grave.'
336 d. Charles Tennyson, 'An Incident in a Church.'
337 e. Richard Alfred Milliken, 'Elegy on a Friend.'
338 e. Norman Gale, 'A Funeral.'
339 e. Rosa Newmarch, 'H. W. February 13, 1900.'
* f. Elizabeth Charles, 'On the Grave of a Faithful Dog. 1854.'
2. Public.

341 a. George Barlow, 'To the Memory of a Great Queen. III.'
* b. Henry Ellison, 'Fox and Pitt lie almost side by side, near to Chatham, in Westminster Abbey.'
* b. Francis Turner Palgrave, 'On the Death of Sir Robert Peel.'
342 b. Katharine Tynan, 'Ivy of Ireland (Charles Stewart Parnell. Obit., October 6, 1891).'
343 c. Charlotte Richardson, 'Epitaph, on the Rev. Wm. Wood.'
* d. Alfred Hayes, 'Pasteur's Grave.'
344 e. (i) John Walker Ord, 'Napoleon.'
345 e. (i) Richard Monckton Milnes, 'The Funeral of Napoleon.'
346 e. (ii) Eliza Ogilvy, 'Wellington's Funeral.'
347 e. (iii) Mary Russell Mitford, 'To the Memory of Sir John Moore.'
* e. (iii) Robert Southey, 'To the Memory of Sir William Myers.'
348 e. (iii) Edward Moxon, 'Sonnet. Written in Pere La Chaise [sic], on the Spot where Marshal Ney is Buried.'
350 e. (iv) Nathaniel Thomas Haynes Bayly, 'The Heroes of Waterloo.'
* e. (iv) James Rennell Rodd, 'Pumwani.'

3. Poets.

* b. William Edmondstoune Aytoun, 'Homer.'
354 b. William Sotheby, 'Written in Virgil's Tomb.'
355 b. James Rennell Rodd, 'Dante's Grave.'
356 b. John Critchley Prince, 'Stanzas Suggested at the Grave of Shakespeare.'
358 b. Alfred Domett, 'Cripplegate.'
359 b. Robert Montgomery, 'The Tomb of Gray. (1836)'
360 c. W. G. Hole, 'Keats's Grave.'
362 c. Alfred Austin, 'At Shelley's Grave.'
364 c. Bessie Rayner Parkes, 'Two Graves.'
365 c. Elizabeth Barrett Browning, 'Stanzas on the Death of Lord Byron.'
366 d. Robert Nicoll, 'The Grave of Burns.'
* d. William Sotheby, 'On the Death of Sir Walter Scott.'
368 d. Theodore Martin, 'The Interment of Thomas Campbell. July, 1844.'
369 e. Felicia Hemans, 'The Grave of a Poetess.'
370 e. Ann Hawkshaw, 'Introductory Stanzas. Where are the strains like solemn music stealing.'
371 e. Edward Henry Bickersteth, 'Elegy to L. E. L.'
372 e. William Sharp, 'In the Old Protestant Cemetery at Florence. (Easter, 1883)'
373 e. Theodore Watts-Dunton, 'Christina Rossetti. The Two Christmastides.'
374 f. Cecil Frances Humphreys, 'Southey's Grave.'
375 f. Eliza Fletcher, 'Thoughts on leaving Grasmere Churchyard, April 27, 1850, after the Funeral of William Wordsworth.'
376 f. Martin F. Tupper, 'Wordsworth.'
* f. Harry Buxton Forman, 'Midnight: 5-6 October, 1892.'
377 f. Hardwick Drummond Rawsley, 'Tennyson's Home-Going. October 11th, 1892.'
* g. Mackenzie Bell, 'At the Grave of Dante Gabriel Rossetti.'
378 g. Edmund Gosse, 'Inscription for the rose-tree brought by Mr. W. Simpson from Omar's tomb in Naishápur, and planted to-day on the grave of Edward Fitzgerald, at Boulge.'
* g. Lionel Johnson, 'Laleham.'
379 g. Mackenzie Bell, 'Browning's Funeral.'

Part II: Literary genres and tropes.


381 a. David Gray, 'The "Auld Aisle" — a Burying-Ground.'
383 b. Thomas Dermody, 'Farewell to Joy.'
384 c. Alfred Bunn, 'Ambition.'
386 c. Felicia Hemans, 'The Two Monuments.'
10

388  d. Henry Ellison, 'On a Gravebrinksporting Child.'
389  e. T. W. H. Crosland, 'The Old Sexton.'
390  f. Bernard Barton, 'A Relique of Napoleon, or Verses on a Leaf Gathered from his
Grave.'
392  f. Mary Montgomerie Lamb, 'A Lock of Hair.'
393  g. Mary Elizabeth Coleridge, 'Weary was I of toil and strife.'
394  g. Frederick William Orde Ward, 'Resurrection Ground.'

5. The grave as a function of narrative.

394  a. Caroline Bowles, 'That's What We Are.'
398  a. John Moultrie, 'A Hertfordshire Legend.'
403  c. Samuel Lover, 'MacCarthy's Grave. A Legend of Killarney.'
404  c. John Payne, 'The King's Sleep.'

6. Graves in hostile or extreme landscapes.

407  a. Louisa Stuart Costello, 'To the Sea.'
408  a. John Wilson, 'Lines Written in a Burial-Ground on the Northern Coast of the
Highlands.'
410  a. Eliza Cook, 'The Sailor's Grave.'
 *  a. Lady Emmeline Stuart-Wortley, 'On the Loss of the Rothsay Castle Steam-Boat,
1831.'
412  b. Felicia Hemans, 'The Burial in the Desert.'
413  c. Cecil Frances Humphreys, 'The Grave at Spitzbergen.'
415  d. Charles Dent Bell, 'An Incident in the Austrian Camp.'
417  d. Sydney Dobell, 'A Hero's Grave.'
420  d. Eugene Lee-Hamilton, 'The Field Grave.'
 "  d. Thomas Hardy, 'Drummer Hodge.'

7. Pathetic meditations on the graves of marginal social figures.

421  a. John Leyden, 'Elegy on a Friend killed in the West Indies.'
422  a. Robert Story, 'The Young Poet Dying at a Distance from Home.'
423  b. Robert Gilfillan, 'The Poor Man's Grave.'
428  d. Janet Hamilton, 'Dirge for Jessie MacPherson.'
429  e. Caroline Louisa Wadsworth, 'The Slave's Funeral.'
 "  f. Adelaide Anne Procter, 'The Unknown Grave.'
430  g. Dora Sigerson, 'The Suicide's Grave.'

8. The material grave as a central subject.

432  a. John Walker Ord, 'Verses inscribed on the Tombstone erected to the Memory of
Jacob Minnikin, Master of the Brig Syria, of Sunderland, who was drowned from the
Wreck of that Vessel in the Great Storm of Nov. 13, 1840.'
 "  a. Aubrey Thomas De Vere, 'An Epicurean's Epitaph.'
 "  a. ________, 'An Epitaph without a Name.'
433  b. Thomas Doubleday, 'When I shall sink in my latest sleep.'
 "  b. Bessie Rayner Parkes, 'The Last Home.'
434  c. A. Mary F. Robinson, 'Etruscan Tombs.'
435  d. Henry Kirke White, 'Lines Written in Wilford Churchyard. On Recovery from
Sickness.'
436  d. Thomas Hardy, 'The Levelled Churchyard.'
437  e. Frederick William Orde Ward, 'In My Grave.'
438  e. Rosamund Marriott Watson, 'The Quick and the Dead.'


439  a. William Cox Bennett, 'A Dirge. Conclusion to "Sketches from a Painter's Studio".'
440  a. Joseph Noel Paton, 'Annie's Grave.'
10. Figurative graves.

444  a. Susan K. Phillips, 'The Death of Love.'
446  c. William James Linton, 'Consecrated Land.'
447  d. Emily Lawless, 'Dirge for all Ireland. 1581.'
448  e. Alexander Anderson, 'The Two Sowers.'
449  f. Emily Jane Brontë, 'The Prisoner. (A Fragment)'

11. Comic graves.

450  a. George Darley, 'Memento Mori: Inscribed on a Tombstone.'
451  b. John Castillo, 'A Voice from the Dead!'
APPENDIX 1: Survey of incidences of search terms 'grave,' 'graves,' 'tomb,' 'tombs' and 'burial' in English Poetry 1800-1900.

The survey is arranged in the three chronological periods derived from NCBEL and *English Poetry*, 1800-1835, 1835-1870 and 1870-1900. Within these periods poems are arranged alphabetically first by author and then by the volume in which they can be found. Authors' dates are included where known, with additional names and pseudonyms where relevant. Volumes are referred to by date of publication, and full bibliographic details can be found in Volume I, Bibliography 1.

Incidences of search terms are marked in two ways. In texts included in the Chadwyck-Healey *English Poetry Full-Text Database* occurrences are indicated by line numbers as they appear on the database, with additional details of sections and divisions where necessary. In texts not included in *English Poetry* occurrences are indicated by page numbers where they appear. In a few instances of influential poets (e.g., Hardy and Wordsworth) the database search was manually supplemented to include titles of poems relevant to my topic which do not include the search terms.

APPENDIX 2: Account of tropes and poem types in which graves appear in English Poetry 1800-1900.

The *Description of categories* is divided into two sections: Part I (Elegiac poems written on the death of an individual) and Part 2 (Literary genres and tropes). Typical characteristics of each figure and genre are briefly described under sections (1, 2, 3 etc.) and subsections (a, b, c etc.), with allusion to examples most of which appear under author headings in Appendix 1.

The greater part of my work has been on the graves of poets, and as this area is likely to have the broadest appeal to researchers in nineteenth-century poetry, biography and criticism, I present these findings in detail in section 3.

The *Anthology* is a selection of poems which display representative characteristics of these figures and genres. Each significant category is illustrated by at least one poem, and more where poems in that area are particularly diverse or interesting. The texts are grouped in sections and subsections in accordance with the *Description of Categories*. The author's surname is capitalised and followed by the year of the volume in which the poem can be found, and the location by volume and page. These bibliographic details refer back to Bibliography 1.

Early Nineteenth Century 1800-1835.

Eliza ACTON 1799-1859.

(1827)
‘To a Friend, with a Pyrus Japonica.’ p.12.
‘I know how vain it is to mourn.’ p.28.
‘The Grave. There is a low and lonely place of rest.’ p.32.
‘The Lover’s Song.’ p.44.
‘Chieftain’s Song.’ p.47.
‘To --- ---- Supposed to be written at the Tomb of his Parents.’ pp.48-51.
‘Lines. Yes, thou art like the blasting breath.’ p.69.
‘Go, cold and fickle trifler.’ p.82.
‘Stanzas. Give me the loneliest spot on earth.’ pp.87-8.
‘Come to my Grave.’ pp.89-90.
‘The Last Song.’ p.95.
‘A Sketch. Where is he now? — that mightiest one, whose name.’ pp.101-3.
‘Revenge.’ p.105.
‘Lines written abroad.’ p.120.
‘When next the Rose on its bough shall bloom.’ p.133.
‘Thrice happy! — no sorrow thy breast shall know.’ p.136.
‘Gentle and pure shall the happiness be.’ p.137.

Anna ADCOCK.

(1808)
‘The Poor Player.’ p.31.
‘Lines to Mrs. ----- on the death of her child.’ pp.38-40.
‘Distress. — A Fragment.’ p.52.
‘On hearing the bell toll for the death of my friend.’ pp.57, 59.
‘To the Men of Gallantry and the Boasters of Sentiment.’ pp.159, 161.

Robert ANDERSON 1770-1833.

(1834)
‘Jenny’s Complaint. (April 19, 1803)’ 39.
‘Calep Crosby.’ 16.
‘The Thuirsby Witch.’ 36.
‘Dinah Dufton.’ 36.
‘Young Susy.’ 28.

(1798)
‘The Soldier, A Fragment.’ 75.
‘To a Young Lady Labouring under a Severe Illness.’ 14.
‘Ben Bowser’s Maxim.’ 21.
'Polly.' 39.
'Henry.' 12.
'Epitaph on a Wicked Man.' 12.

(1820)
'Death and the Doctor.'
'The Rose of Corbye, in Two Cantos.' Canto 1: 147, 460; Canto 2: 150, 482.
'The Dying Harper.' 151.
'Fair Margaret's Bower, in Three Cantos.' Canto 3: 73, 74.
'Enigmas.' 214, 560.
'Epistle the Second. To Miss E. C—e, in Scotland.' 33.
'To Maria of the Cottage, on her Birth-Day.' headnote.
'The Widow.' 14, 64.
'Midnight Reflections.' 94.
'Ode to Poverty.' 48.
'Louisa, A Ballad.' 36, 60.
'The Author's Will.' 10, 120.
'Scene from the Musical Farce of "The Beggar Girl".' 41.
'Robespierre's Lament. Supposed to have been Written the Night before his Execution.' 11, 16.
'Fragment. From Corby's hills, or scented groves.' 10.
'Stanzas, on Receiving a Present from One Long and Truly Esteemed.' 12.
'A Reflection.' 24.
'The Rose of the Valley.' 7.
'Epitaph on Akel Bulbee, Written by Satiricus Tertulibus, Poet Laureat[sic] to Humpha Grumpha, Dey of Algiers.' 4, 16.
'The Impatient Lassie.' 48.
'Britons, United, the World may Defy. Written during a Threatened Invasion.' 16.
'Mad Margery.' 10.
'To Mary.' 16.
'To Nanny.' headnote.
'The Ship-wrecked Sea-Boy.' 8.
'Stanzas on visiting a Mother's Grave.' epigraph, 13, 21.
'The Kirk-yard Yew.' 11.
'Epistle the Sixth. To Crito.' 48.
'Epistle the Thirteenth. To Mr. Thos. Wannup, of Great Corby.' 12.
'Epitaph on David Bigger, Esq.' 10.

John ANSTER 1793-1868.

(1815)
'Solitude. An Ode.' 31-3, 140-1.

(1819)
'Reverie.' Part 1: 90, 155, 158-9; Part IV: 21.
'Zamri. A Fragment.' 72, 104, 183, 202-4, 220.
'Ballad. The summer sun was sinking.' 32.
'Matilda.' 74.

(1837)
'Elegy.' 113.
'Dirge.' 28, 35.
'Lines on the Death of the Princess Charlotte.' 242.
'Solitude. Oh, what a lovely silent spot.' 27, 131-2.
'And must I perish thus?' 1.
'If I might chuse, where my tired limbs shall lie.' 3, 9.
Edwin Atherstone 1788-1875.

(1869)

(1861)

(1821)
'The Last Days of Herculaneum.' 76, 268, 346-351, 1042, 1536.
'A Dramatic Sketch.' 74.

(1824)
'A Midsummer Day's Dream. A Poem.' 2564, 2628.

Joanna Baillie 1762-1851.

(1851)
'Basil: A Tragedy.' Act IV.i.196; Act V.i.55, iii.110, 170-2.
'De Monfort: A Tragedy.' Act II.i.66; Act III.i.51; Act V.i. [scene setting] 10, 65, vi.107, 138.
'Ethwald: A Tragedy, in Five Acts.' Part 1: Act IV.i.23, v.15, 37; Part 2: Act I.i.100, ii.113; Act II.i.52; Act IV.i.48, 64, 72; Act V.i.197, iii.47.
'Orra: A Tragedy in Five Acts.' Act II.i.146, iii.88; Act III.i.19, 142; Act IV.i.49, 178; Act V.ii.214.
'The Beacon: A Serious Musical Drama, in Two Acts.' Act I.i.102, ii.37; Act II.i.20, 71.
'Romiero: A Tragedy, in Five Acts.' Act I.i.3; Act II.i.53, 61; Act V.iii.138.
'Henriquez: A Tragedy, in Five Acts.' Act III.i.110, iii. scene set in 'The burying vault of the castle, with monuments of the dead,' 16, 47, 59.
'Rayner: A Tragedy, in Five Acts.' Act II.i.85.
'Constantine Paeleologus; or, the Last of the Caesars: A Tragedy, in Five Acts.' Act II.iv.123, 191; Act III.i.163; Act V.iii.204.
'The Family Legend: A Tragedy, in Five Acts.' Act I.i.105; Act II.i.40, 174, 206; Act IV.i.112; Act V.i.9; iv.52, 153.
'The Bride: A Drama, in Three Acts.' Act I.i.100; Act III.i.14, 22, 124.
'The Legend of Christopher Columbus.' 159, 387, 590, 933-6, 997.
'The Legend of Lady Griseld Baillie.' 378, 853.
'Malcolm's Heir: A Tale of Wonder.' 41.
'A Winter's Day.' 220.
'Night Scenes of Other Times. A Poem, in Three Parts.' Part I: 72-8, 96; Part II: 11, 75; Part III: 23, 84.
'A Melancholy Lover's Farewell to His Mistress.' 25.
'A Poetical or Sound-Hearted Lover's Farewell to His Mistress.' 32.
'A Lamentation.' 4, 9.
'Thunder.' 62.
'The Weary Fund o' Tow.' 29.
'To Mrs. Siddons.' 46.
'Hymn.' 10.
'A Third Hymn for the Kirk.' 3.
'Ahalya Baee: A Poem.' 102.
John Banim 1798-1842.

(1821)
'The Celt's Paradise.' Duan 1: 101, 108-10, 119, 156; Duan 3: 39, 559; Duan 4: 239, 335.

(1831)
'The Irish Soldier.' 10, 14.
'The Irish Mother to her Child.' 14.
'The Irish Maiden's Song.' 14.

Anna Laetitia Barbauld 1743-1825.

(1826)
'Verse written in an Alcove.' p.24.
'To Mrs. P*********, with some drawings of birds and insects.' p.33.
'Ovid to his Wife. Imitated from different parts of his Tristia.' p.70.
'Epistle to Dr. Enfield, on his revisiting Warrington in 1789.' p.127.
'Hymn. "Ye are the salt of the earth".' p.145.
'To a little invisible being, who is expected soon to become visible.' p.147.
'On the Death of Mrs. Martineau, Senr.' pp.156-7.
'Eternity.' p.165.
'Eighteen Hundred and Eleven.' p.172.
'Ode to Remorse.' p.180.
'On the King's Illness.' p.186.
'The Wake of the King of Spain.' p.199.
'The Death of the Virtuous.' p.220.
'Hymn. For Easter Sunday.' p.225.

Richard Harris Barham [Thomas Ingoldsby] 1788-1845.

(1840)
'The Ghost.' 154, 226.
'The Cynotaph.' 13, 25, 36, 86, 108n, 134, 156, 182.
'Some Account of a New Play.' 56-76.
'Netley Abbey. A Legend of Hampshire.' 47.
'Nell Cook. A Legend of the "Dark Entry".' 107.
'The Dead Drummer. A Legend of Salisbury Plain.' 305.
'The Lay of St Aloys. A Legend of Blois.' 144-47.
'The Lay of the Old Woman Clothed in Grey. A Legend of Dover.' 396, 402.
'The Wedding-Day; or, the Buccaneer's Curse. A Family Legend.' 342.

(1881)
'The Relic; Or, the Antiquary and the Patriot. A Canterbury Tale, Founded on Fact.' 87.
'The London University; or, Stinkomalee Triumphans.' 31.
'Ode. Not a sous had he got — not a guinea or note.' headnote.
'Childe Nugent. A Fragment.' 1, 13.
'Too Late.' 8.


(1807a)
'All the Talents, &c.' 8-9, 14.
'A New Loyal Song, by a Loyal Subject.' 11.
'Elijah's Mantle: a Tribute to the Memory of the Right Honourable William Pitt.' 91.
'"Templa Quam Dilecta".' 29.

(1807b)
'All the Talents.' Dialogue 2: 267n; Dialogue 3: 4, 125n.
'The Second Titan War against Heaven; or the Talents *Buried under Portland-Isle. A Satirical Poem.*' 393, 862.

'The Talents Run Mad; or, Eighteen Hundred and Sixteen.' I: 117n; III: 462n, 636.

'Woman, a Poem.' Part I: 38, 186; Part II: 84, 308; Part III: 403.

Bernard BARTON 1784-1849.

'A Brief Memorial of Major Edward Moor, F. R. S., &c.' 45, 56.

'The Infant Moses Found.' 18.
'The Healing of Marah's Waters.' 10.
'Elisha's Bones.' 7, 17, 25.
'Sorrow of the Heart.' 21.
'The Language of the Tempter.' 5.
'The Dead.' 20.
'Tears.' 26.
'Quickened, but helpless.' epigraph, 5, 13.
'The Earthly and the Heavenly.' 18.
'A Christian's Freedom.' 23.
'Walking in the Light.' 17.

'The Statue of Memnon.' 16.
'Verse, suggested by an Inscription on a Tombstone in Melrose Abbey.' 9.
'Stanzas, Written in the Last Illness of my Sister, Maria Hack.' 16.
'The Descent from the Cross. Written to Illustrate a Print from Rubens's celebrated picture.' 42.
'A Lament.' 36.
'A Sea-side Sonnet.' 7, 14.
'Sonnet, on the Death of a Friend.' 8, 13.
'What is Slavery?' 4, 38.
'Sunset.' 100.
'A Poet's Memorial of Robinson Crusoe.' 86.
'The Memory of the Dead.' 5, 18.
'Mary's Dirge.' 35.
'Stanzas. Oh! mourn not for the early blest.' 22.
'John Evelyn.' 14n.
'To Eliza P. Gurney.' 31.


'Jane Ashford, A Tale in Humble Life.' 14, 45, 139.
'Stanzas Addressed to an Infant.' 47.
'Stanzas to a Friend on the Death of her Father.' 18.
'A Poet's Memorial of a Departed Friend.'
'To Patriotism, an Ode.' 16.
'Stanzas to the Memory of Dr. John Leyden.' 48, 57.
'Stanzas to an Affectionate and Pious Parent, on the Death of her Child.' 6, 46.
'An Elegy. 'Twas at the silent hour when Fancy dreams.' 41, 66.
'Stanzas composed while walking on the Warren Hill early on a Summer's Morning.' 19-20, 25.
'Verse on Reading Hayley's Life of Cowper.' 31.
'Caledonie.' 53.
(1824)

‘Napoleon.’ 553.
‘Days of Darkness.’ 24, 32.
‘To the Memory of Emma Fuller.’ 18, 36.
‘The Twelve Months of Human Life.’ 125, 154.
‘To a Friend, on his Departure for Rome.’ 15.

(1828)

‘A New-Year’s Eve.’ 72, 134, 145, 211, 367.
‘Verses, Written during the Alarming Illness of a Highly Valued Friend.’ 12.
‘Robert Bruce and the Spider.’ 17.
‘The Nightingale Flower.’ 18, 25.
‘The Rectory.’ 40, 55.
‘The Death of Robin Hood.’ 25.
‘Godiva.’ 1.
‘The Resurrection.’ 4, 8.
‘England’s Oak.’ 18.
‘The Death of Rufus.’ 63.
‘Summer Musings.’ 24.
‘Hymn for Easter.’ 3, 5, 22.
‘Oh! Had I the wings of a dove*.’ 4.
‘There is a fame which owes its spell.’ 11.

(1825)

‘Verses, supposed to be written in a Burial-ground belonging to the Society of Friends
(9th Mo. 14th, 1819).’ 24, 36, 79, 116.
‘Stanzas, to M. P.’ 23, 27.
‘Stanzas to the Memory of H— M—-.’ 10.
‘Stanzas addressed to Percy Bysshe Shelley.’ 54.
‘Verses To the Memory of Mary Fletcher.’ 39.
‘Meditations in Great Bawling Church-Yard.’ 54-5, 178.
‘Verses to a Friend, with a Copy of the Preceding.’ 2.
‘Stanzas to an Affection and Pious Parent, on the Death of her Child.’ 6, 46.
‘Stanzas, composed while walking on the Warren Hill early on a Summer’s Morning.’ 19-20, 25.
‘Stanzas on the Death of the Princess Charlotte.’ 32, 52.
‘Thou art gone to the Land of the Leal’ 10.
‘The Sea.’ 84.
‘Stanzas Occasioned by the Death of a Relative Abroad.’ 3.
‘An Aspiration.’ 3.
‘Stanzas Written in a Blank Leaf of Kirke White’s Remains.’ epigraph, 20, 57.
‘Stanzas, Written in Autumn.’ 24, 40.
‘The Cypress Tree.’ 10.
‘Bow Hill.’ 18, 25, 33.
‘On The Death of Samuel Alexander, of Needham-Market.’ 88.
‘Verses, Addressed to Wm. Wordsworth, Esq. Being a Parody on the Stanzas prefixed to The
“White Doe”.’ 48.
‘On the Death of Labeledyere.’ 2.
‘To the Memory of Peter Gedge, Esq., late Editor and Proprietor of the Bury and Norwich
Post.’ 1.

(1824)

‘Man’s Long Home.’ 7.
‘The Abbot Turned Anchorite.’ 55.
‘The Butterfly.’ 96.
To the Memory of Edwin Price, of Neath Abbey, Glamorganshire: Written after Perusing the Account of his Last Illness, and Death.' 29, 50.

'To the Evening Primrose.' 31.

'Verses to the Memory of Bloomfield, the Suffolk Poet.' 1, 115.

'Landguard Fort.' 83.

'Ellen's Dirge.' 1, 11.

'Dives and Lazarus.' 12, 57.

'The Poet's Lot.' 44.


'On the Alienation of Friends in the Decline of Life.' 90.

'Pity for Poor Little Sweeps.' 46.

'To Death.' 73.

'A Relique of Napoleon, or Verses on a Leaf gathered from his Grave.' 9, 29, 36, 45.

'To the River Deben.' 12.

'A Poet to his Candle.' 13.

'A Spring Thought.' 12.

'A Last Memorial.' 14.

(1836)

'Resignation.' 9, 17.

"What is our being's aim and end?"' 28, 53.

'The Missionary.' 122.

'An Affecting and Too True Incident.' 6.

'Mary at the Sepulchre.' 1-2, 6, 9.

'The Coronation of Inez de Castro.' epigraph, 48.

"For now we see through a glass, darkly".' 10.

'Recollections of a Day at "Barham".' 44.

"The Meek will He Teach His Way."' 23.

'The Traveller's Dirge.' 27.

"It is sown a natural body, it is raised a spiritual body." (1 Corinthians, xv. 44)' 17.

'The Rose, the Shamrock, and Thistle.' 7.

'Written at Felixstow, May 31st, 1835.' 29.

'A Memorial of December 19th, 1835.' 15.

'To E. H. Written at the Sea-side.' 8.

'The Passage of the Red Sea.' 32.

'Invocation to Spring.' 40.

"This same Jesus, which is taken up from you into heaven, shall so come in like manner as ye have seen him go into heaven".' 35.

(1846)

'Sea-Weeds; or Brief Records of Thought, and Feelings, by the Sea-Side.' 71.

(1827)

'A Widow's Tale.' 32, 103, 188, 225.

'Sonnet, to Nathan Drake, on the Title of his Newly Announced Work.' 14.

'Which Things Are a Shadow.' 26.


'The Dead.' 20.

'To Felicia Hemans, on the Death of a Friend.' 9, 27, 29.

'Sonnet; The Crucifixion.' 3.

Nathaniel Thomas Haynes BAYLY 1797-1839.

(1822a)

'Erin.' Part 1: 146; Part 2: 94.

(1829)

'Flag of the Wreck.' 20.

(1822b)

'A Sea-side Reverie.' 26, 34.

'Retrospection. Written at Winchester.' 14.
(1844)
'Monody.' 58.
'Mournful Recollections.' 31, 56.
'Can we banish the past? Can we ever renounce?' 44.
'It is the voice of years that are gone.' 4, 8.
'There came from the wars on a jet black steed.' 23.
'O smile not upon me.' 10.
'Mary, think of me.' 16.
'Why do we love?' 48.
'We must follow to the tomb.'
'O say not 'twere a keener blow.' 14, 20.
'The banner should wave o'er the tomb of the brave.' 1-2.
'O teach my heart.' 11.
'Oh not for me!' 10.
'I love to pace the ruin'd cell.' 6.
'O! Virtue knows no hopeless grief.' 6.
'The Olden Time.' 15.
'Evergreen Tree.' 14.
'Are there Tidings in yon Vessel.' 7.
'The Misletoe Bough.' 32.
'They weep when I have named her.' 11.
'The Battle is Fought.' 15.
'The Absentee.' 94.
'Biography.' 93.
'Friar Laurence and Juliet.' 75.
'Twenty Years!' 38.
'A Party of Pleasure. Being a Painful Retrospect of a Trip.' 40.
'Is there an Unbeliever?' 6.
'The Banished.' 13.
'Once 'twas my hope.' 14.
'It is not on the Battle Field.' 8.
'No lover comes to me.' 22.
'Once 'twas my hope.' 14.
'The Exhibited Dwarf.' 28.
'We must follow to the tomb.' 13.
'I loved him but I left him.' 24.
'The tide is ebbing fast, my child.' 24.
'Wither Away.' 12.
'The Knight with the Azure Plume.' 14.
'The Vacant Chair.' 3.
'Cling to the Cross, thou lone one.' 7, 20.

William BLAKE 1757-1827.

(1965)
'The Book of Thel.' IV: 7-9.
'Ah! Sun-flower.' 7.
'The Garden of Love.' 9.
'Visions of the Daughters of Albion.' Plate 3, 10; Plate 6, 1.
'America, a Prophecy.' Plate 6, 3.
'Europe, a Prophecy.' Plate 10, 31; Plate 13, 7.
'The Song of Los.' 8, 35.
'Milton, a Poem in 2 Books.' Book I, Plate 11: 9, Plate 14: 20, 39; Plate 24: 30, 42,
'Jerusalem. The Emanation of The Giant Albion.' Chapter 1: Plate 13: 54, Plate 24: 13, 34.
79: 62, Plate 87: 23, Plate 89: 60, Plate 91: 37, Plate 93: 28, Plate 94: 2, 12, 19.
'For the Sexes the Gates of Paradise.' 'The Keys of the Gates,' 22.
'The Ghost of Abel. A Revelation in the Visions of Jehovah.' Plate 1 [scene set at grave].
'Tiriel.' 1, 33, 41.
'The Four Zoas. The Torments of Love and Jealousy in The Death and Judgement of Albion the
Ancient Man.' Night 1, 57; Night 2, 17; Night 3, 121, 136; Night 5, 196; Night 6, 97, 165;
Night 8, 213, 395, 479, 520, 530, 584; Night 9, 31, 215, 237, 311, 336, 612, 664, 724, 731;
Night 7, 68, 121, 289, 324.

'Fair Eleanor.' 2.
'Song. My silks and fine array.' 5, 15.
'King Edward the Third.' Scene 6, 16.
'My Spectre around me Night & Day.' 36.
'Postscript.' 8.
'To the Queen.' 7, 15.
'The Caverns of the Grave I've seen.'
'The Smile.' 13.
'Auguries of Innocence.' 88.
'O Reader behold the Philosophers Grave.'
'The Argument' [to Songs of Experience] 11.
'The [First] Book of Urizen.' Chapter IX, 5: 30.
'The Everlasting Gospel.' 56

Robert BLOOMFIELD 1766-1823.

(1827)
'The Farmer's Boy.' I, 237; III, 849-56.
'Good Tidings; Or News from the Farm.' 188, 210, 346.
'Love of the Country. Written at Clare-Hall, Herts, June, 1804.' 32.
'The Banks of Wye.' Book I, 276, 302; Book II, 8; Book III, 44; Book IV, 137 and n, 'Mary's
Grave.' 150ff.
'May-Day with the Muses.' 790, 1062.

(1824)
'On Seeing the Launch of the Boyne.' 64.


(1871)
'Braes of Ochtertyre — Song.' 16.
'Song. Freu't euch des libens.' 26.
'Song. For the Harveian Anniversary, 1816.' 17.

Caroline BOWLES [Caroline Southey] 1786-1854.

(1820)
'Ellen Fitzarthur.' Canto I: 32, 276, 406; Canto II: 98, 106, 126, 176, 338; Canto III: 171, 253;
Canto IV: 181; Canto V: 34, 40, 163, 310, 528.
'Thoughts Suggested by Hearing the Bells Chime after the Proclamation of George the
Fourth.' 104.

(1867)
'Comte A Mon Chien.' 138, 164-6, 173, 283, 301, 334-9.
' Ranger's Grave.' 5, 39.
'The Broken Bridge.' 52, 184, 204.
'The Ladye's Brydalle.' 102, 127.
'That's What We Are.' 47, 55, 60, 77, 95, 112, 125.
'The Three Friends. Stanzas accompanying a Picture.' 36.
'Wild Flowers.' 109-11.
'The Legend of the Lido.' 98.
'The Churchyard.' 2, 11, 14.
'To the Sweet-scented Cyclamen.' 98, 108.
William Lisle Bowles 1762-1850.
'The Spirit of Discovery by Sea: A Descriptive and Historical Poem.' Book 1: 381; Book 2: 343; Book 4: 398, 401, 420, 430, 442, 448; Book 5: 32, 84.
'The Missionary.' Canto 1: 62, 189, 202, 246; Canto 2: 150, 253; Canto 3: 72, 222; Canto 5: 65; Canto 6: 203; Canto 8: 284, 287, 303.
'The Grave of the Last Saxon; or, the Legend of the Curfew.' Introductory Canto: 69, 92, 124-5; Canto 1: 184, 266, 315, 435; Canto 2: 132; Canto 3: 1, 9, 46, 128, 159, 184, 194-5, 261, 311, 343; Canto 4: 83, 92, 102, 121, 131, 217, 257, 270, 276, 281, 293, 409, 411, 414, 429, 439, 457, 462, 466, 481, 493, 498, 510, 522; Conclusion: 573, 578.
'St John in Patmos.' Part 1: 175; Part 2: 269, 290, 328, 444; Part 3: 10, 131, 144, 271.
'The Sorrows of Switzerland.' Part 2: 84, 177, 188.
'Poor man's Grave.' 4.
'The Mower.' 7.
'The Withered Leaf.' 8.
'My Father's Grave.' 1, 4, 8, 12, 16.
'Hymn for the Anniversary of the Death of the Princess Charlotte.' 2, 8.
'The Children's Hymn for their Patroness.' 10.
'Easter Day.' 8.
'The Sanctuary: A Dramatic Sketch.' Scene II: 19, 31; Scene III: 72, 74.
'Childe Harold's Last Pilgrimage.' 18, 27.
'The Egyptian Tomb.' 10.
'Silchester, the Ancient Caleva.' 22.
'On the Funeral of Charles the First, at Night, in St George's Chapel, Windsor.' 12, 15, 25.
'On Seeing Plants in the Windows of Seth Ward's College, endowed for Widows of Clergymen, at Salisbury.' 6.
'The Grave of Bishop Ken.' 2, 5.
'On seeing a bust of R. B. Sheridan, from a cast taken after death.' 6.
'The Lay of Talbot, the Troubadour. A Legend of Lacock Abbey.' 111.
'Written after the consecration of the new church at Kingswood.' 25, 68, 69.
'Epitaph on John Harding, in the Churchyard of Bremhill.' 14.

Sir John BOWRING 1792-1872.

(1851)
'Matins and Vespers.' [First Week.] Spring.
'Sunday Evening.' 36, 59, 67, 79.
'Tuesday Evening.' 4, 41.
'Wednesday Evening.' 20.
'Friday Evening.' 28, 38.
'Saturday Evening.' 11, 15, 19, 25, 64.
[Second Week.] Summer.
'Tuesday Morning.' 38.
'Wednesday Evening.' 13, 25.
'Thursday Morning.' 45.
'Saturday Evening.' 29.
[Third Week.] Autumn.
'Sunday Morning.' 16-18.
'Monday Morning.' 46.
'Tuesday Evening.' 24.
'Wednesday Evening.' 36-8.
'Thursday Morning.' 31.
'Friday Morning.' 38-40.
'Friday Evening.' 27-33.
'Saturday Morning.' 17.
[Fourth Week.] Winter.
'Monday Morning.' 5, 17, 25, 40.
'Tuesday Morning.' 20.
'Tuesday Evening.' 15.
'Wednesday Morning.' 26, 36, 49, 59.
'Wednesday Evening.' 50.
'Thursday Morning.' 39.
'Thursday Evening.' 28.
'Friday Morning.' 51, 53.
'Friday Evening.' 63.
'Saturday Morning.' 48, 53.
'Morning Thoughts.' 60.
'Written at Sea.' 44, 49.
'The World is given to the Wicked' 24.
'Death.' 19.

(1873)
'Matter and Mind.' 31.
'Mourn not as those without Hope.' 9.
'Looking Upward.' 8.
'Unity of God.' 15.
'Resurrection.' 2.
'Hymn. He who walks in virtue's way.' 19.
'Hymn. If all our hopes and all our fears.' 15.
'Hymn. Earth's transitory things decay.' 16.
'Jesus lives.' 2, 15.
'Prayer for Guidance.' 15.
'Miserere Me.' 17.
'Resurrection.'
'Sleep of the Grave.'
'Funeral Hymn.' 16.
'The End of the good Man is Peace.' 9.
'Awake, Thou that sleepest.' 9.
'Easter Hymn.' 3.
'Rest of the Righteous.' 5.
'Virtue and Truth Immortal.' 12.
'We walked in darkness, but at last.' 4.
'Their Works shall follow Them.' 10.
'The Resurrection. He is not here — He is not here —.' 5, 13.
'Death a Blessing.' 14.
'We walk by Faith, and not by Sight.' 11.
'Death! where is thy Sting?' 2, 14.
'Heirs of God and Joint Heirs with Christ.' 6.
'The Grave no Terror to the Virtuous.' 1, 13.
'Sleep of the Grave.' 8.
'It is finished.' 9, 17.
'Funeral Hymn. Clay of our departed brother!' 4, 12.
'Funeral Hymn. We stand upon the grave, but thou.' 1.
'Adversity salutary.' 17.
'Rest of the Grave.'
'A Wise Man — builds upon a Rock.' 18.
'Life in Death.' 5.
'The Resurrection. He lives! he lives! Let joy again.' 3, 5.
'God over all.' 17.
'God always nigh.' 8.
'Siste, Viator!' 55, 61.

Henry BOYD 1755?-1832.

(1850)
'Death of the Queen Dowager, a Poem.' 192, 197, 454, 469, 602, 617, 663, 673, 695-7, 759, 762.

(1793)
'The Helots. A Tragedy.' Act I.ii.8, 76, 598, 671; Act II.344, 539; Act IV.81, 402.
'The Temple of Vesta.' Act III.173; Act IV.127; Act V.376.
'The Rivals, a Sacred Drama.' Act I.439.
'The Royal Message.' Act II.i.78, 366; Act IV.i.71, iii.223, 543, 590; Act V.494.
'Woodstock. The Prize Poem for the Year One Thousand Seven Hundred and Seventy-Seven.' 40.
'The Wanderer, A Lyric Poem, in Four Irregular Odes.' I: 107, 312.
'Verses, Left at the Rev. Peter Turpin's, at Brookville, in his Absence, Feb. 7th, 1792.' 2.
'To Joseph Cooper Walker, Esq. M. R. I. A. and Member of the Academies of Perth, Cortona, and Rome, on his Embarking for Italy, 1791.' 10n, 77.
'To William Preston, Esq. on his Tragedy, entitled Democratic Rage.' II: 24.
'Specimen of the Captives, a Romance. (Ready for the Press)' 144, 189, 313, 993.

Barbarina BRAND, Lady Dacre 1768-1854.

(1821)
'Gonzalvo of Cordoba.' Act V.ii.2, 118.
'Pedrarias A Tragic Drama.' Act IV.ii.86.
'Ina. A Tragedy.' Act V.iii.25, 185.
'Bouts Rîmes.' 12.
'On Dunstonburgh Castle.' 23.
'Stanzas suggested by a Canzone of Petrarch.' 23.
'Translation of Horace's Ode to Glosphus.' 38.

Sir Samuel Egerton BRYDGES 1768-1837.

(1816)
'Bertram: A Poetical Tale, in Four Cantos.' Canto I, 268.

(1850)
'Human Fate. A Poem.' 168, 331, 680.

(1832)
'Dedication. To William Wordsworth, Esqre. and Robert Southe, LLD.' 80.
'The Lake of Geneva.' Book I: 49, 816, 822, 905; Book II: 793, 967; Book III: 244, 435; Book V: 56; Book VI: 3, 96, 451; Book VII: 54, 58, 518, 902, 908, 990.

(1831)
'Modern Aristocracy, or the Bard's Reception.' 325-8, 457.
'Poets and Modern Poetry.' 118.

(1837)
'Moral Axioms.' Part I: 19, 399; Part II: 113, 208, 224, 248, 354, 448, 456-9, 481, 520.

(1824)
'Odo, Count of Lingen: A Poetical Tale.' Canto III: 946; Canto VI: 1922, 2040.

(1807)
'Sonnet. Written at Wootton, in Kent.' headnote.
'Sonnet. Written in the Church Yard of Orleton. From a Novel, 1798.' 12.
'Ode IV.' 87.
'Ode X. On Morning. From the Story of Mary De-Clifford, 1792.' 20.
'Ode XIII. The Six Bards. From a note to the Poem, entitled, Croma, of Ossian, versified.' 170.
'Verse on the late Unanimous Resolutions to support the Constitution, Written Dec. 19, 1792.' 73.
'Lines written in the Character of the Hero of a Novel, 1802.' 22, 28.
'A Poetical Fragment on a Deserted Mansion, the supposed Place of Nativity of the Person in whose Character it is Written.' 79, 93.
'Dirge. 1783.' 1, 30.
'Verse from a novel, 1802.' 16.
'Ellen St. Aubin. A Fragment of a Poetical Romance.' 106.
'Elegy. From a Novel, 1802.' 17.
'Retirement. A Fragment.' 228, 353.
'Elegiac Lines, on Mrs. Lefroy, who Died by a Fall from her Horse, Dec. 6, 1804.' headnote.
'Lines to the Memory of a Deceased Friend. From a Novel, 1802.' 1, 20, 23.

Charles BUCKE 1781-1846.

(1819)
'The Fall of the Leaf: An Epistle Addressed to John Henry Wilmot, Esq.' 128, 189.
'Lines Written for the Purpose of Recitation at the Oratorio, Performed Immediately after the
Funeral of H. R. H. the Princess Charlotte, at Drury-Lane Theatre.' 104-6.
'Ode. Rocheford's Resolution.' 16.
'Ode Written while Sailing, in a Tempest, up the Bristol Channel.' 16.
'Hymn to the Virgin: Sung by the Nuns of St. Catharine.' 4.
'Lines Written in a Glen, Near Valle-Crucis Abbey, Denbighshire.' 9, 16, 23.
'Inscription for a Cemetery. Written in the Churchyard of Britton-Ferry, Glamorganshire.'
'Inscription for a Tablet in a Field near Battle, Sussex.' 1.
'Hymn to the Moon.' 218, 231.

(1830)
'Julio Romano.' Book I, (ii) 130; Book II, (iv) 95; Book III, (i) 39, (ii) 7; Book IV, (ii) 101, 219,
322, (iii) 31; Book V, (i) scene setting, (ii) 4, 32, 40, 44-5, 65, 75, (iii) 182; Book VI, (i) 5, 154,
353, 522.

Alfred BUNN 1796-1860.

(1816)
'When sunk beneath the swarded green.' 3, 6.
'Elegiac Stanzas.' 36.
'To ---. Oh, Lady! keep the lute I gave—.' 3.
'Tributary Stanzas.' 45.

(1819)
'Tancred.' 80, 430, 832, 884, 906, 936, 965-7, 1022.
'Avarice.' 118.
'Ambition.' 63, 80, 95-6.
'Prologue to the Tragedy of "The Broken Heart," altered from Ford, but never acted.' 33.
'A Wish. I'd seek some Alpine craggy eminence.' 12-3, 34.
'To Miss O'Neill.' 13.
'On the Death of Sarah, Wife of John Gray, Esq. of Newcastle.' 18.
'Chorus of Outlaws.' 5.

Robert BURNS 1759-1796.

(1896)
'Despondency. An Ode.' 14.
'A Bard's Epitaph.' 18.
'Tam Samson's Elegy.' 80.
'Elegy on Captain Matthew Henderson A Gentleman who held the patent for his honours
immediately from almighty God!' 91, 106.
'Lament of Mary Queen of Scots on the approach of Spring.' 56.
'Lament for James Earl of Glencairn.' 54.
'On reading in a newspaper the death of John M'Leod, Esq. Brother to a young lady, a particular
friend of the author's.' 20.
'Extempore to Gavin Hamilton Stanzas on naething.' 47.
'To James Tennant of Glenconner.' 36.
'Ode to the Departed Regency Bill.' 63.
'Elegy on the death of Sir James Hunter Blair.' 25.
'Sonnet on the death of Robert Riddell of Glenriddell.' 8.
To Dr. Maxwell on Miss Jessy Staig's Recovery.' 3.

'For Mr. Walter Riddell.' 2.

'O, merry hae I been.' 12.

'The lovely lass of Inverness.' 10.

'Sweet fa's the eve.' 16.

'Scots, wha hae.' 10.

'A ruined farmer.' 27.

'Elegy on Stella.' 28, 34, 44, 42, 72.

'The Joyful Widower.' 18.

'The Tree of Liberty.' 72.

'On the death of a favourite child.' 1.

George Gordon Noel BYRON 1788-1824.

(1898-1904)

'On the Death of a Young Lady, Cousin to the Author, and Very Dear to Him.' 3ff.

'To D----.' 9.

'Epitaph on a Beloved Friend.' 17.

'To Caroline. O! when shall the grave hide for ever my sorrow?' 20.

'On the Death of Mr. Fox.' 16.

'The Tear.' 23, 64.

'Childish Recollections.' 162.

'Answer to a Beautiful Poem, written by Montgomery, author of "The Wanderer of Switzerland," etc., entitled "The Common Lot".' 4, 14, 20, 30, 44.

'Elegy on Newstead Abbey.' 3, 70, 85, 151.

'Oscar of Alva.' 297, 301.

'The Episode of Nisus and Euryalus. A Paraphrase from the "Aeneid," Lib. 9.' 6, 71, 184.

'To the Duke of Dorset.' 48, 53.

'Lines Written Beneath An Elm in the Churchyard Of Harrow.' 21.

'To a Lady who presented the Author with the velvet band which bound her tresses.' 8.

'The Prayer of Nature.' 58.

'The Adieu. Written under the impression that the author would soon die.' 34.

'To an Oak at Newstead.' 31.

'To my Son.' 13.

'Inscription on the Monument of a Newfoundland Dog.' 5.

'English Bards, and Scotch Reviewers.' 54, 163, 269.

'The Curse of Minerva.' 152, 202.


'Stanzas composed during a thunder-storm.' 12.

'Stanzas written in passing the Ambracian Gulf.' 6.

'One struggle more, and I am free.' 32.

'And thou art dead, as young and fair (Feb. 1812). ' 9.

'Lines written on a blank leaf of The Pleasures of Memory.' 7.

'Address, spoken at the opening of Drury-Lane Theatre, Saturday, October 10, 1812.' 37.

'The Giaour: A Fragment of a Turkish Tale.' 2, 97, 105, 131-5, 150, 238, 281, 462, 676, 723, 756, 783, 830, 1000-6, 1072, 1097, 1124, 1311.


'The Corsair: A Tale.' Canto I: 34, 355; Canto II: 1104; Canto III: 1282.

'Ode to Napoleon Buonaparte.' 15.

'Lara: A Tale.' Canto 1, 118, 200, 637; Canto 2, 703, 733, 864, 1050, 1166.

'Oh! Snatched away in Beauty's Bloom.' 2.

'Vision of Belshazzar.' 42.
'A Sketch.' 93.
'Elegiac Stanzas on the Death of Sir Peter Parker, Bart.' 2, 9.
'Stanzas for Music.' 9.
'Ode from the French.' I, 9; III, 37 and n.
'The Siege of Corinth.' 660, 817, 978.
'Parisina.' 86, 246, 439, 510, 533.
'The Prisoner of Chillon.' 114, 150, 191, 313, 362.
'Darkness.' 78.
'Churchill's Grave, A Fact Literally Rendered.' 1, 14, 28.
'A Fragment. Could I remount the river of my years.' 35.
'Lines on Hearing that Lady Byron was ill.' 41.
'Monody on the Death of the Right Hon. R. B. Sheridan, spoken at Drury-Lane Theatre, London.' 74.
'Manfred: A Dramatic Poem.' Act I.i.194, ii.103; Act II.i.69, ii.179, iii.55, iv.82, 107, 119.
'The Lament of Tasso.' 18, 179, 243.
'Mazeppa.' 762.
'The Prophecy of Dante.' Canto 1: 76, 84, 153; Canto 2: 45, 115, 137; Canto 3: 39, 148, 154.
'The Morgante Maggiore of Pulci.' Canto 1, 59.
'Marino Faliero, Doge of Venice; An Historical Tragedy, in Five Acts.' Act I.i.32;
Act II.i.289, ii.55; Act III.i.27, 69, 101; Act IV.i.165; Act V.i.262, 283, 337, 465, ii.104.
'The Vision of Judgment.' 547, 658, 749.
'Ode to a Lady whose lover was killed by a Ball, which at the same time shivered a portrait next his heart.' 39.
'The Irish Avatar.' 1, 43, 117.
'On a Distant View of the Village and School of Harrow on the Hill, 1806.' 15.
'Sardanapalus: A Tragedy.' Act I.i.179, 265, 268, 423, 438; Act III.i.16, 181, 226; Act IV.i.48;
Act V.i.497.
'The Two Foscari: An Historical Tragedy.' Act I.i.144, 185; Act II.i.109, 213, 226; Act III.i.40, 81;
Act IV.i.147, 330; Act V.i.108, 251, 343.
'Heaven and Earth; A Mystery.' Part I: (ii) 80, (iii)15, 89, 143, 217 and n, 247, 710, 928.
'Werner; or, the Inheritance: A Tragedy.' Act I.i.67, 227, 504; Act II.i.402; Act III.i.47, iii.10,
iv.143; Act IV.i.5; Act V.i.20, 91, 435, ii.64.
'The Deformed Transformed: A Drama.' Part I: i.206; Part II: i.121; Part III.iii.15.
'Cain: A Mystery.' Act III.i.443, 540ff.
'The Age of Bronze; or Carmen Seculare et Annus Haud Mirabilis.' II: 13-43; IV: 99, 117; V:
141, 254; IX: 415; XVII: 738, 760.
'The Island; or, Christian and his Comrades.' Canto 2: 27, 365; Canto 3: 2, 51 and n; Canto 4:
55, 86, 222, 226n, 267.
'Windsor Poetics. Lines composed on the Occasion of His Royal Highness the Prince Regent being seen standing between the Coffins of Henry VIII. and Charles I., in the Royal Vault at Windsor.' 9.
'Epitaph. Posterity will ne'er survey.' 2.
'[Love and Death.]' 12.
'On this day I complete my thirty-sixth year.' 38.

Jeremiah Joseph CALLANAN 1795-1829.

(1861)
'The Revenge of Donal Conm.' 67, 137, 162, 196, 474, 561, 597-624.
'The Recluse of Inchindon.' 310, 321.
'Accession of George the Fourth.' 93, 167, 276.
'Restoration of the Spoils of Athens.' 110.
'Gougane Barra.' 45.
'The Lament.' 14.

Thomas CAMPBELL 1777-1844.

(1907)
'The Pleasures of Hope.' Part I, 393; Part II, 262, 311, 346, 360, 446.
'Gertrude of Wyoming or the Pennsylvanian Cottage.' Part I: 59, 244n; Part II: 77n, 139, 179;
Part III: 216, 299.
'Theodric: A Domestic Tale.' 23-5.
'The Pilgrim of Glencoe.' 188n, 281, 503.
'O'Connor's Child, or, "The Flower of Love-lies-bleeding".' 60, 72, 173, 255.
'Reullura.' 63, 69.
'Gilderoy.' 11.
'The Battle of the Baltic.' 68.
'Hohenlinden.' 26.
'Stanzas on the Threatened Invasion, 1803.' 10.
'Song of the Greeks.' 8, 27.
'The Death-boat of Heliogoland.' 3, 25, 33.
'Stanzas on the Battle of Navarino.' 2, 16.
'Stanzas to the Memory of the Spanish Patriots latest Killed in Resisting the Regency and the Duke of Angoulême.' 8.
'Lines on Poland.' 46, 71, 139.
'Lines on leaving a scene in Bavaria.' 89.
'The Last Man.' 71.
'Hallowed Ground.' 10, 30.
'Field Flowers.' 30.
'Love and Madness An Elegy.' 63.
'Lines on the Grave of a Suicide.'
'Ode to the Memory of Burns.' 36, 71.
'Lines spoken by Mrs. Bartley, at Drury-Lane Theatre, on the First Opening of the House after the Death of the Princess Charlotte, November, 1817.' 49.
'Lines on the View from St. Leonards.' 111.
'Lines written in a Blank Leaf of La Perouse's "Voyages".' 34.
'Fragment of an Oratorio, from the Book of Job.' 7.
'Moonlight.' 39-42.
'The Spectre Boat A Ballad.' 5.

Henry Francis CARY 1775-1844.

(1788)
'Sonnet III. To the Same [Miss Seward].' 1.
'Sonnet IX. To the Same [John Humberston].' 11.
'Sonnet XIX. When the pale moon-beam dances on the wave.' 4.
'Ode. To Inspiration.' 37.

John CASTILLO 1792-1845.

(1843)
'Lealholm Bridge. A Soliloquy during a visit, after some years' absence.' 30, 48.
'A Voice from the Dead!' 10, 29.
'The Stone.' 194.
'Lines in Memory of the Rev. D. Duck, Curate of Danby.' 9.
'An Elegy on the Death of a Beloved Child.' 44, 51.
'Reflections on Petch's Tomb.' 21.
'The Bees.' 18.
'Sabbath Morning Musings.' 52, 69, 80.
'Musings during Affliction; or the Search after Happiness.' 61.
'Solitary Reflections!' 3, 15.
'There is a God!' 19, 24.
'The Rule of Contrary!' 52.
'Edom. (Isaiah lxiii. 1.)' 42.
'The Last Job of an Old Tramp; or, Reflections on Burning a Mason's Mallet for a Yule Clog, on Christmas Eve.' 32.
(1858)


'Intemperance.' 11.

'The Broken Guide Post.' 71.

'Signs of the Times.' 15.

'Thornton, near Pickering, at Tombstone Work.' 36.

'The Music Band is all the Go — but it is a Plausible and Successful Snare of the Devil — let those who can, prove it otherwise. A Dialogue between Dick Dobson and David Mills.' 142.

'On the Death of Jane Wood, of Fryup. Most of which was composed on her Wake Night.' 65-8.


'The Leisure Hour. Danby Churchyard.'

John CLARE 1793-1864.

(1989)

'Lines written while viewing some remains of an human body in Lolham Lane.' 13.

'The Wish.' 243.

'Edward's Grave.' 3.

'Lines on Wellington.' 3.

'To the Memory of James Merrishaw a Village Schoolmaster.' 8, 10, 22, 38, 52, 67, 89, 100, 115.

'O who can paint the anguish of the heart.' 14, 32, 52.

'Impromptu suggested while viewing an Infant Grave.' 16.

'Elegy Humbly attempted (from the overflowing effusions of a feeling heart) to pay a small tribute of esteem and gratitude to the memory of my dear friend companion and schoolfellow R[chard] T[urnill] who was suddenly cut off in his youthful days by the fatal depredations of the Tipus Fever.' 66.

'The Death of Myrtilla or The latter catch of a pathetic Tale In Imitation of H--- B---.' 8, 53, 65.

'So gay in summer as thy boughs where drest.' 4.

'Helpstone.' 173.

'To the Winds.' 14.

'Lines on the Death of Mrs Bullimore.' 67.

'Thrice welcome to thy slumbering peace o Grave.' 1.

'Address to an insignificant flower obscurely blooming in a lonely wild.' 39.

'The Village Funeral.' 8, 20, 28, 58, 65, 99.

'The Lamentation of Round-Oak Waters.' 195.


'Death of the Brave A Song.' 22, 31, 38.

'The Fate of Amy A Tale.' 244.

'Elegy to Pity.' 18.

'O Death were is thy victory! O grave were is thy sting.' 1, 20.

'Falling Leaves.' 32.

'So Christianitys enlivening light.' 8.

'Expectation.' 13.

'To an Oaken Stem.' 56.

'The Birth of Charity.' 6.

'The Moon.' 14.

'Christian Faith.' 8.

'What is Life? (a)' 25.

'Elegy hastily composed & written with a pencil on the spot in the ruins of Pickworth Rutland.' 47.

'Verses on midnight made during a Journey (b).' 10, 40.

'Crazy Nell The Maniac.' 74, 80, 111.

'Well have I learnt the value of vain life.' 14.

'On Youth.' 16.

'Song taken from my mothers & fathers recitation & compleated by an old shepherd.' 59.

'As hopes fair sun breaks fates desponding gloom.' 23.

'The Dying Snowdrop.' 1.

'Helpston Green.' 64.

'The Tomb.'

'A Wish.' 243.

'Shipwreckd Ghost.' 4.

'Address to my father after recieving an easy chair from the Right Hon Lady ---.' 16.
'Description of a thunder storm.' 42.
'Summer.' 14.
'The Village Minstrel.' 130, 1289.
'Rosey Jane.' 40.
'A After Reading A Flattering Praise on the Grave Stone of An Old Transgressor.'
'On Death.' 8.
'The Snow Drop.' 14.
'Solitude.' 205ff., 226, 276.
'Sunday.' 53.
'To an early Butterflye.' 13.
'Imination of Sad was the hour &c &c.' 31.
'Poor Soldier.' 11.
'No grandeur here wi affections shew.' 11.
'Mans Mortality partly from the Scripture. Written in Sickness.' 14, 40.
'Last of March. Written at Lolham Brigs.' 104.
'Martinmass Eve.' 149.
'Hope.' 4.
'Button Cap.' 328-32.
'Dear native spot though nought to thee is given.' 34.
'The joys of childhood are full thickly sown.' 9.
'Oft in my earlier days of leisure.' 37.
'Song of Praise Imination of the 148 Psalm.' 52.
'On seeing Pitt's Monument —' 3.
'The Cross Roads or Haymakers Story.' 35, 54, 178.
'Death of Dobbin.' 146.
'The Workhouse Orphan A Tale.' 48, 175ff.
'The Fate of Genius A Tale.' 34, 106.

(1993a)
'The Sorrows of Love or The Broken Heart A Tale.' 404, 422, 516-550.

(1990)
'Impulses of Spring.' 62, 81.
'Pursuits after Happiness.' 79.
'Autumn.' 100.
'Shadows of Taste.' 26.
'Stanzas on a Child.' 4.
'To the Memory of an Admiral.' 16, 31-2.
'Death.' 62.
'A Morning Walk.' 152.
'Verse. Tho winter comes dreary.' 24.
'The Old Shepherd.' 24, 64.
'The Summer Gone.' 63.
'The Eternity of Nature.' 6.
'Ballad. Give me lifes ease when my leafs turning yellow.' 14.
'Ocean Glories.' 42-4.
'Crowland Abbey.' 12.
'Memory.' 8.
'Death of Beauty.' 14.
'To the Memory of Bloomfield.'
'Shadows.' 14.
'Eternity of Time.' 14.

(1993b)
'March.' 213.
'May.' 13-30.
'November.' 27.

(1984)
'The Pansy.' 11.
'Child Harold.' 82, 245, 503, 632, 821.
'Child Harold. (b)' 137.
'Davids Lament &c.' 20.
'Psalm 19.' 47.
'Infants are but cradles for the grave.' 1.
'Song. Last Day.' 11.
'Sorrow is felt not seen — the grief of verse.' 9.
'Old times forgetful memories of the past.' 2.
'Wreck of the Emelie.' 32.
'To a Friend.' 3.
'Graves of Infants.' 1.
'The Maid of Jerusalem.' 10, 14-6.
'Song. A seaboys on the giddy mast.' 7.
'The churchyard.' 1, 11, 16-7, 25.
'Flowers.' 2, 14.
'A Lament for Jerusalem.' 7.
'Death's Memories.' 1, 7, 13, 18.
'Song. Love lives beyond.' 2, 22.
'Mary Ayre.' 11.
'Flowers shall hang upon the paws.' 8, 23.
'Though years may part my love from me.' 12.
'The Soldiers Grave.
'The Spirit of Love.' 13.
'Hymn to the Creator.' 16.
'Love.' 3.
'Misfortune.' 18.
'Spring Wind.' 30.
'Scotland.' 18.
'Jewish Maids.' 20.
'Childhood.' 7.
'Mary. A Ballad.' 16.
'The Winds blow softly.' 6.
'"They love me not because I'm poor."' 8.
'"Such is the Almighty Will" so spake the honest brow.' 2.
'A Rhapsody [sic].' 177.
'The Departed.' 23, 40.

(1935)
'Crazy Nell A True Story.' 74, 80, 111.
'Solitude.' 208, 254.
'The Last of March written at Lolham Brigs.' 104.
'November.' 27.
'Wanderings in June.' 48.
'The Dream.' 7, 14, 37.
'Antiquity.' 83, 100.
'Enclosure.' 19.
'To the Memory of Bloomfield. (II)" 13.
'The Voice of Nature.' 43.
'Virtue lives on.' 9.
'Death.' 7, 27.
'Eternity of Time.' 14.
'Fare-thee-well.' 48.
'The False Knight's Tragedy.' 82.
'The Triumphs of Time.' 45, 58, 63, 93, 126, 143-7, 162.
'The Poet's Death.' 16.
'First Love.' 11.
'The Exile.' 81.
'The Return: Northborough, 1841.' 84.
'Childhood.' 7.

(1835)
'Pastoral Fancies.' 63.
'Genius.' 56, 85-6.
'To an Early Friend.' 5.
Richard COBBOLD 1797-1877.

(1848)
'The Bottle.' 390, 394.

(1827a)
'Reflection XIII.' 6.
'A Mother.' 21.
'On the Prospect of Leaving my Native Town.' 24.

(1833)
'The Spirit of the Litany.' 694, 715, 718.

(1827b)
'Greeks as they were and Greeks as they are.' 6.

Hartley COLERIDGE 1796-1849.

(1851)
'Leonard and Susan.' 546ff., 565, 640, 691.
'Album Verses.' 96.
'Reply.' 16.
'Sonnet. All Nature ministers to Hope. The snow.' 13.
'Written in January, 1833.' 10.
'The Birth-Day.' 70, 107.
'The Forsaken to the Faithless.' 10.
'A lonely wanderer upon earth am I.' 9.
'Accuse not gracious nature of neglect.' 12.
'Twins.' 6, 13.
'Fain would I dive to find my infant self.' 7.
'The Fourth Birthday.' 6.
'I have written my name on water. The Proposed inscription on the tomb of John Keats.'
'Epitaph on Owen Lloyd.' 4.
'Song. Old I am, yet not past feeling.' 30-2.
'De Animabus Brutorum.' 107.
'Young and his contemporaries.' 15, 38.
'Is love a fancy, or a feeling? No.' 7.
'It must be so, — my infant love must find.' 2.
'What is young Passion but a gusty breeze.' 14.
'In the Manner of a Child of Seven Years Old.' 33-6.

Samuel Taylor COLERIDGE 1772-1834.

(1912)
'Dura Navis.' 20.
'On Seeing a Youth Affectionately welcomed by a Sister. (1791)' 14.
'Lines on a Friend who died of a Frenzy induced by Calumnious Reports. (1794)' 1, 35, 48.
'To Lord Stanhope on Reading his late Protest in the House of Lords. (1795)' 5.
'To the Author of Poems [Joseph Cottle] published anonymously at Bristol in September 1795.' 28.
'The Silver Thimble. The Production of a Young Lady, addressed to the Author of the Poems alluded to in the Preceding Epistle. (1795)' 60.
'Monody on the Death of Chatterton.' 10, 133.
'The Destiny of Nations. A Vision.' 177, 373.
'Addressed to a Young Man of Fortune, who Abandoned himself to an Indolent and Causeless Melancholy. (1796)' 8.
'To a Friend who had declared his intention of writing no more poetry.' 31.
'Ode to the Departing Year.' Part II: 13; Part III: 59
'The Old Man of the Alps.' 52, 122.
Josiah CONDER 1789-1855.

(1837)
'The Tongues of Earth.' 64, 85.
'He is Risen.' 3, 26.
'The Apocalypse.' III, 37; VII, 92.
'Psalm lxxxvi.' 12.
'His mercy endureth for ever. Psalm cxxxvi.' 29.
'Non nobis, domine. Psalm cxxv.' 34.
"Bless the Lord, o my soul," Psalm ciii.' 9.
"I will extoll thee, O Lord, for thou hast lifted me up." Psalm xxxv.' 23.
"How long wilt thou forget me?" Psalm xiii.' 12.
'Collect. Baptized into our Saviour's death.' 7.
'Sacred to Memory.' II, 67, 113, 174.
'Fear not.' 15.
'The Dying Christian. A Parody.' 17.
'Life, Mortal and Immortal. — Four Sonnets.' I, 14.
'Death.' 21, 36-7.

(1824)
'The Star in the East.' 29, 155n.
'They whom the Father giveth.' 32-6.
'The Poor Man's Hymn.' 10.
'O thou God who hearest prayer.' 20.
'Monody on the Death of Henry Kirke White.' 5.
'To the Memory of a Young Lady.' 2, 42.
'The Reverie.' Part II: 21.
'To Mrs. S. R. W.' 8.
Louisa Stuart COSTELLO 1799-1870.

(1856)
'The Lay of the Stork.' Part II: 59; Part III: 106.

(1815)
'The Maid of the Cyprus Isle. A Ballad.' Part II: 40.
'The Cavern of the Shore.' 123, 216.
'The Legend of the Mountain.' 152, 194, 206-13
'Sulin. A Tale.' 194, 203.
'To the Mermaid.' 12.

(1819)
'Redwall; A Tale of Mona.' 278, 374, 543, 575.
'To the Sea.' 26, 32.

(1825)
'The Cape of the Caba Rumia.' 10.
'Lines. When this heart is cold and still.' 7.
'November Fifth, Anniversary of the Loss of H. M. S. Tweed.' 19.
'Song. Were all the vows I liv'd to cherish.' 14.
'Written at B----.' 9-11.
'Elegy.' 1, 16.
'The Palace of the Cappelletti.' 25.
'Lament of an Ashantee Warrior, condemned to death as a sacrifice to their gods.' 44, 63.
'Colabah, the Camel-seeker.' 37.

Joseph COTTLE 1770-1853.

(1850)

(1823)
'Dartmoor.' 251, 315, 391.
'Hymn to the Supreme Being.' 179.
'To Charity.' 2.
'Faith's Remonstrance with his Dissolute Master, Mr. Mind, Written in Winter.' 58.
'An Expostulary Epistle to Lord Byron.' 181.

(1811)
'Fall of Cambria.' Book III, 209; Book VI, 229; Book VII, 161; Book VIII, 182; Book IX, 127, 683, 870; Book XI, 254, 336, 384n, 412; Book XII, 167; Book XIII, 31, 160; Book XV, 89, 337, 531, 608, 615, 653, 671, 718, 745, 779-83, 822, 839; Book XVI, 416; Book XVII, 10, 145, 176, 418, 608, 634; Book XVIII, 549; Book XX, 238, 866; Book XXI, 133, 264, 295n, 297n, 774; Book XXII, 170, 183, 197, 528, 745, 788, 845, 854, 878, 947, 954, 972; Book XXIV, 127, 157.

(1828)
'Come, ye wanderers from the fold.' 13.
'Seen of Angels.' 13, 16.
'The Day of Judgment.' 16.
'Evening Hymn.' 7.
'The Great Salvation.' 22.
'Invocation to Jesus.' 5.
'Children of Isaac and Esau.' 24.
'The Aged Sinner.' 14.
'Sweet symphonies and concords float.' 58.
'Be serious.' 20.
'Easter Hymn.' 12, 35.
'Supplication for pardon, through Christ.' 14.
'Parable 2. The Five and Ten Talents. Matt. xxv.' 34.
'The Book of God.' 40.

(1829)
'Malvern Hills.' 88, 159, 858, 955, 1528, 1545.
'Prince Leé Boo.' 234.
'War, a Fragment.' 25, 126.
'War, a Fragment.' 86, 109, 190, 206, 356, 413.
'Markoff. A Siberian Eclogue.' 71.
'Song of the Ocean.' VII, 177.
'The Song of the Cambrian Prophetess. Addressed to the English Army, upon their entrance into Wales.' 49.
'The Distracted Minstrel. The Song of a surviving Bard, after the Slaughter of his Brethren at Mona.' 13.
'The Warrior's Grave on Snowden. Lhyrarch's Song Over the Grave of Prince Edward, and his Friend, the Gallant Edwall.' 63, 106, 153, 162, 186, 255, 262.
'The Song of the Union. By a Cambrian Bard.' 116, 133.
'Ned and Will. (Upon Will complaining that he was slighted by Ned)' 13.
'John the Baptist.' 498, 507.
'Persecution. Addressed to the Puritans: (written after reading Neale).' 31, 67.
'Funeral Dirge. Interment of the aged saint.' 2, 9.
'The Hermit's Evening Song.' 42.
'Elegy on a Beloved Sister (Who Died, Aged 25, 1789).'] 3, 42, 62.
'Lines on the death of a Beloved Niece, who died, February 1825, aged 18.' 14.
'Monody on John Henderson, A. B. (Late of Pembroke College, Oxford.).' 3-5, 102, 122, 142, 170, 187, 212.

(1815)
'Messiah.' Book IV, 392, 424; Book VI, 250, 403; Book VIII, 127, 145; Book IX, 274; Book XII, 106, 134, 404; Book XIII, 202-6; Book XIV, 10, 145, 364, 431; Book XVI, 9, 297; Book XVII, 317; Book XXI, 107, 431, 473; Book XXIII, 212, 280; Book XXIV, 110; Book XXVI, 356; Book XXVII, 175; Book XXVIII, 360, 621, 642, 671.
'Ricardo and Cassandra, a Moral Tale.' 28, 208-10.

George CRABBE 1754-1832.

(1905)
'Solitude.' 29.
'[Parham Revisited.]' 16.
'Lines written at Warwick.' 33.
 '[Lines.] Thus once again, my native place, I come.' 6.
'Tracy.' 870.
'Captain Godfrey.' 127.
'The Deserted Family.' 116, 210, 311.
'The Funeral of the Squire.' 134, 139.

(1960)
'The Insanity of Ambitious Love.' 218.
'The Lover of Virtue.' 198, 235.
'The Flowers.' 45, 236.
'Poins.' 24, 526, 860.
(1838)
"Yes, I behold again the place". 16.
'The Parish Register. In Three Parts.' Part II: 483, 498; Part III: 21, 226, 310, 731, 844, 894.
'Sir Eustace Grey.' 245, 247.
'The Hall of Justice. In Two Parts.' Part II: 122.
'Inebriety; A Poem.' 48, 206.
'Fragment.' 3, 11.
'The Resurrection.' 9.
'To the Authors of the Monthly Review.' 8, 74, 217, 358.
'Letter II. The Church.' 91, 96, 134, 137, 139, 160, 166, 231, 252, 258.
'Letter VI. Professions — Law.' 315.
'Letter VII. Professions — Physic.' 109.
'Letter XII. Players.' 162, 170.
'Letter XVIII. The Poor and their Dwellings.' 177, 239.
'Letter XX. The Poor of the Borough. Ellen Orford.' 260, 337.
'The World of Dreams.' 4.
'Tale II. The parting hour.' 25.
'Tale III. The Gentleman Farmer.' 152.
'Tale IV. Procrastination.' 61, 250.
'Tale V. The Patron.' 682, 716.
'Tale VII. The Widow's Tale.' 309.
'Tale VIII. The Mother.' 64, 295, 320, 332.
'Tale XV. Advice; or, the "Squire and the Priest".' 79.
'Tale XVII. Resentment.' 231.
'Tale XVIII. The Wager.' 224.
'Tale XIX. The Convert.' 370.
'Lines written at Warwick.' 33.
'Tales of the Hall.' Book IV: 380; Book V: 317; Book VI: 312; Book VIII: 849, 857, 867, 886;
Book XI: 384, 493, 932; Book XII: 624; Book XVIII: 326; Book XIX: 18, 610; Book XX: 385.
'Tale II. The Family of Love.' 233.
'Tale VI. The Farewell and Return.' II: 109.
'Tale VII. The School-fellow. [Farewell and Return.]' II: 78, 90.
'Tale X. The Ancient Mansion. [Farewell and Return.]' II: 111.
'Tale XI. The Merchant. [Farewell and Return.]' I: 18.
'Tale XII. The Brother Burgesses. [Farewell and Return.]' II: 54, 116.
'Tale XVI. The Dealer and Clerk. [Farewell and Return.]' IV: 272, 301.
'Tale XVIII. The Boat Race. [Farewell and Return.]' II: 296.
'Tale XX. The Will. [Farewell and Return]' I: 57, 98.

John Wilson CROKER 1780-1857

(1806)
'The Amazoniad; or Figure and Fashion.' Part 1: Canto 3, 18; Part 2: Canto V, 14, 376-8, 452, 486, 566.

(1804)
'Second Epistle. [To Frederick J—— S].' 122.
'Fifth Epistle.' 68.
'Sixth Epistle.' 71n.

(1812)
'Talavera.' XII, 253, 279-81; XXV, 568; XXXIII, 766-8; XXXIV, 758-804.
'War Song.' 10.
'Twas at the close of that dark morn.' 54-7.
'Vear high the monumental stone! —' 17, 52
George CROLY 1780-1860

(1827)
'May Fair.' Canto II, 380.

(1846)
'The Modern Orlando.' Canto I: 239; Canto III: 251, 286-8, 297; Canto V: 92, 289-92, 450.

(1830)
'The Death of Leonidas.' 56, 74.
'On the Bust of the Late Queen of Prussia, in the King's Chamber at Berlin, 1812.' 6, 20, 37.
'Czerni George.' 60.
'On the Grave of Major Schill, buried on the Glacis of Stralsund.' 7, 18.
'On the Death of Orpheus. From the Greek of Antipater.' 25.
'The Genius of Death.' 5-8, 29.
'Leonidas.' 22.
'The Magic Lamp.' 76.
'The Battle Song. From the Greek of Tyrtaeus.' 14.
'Cupid breaking the Thunderbolt.' 18.
'Genius bound.' 23.
'Pindar.' 1.
'On a Grave at Waterloo.' 10-13.
'On a Portrait, by Masquerier, of a Lady standing before a Glass. She was then Dying of a Consumption.' 18.
'Napoleon. 1820.' 36, 92.
'Midnight. Written on the Sea-shore near a Light-house.' 26, 121.
'Cataline: Dramatic Poem in 5 Acts.' Act I.i.19, 108, iii.20; Act II.i.68-70, 300, 316, 374, ii.50, 93, 130, 142, 153, 160; Act III.i.10, 26, 237, ii.74, 111; Act IV.i.68, ii.43, iii.[scene set inside sepulchre]; Act V.i.149, 154, 189, 216.
'Lorenzo de' Medici.' 24, 33-8.
'Inscription for Themistocles.' 6.
'Rosolia. A Dramatic Sketch.' 43.
'Rebellion.' 38, 45.
'Epitaph on an Old Cultivator. From the Greek.' 10.
'The Entry into Jerusalem.' 18.
'The Sibyl's Tomb. From the Greek.'

(1851)
'The Last Day of Jerusalem.' 56, 114.
'The Third Temptation.' 20, 26.
'The Sixth Seal.' 34, 39, 70.
'Belshazzar.' 24, 68, 80.
'Midnight.' 5.
'Malachi.' 30, 98.
'A Dirge.' epigraph.
'John the Baptist.' 42, 87.
'The Prophecy of Jerusalem.' 25, 51, 93, 153.
'The Prophecy against Tyre.' 22, 30, 59.
'The Atlantic.' 4-8, 28.
'The French Revolution.' 30, 49, 56.
'Man.' 30.
'Elisha in Dothan.' 52, 110.
'The World.' 12.
'The Judgment Day.' 18, 57.
Allan CUNNINGHAM 1784-1842.

(n.d.)
'The Magic Bridle.' 59.

(1832)

(1847)
'She's gane to dwell in Heaven.' 35.
'It's hame, and it's hame.' 14, 20.
'The waes o' Scotland.' 39.
'The Orphan Child.' 19-20, 53.
'Margaret and Mary.' 45.
'The thistle's grown aboon the rose.' 32.

(1822)
'Sir Marmaduke Maxwell.' Act I.vi.54, 69, 90, 128; Act II.i.22, iv.95, 118, v.42-4, 53, vi.45, 60; Act III.iv.65; Act IV.iii.47, vii.78, 100; Act V.iii.61, 139, 155.
'The Legend of Richard Faulder, Mariner. Voyage in the Spectre Shallop.' Fitte 2, 4: 98; Fitte 3, 2: 42.

(1813)
'The Wanton Wife.' 31.
'The Mourning Lady. Song XV.' 42.
'The Broken Heart. Song XXVII.' 31.
'Bothwell Bank. Song XXXIX.' 17.
'The Disconsolate Damsel. Song XL.' 12.

Robert Charles DALLAS 1754-1824.

(1823)
'Amabel: Or the Cornish Lover; A Tale founded on Fact.' Canto I: 135-7; Canto II: 194.
'On the Death of Mrs. G. B*r*n, who died in Bath at an early period of life.' 1, 7.
'To the Author's Nephew, on his Admission to Holy Orders.' 23, 36, 39.

(1813)
'Laura: An Elegy.' 120
'Caroline: A Pastoral Elegy for Music.' 8, 36.

(1819)
'Elegy to the Memory of his Brother George, who mortally wounded himself while crossing a Hedge, in Shooting, on the 19th of January, 1816, and died under the Agonies of Lockjaw, on the 14th of February following, Aetat. XVIII.' 6, 14.
'Latin Lines to the Memory of Sir Peter Parker, Bart. With an English Version.' 1, 3, 17, 66, 78.
'Lines by R. C. Dallas, aged XI years, to the Memory of George Parker.' headnote, 13, 18, 47.
'Latin Ode on Ambition, by R. C. D.' 74, 95.
'Epithalamium. On the Marriage of a Young Officer (a near Relation,) who served under the Duke of Wellington during nearly the whole of the Peninsula War, and was severely wounded in one of the last Actions with Marshal Soult.' 40.

'Richard Coeur de Lion. A Tragedy, in Five Acts.' Act i.i.17.

George DANIEL 1789-1864.

(1852)
'Democritus in London.' Scene I: 80, 165; Scene IV: 249; Scene VIII: 154; Scene XIV: 44, 77; Scene XV: 32; Scene XVI: 113, 132, 148.

(1812)
'The Ghost of "R---I Stripes," which was Prematurely Stifled in its Birth in January, 1812.' 1.

(1863)
"'Ere the parting year expire.' 8, 16.
'Who has not in its splendour mild.' 16.
'Non omnis moriar!' To the Comet of July, 1861.' 65-8, 111, 262, 602, 628, 698, 778, 1328, 1357.

(1847)
'Man, alas! was only born.' 41.

(1835)
'The Modern Dunciad.' 119, 533, 621, 624, 634, 778, 862.
'Ode XV. Book III. To a faded beauty.' 18.
'The Times.' 39, 179, 198, 482, 499-500.
'Woman.' 241.
'Immortality.' 10, 202.
'The Nativity. An Ode.' 66.
'Ode to Melancholy.' 28, 52, 58.
'Hymn.' 10.
'On the Death of the Princess Charlotte.' 5-7, 18.
'Hope.' 6, 12.
'The Worn-out Tar.' 15.
'The Pilgrim.' 39.
'The Penitent.' 49, 96.
'On Revisiting my Father's Grave.' 6.
'Monody on the Death of Sir Walter Scott, Bart.' 39.

(1806)
'Stanzas on Lord Nelson's Death and Victory.' 12, 32, 50.

George DARLEY 1795-1846.

(1829)
'The Sorrows of Hope.' 274, 305, 345.

(1822)
'The Errors of Ecstasie.' 122, 214, 247, 578.

(1897)

(1850)
'Prayer at Burial. To a Flower growing by the side of the Grave.'
'The Lament.' 15, 22.
'Written in a Leafless Bower at Hon. Mrs. Westenra's, December, 1826.' 14.
'Momento Mori: Inscribed on a Tombstone.' 14.
'Soliloquy among the tombs. Written in Beddington Churchyard.' 14.
'On the Death of a Young Girl.' 3, 8.
'Gayer than forest horn.' 7.
'To my Dead Mistress.' 42, 76.
'In an Album.' 14, 26.
'Ay! thou look'st cold on me, pomp-loving Moon.' 3, 10.
'To a Cypress Tree.' 9.
'Deep in the ocean's thundering wave.' 2.
'Lament for Love.' 23.
'Robin's Cross.' 6.
'Allene Astore; or, the Glen of the Grave.' 4, 12.

(1827)
'Sylvia; or, the Mary Queen.' Act l.iv.19; Act III.i.166-7; Act IV.i.70, ii.33, 110, 124, iii.6, 22, 96, 126, 154; Act V.i.33, vi.42, 178, viii.88.

(1837)
'The Sea-ritual.' 14-20.

Eliza DAY 1734-1814.

(1789)
'On Visiting Eusebia's Tomb.' pp.14-16.

Thomas DERMODY ['Marmaduke Myrtle'] 1775-1803.

(1807)
'The Enthusiast.' 72.
'The Pursuit of Patronage. An Epistle.' 75, 255.
'Genious Excused.' 35.
'Second Ode [To the Memory of Sir Ralph Abercrombie]. Let no unmanly plaint presume.' 4.
'Carrol's Complaint.' 65.
'The Frequented Village.' 3.
'Elegiac Stanzas to Fidele, in Cymbeline.' 10.
'My Own Elegy.' 3, 59, 62.
'Elegiac Stanzas on Myself.' 44.
'The Female Mendicant.' 24.
'On the Misfortunes of an Ingenious Mind.' 11, 19.
'The Union.' 40.
'Milton's Epitaphium Damonis translated.' 17.
'The Retrospect.' 601, 612.
'The Mourner.' 31.
'The Old World.' 6.
'The Blind Beggar's Address to his Dog.' 15, 35.
'A Vision of St. Patrick. A Fragment.' 10, 16.
'To Comic Romance.' 109.
'On Garrick's Tomb and Inscription.' 28.
'Prince Serapin, or the Enchanted.' 8.
'Farewell to Joy.' 19, 40.
'The Vision of Fancy.' 44, 56.
'The Shrine of Sympathy.' Canto III: 52.
'Corydon. A Monody.' 40-1.
'The Poet's Petition to Apollo.' 8.
'Elegy on the death of Henry Flood, Esq.' 3.
‘On a Dead Negro.’ 13, 17.
‘A Winter’s Night.’ 41.
‘The Vision of Killeigh Church.’ 1, 6.
‘John Baynham’s Epitaph.’ 56.
‘The Death of poor Davie, the Killeigh Piper.’ 17, 49.
‘The Retrospect.’ 402.
‘The Farewel, or Voyage of Life.’ 12.
‘Hymn to Solitude.’ 24.
‘To Anthemoe.’ 6.
‘Deeds of Death.’ 12.
‘The Bower of Woodstock.’ 11.
‘The Cave of Patronage.’ 33.
‘Melancholy.’ 17.
‘An Irregular Ode to the Moon.’ 66.
‘Futurity.’ 46.
‘The Death of Howard.’ 7, 100, 163.
‘On History.’ 16.
‘Peace.’ 64, 110.
‘Ode to Description.’ 54.
‘To the Memory of Sir Joshua Reynolds.’ 8, 30.
‘Song.’ 16.
‘Ode to Necessity.’ 20.
‘On the Death of Lord Heathfield.’ 20-3.
‘The Grave of Monroe.’ 34.
‘To a Poetical Enthusiast.’ 13.
‘Song. Cold lies that form beneath the sod.’ 8.
‘Doctor Faustus’s Panegyric.’ 6, 23.
‘An Epistle to the Controvertists on both sides of the Catholic Combustion.’ 234.

(1802)

(1792)
‘Memory: A Poem.’ 143.
‘Epitaph on the Sexton who rung his own knell.’ 6.
‘On an Honest Man who was Buried between a Parson and a Lawyer.’ 1.
‘To the God of Goodness.’ 20.
‘On the Grave of a Murdered Infant.’ 3.
‘Sonnet, to the memory of Collins.’ 9.
‘An Elegy, on Poetical Delusion.’ 8.
‘Inconstancy.’ 9-10.

(1800)
‘Sonnet, written on the approach of Summer.’ 16.
‘Sonnet Written in a Burial Place. Ah! me, and must I, like the tenant, lie.’

Sir Aubrey DE VERE 1788-1846.

(1815)
‘Ode to the Duchess of Angoulême.’ 50n, 171.

(1842)
‘Christ Crucified.’ 19, 106.
‘The Descent into Hell.’ 80, 98, 144.
‘The Day of Judgment.’ 5.
‘The Church Catholic.’ 141.
‘The Resurrection.’ 9, 104.
‘Life Everlasting.’ 38.
'Origin of the Soul.' 8.
'Oft have I thought they err, who, having lost.' 11.
'Easterday, 1834.' 6.
'From Petrarch.' 12.
'The Tomb of Charlemagne.'
'Adare.' 14.
'The Hill of Saint Patrick.' 8.
'Gougaun Barra. 2.' 7, 13.
'My Early Life.' 4.
'The Crusaders. 2.' 9.
'Laud.' 10.
'The Man of Glencoe.' 14.
"Thy Kingdom come." 1.' 11.
"Thy Kingdom come." 2.' 1.

Charles Isaac Mungo DIBDIN, the younger 1768-1833.

(1825)
'The Chessiad, a Mock-heroic Poem, in Five Cantos.' Canto 4: 126.
'The Wreath of Love; an Allegory, in Four Cantos of Irregular Verse.' Canto 3: 146.
'The Maniac's Funeral, Written upon seeing at Bethlem Hospital what the Poem describes.' 15.

(1807)
'Invocation to the Spirit of Chatterton.' 17, 23, 42, 56.
'Epitaph on a Gold Fish.' 8.
'The Age, a Satire.' 817.
'Negro Slave.' 6, 22.
'War and Peace. A Vision.' 22.
"Yo! Yo! Yo!" 28.
'Irish Volunteer.' 10.
'Giles Scroggins' Ghost.' 29.
'Lateat scintillula forsani!' 23.

(1819)
'Young Arthur.' 22, 423-7, 795, 809, 817, 1063, 1166, 1950, 1968, 1497, 2612, 3359, 3369, 3377-9, 3389, 3399, 4458, 4919, 4968, 5115, 5256, 5372, 5397, 5667, 5703, 5813.

Thomas John DIBDIN 1771-1841.

(1834)
'Bunyan's Pilgrim's Progress, metrically condensed. In six cantos.' Canto II: 186; Canto III: 103.

(1813)
'Ethered, or Ethelred.' 10n.
'Edward the Martyr.' 103.
'Ethelred the Unready.' 24.
'Hardicanute.' 9.
'Harold the Second.' 107.
'William the Conqueror.' 8, 36, 77, 109, 213.
'Rosamond's Bower. A Parody.' 38.
'Edward the First.' 4, 105.
'The Chapter of Welch Princes.' 34.
'Edward the Third.' 147.
'Edward the Fourth.' 188.
'Edward the Sixth.' 12.
'Mary the First.' 43.
'The Kingdoms of England and Scotland united, in James, the First King of Great Britain.' 26-9.
'Charles the First.' 54.
'William and Mary.' 119.
'George the Second.' 98.
'George the Third.' 303, 364, 634, 766, 927, 1071, 1204, 1303, 1504.

Isaac D'ISRAELI 1766-1848.

(1803)
'The Carder and the Carrier.' 286.
'Cominge.' 6n, 10, 212-16, 238, 253.

Thomas DOUBLEDAY 1790-1829.

(1829)
'Dioclesian. A Dramatic Poem.' Act I.i.152, ii.68; Act II.i.110, iii.112, iv.40, 178; Act III. ii.77, 121, 277.

(1818)
'Her heart broke not; but had it for her weal.' 9.
'A drowsy mist hangs heavy on the soul.' 8.
'Urge me no more, for know within this breast.' 8.
'Friends, when my latest bed of rest is made.' 7.
'Shade of my long lov'd Mira, if that e'er.' 14.
'When I shall sink in my latest sleep.' 8, 20.
'Lines written in a Burial Ground partly Destroyed by the Sea.' 36.

George DYER 1755-1841.

(1792)
'Ode. On Pity.' 52.
'Monody on the Death of a Friend.' 11, 26, 53, 87, 92.
'Ode. On Liberty.' 52, 78.

(1801)
'Ode. To Melancholy.' 47-8.
'Ode. Written in the Cloisters of Christ-Hospital, in London.' 44.
'Ode. A Triumphant Ode of the Israelites, on the Fall of the King and Kingdom of Babylon.' 18.
'Ode. Raymond and Angelina.' 91, 100, 112.
'Ode. To a Young Painter and Poetess.' 40.
'Ode. A Glee.' 27.
'Ode. Greatest of Beings, Source of life.' 34.
'Ode. To Pity. Written, in part, at Cardington in Bedfordshire, while standing near a Root-house, in the Garden belonging to John Howard.' 52.
'Ode. The Fair Sceptic; or, Asteria contemplating her Infant's Coffin.' 59.
'The Poet's Fate.' 61.
'The Balance. To Thomas Brand Hollis, on Returning him a Book, that he lent me, on the Misfortunes of Poets.' 239.
'Poetic Sympathies.' 612n.

(1802)
'Ode on the return of a Public Anniversary.' 3.
'To an Eminent Painter.' 40, 50.
'On Visiting the Tomb of David Hume, the Historian, in a Burying Ground at Edinburgh.' 32, 46.
'To the Memory of George Morgan. Written on the Sea-coast.' 109.
'Monody. On the Death of Robert Robinson.' 11, 26, 73.
'The Plaintive Man's Address to Melancholy.' 47-8.
'A Monody. On the Death of Penelope Trotter.' 40.

(1812)
'Ode. On the approach of Spring. Meditated on the Banks of the Cam.' 70.
'Ode. Independence. Written on some public occasion.' 52.
'Ode. Cupid's address, or the loves of the plants.' 32.
'Ode. The Philosophy of Evil.' 68.
'Ode. To a Miniature Painter, on her taking the correct likenesses of two esteemed friends.' 47.
'Ode. On Wine.' 58.

Charlotte ELLIOTT 1789-1871.

(1869)
"She goeth unto the grave to weep there". 1-2, 5, 9, 13, 17, 21.
'From a Dying Child.' 18.
'A Vision composed during a Thunderstorm in the Night.' 37.
'Anticipations.' 40.
'On the words uttered by a dying child speaking of Jesus.' 29.

(1874)
'Easter Sunday.' 35.
'The Setting Moon.' 44.

(1873)
'By the Death-bed of a Friend.' 6.
'On Recovery from Illness.' 3.

(1871)
'Midnight.' 5.
'A Death-bed Soliloquy.' 2.
'The Pilgrim's Hymn.' 35.
'O Thou! who didst for me descend.' 2.
"My home, my home, my happy home!" 21.
'Meditation on the First Eight Verses of the Last Chapter of St. Mark's Gospel.' 8, 16, 20.
'Hymn for Good Friday.' 12, 40.
'Hymn on Easter Eve.' 7.
'The Maniac's Song.' 3.
'Mourn not for those who die.' [Anon.]


(1823)
'Love.' Book I: 85, 173, 287, 347; Book II: 183.

(1850)
'Chorus.' 6.
'A Dirge.' 12.
'Ode on the Marriage of Victoria the First.' 74.
'Scotsmen to Scotland, written for the Scotsmen of Sheffield.' 75.
'Hymn. Men! ye, who sow the earth with good!' 28, 60.
'Truth more strange than fiction.' 14, 32n.

(1818)
'Night.' Book I: 21, 129, 422; Book II: 125, 258, 421; Book III: 87, 145, 290, 335, 344, 368, 445, 580, 633, 782; Book IV: 19, 157, 276-7, 376, 391.
(1820)
'Peter Faultless to his Brother Simon.'  213.
'Second Nuptials.'  180, 347.
'To the Wood Anemone.'  11.
'Elegy. Oh, Devon! when thy daughter died.'  47.
'The Devil on Snealsden-Pike.'  11.

(1876)
'Miranion.'  113, 265.
'The Exile.'  251, 362, 383.
'Bothwell: A Dramatic Poem.'  124, 159, 201, 413.
'The Letter.'  21, 170, 207.
'They Met Again.'  Book I: 81, 159, 173, 186, 213; Book II: 52; Book III: 46, 169, 178, 248.
'Withered Wild Flowers.'  Book I: 20, 298; Book II: 53, 84, 143, 206-7; Book III: 1-2, 6, 12, 15, 25, 29, 32, 83, 163, 289.
'Spirits and Men. An Epic Poem.'  Book I: 7, 203, 381, 466, 470.
'The Village Patriarch.'  8; Book I: 100, 154; Book II: 100, 195, 220, 225; Book IV: 30, 89, 215; Book V: 29, 77, 248, 312; Book VII: 4, 44, 99, 111, 239; Book VIII: 47, 121, 153-4; Book IX: 128, 212, 301; Book X: 15-7, 30, 40, 105, 143, 201, 207.
'They met in Heaven.'  104.
'Stream at Sheffield.'  157, 169.
'Song. Where the poor cease to pay.'  12.
'The Death Feast.'  20, 48.
'The Recording Angel.'  94.
'Battle Song.'  36.
'The Press. Written for the printers of Sheffield, on the passing of the Reform Bill.'  24.
'The Emigrant's Farewell.'  16, 18.
'Win-Hill; or, the Curse of God.'  31, 138n, 169.
'Hymn written for the printers of Sheffield.'  3.
'Spring.'  8.
'Preston Mills.'  23, 35.
'The Dying Boy to the Sloe Blossom.'  29, 55.
'Transplanted Flowers.'  24.
'May.'  34.
'Spenserian. A tear for thee? Nor Byron, if thy name.'  5.
'Come and Gone.'  84, 105.
'Canning.'  22.
'A Song in Exile.'  32.
'Song. They sold the chairs, they took the bed, and went.'  10.
'To the Bramble Flower.'  21.
'Funeral Hymn.'  20.
'A Poet's Epitaph.'  8.
'Elegy [To Huskisson].'
'The Death-Hunted.'  30.
'Lines written after seeing, at Mr. John Heppenstall's of Upperthorpe, near Sheffield, the plates of Audubon's Birds of America.'  36.
'Elegy on William Cobbett.'  4, 9.
'The Maltby Yews.'
'Leaves and Men.'  1-12, 36-42.
'Song. Mother! I come from God and bliss.'  3.
'Song. Man-like her lover was to see.'  6.
'A Poet.'  28.
'The Sinless Cain. A Ballad.'  29.
'Rub or Rust.'  7.
'The Winter Speedwell.'  10.
'A Ghost at Noon.'  32.
'Song. Like a rootless rose or lily.'  7
'Etheline.' Book I, 102, 210, 171, 243, 272, 288-90, 338, 358, 382; Book II, 81, 351; Book III, 16, 52.

'Lines on seeing unexpectedly a new church, while walking, on the sabbath, in Old-Park Wood, near Sheffield.' 25.

'Ribbledin; or the Christening.' 48.

'Burns.' 32.


'The Pilgrim Fathers.' 18.

'A Glimpse of the Future.' 1, 6, 24.

'The Ballot.' 16.

'He went.' 32.

'He wrote.' 8.

'He came.' 9.

'On the Death of Earl Fitzwilliam.' 17.

'The Rejected.' 15.


'The Way Broad-leaf.' 17.

'Prologue to Watt Tyler. A Play, by John Watkins.' 29.

'Coronation Ode. Written for the Sheffield Working Men's Association.' 8.

'Verses on the opening of the Sheffield and Rotherham Railway.' 84-5.

'Hymn. Another wave is swallow'd by the sea.' 4.

'Trafalgar.' 29, 54.

'Lin. Written for the Sheffield Mechanics' First Exhibition.' 52.

'The Unwritten Word.' 4, 20.

'Epitaph for a Monument to Major Cartwright.' 4.

'Written with a Pencil in Dartfield Churchyard.' 4.

'He is not here.' 11.

'British Rural Cottages in 1842.' 17.

'Sonnet on a pair of Spectacles.' 9.

'The Dead are Living.' 1.

'Good Men's Graves.' 8.

'Eugene Aram.' 13.

'To Thomas Lister.' 32.

'Retrospection.' 10.

'To Elizabeth.' 33.

'To Thomas Crossley.' 4, 9.

'A Dream.' 23.

'The Broken Heart.' 23.

'Conisborough Castle.' 52, 56.

'Song for Spring, and flowers of spring.' 6.

'Toy of the Titans! Tiny Harp! again.' 11.

'Oh, many-window'd House, whose light is gloom!' 8.

'Not here, not here! I beg it as a boon.' 5.

'Why? If the unremember'd are a crew.' 12.

'And, Wordsworth, yet, thy soul, in good-abounding.' 10.

'Church of the Hamlet! thy grey tower and thee.' 9.

'The footsteps of departed life remain.' 5.

'Methinks, I see thy bravest of the brave.' 5.

'Realm-Stealing Patron of all states and men!' 8.

'What said that jailer jail'd, who would have been.' 8.

'I dream'd that God was Silence. Air was dead.' 13.

'The evening of the Year's last day is come.' 9.

'Devil Byron. A Ballad.' 41, 97.

(1875)

'[Scotch Nationality.] A Vision.' Book I, 34; Book II, 410; Book III, 328, 413

Lucy EMRA c.1806-c.1835?

(1831)

'Scenes in the Life and Death of a Missionary.' pp.1, 4, 8, 14, 28, 30, 37, 39, 41, 49, 52, 53-5.

'The Saviour's Humiliation and Triumph.' p.79.
'Genesis XXII. 7. "But where is the lamb for a burnt offering?" ' p.83.
'Strength in Weakness.' p.94.
'Mark XV. 31. "Himself he cannot save". ' p.103.
'1 Corinthians IV. 5. Unclose! unclose! thou glorious sky.' p.106.
'Ezekiel XVIII. 31. "Why will ye die?" ' p.115.
'Genesis V. 24. "And Enoch walked with God; and he was not, for God took him".' p.122.
'Onward and Upward!' p.129.
'Thoughts while listening to the last verse of a song.' p.130.
'On hearing of the Death of an Infant.' p.132.
'The Missionaries at Greenland.' p.137.
'Forget me not'.' p.139.
'An Evening Party.' p.154.
'A Missionary Anecdote.' p.165.
'A Funeral Thought.' pp.167-8.
'Come and rest!' pp.172-3.
'Flowers.' p.176.
'To November 1927.' p.180.
'On hearing of a traditional report that our Saviour was never seen to smile.' p.202.

Thomas ERSKINE, 1st Baron Erskine 1750-1823.
(1823)
'The Farmer's Vision.' 86, 93, 102, 136.
'The Barber.' 24.

Catherine Maria FANSHAWE 1765-1834.
(1865)
'Lines supposed to have been written by Robinson Crusoe on the acquisition of Friday.' 1.

Caroline FRY [after Wilson] 1787-1846.
(1823)
'Death.' pp.34, 41-2, 51, 61, 64, 65.
'On Seeing a Butterfly some miles out at sea.' p.80.
'Written on the Funeral of Miss S.' pp.90-1.

John GALT 1779-1839.
(1835a)
'The Ocean.' 27, 287, 353.
'The Sound.' 5.
'The Burials. A Dirge.' 6.
'The Immolation of Antinous.' 48.
(1839)
'The Demon of Destiny; a Mystical Romance.' Book I: 197; Book IV: 1, 153; Book V: 173, 184;
Book VIII: 198.
'Fire in the Forest.' 24
'Irvine Water.' 16, 23, 48.
'The Doomed. A Fragment.' 30

(1835b)
'The Apocalypse of St. Colm.' 296.
'The World of Spirits.' 109.
'Akah, a Tale of the Flood.' 192, 239.
'The Queen of Babylon.' 144.

(1834)
'The Ferry House. A Scottish Tale of Halloween.' 124, 141.

(1833)
'The Hermit Peter.' Book I: 11, 106, 123, 269, 309; Book II: 173, 181; Book III: 71.
'The Ordeal of Judas.' 67.

William GILBERT 1760?-1825?

(1796)
'The Hurricane.' Canto I, 51.

Robert GILFILLAN 1798-1850.

(1851)
'Lament for the Bards.' 15.
'Battle Song.' 8.
' 'Tis sair to dream.' 24.
'Deep moaned the night.' 17.
'Again let us welcome this day mair than ony.' 32.
'Song. They will come! they will come! the bright flowers.' 30.
'I dream not now.' 24.
'Mary's Bower.' 24.
'The Pearl Divers' Song.' 12.
'The grave it holds my fairest now.' 1.
'Old Man's Song.' 8.
'The Autumn winds are blawing.' 20.
'Hurrah! for the land of the brave!' 10.
'I heard a maiden plaintive sing.' 17, 20.
'The Beautiful's away.' 7.
'Dirge of the Ettrick Shepherd.' 21.
'Winter Song of the Flowers.' 6.
'O! the merry hunting days are gone.' 39.
'Stanzas. Written among the ruins of a village church.' 12, 21.
'Ezekiel's Vision.' 74.
'Song of Peace.' 33.
'The Poor Man's Grave.' 1, 8-11, 17, 21, 25, 56.
'Stanzas to Autumn.' 40.
'Lines Written in Restalrig Church Yard. October 8, 1848.' 4, 10, 14, 23.
'Lines on hearing the great organ at Haarlem. (August 5, 1849)' 25.

William GLEN 1787-1826.

(1817)
'Jeanie Graham.' 29.
'Mary.' 4, 23.
'To the Memory of Burns.' 39.
'Ossian's Grave.' 9, 27.
'The Farewell.' 22.
'Ode, recited at the Ossian Club, being the Anniversary of the Battle of Bannockburn.' 51.
'To the Evening Star.' 27, 44.
'Elegiac Stanzas to the Memory of Mrs. R—.' 1, 6, 26, 32, 41, 46.
'Elegy, Written in Aberfoyle Church-Yard.' 8.

(1816)
'The Lonely Isle.' Canto I, 103, 133; Canto III, 135.
'Written in Aberfoyle Church-Yard.' 24, 29.
'The Flowers of Clydesdale.' 17, 20.

(1815)
'Song, Bonaparte's Return from the Isle of Elba.' 8, 28, 36.
'Song, The Battle of Vittoria.' 43, 47.
'Song, Cadogan's Lament.' 16.
'Song, The Allies' entry into Paris.' 6.
'Song, Milburn.' 26.
'The Battle-Song.' 17.
'On the Abdication of America.' 6.
'Mary Gray.' 23.
'Monody on the death of an old friend.' 4, 29, 36.
'Ode to the Memory of Major-General Ross, who was killed on the 12th Sept. 1814, near Baltimore.' 4-6.
'The Peace with America!' 20.
'Song. I thought of them all with a sigh.' 24.

(1874)

(1818)
'Dedication.' 4.
'Elegy on her Royal Highness Charlotte Augusta, Princess of Wales, &c.' 6, 14, 27, 38.

Sir Robert GRANT 1779-1838.

(1839)
'Litany.' 18.
'O Saviour! whose mercy, severe in its kindness.' 24.
'Psalm XLIX.' 18.

Arthur Henry HALLAM 1811-1833.

(1893)
'Stanzas (Written after visiting Melrose Abbey in the company of Sir Walter Scott).' p.40.
'Scene at Rome.' p.81.

Janet HAMILTON 1795-1873.

(1873)
"Words of Comfort." 19.
'Sheepieknowe. A Ballad.' 103.
'The Ballad o' Mary Muiren.' 95.
'Grannie's Tale. A Ballad o' Memorie.' 56, 94, 96.
Reginald HEBER 1783-1826.

(1841)
‘Europe: Lines on the present war.’ 69, 259.
FELICIA DOROTHEA HEMANS 1793-1835.

(1812)
'Song. Success to the heroes of gallant Castile.' 7.
'War-song of the Spanish patriots.' 12.
'Hymn. Oh, Thou! before whose radiant shrine.' 41.
'Lines to the memory of an very amiable young lady, who died at the age of eighteen.' 5, 24.
'War and Peace — a Poem. Written at the age of Fifteen.' 166, 168, 284, 312.
'The Call of Liberty.' 73, 76.

(1808)
The Spartan Mother and her Son.' 17, 28.
The Return of the Mariners.' 32.
'Sacred to the Memory of Lord Nelson.' 4, 13.
'Sonnet. Ah! now farewell, thou sweet and gentle maid.' 2, 11.

(1836)
The Funeral Genius, an antique statue.' 12, 46.

(1839)
'England and Spain; or, Valour and Patriotism.' 16-7, 223, 225.
'Wallace's Invocation to Bruce.' 30, 132-3, 145, 244.
'The Last Banquet of Antony and Cleopatra.' 23, 107.
'Alaric in Italy.' 8, 126-9, 142, 155, 166.
'The Wife of Asdrubal.' 41, 56, 62.
'Night-scene in Genoa.' 75, 131.
'The Troubadour's Song.' 20.
'The Death of Conradin.' 20, 84, 94, 157, 174-5, 175.
'The Restoration of the Works of Art to Italy.' 4, 18, 56, 67, 104, 304, 324, 456, 489.
'Modern Greece.' 83, 120, 205, 350, 360, 402, 419, 423, 559, 569, 579, 580, 669, 774, 780, 810, 866.
'Dirge of a Child.' 25, 31.
'To the Memory of General Sir E—d P---k---m.' 11, 18.
'Guerilla Song. Founded on the story related of the Spanish patriot Mina.' 8.
'The Aged Indian.' 9.
'Dirge of the Highland Chief in "Waverley".' 4, 20.
'The Crusaders' War-Song.' 24-5.
'The Death of Clanronald.' 16.
'Stanzas on the late national calamity, the death of the Princess Charlotte.' 19, 180, 193.
'The Sceptic.' 52, 56, 118, 435.
'A Tale of the Secret Tribunal.' Part I: 60, 78, 90, 161, 217, 228, 294, 498; Part II: 58, 137, 240, 430, 680, 770.
'The Caravan in the Deserts.' 72, 80, 92.
'Marius amongst the ruins of Carthage.' 45, 63.
'To the same [Miss F. A. L.] — on the Death of her Mother.' 30.
'Dirge.' 3, 20.
'Stanzas to the Memory of George the Third.' 33, 90, 106, 212.
'A Tale of the Fourteenth Century: A Fragment.' 76, 596, 598, 601.
'The Last Constantine.' 63, 76, 99, 132, 153, 232, 315, 415-6, 463, 538, 671, 693, 851, 880-1, 906, 914, 923.
'The Bowl of Liberty.' 5-6, 23, 26.
'The Umb and Sword.' 1.
'The Myrtle Bough.' 4-5.
'The Tombs of Platea. From a painting by Williams.' 10, 26.
'Sebastian of Portugal: A Dramatic Fragment.' Scene i.50; Scene iv.6, 23.
'The Siege of Valencia: A Dramatic Poem.' Scene i.52, 241, 320, 397, 481; Scene ii.279, 305, 448; Scene iii.2; Scene iv.16, 216; Scene v.42, 52, 62, 77, 89, 110, 228, 315, 333; Scene vi.170; Scene viii.25, 51, 120, 175; Scene ix.19, 161, 218.
'The Forest Sanctuary.' Part I: 20, 29, 78, 222, 651, 687, 711, 717, 754, 787, 808; Part II: 45, 142, 442, 529, 562, 578.
'The Sword of the Tomb: A Northern Legend.' 6, 20, 44, 70, 82, 90, 103, 133, 140.
'Velkirur Song.' 55.
'Swiss Song, on the Anniversary of an Ancient Battle.' 36.
'He never smiled again.' 29.
'Coeur de Lion at the bier of his father.' 27.
'Greek Funeral Chant, or Myriologue.' 10.
'The Parting Song.' 76.
'The Treasures of the Deep.' 23.
'The Crusader's Return.' 53.
'The World in the open air.' 40.
'The Traveller at the Source of the Nile.' 36.
'The Cross in the Wilderness.' 2, 14, 41, 72.
'The Graves of Martyrs.' 1, 36.
'The Wakening.' 32.
'The Dying Improvisatore.' 16.
'The Forsaken Hearth.' 27.
'The Boon of Memory.' 53.
'Dartmoor: A Prize Poem.' 98, 126, 136, 174, 336.
'Druid chorus on the landing of the Romans.' 7, 11.
'The Green Isles of Ocean.' 12.
'The Hall of Cynddyylan.' 2, 16.
'The Lament of Llywarch Hen.' 4, 8, 14, 24.
'The Rock of Cader Idris.' 27.
'The Rivers.' 24, 36.
'The Northern Spring.' 14.
'Ivy Song. Written on receiving some ivy-leaves gathered from the ruined castle of Rheinfels, on the Rhine.' 16, 24, 40.
'Epitaph over the Grave of Two Brothers, a Child and a Youth.' 4, 11-2.
'Scene in a Dalecarlian Mine.' 53.
'Haunted Ground.' 26.
'Song of the Spanish wanderer.' 12.
'The Cid's Funeral Procession.' 100.
'The Cid's Rising.' 26.
'On a leaf from the tomb of Virgil.' 6, 12.
'The Chieftain's Son.' 8, 24, 32.
'A Fragment. Rest on your battle-field, ye brave!' 2.
'England's Dead.' 52.
'The Meeting of the Bards. Written for an Eisteddvod, or meeting of Welsh Bards, held in London, May 22, 1822.' 6, 27, 43.
'The voice of Spring.' 9, 12.
'Arabella Stuart.' III: 52; IX: 259.
'Gertrude; or, fidelity till death.' 53.
'Imelda.' 110.
'Edith. A tale of the woods.' 110, 158, 160, 211.
'The Indian City.' III: 210.
'The Peasant Girl of the Rhone.' 14, 22, 32, 46, 62, 84, 98.
'Joan of Arc in Rheims.' 12, 43.
'Pauline.' 62.
'Juana.' 47.
'The Queen of Prussia's Tomb.' 18, 36.
'The Grave of a Poetess.' 1, 23, 37.
'The Sicilian Captive.' 72.
'Ivan the Czar.' 68.
'Carolan's Prophecy.' 35.
'The Mourner for the Barmecides.' 54, 80.
'The Spanish Chapel.' epigraph.
'The Kaiser's Feast.' 56.
'Ulla, or the Adjuration.' 9, 59.
'Körner and his sister.' 19, 24.
'The Death-day of Körner.' 3, 19, 35.
'The Effigies.' 1.
'The Departed.' 12.
'The Sunbeam.' 27, 29.
'Breathings of Spring.' 46.
'Roman Girl's Song.' 27.
'The Graves of a Household.' 3.
'The Image in Lava.' 15.
'Fairy Favours.' 2.
'A Spirit's Return.' 87, 98, 125, 153, 184, 258.
'The Lady of Provence.' 17, 29, 59, 170.
'The Coronation of Inez de Castro.' 24, 69, 93.
'To a Departed Spirit.' 31.
'The Indian with his dead Child.' 9.
'Song of Emigration.' 46.
'The King of Arragon’s Lament for his Brother.' 14, 36.
'The Guerilla Leader's Vow.' 9.
'Thekla at her Lover's Grave.' 13.
'The Tomb of Madame Langhans.' headnote.
'The Exile's Dirge.' 2, 46.
'The Message to the Dead.' 42.
'The Two Homes.' 22.
'The Land of Dreams.' 18, 50.
'Woman on the Field of Battle.' 25.
'To a Remembered Picture.' 24, 27.
'The Fountain of Oblivion.' headnote.
'The Magic Glass.' 6, 42-4.
'Corinne at the Capitol.' 11.
'The Minster.' 11.
'The Song of Night.' 37.
'The Parting Ship.' 43.
'The Streams.' 42.
'The Voice of the Wind.' 21.
'The Vigil of Arms.' 4, 32, 46, 55.
'The Heart of Bruce in Melrose Abbey.' 30.
'The Better Land.' 27.
'Sadness and Mirth.' 8, 39, 46.
'The Requiem of Genius.' 20.
'Triumphant Music.' 28.
'To the Memory of a Sister-in-law.' 23.
'To my own portrait.' 14.
'The Angler.' epigraph.
'Death and the Warrior.' 3, 19.
'To the memory of Lord Charles Murray, son of the Duke of Atholl, who died in the cause, and lamented by the people of Greece.' 3, 8.
'The Subterranean Stream.' 36.
'The Antique Sepulchre.' 22.
'Evening Song of the Tyrolese Peasants.' 28.
'The Death-song of Alcestis.' 70.
'The Faith of Love.' 7.
'The Sister's Dream.' 5.
'O'Connor's Child.' epigraph, 5, 12, 36.
'The Prayer for Life.' 49.
'The Haunted House.' 28-30.
'The Procession.' 18, 21-3.
'The Burial in the Desert.' 2, 15, 20, 35.
'A Thought of the Rose.' 3.
'The Wish.' 20.
'Written after visiting a tomb, near Woodstock, in the County of Kilkenny.' headnote, 13.
'The Flower of the Desert.' 11.
'Troubadour Song.' 1, 10.
'The Themes of Song.' 21.
'Ancient Greek Chant of Victory.' 10, 15.
'Naples. A Song of the Syren.' 29.
'The Burial of William the Conqueror, at Caen in Normandy — 1087.' 7, 32.
'Dirge. Where shall we make her grave?’ 1, 32.
'A Song of the Rose.' 40.
'There are sounds in the dark.' 11.
'And I too in Arcadia.' 13, 34, 45.
'Marshal Schwerin's Grave.' 21.
'The Ivy-Song.' 18, 38.
'The Music of St. Patrick's.' 3.
'Keene, or Lament of an Irish Mother over her Son.' 20.
'Dirge at Sea.' 3.
'The Bed of Health.' 19.
'The English Martyrs; A Scene of the Days of Queen Mary.' Scene II: 165.
'Cathedral hymn.' 19, 43, 123.
'Burial of an Emigrant's Child in the Forests.' 34, 36, 118.
'Easter-Day in a Mountain Churchyard.' 32, 36, 58, 84.
'The Child reading the Bible.' 21, 38.
'The Funeral Day of Sir Walter Scott.' 59, 68, 119.
'The Indian's Revenge. Scene in the life of a Moravian Missionary.' 155.
'The Day of Flowers. A Mother's walk with her Child.' 173.
'Mary Magdalene at the Sepulchre.' 3.
'The Two Monuments.' 4.
'The Battle-field.' 32.
'Communings with Thought.' 33.
'Old Church in a English Park.' 5.
'To an Aged Friend.' 14.
'On the Datura Arborea.' 11.
'The Silver Locks. Addressed to an aged friend.' 36.
'The Ruin and its Flowers.' 28, 79.
'The Domestic Affections.' 102, 216, 224, 270, 284, 312, 357.

John Abraham HERAUD 1799-1877.

(1835)
'Uriel. (The Fragment of) A Mystery.' I, 86.
'Ode. The Heart may be too proud.' 156.

(1870)
'Cimon and Pero, an Ancient Story in Modern Verse.' 203.
'Alcyone. Sonnets, etc.' 759, 997, 1072, 1604, 1682, 1913, 2205.
'Sebastopol. A War-Epic.' Ill, 76; VIII, 202; IX, 226; XXII, 550.

(1857)

(1820a)
'The Legend of St. Loy.' Canto 1: 95, 157, 235, 707; Canto 2: 16, 232, 329, 483, 505; Canto 3: 3, 463, 566; Canto 4: 440.
'On attaining the Age of Twenty-one.' 70.
'The Grave of the Bard.' 49.
'Stanzas on the Death of His Most Gracious Majesty King George the Third.' 24, 53.

(1820b)
'Tottenham; A Poem.' Canto 2, 72-4, 141, 146.

(1877)
'Uxmal: An Antique Love Story, In Six Chapters.' Chapter I: 83, 206; Chapter III: 436; Chapter IV: 63; Chapter V: 19, 368; Chapter VI: 216, 219.

(1871)
'The War of Ideas.' 85, 568, 622.

(1876)

William HERBERT 1778-1847.

(1806)
'William Lambert: A Tale.' 50, 70.

(1842)
'Helga.' Canto I, 144n, 462n; Canto II, 470, 513, 673, 704, 713, 735, 745, 770; Canto III, 990, 1038, 1042; Canto IV, 1314, 1397; Canto V, 1998; Canto VI, 2287, 2345; Canto VII, 2772n, 2773, 2780, 2947, 2973.
'The Song of Vala.' 8.
'Brynhilda.' 157.
'Pia Della Pietra.' 339, 484, 525, 553, 652.
'Julia Montalban.' 63, 148, 210, 224, 374, 454, 684.
'The Guahiba.' 269, 319.
'The Wanderer of Jutland.' Act I.i.266; Act II.i.895; Act V.i.1677, iii.1887, 1990, 1023, 2038.
'To the Memory of my friend Thomas Brigstock.' 50.
'On the Death of the Hon. Miss Ryder, after a short illness.' 20.
'The First Olympic Ode of Pindar.' 153.
'The Second Olympic Ode of Pindar.' 113.

James HOGG 1770-1835.

(1876)
'The Queen's Wake.' I: 538, 583, 624, 890, 947, 1006; II: 1779, 2484; III: The Fourteenth Bard's Song, note, 3826, 3843, 3891, 4000, 4921, 4953, 4961, 5193.
'Sir David Graeme.' 166.
'The Pedlar.' 180.
'Gilmanscleuch. Founded upon an ancient family tradition.' 194, 271.
'Willie Wilkin.' 82, 159.
'The Laird of Lairistan, or the Three Champions of Liddisdale.' 75.
'The Wife of Crowle.' 62.
'The Author's Address to his auld dog Hector.' 111.
'May of the Moril Glen.' 301, 305.
'Mador of the Moor.' 61; Canto 3: 157; Canto 4: 5, 320; Canto 5: 65.

'Queen Hynde.' Part 1: 37, 275, 448, 479; Part 2: 456; Part 3: 719, 736, 898-900, 905-7, 1243; Part 4: 221n, 563, 978; Part 5: 8, 183, 767, 1109, 1803; Part 6: 284, 992, 1123, 1397n, 1493.

'The Soldier’s Widow.’ 23.

'Mary at her Lover’s Grave.’ 18.

'Superstition.' 55.

'Cauld is the Blast.' 18.

'The Gloamin’.’ 38.

'Bonnie Leezy.' 22.

'Love’s Like a Dizziness.’ 44.

'Auld Ettrick John.’ 48, 78.

'Gracie Miller.’ 16.

'Life is a Weary Cobble o’ Care.’ 16.

'By a Bush.’ 10.

'Prince Owen and the Seer.’ 16.

'The Emigrant.’ 40.

'Caledonia.’ 24.

'The Russiadde: A Fragment of an ancient epic poem, supposed to have been written by Gilbert Hume, a Sutor of Selkirk.’ Book 1: 193, 404.

'Mora Campbell.’ 89, 283.


'Elen of Reigh.’ 111, 218, 236-7, 281.

'The Origin of the Fairies.’ 260.

'The Field of Waterloo, and Death-bed Prayer of a Soldier.’ 262, 650.

'Allan of Dale.’ 140.

'The Haunted Glen.’ Scene IV: 98.

'The First Sermon.’ 70.


'Cary O’Kean.’ 277.

'Bothwell Brig.’ 26.

'The Carle of Invertime.’ 166.

'The Lady’s Dream.’ 66.

'Lines to Sir Walter Scott, Bart.’ 40.

'To the Genius of Shakspeare.’ 20.

'Versees Addressed to the Right Honourable Lady Anne Scott of Buccleuch.’ 90.

'A Last Adieu.’ 25, 33.

'Elegy on Lady Rosslyn.’ 1.

'St. Mary of the Lowes.’ 3, 24.

'Superstition.’ 15, 59, 70.

'Epitaph on a Living Character.’ 35.

'Elegy. Fair was thy blossom, tender flower.’ 39.

'The Monitors.’ 90.

'Jewish Captives Parting.’ 28.

'Where am I gaun?’ 27, 30, 35.

'An aged Widow’s Lament.’ 11, 23.

'The Stuarts of Appin.’ 52.

'Fair was thy Blossom.’ 27.

'I hae naebody now.’ 16.

'A Widow’s Wail.’ 29.

'The Broken Heart.’ 23.

'The Shepherd Boy’s Song.’ 19.

Thomas HOOD 1799-1845.
'The Demon-Ship.' 23, 49.
'Jack Hall.' 29.
'The Volunteer.' epigraph.
'The Widow.' 1, 35, 56.
'The Fall.' 6.
'I'm not a single man.' 68.
'Sonnet written in a Workhouse.' 10.
'The Supper Superstition A Pathetic Ballad.' 47.
'Love and Lunacy.' 409.

(1862-1863)
'Stanzas to Tom Woodgate, of Hastings.' 6.
'A Rise at the Father of Angling. To Mr. Izaac Walton, at Mr. Major's the bookseller's in Fleet Street.' 40.
'Pompey's Ghost. A Pathetic Ballad.' 97.
'On a Royal Demise.' 2.
'Epigram. After such years of dissension and strife.' 3.
'The Bandit (1815-17). Canto 1: 5.
'To Hope.' 46.
'The Sea of Death. A Fragment.' 5, 18.
'The Stag-eyed Lady. A Moorish Tale.' 120, 140.
'Hymn to the Sun.' 14.
'Death. Sonnet.' 10.
'Silence. Sonnet.' 3.
'Old Ballad.' 26.
'The Forsaken.' 1.
'The Two Swans. A Fairy Tale.' 199.
'Ode to the Great Unknown.' 267.
'Ode to Joseph Grimaldi, Senior.' 95.
'An Address to the Steam Washing Company.' 81.
'The Last Man.' 125, 202.
'Address to Mr. Cross, of Exeter Change, on the Death of an Elephant.' 104.
'Elegy on David Laing, Esq. Blacksmith and Joiner (without license) at Gretna Green.' 56.
'Ballad. She's up and gone, the graceless girl.' 5.
'The Plea of the Midsummer Fairies.' 192, 644, 851, 966, 1014, 1062.
'Hero and Leander.' 285, 294, 386, 482, 540, 641, 688.
'Autumn.' 11.
'Ode to Melancholy.' 33, 50, 78.
'Death in the Kitchen.' 7, 39, 41, 61.
'Lamia; A Romance.' Scene VI: 35.
'The Dream of Eugene Aram.' 58, 162, 177.
'Reply to a Pastoral Poet.' 31.
'Fragment. I had a dream — the summer beam.'
'Sonnet. To Ocean.' 14.
'Stanzas. Is there a bitter pang for love removed.' 7, 21.
'The Desert-born.' 143.
'Ode to Rae Wilson, Esq.' 233.
'Miss Kilmansegg and her precious leg.' 2255, 2381.
'The Elm Tree. a Dream in the Woods.' Part I: 114; Part III: 116.
'Etching Moralised. To a Noble Lady.' 100, 174.
'Address.' 9.
'The Lady's Dream.' 20, 30, 36.
'The Two Peacocks of Bedfont.' 8, 15.
(1847)
'Elian Gray.' 112.
'An Old Man's Story.' 158.
'May Maxwell.' 93-4.
'A Forest Scene, in the days of Wickliffe.' 63, 144.
'The Three Guests.' 8-9, 144.
'The Sin of Earl Walter.' Part I: 104.
'The Spirit of Poetry.' 7.
'The Dying Child.' 42.
'Death.' 16, 56.

((1838))
'The Passion-flower.' 130.

(1827)
'The Desolation of Eyam.' 157, 280, 445, 457, 475, 478, 621, 627.
'The Legendary Harp.' 34.
'Death in Spring.' 38.
'A Hymn of the Night.' 52.
'Summer and the Poet.' 15.
'To J. H. Wiffen.' 24.
'Human Destiny.' 7, 24.
'Lament for the Mariner. In Memory of a Beloved Youth who died at Quebec, 4th of 11th Month, 1825.' 35.
'The blight of the spirit.' 56.
'Cowslips.' 34.
'The Emigrant; a Tale of the American Woods.' 166, 173, 436.
'To a Dear Little Girl.' 32.
'The Record of Poetry.' 258, 266, 407, 424.
'The Mountain Tombs.' 1, 28, 52.
'To the Spirit of Departed Greatness.' 4.
'The Poet's Doom.' 50-2.
'The Adopted Warrior; suggested by an incident in "Hunter's Captivity amongst the North American Indians".' 168.
'Ode to Botany.' 39.
'Lines for the Tomb of Hofer, the Tyrolean patriot, on the Brenner Mountains.' 7.
'The Two Voyagers.' epigraph, 52, 109.
'A Poet's Thoughts at the Interment of Lord Byron.' 4, 54, 64, 83, 172, 181-2.
'Epistle Dedicatory to H. H---, and F. T. H---.' 115, 158.

(1823)
'The Forest Minstrel.' 215, 393, 428, 524, 955.
'Charity.' 24.
'Sonnet. Oh love of country! — flame of liberty!' 6.
'On Reading the Following Extract.' 45, 60, 66, 76.
'Farewell to the Harp, addressed to a Friend in Affliction.' 90.

((1859))
'Life among the Mountains.' 47.
'Hymn Second.' 9, 14.
'Hymn Third. The Lord Jesus.' 14.
'The Two Estates.' 40.
'A Life's Sorrow. An Old Man's Narrative.' 176, 189.

(1865)
'The Child's Lament.' 53.
'The Soldier's Story.' 75.
'The Little Mariner.' 14.
'Dolores maris.' 79.
James Henry Leigh Hunt 1784-1859.

(1803)
'Retirement, or the Golden Mean.' 82, 126.
'The Negro Boy. A Ballad.' 32.
'The Mad Girl's Song.' 18.
'Pastoral III. Amor, che per gli affani cresce. [Addressed to the honourable T. Erskine]' 136.
'Pastoral IV. Quis desiderio sit pudor, aut modus. [On the death of Mr. Cowper]' 57-9, 76.
'Elegy Written in Poets' Corner, Westminster.' 35, 45.
'Lost, sainted son of virtue and of worth.' 18, 20.
'Valour.' 38.
'The Progress of Painting.' 131, 143.
'Wandle's Wave.' 15.
'Summer.' 51.
'The Palace of Pleasure; An allegorical poem, in two cantos.' Canto II: 12, 198.
'Anthem; written on the death of an amiable and accomplished young lady, who departed this life, January 14, 1801, anno aetat. su. 15.' 2.

(1860a)
'The Story of Rimini; or, Fruits of a Parent's Falsehood.' Canto IV: 105, 160.
'Corso and Emilia. Fragment of the story of another victim to parental duplicity.' 218.
'The Palfrey.' Part II: 67.
'Captain Sword and Captain Pen.' IV: 234.
'Robin Hood's Flight.' 4-5, 147, 157.
'The Shew of Faire Seeming; Attempted in the Manner of Spenser.' 207.
'Blue-sticking Revels; or, the Feast of the Violets.' Canto I: 65.
'The Fish, the Man, and the Spirit.' 37.
'Our Cottage.' 86.
'Reflections of a Dead Body.' 60-1.
'To Barron Field.' 18.
'A Thought or Two on reading Pomfret's "Choice".' 33.

(1823)
'Ultra-Crepidarius.' 181.

James Hyslop 1798-1827.

(1887)
'Scottish National Melody.' 36.
'Despair.' 24.
'Fragment of a Dream.' 4-5, 19, 25, 31, 36.
'My Grandfather.' 58.
'The Murmurs of the Crawick.' 23.
'Lines on Friendship.' 24.
'To Lydia.' 29.
'The Child's Dream.' 38, 74.
'Lines.' 41, 48.
'The Cameronian Vision.' 3, 184, 220, 228.
'Sonnet from Camoens.' 11.
'Song. — To You.' 28.
'Woman's Love.' 34.
'The Untombed Mariner.' 16, 52.
'Lines. There is in the wide, lone sea.' 18, 30.

(1807a)
'All the Blocks.' Dialogue 1: 24, 28; Dialogue 3: 128.
'Elijah's Mantle Parodied.' 85.

(1807)
'Ballad of Sir Edgar of the Flood.' Fyt III: 137.
'Ballad, on the much lamented death of the gallant Prince Henry, eldest son of King James the
First. Whose shining qualifications rendered him the admiration of all Europe, and the
daring hope of his own Countrymen.' 7-10.
'To the Memory of the Admirable Chrichton, Wherein he is likened to a bonny flower nipt by the
cauld and untimely blast.' 25.
'Ballad of Poor Edwy, In answer to Poor Rosa.' 27.
'Ballad. Of the dolorous Death of the Lady Jane Gray. In Two Parts.' 156.
'A Ballad Intituled Edwy's Ghost.' 10.
'Ballad. Shewing the untimely Fate of two Young Lovers.' 16, 23.

(1808a)
'To Love.' 4, 17.
'To the Fading Rose of Love.' 17.
'I crave no mercy for my forfeit life.' 35.
'Queen Mary's Lamentation.' 15.
'Lament of Mary, Queen of Scots, On the Approach of Spring.' 56.
'Elegy on the Death of Mary, Queen of Scots.' 51, 68, 195.

(1808b)
'The Fisher Boy. A Poem.' 18, 64, 82, 134, 738, 1093, 1106, 1167, 1230, 1284.

(1814)
"Here I am, Poor Jack." Canto II: 230.

(1812)
'Momaly upon the death of the most noble William Cavendish, late Duke of Devonshire.' 96.
'Invocation to Genius.' 6.
'Edmund Spenser.' 60.
'John Milton.' 45, 74.
'John Dryden.' 56.
'James Hammond.' 44.
'Bristol and Richard Savage.' 18, 33, 55.
'Thomas Chatterton.' 10, 19.
'The Poet's Entry into Bristol.' 76, 93.
'Unconscious while I thus gave sadness sway.' 30, 96.
'The Writer's Address to Thomas Chatterton.' epigraph, 4.
'Epitaph, inscribed by Fame upon the Tomb of Genius.' 1, 26.

(1803)
'A Ballad. The Sailor Ben and the Peasant Joe.' 4.
'Soliloquy of a Garreteer.' 3.
'Lines. To the departed Spirit of a Parent.' 3-4, 44.
'The White Lady; or, the Nun of Strasburg's Tale.' 55.
'Ballad. The Willow.' 14.
'Lines. On hearing a person maintain that Man might have been formed less vicious.' 10.
'On the Death of a Female Friend [Mary Tighe], Well known in the literary World.' 28.
'Little John; or the Boy of Feeling.' 25, 93.
'From the French.' 7.
'Little Jane; or, the Girl of Feeling.' 151.
'Ballad Imitated.' 159, 327.
(1822)

(1815)
'Burns.' 25n.
'Walter Scott.' 24n.
'Coleridge.' 12.
'Mrs. Henry Tighe.' 1.
'Travellers and Tourists.' 14.
'Antiquarians.' 11n.

(1807b)
'Stultifera Navis.' Section XXXIII: 3; Section XXXV: 7; Section XLV: 21, 30; Section XLVII: 24, 28; Section XLVIII: 35; Section LV: 1n, 30; Section LXII: 6; Section LXV: 4n.

John KEATS 1795-1821.

(1818)
'Endymion.' Book I: 788-9; Book III: 595, 602, 765; Book IV: 519, 646.

(1820)
'Lamia.' Part I: 38.
'Isabella; or, the Pot of Basil. A Story from Boccacio.' 275, 304, 316, 383, 386, 413, 440.
'The Eve of St. Agnes.' 113, 155, 180.
'Robin Hood. To a Friend.' 39.

(1906)
'Sonnet written in disgust of vulgar superstition.' 10.
'A Song of Opposites.' 33.
'A! woe is me! poor silver-wing!' 11.
'Sonnet on visiting the tomb of Burns.' 1.
'Meg Merrilies.' 8.
'Otho the Great A Tragedy in Five Acts.' Act I.120, ii.129; Act V.i.27, v.12, 130.
'The Fall of Hyperion. A Dream.' Canto I: 18, 210, 383.
'Lines supposed to have been addressed to Fanny Brawne. This living hand, now warm and capable.' 3.

John KENYON 1784-1856.

(1849)
'A Day at Tivoli.' 143, 408n, 447.
'They choose not ill their lot who choose.' 8.
'The Greek Wife.' 29.
'The Gods of Greece.' 72.
'Monument at Lucerne, to the Swiss Guard massacred at the Assault on the Tuileries, A. D. 1792.' 4.
'Grammarye.' 4, 10, 15, 22, 44.
'Raising the Dead.' 2, 9, 78, 178, 256, 560, 325.

(1838)
'Moonlight.' 212, 471, 479.
'Pretence: A Satire.' Part II: 329, 331.
'Lines, written in the Travellers' Book at an Inn in Switzerland.' 4.
'Song of the Manes.' 5-6.
'Epitaph for a Roman Catholic Churchyard.'
'Written in a Country Churchyard.' 5, 20.
'Destiny.' 55.
'To the Beloved Memory of Charlotte H.' 9.
'Childhood. To ----.' 5, 14.
(1839)

James Sheridan KNOWLES 1784-1862.

(1810)
‘Night.’ 7.
‘The Storm, A Dramatic Fragment.’ 114.

Lady Caroline LAMB 1785-1828.

(1829)
‘As the flower early gathered, whilst fresh in its bloom.’ 2.
‘After many a well-fought day.’ 20.
‘Would I had seen thee dead and cold.’ 2, 5.

(1816)
‘“Farewell”.’ 20.

(1819)
‘A New Canto.’ 166, 184.

Charles LAMB 1775-1834.

(1825)
‘Beauty and the Beast.’ 28.

(1798)
‘Written on the Day of my Aunt's Funeral.’ 16.
‘Written a year after the events.’ 40.
‘Written soon after the preceding poem.’ 1.

(1874)
‘A Dramatic Fragment.’ 37.

(1822)
‘The Three Graves.’ 5.

(1836)
‘In the Album of a Clergyman's Lady.’ 8.
‘On an Infant Dying as soon as Born.’ 8, 60.
‘To a Young Friend, on her Twenty-first Birth-day.’ 24.

(1878)
‘The Lame Brother.’ 1.

Walter Savage LANDOR 1775-1864.

(1892)
‘Count Julian.’ Act 2.i.85, ii.163; Act 3.i.84; Act 5.i.15, iv.219, 285.
‘Andrea of Hungary.’ Act IV.i.62.
‘Giovanna of Naples.’ Act II.v.79.
‘Fra Rupert.’ Act I.ii.73; Act II.vii.49; Act V.vi.7.
‘The Siege of Ancona.’ Act V, 73.
‘Gebir.’ Book 2: 249; Book 4: 55, 93, 137; Book 5: 96, 203.
'From the Phocæans.' 443, 659.
'The touch of Love dispels the gloom.' 2.
'While the winds whistle round my cheerless room.' 12.
'Mild is the parting year, and sweet.' 7.
'On a poet in a Welsh Churchyard.' 6.
'A provident and wakeful fear.' 26.
'Sent to a lady with flowers.' 7.
'Farewell to Italy.' 24.
'Loved, when my love from all but thee had flown.' 3, 6.
'Fate! I have askt few things of thee.' 15.
'To a lady on coming of age.' 26.
'To Julius Hare, with "Pericles and Aspasia".' 22.
'Unjust are they who argue me unjust.' 17.
'Aletheia to Phraortes.' 27.
'The One Grave.' 2.
'It was a dream (ah! what is not a dream?).' 10.
'To the Nightingale.' 16.
'On the statue of Ebenezer Elliott by Neville Burnard, ordered by the working men of Sheffield.' 21.
'To Francis Hare, buried at Palermo, on the insurrection of Sicily and Naples.' 2.
'Dante.' 13.
'On Swift joining Avon near Rugby.' 52.
'Again, perhaps and only once again.' 36.
'To the Author of "Festus." On the Classick and Romantick.' 48.
'Apolgoy for Gebir.' 66.
'La Penserosa.' 32.
'Abertawy.' 34.
'Thrasymedes and Eunôe.' 76.
'Catillus and Salia.' 438.
'Peleus and Thetis.' 64.
'The Espousals of Polyxena.' 163, 200, 206.
'Death of Paris and Oenone.' 84.
'Homer, Laertes, Agatha.' 1: 26; 2: 286.

(1917)
'Lord Dudley Stuart (Nov. 22 1854).' 1.

Charles Valentine LE GRICE 1773-1858.

(1794)
'A Fragment. Thro' the stained windows of the gloomy arch.' 15.

Matthew Gregory LEWIS 1775-1818.

(1827)
'The Isle of Devils.' IV: 261, 319; VIII: 555; IX: 570, 579; X: 661, 691, 786.

(1839)
'Ballad. The Soldier's Grave.' 2, 12, 14-6.
'William; or, the Sailor Boy.' 96.
'Bouts Rimes. Filled up at Lady Douglas's request.' 1.
'Bill Jones.' 55.

(1812)
'Written on returning from the Funeral of the Right Hon. C. J. Fox, Friday, October 10, 1806.' 90, 109, 121.
'The Orphan's Prayer.' 31.
'On Sorrow. [Written on the Death of a Much-valued Female Friend]' 14, 35.
'War, Victory, and Peace.' 24.
'The Fate of Kings. An Elegy. [Written on visiting a Royal Mausoleum]' 6, 156.
'Introductory Dialogue.' 18, 88.
'The Stranger. A Norman Tale.' 5.
'Albert of Werdenzoff; or, The Midnight Embrace. A German Romance.' 117, 147.
'The Maid of Donalblayne. A Scottish Ballad.' 39, 68.
'Grim, King of the Ghosts; or, the Dance of Death. A Church-Yard Tale.' 35, 46, 75, 93.
'Osric and Ella. A Northern Tale.' 108.
'Martel; or, the Conqueror's Return. A Gallic Legend.' headnote.
'Ellen of Egliatienne. An English Tale.' 22.
'The Black Canon of Elmham; or, Saint Edmond's Eve. An Old English Ballad.' 11, 67, 75, 77, 88, 95, 120.
'The Troubadour; or, Lady Alice's Bower. A Provençal Tale.' 12, 63, 77, 83, 95, 99.
'The Sprite of the Glen. A Swedish Romance.' 104.
'The House upon the Heath. A Welch Tale.' 129.

(1805)
'Bothwell's Bonny Jane.' 130.
'Osric the Lion.' 100.
'Alonzo the Brave and Fair Imogeneity.' 21, 67, 83.
'Giles Jollup the Grave, and Brown Sally Green.' 21, 67.
'The Gay Gold Ring.' 101, 210, 194, 201, 209n.
'The Grim White Woman.' 47.

John LEYDEN 1775-1811.

(1819)
'On parting with a friend on a journey. Written in 1797.' 11.
'The Court of Keeldar.' 116, 121.
'Dirge. On a Young Boy.' 8.
'Ode on leaving Velore. Written in 1804.' 16.
'Ode to an Indian Gold Coin. Written in Chéricâl, Malabar.' 22, 26, 38.
'Address to my Malay Krees. Written while pursued by a French Privateer off Sumatra.' 12.
'Dirge of the Departed Year. To Olivia.' 29-30, 56.
'Ode on the Battle of Corunna. Written in 1809.' 82, 90.
'Elegiac Ode at the Return of the Parentalia, or Feast of the Dead. Imitated from Ausonius.' 11, 27, 36.
'Ode to Phantasy. Written in 1796.' Part III: 38.
'On an old man dying friendless. Written in 1798.' 2, 5, 14.
'To the Yew. Written in 1799.' 7, 11.
'Ode, addressed to Mr. Geo. Dyer, on Scottish Scenery and Manners. Written in 1799.' 25.
'To the Setting Sun. Written in the Isle of Iona, in 1800.' 13.
'MacGregor. Written in Glenorchy, near the scene of the Massacre of the MacGregors.' 2-3.
'Scottish Music, An Ode.' 29.
'On Visiting Flodden.' 11, 79.
'Lord Soulis.' 213.
'Spring, an Ode. Written while recovering from Sickness.' 69.
'Elegy on a friend killed in the West Indies.' 2, 5.

Charles LLOYD 1775-1839.

(1798)
'To a Sister.' 27.

(1821)
'Titus and Gisippus.' 127, 239, 269, 1329.

(1819)
'The Melancholy Man.' 37.
'LINES ON THE DEATH OF AN INFANT. 1795.' 12, 37, 51-2.
'The Woodman.' 118.
[LINES ON A FRIEND]. '25.
'Sonnet. To Sophia. Written previous to a Journey to a place very distant from that of our residence.' 14.
'Sonnet. Written after seeing Rydal Lake.' 4.
'SONNET. LET THE READER DETERMINE THEIR TITLE.' 21.
'Sonnet. Written at the Hotwells, near Bristol.' 6.
'Sonnet. When from my dreary home I first mov'd on.' 2.
'Lines to the Scenery of Cumberland and Westmoreland. Written at Barnwell, near Cambridge, April, 1800.' 74.

(1823)
'ADDRESS TO A VIRGINIAN CREEPER; OR THE PLEASURES OF MEMORY FROM ASSOCIATIONS WITH VISIBLE OBJECTS.' 64, 157, 460.
'SONNETS ON THE DIFFICULTY WITH WHICH, IN YOUTH, WE BRING HOME TO OUR HABITUAL CONSCIOUSNESS, THE IDEA OF DEATH.' 166.
'SONNETS INTENDED AS A REPLY TO, AND A COMMENT ON, THE FOLLOWING LINES.' 273.
'SONNETS TO ENNUI.' 137.

(1797)
'Lines Addressed to S. T. Coleridge.' 40.

(1795)
'SONNET. To the Grave.'
'SONNET. From the Same [Petrarch].' 8.
'ELEGY ON A POOR MAN'S GRAVE.' 1, 3.
'Song. Rosamund Gray.' 23, 35.
'Song. I'm a man—and have feelings as well as the great.' 35.
'Song. I own that I'm poor and devoted to shame.' 35.
'The Slave. — An Ode.' 42.
'Oswald, A Poem.' Part I: 17; Part II: 193, 197.
'Dirge, occasioned by an Infant's Death.' 12, 37, 51-2.
'ELEGY ON THE SAME SUBJECT.' 56.

Samuel Lover 1797-1868.

(1860)
'The Blacksmith.' 13, 185, 192.
'Yearning.' 10.
'Love and Death, a Fable from Æsop. Versified and Di-versified.' 11.

(1861)

(1858)
'Fág an Bealach.' 49.
'The Slave Trade.' 6.
'The Meeting of Foes and the Meeting of Friends.' 8.
'The Maid of Malabar.' 3, 17, 21.

Henry Luttrell 1765?-1851.

(1827)
'Crockford-House.' Canto I: 318; Canto II: 721n.
'A Rhymer in Rome. 1826.' 159.
(1822)
'To Julia. Letter I.' 305.
'To Julia. Letter III.' 552.
'Lines written at Ampthill-Park, in the Autumn of 1818.' 252.

Henry Francis LYTE 1793-1847.

(1868)
'The Mother and her Dying Boy.' 12.
'On a Naval Officer buried in the Atlantic.' 18, 26.
'The Approach of Spring.' 60.
'November.' 30.
'Morning Thoughts.' 23.
'Whither shall I fly from Thy presence?' 25.
'Ellen.' 4.
'Winter.' 12.
'To a Blade of Grass.' 44.
'A fallen Sister.' 31.
'The Sailor's Meditation, on Watch at Night.' 22.
'Flowers.' 5.
'New-Year's Morning Hymn.' 11.
'Sad Thoughts.' 71.
'David's three mighty Ones.' 42.
'Grace Darling's Death-Bed.' 8, 18.
'The Complaint of Mary Magdalene.' 167.
'May flowers.' 6.
'Abide with me.' 27.
'Mary's Grave.'
'Napoleon's Grave. Addressed to the French Nation on their proposing to remove Napoleon's
remains from St. Helena to France.' 8, 31.

(1850)
'The Battle of Salamanca.' III: 68; XIV: 344; XV: 357; XVII: 428; XIX: 477; XXIV: 623; XXVI: 679;
XXX: 794.

(1829)
'Tale Second. The Missionary.' 419.
'Tale Sixth. The Preacher.' 107, 217, 447.

Thomas Babington MACAULAY, Lord Macaulay 1800-1859.

(1866)
[Lays of Ancient Rome.]
'Virginia. Fragments of a lay sung in the Forum on the day whereon Lucius Sextius Sextinus
Lateranus and Caius Licinius Calvus Stolo were elected Tribunes of the Commons the fifth
time, in the year of the city CCCLXXXII.' pp.521, 523.
'The Prophecy of Capys. A lay sung at the banquet in the Capitol, on the day whereon Manius
Curius Dentatus, a second time consul, triumphed over King Pyrrhus and the Tarentines, in
the year of the city CCCCLXXIX.' pp.531, 533.
[Miscellaneous Poems.]
'Epitaph on Henry Martyn. (1812.)' p.543.
'A Radical War Song. (1820.)' p.546.
'Dies Irae. (1826.)' pp.562-3.
'Epitaph on a Jacobite. (1845.)' p.592.
William MAGINN 1793-1842.

(1855-7)
'Have you sailed on the breast of the deep.' 8.
'There was a time when every sort of people.' 68.
'Fragment of a Vision.' 31.
'Lament for Lord Byron.' 12.
'The Widow to her Dying Child — by Matthew Child.' 17.
'Extract from my great Auto-biographical Poem.' 58.
'The Return of the Chiefs from Troy.' 74.
'The Funeral of Achilles.' 40-1, 136, 147.
'The Story of the Swineherd.' 36.
'Song. Oh! 'tis sweet to think that rattrig will thrive.' 12.
'The Wind and the Wave.' 3.

(1885)
'Christabel.' 148.

James Clarence MANGAN 1803-49.

(1903)
'Lament for the Princes of Tyrone and Tyrconnell (buried in Rome).' 7, 106, 171.
'Lament over the Ruins of the Abbey of Teach Molaga.' 77.
'The Testament of Cathaer Mor.' 26.
'Cean-Salla. The last words of Red Hugh O'Donnell on his departure from Ireland for Spain.' 30.
'The Sorrows of Innisfail.' 34.
'Rury and Darvorgilla.' 44, 100.
'The Irish Language.' 54.
'Love Ballad.' 2, 37, 56.
'Owen Reilly: A Keen.' 17, 57.
'Lament for Owen Roe O'Neill.' 8.
'The Song of Gladness.' 37.
'A Voice of Encouragement — A New Year's Lay.' 16, 22.
'Hymn for Pentecost.' 28.
'The Dying Enthusiast. Ballad.' 34.
'The Nameless One. Ballad.' 12, 38, 53.
'A Broken-hearted Lay.' 23.
'To Laura.' 68.
'Lines on the Death of a Beloved Friend.' 32, 42.
'Enthusiasm.' 9.
'Twenty Golden Years Ago.' 35.
'Gasparo Bandolino. An Anecdote of the South of Italy. (1820.)' IX: 162.
'An Invitation.' 33.
'Counsel of a Cosmopolitan.' 4.
'Rest only in the Grave.
'Lament of Jeremias over Jerusalem. (A Paraphrase from Holy Scripture.)' 3.
'Khidder.' 149.
'The Time of the Roses.' 36.
'The Howling Song of Al-Mohara.' 43.
'The Wall and Warning of the Three Khalendeers.' 69.
'Lament.' 30.
'Love.' 10.
'Relic of Servi.' 6.
'To the Beloved One.' 12
'Grabbe.' 23, 50, 67.
'Ichabod! Thy glory has departed.' 15.
'Song. O, strew the way with rosy flowers.' 4, 27
'Song. Yes, cherish Pleasure!' 27.
'Childhood.' 16.
'The Grave.' 6, 16, 18, 24, 10.
'My Three Tormentors. (Song of a Maniac.)' 17, 20, 34, 51.
'The Lover's Farewell.' 1.
'To the Ghost-Seeress of Prevorst, after her Decease.' 13.
'My Adieu to the Muse.' 32, 94, 123, 135.

Richard MANT 1776-1848.

(1835)
'The British Months; A Poem, in Twelve Parts.' January: 286, 1070; February: 458; April: 28, 327; May: 65; July: 342, 349; August: 483; September: 576; October: 888; November: 394, 546, 932, 941; December: 894, 1006, 1032.

(1832)
'The Nobleman of Capernaum.' 47.
'The Paralytick.' 95.
'The Gadarene Demoniack.' 3, 31, 54, 90.
'The Daughter of Jaerius.' 18, 33, 73.
'The Deaf and Dumb Demoniack.' 48.
'Lazarus Raised.' 27, 59, 70-1, 88, 135.
'The Gospel preached to all the world.' 72.

(1837)
'The Insect Transformed.' 4.
'The Lord's Day.' 5.
'The Church-Yard.' 9-10
'The Tomb-Stones.' 4, 9.
'Church Bells.' 10.
'The Preacher.' 4.
'The Funeral.' 7.
'Thanksgiving for the Departed.' 8.
'The Primate Disinterred, 1648.' 1, 8.
'The Primate Deprived, 1692.' 13.

(1848)
'The Matin Bell.' VI: 256.

(1806)
'Religious Comfort. Lines occasioned by Ecclesiasticus XLI. 1, 2, 3.' 32, 42, 49.
'A Winter Scene. Written on Christmas Day.' 32.
'To the Rev. William Bishop, M. A. Fellow of Oriel College.' 11.
'Verse to the Memory of Joseph Warton, D. D. Late Head Master of Winchester College.
(Written in 1800.)' 23, 109.

(1830)
'The Circumcision of Christ.' 67, 79.
'Tuesday before Easter.' 42.
'Easter Even.' 4, 7, 14, 25.
'Easter Day.' 2, 28.
'Tuesday in Easter Week.' 32.
'Trinity Sunday.' 26.

(1807)
'The Slave.' 332.

'Maria Sophia.'

(1824)
'The Chapel Yard; or, Anna's Grave.' pp.4, 6, 8-11, 13, 31, 33, 39, 41-3.
'Autumn.' p.52.
John Herman MERIVALE 1779-1844.

(1844)
'The Minstrel or the Progress of Genius.' Book III: 38, 99, 173.
'Legend I. St. George and the Dragon.' 98.
'Legend II. St. Denis and the Mulberry Tree.' 39.
'The Abbot of Dol.' Part II: 89.
'From Ossian's "Berrathon".' 4, 11.
'The Dead Men of Pest.' 17, 138, 151, 155, 158, 166, 176n.
'Lyric Stanzas.' 20.
'Orlando in Roncesvalles, a poem, in five cantos.' Canto III: 6, 262; Canto IV: 13, 288; Canto V: 145, 168, 171, 234, 244, 268, 280, 315.
'Ecclesiasticus, Chap. I.' 35.
'Wisdom of Solomon, Chap. II.' 4.
'To a Son entering College.' 28-9.
'On the Deliverance of Europe. 1814.' 57.
'Fifteenth Century.' 38.

Richard Alfred MILLIKEN 1767-1815.

([1830])
'The Dream of Napoleon.' 8.

(1823)
'Ode to the Memory of the Patriot Poles. Written in the Year 1796.' 4, 13.
'Elegy on a Friend.' 22, 37.
'Sonnet. On the Death of a Young Clergyman.' 4.
'Fair Eleanor; or the Knight of the Black Castle.' 156.
'Ode to the Memory of Ann Fuller; — (The young and lovely authoress of Allen Fitzosborne. — the Son of Ethelwolf &c.) Who died of a decline. —' 36, 59.

(1807)

Henry Hart MILMAN 1791-1868.

(1826)
Anne Boleyn, A Dramatic Poem.' 120, 302, 515, 541, 712, 727, 1328, 1392, 1766, 1850, 1911, 2083-4, 2095, 2305, 2326, 2391.

(1840)
'The Fall of Jerusalem.' 504, 515, 613, 724, 742, 1179, 1234, 1485, 1544, 1554, 1949, 1986, 1019, 2180.
'Belshazzar.' 406, 544, 799, 812-14, 1134, 1569, 1606, 1633, 1883, 2237, 2245.
'Judicium Regale, an Ode.' 76.
‘Stanzas on an incident observed during the funeral of the daughter of Sir Walter Scott, the wife
of my friend Mr. Lockhart.’ 2.

John MITFORD 1781-1859

(1811)
‘Agnes, the Indian Captive.’ Canto I: 359; Canto II: 190, 317; Canto III: 16, 23, 30, 43, 46, 211;
‘Ode to Sophocles.’ 110.
‘Oh! best, oh! earliest friend! and is it so.’ 2.
‘I said, that happiest he, who in his grave.’ 1.

(1858)
‘A. B. Count not my years, not ask how long.’ 10.
‘A. B. One said — “He counted it a crime.”’ 13.
‘A. B. They call’d my Grief an idle tale.’ 18.
‘A. B. Oh! call not this an unregarded grave.’ 1.
‘A. B. The gentle playmates of her youth are near.’ 4.
‘A. B. Her gentle voice no more is heard.’ 5.
‘A. B. Stranger, in this small grave there lies.’ 1, 6.
‘A. B. “Sweets to the sweet”.’ 2.
‘A. B. The silver dove is sleeping in her nest.’ 12.
‘A. B. “Tis in her constancy, and truth.”’ 6.
‘Lines to be engraved on a stone in the Churchyard of —.’ 1.
‘Cathemerinon.’ 32.
‘Pert Stefanwn.’ 38, 51.
‘Hever Castle, Kent.’ headnote, 149.
‘Mater Dolorosa.’ 64, 104.
‘To —. Sorrow hath been companion of thy life.’ 20.
‘Recordatio Rivorum.’ 64.
‘Written at Layer-Marney Tower, Essex.’ headnote.
‘Threnodia.’ 5-7, 68, 382, 416.
‘On a Portrait by Titian.’ 25.
‘Heaven’s pavement strewn with roses was.’ 15.

(1827)
‘Proem.’ 80, 122, 144, 190, 221, 268, 288, 401, 542, 570, 580, 583, 593, 611, 634, 873, 913,
938, 1062, 1139, 1364-5, 1489, 1534.

Mary Russell MITFORD 1787-1855.

(1811a)
‘Christina, the Maid of the South Seas.’ Canto 1: 48, 381, 602, 611, 615, 618, 632, 664, 673;
Canto 3: 238, 303, 577, 641; Canto 4: 125, 172, 228.

(1827)
‘On Mrs Hofland’s picture of Jerusalem at the time of the Crucifixion.’ 6.
‘To Mr. Henry Richardson, on his performance of Admetus in the Acestis of Euripides, as
represented in the original Greek at Reading School.’ 7n.
‘Weston Grove. A Descriptive Poem.’ 77.
'Blanch: A Poem in Four Cantos.' Canto I: 803, 808, 819, 827, 839; Canto III: 394; Canto IV: 264, 370, 373, 386-8, 439, 454.
'The Rival Sisters; A Poem; In Three Cantos.' Canto III: 27.

(1813)

(1814b)

'Sybille. A Northumbrian Tale.' 24.
'On Revisiting the School where I was educated.' 148.
'Lines suggested by the uncertain fate of Mungo Park, the celebrated African traveller.' 32.
'To the Hon. Miss Murray, with Miss Rowden's "Poetical Introduction to Botany".' 22.
'To the Memory of Sir John Moore.' 12, 25, 29.
'Epistle to a Friend.' 84.
'To May.' 7.
'Joanna's Prophecy.' 20, 52.
'The Pen and the Sword.' 38, 48, 82.
'The Mariner's Tale.' 48.
'Bertha. A Ballad.' 129.
'Portugal. An Ode.' 63, 83.
'Westminster Abbey.' 20-1, 28, 72.
'Maternal Affection. An Ode.' 61, 64, 77.

David Macbeth MOIR ['Delta'] 1798-1851.

(1824)

'Legend of Genevieve.' 293, 578.
'Mary's Mount.' 75.
'Napoleon's Address to the Statue of his Son.' 136.
'The Greek to his Sword. (From the Romaic.)' 10, 65.
'The Soldier's Grave.' 8, 16, 24, 32, 40.
'Female Decay.' 42.
'Ode on the Olden Time.' 36n, 119, 151.
'The Leafless Tree.' 58n, 177.
'The School Bank.' 11.
'The Midnight Reverie.' 27, 126.
'The September Forest.' 18, 38.
'The Silent Eve.' 46.
'The Maniac's Plaint.' 12, 27, 31.
'A Mother's Dirge over her Child.' 21.
'Solitude.' 48, 66.
'Sir Harold.' 48-9.
'The Bard's Wish.' 10.
'Fitztraver's Grave.' 20, 37.
'Future Prospects of the World.' 72, 90, 246.
'Dryburgh Abbey.' 14n.
'Melrose Abbey.' 14n.

(1852)

'Casa Wappy.' 92, 101, 135.
'Wee Willie.' 63, 77, 79.
'Casa's Dirge.' 32, 64.
'Elegiac Stanzas. To the Memory of D. M. M.' 24, 32, 80, 104.
'To the Bust of my Son Charles.' 12, 91.
'The Bower of Peace.' 33, 100n, 140.
'The Deserted Churchyard.' 1, 24, 60, 82.
'The Dying Spaniel.' 37, 42.
'Hymn to Hesperus.' 67.
'The Night Hawk.' 40.
'The Child's Burial in Spring.' 17, 23, 44.
'Spring Hymn.' 12, 16.
'The Wall-Flower.' 4, 28.
'The Tower of Ercildoune.' 42, 160.
'The Glen of Roslin.' 26n.
'The Tomb of De Bruce.' 8n.
'The Field of Pinkie. Written on the Tri-Centenary of the Battle.' 32n, 88.
'The Ruins of Seton Chapel.' 43, 99, 108.
'The Thorn of Preston.' 58, 75.
'The Bass Rock.' 79n.
'A Shadow of Truth. Written in Opposition to the Catholic Emancipation Bill of 1829.' 4.
'Stanzzas for the Burns Festival.' 72.
'Stanzzas, written after the Funeral of Admiral Sir David Milne, G. C. B.' 8, 61.
'Moonlight Churchyard.' 9, 14.
'The Early Lost.' 47.
'Address to Little Children.' 23.
'The Legend of St. Rosalie.' 14, 34, 165, 195.
'The Burden of Sion.' 62, 116.
'The Campeador's Spectre Host.' 18n, 27.
'De Quincey's Revenge. a Ballad in Three Fittes.' Fitte 1: 55, 132; Fitt 2: 65n; Bitte 3: 4.
'The Miner of Peru.' 209, 236.
'Sir Eliduc. A Lay of Marie.' Fitte 1: 64; Fitte 3: 26; Fitte 4: 43, 106, 127.
'The Old Seaport. (Cuiross, Perthshire) 23, 42, 96.
'The Defeat of Winter.' 68.
'On the Death of Ida.' 28, 35, 45.
'Bloom and Blight.' 56.
'Lines on a Portrait of Sir Walter Scott, By C. R. Leslie Esq., R. A.' 11.
'The Graves of the Dead. A Dirge.' 1, 22, 43, 64, 85.
'The Lament of Selim.' 37, 88, 114, 134, 167.
'The Dark Wagggon.' 87.
'Disenchantment.' 37, 94.
'The Sycamine.' 35.
'Remembered Beauty.' 96.
'The Ruined Nunnery.' 131, 162.
'The Hour of Thought.' 84.
'To Inez, in Lament.' 30, 52.
'The Unknown Grave.' 101.
'The Angler.' 240.
'The Tombless Man. A Dream.' 8, 136, 147, 151, 195, 202, 208.
'Lines written in the Isle of Bute.' 95, 100.
'Hymn to the Night Wind.' 48.

James MONTGOMERY 1771-1854.

(1819)
'Christ's Passion.' 28.

(1854)

(1842)
'Cardiff Church, Lost and Restored.' 4, 32, 39.

(1836)
'At Home in Heaven: I Thess. iv. 17.' Part II: 39-41.
'Garden Thoughts, On occasion of a Christian assembly in the grounds of a gentleman at York, for the purpose of promoting Missions among the Heathen.' 53.
'Benediction for a Baby.' 29, 30.
'Our Saviour's Prayers.' Part I: 23.

(1850)
'The Wanderer of Switzerland: A Poem, in Six Parts.' Part II: 11, 50; Part III: 54, 60; Part IV: 3, 9; Part V: 51, 67, 70; Part VI: 24, 37, 48, 121, 128.
'To the Spirit of a Departed Friend.' 11, 82-3.
'The World before the Flood.' Canto 1: 204, 272; Canto 2: 4; Canto 3: 6, 128; Canto 4: 204, 282; Canto 5: 2, 11, 32-4, 95, 98, 248, 302, 315-6, 327, 346-8; Canto 7: 126, 172; Canto 10: 30, 77, 104, 198, 218.
'Greenland: A Poem, in Five Cantos.' Canto 1: 177, 274; Canto 2: 51, 236; Canto 3: 4, 106, 169, 236; Canto 4: 37; Canto 5: 58, 182, 498, 504, 604.
'The Captive Nightingale.' 96.
'The Pleasures of Imprisonment. In Two Epistles to a Friend.' Epistle I: 127.
'The Car of Juggernaut.' 8.
'Prologue. A Word with Myself.' 24.
'The Dream.' 128, 137.
'Easter-Monday at Sheffield.' 188, 268.
'Farewell to War: Being a Prologue to "Lord Falkland's Dream," and "Arnold De Winkelried, or the Patriot's Pass-Word".' 3, 31.
'Lord Falkland's Dream. A. D. 1643.' 40, 124, 140, 274.
'The Patriot's Pass-word.' 51.
'The Voyage of the Blind.' Part II: 134.
'An Every-day Tale.' 70.
'A Tale without a Name.' Part I: 80; Part II: 7-8, 64.
'The Vigil of St. Mark.' 30, 63, 78-9, 85.
'A Deed of Darkness.' 13, 44.
'The Cast-away Ship.' 54.
'The Reign of Summer.' 183, 286, 322, 332.
'Abdallah and Sabat.' 66.
'The Sand and the Rock. "I will open my dark saying upon the harp".' Part I: 36.
'The Chronicle of Angels.' Part II: 52; Part II: 37.
'Elijah in the Wilderness.' 96.
'Morna.' 72.
'The Death of the Righteous.' 53.
'A Good Man's Monument.' 24, 77.
'The Grave.' 24-5, 41.
'The Joy of Grief.' 26-7, 55.
'The Battle of Alexandria.' 52, 55, 106, 111.
'The Pillow.' 150.
'Verse to the Memory of the Late Joseph Browne, of Lothersdale, one of the people called Quakers.' 49-50.
'Ode to the Volunteers of Britain on the Prospect of Invasion.' 12, 80, 92.
'The Snow-drop.' 52.
'The Ocean. Written at Scarborough, in the Summer of 1805.' 59, 123, 128.
'The Common Lot.' 21, 24.
'Pope's Willow.' 42.
'The Dial.' 35, 41.
'To Agnes. Reply to some lines, beginning, "Arrest, O Time! thy fleeting course".' 19.
'An Epitaph.' 7.
'The Old Man's Song.' 32.
'The Glow-worm.' 12.
'Bolehill Trees.' 48-9.
'The Mole-Hill.' 52, 89, 177, 187.
'M. S. To the Memory of "A Female whom sickness had reconciled to the notes of sorrow".' 36, 87.
'The Peak Mountains. In Two Parts. Written at Buxton, in August, 1812.' Part II: 56.
'Occasional Ode. For the Anniversary of the Royal British System of Education, Held at Freemasons' Hall, May 16, 1812.' 21.
"A Daughter (C. M.) to her Mother. On her Birth-day, Nov. 25. 1811." 38.
"On finding the feathers of a linnet scattered on the ground in a solitary walk." 10, 56.
"Departed Days: A Rhapsody. Written on visiting Fulneck, in Yorkshire (where the Author was educated), in the Spring of 1806." 34, 80.
"Hope. Imitated from the Italian of Serafino Aquilano." 52.
"Stanzas to the Memory of the Rev. Thomas Spencer, of Liverpool, who was drowned while bathing in the Tide, on the 5th of August, 1811, in his 21st year." 89.
"Human Life." 24.
"Incognita. On viewing the picture of an unknown lady. Written at Leamington, in 1817." 111.
"The Little Cloud." 144.
"Questions and Answers." 2, 43.
"Night." 21.
"Via crucis, via lucis." 36.
"A Hermitage." 27.
"Worms and Flowers." 29.
"Speed the Prow." 28.
"The Sun-flower." 12.
"Evening Time." 4.
"Reminiscence." 9.
"A Recollection of Mary F., a young lady unexpectedly removed from a large family circle." 16.
"The Tombs of the Fathers." Part II: 21; Part II: 4.
"Stanzas in Memory of the Rev. James Harvey, of Weston Favell, Northamptonshire; Who died on Christmas Day, 1758, aged 43 Years." 25, 33.
"To Mary." 10.
"Motto to "A Poet's Portfolio." (Fragment of a page of oblivion.)" 6.
"The Widow." 3, 8, 42.
"In Memory of E. B., formerly E. R." 5.
"In Memory of E. G." 16.
"A Message from the Moon." 16.
"The Grasshopper." 117.
"Emblems." 32.
"The Wild Pink on the Wall of Malmesbury Abbey. (Dianthus Cheirophyllus.)" 16.
"Transmigrations." 43, 46.
"Sonnet. Fall'n is the lofty column, and uptorn." 6.

Thomas MOORE ['Thomas Little'] 1779-1852.

(1812)
"Elegiac Stanzas." 2.
"To ----. Sol Rosa turns her back on me." 3, 7-8.
"The Shield." 7.
"An Invitation to Supper. To Mrs. ----." 52.

(1840-41)
"The Tear." 3-4.
"Elegiac Stanzas. When wearied wretches sink to sleep." 9.
"To Mrs. ----. On her Beautiful Translation of Voiture's Kiss." 3.
The Ring. A Tale.' 104, 224.
'To ---, 1801.' 34.
The Lake of the Dismal Swamp. A Ballad.' 1.
'If I were yonder, wave, my dear.' 21.
'To Thomas Hume, Esq. M. D. From the City of Washington.' 20.
'Song of the evil spirit of the woods.' 12n.
'Written on passing Deadman's Island, in the Gulf of St. Lawrence, late in the Evening, September, 1804.' 6, 16.
'Corruption, An Epistle.' 141, 168.
'Remember the Glories of Brien the Brave. War Song.' 3.
'Oh! Breathe not his name.' 6.
'How oft has the Benshee cried.' 8, 18n.
'Sublime was the Warning.' 13, 31.
'Before the Battle.' 8.
'By that lake, whose gloomy shore.' 34.
'She is far from the land.' 4, 13.
'When first I met thee.' 31.
'Forget not the Field.' 4, 17.
The Parallel.' 16, 27n.
'Oh, ye dead!' 3.
'Oh banquet not.' 15.
'Shall the harp then be silent.' 3, 38.
'I wish I was by that dim lake.' 16.
'Alone in crowds to wander on.' 23.
'Song of Innisfail.' 6.
'Lay his sword by his side.' 8, 13, 20.
'Those evening bells.' 7.
'Hear me but once.' 1.
'Oh, days of youth.' 3.
'Where shall we bury our shame?' 15.
'This world is all a fleeting show.' 9.
'Weep not for those whom the veil of the tomb.' 1, 9.
'First Evening.' 389.
'Second Evening.' 530.
'The Voice.' 11.
'The High-born Ladye.' 26.
'The Stranger.' 29-30.
'A Melologue upon national music.' 98.
'The parting before the battle.' 4, 12.
'From life without freedom.' 8.
'The Veiled Prophet of Khorassan.' 186, 682, 728, 1348, 1451, 1687, 1695n, 1901, 2017n, 2122, 2125.
'Paradise and the Peri.' 316.
'The Light of the Haram.' 336, 337.
'Lines on the Death of Sh*r*d*n.' 8, 46.
'Letter I. From Miss Biddy Fudge to Miss Dorothy ---, of Clonkilty, in Ireland.'
'Letter II. From Phil. Fudge, Esq. to the Lord Viscount C*st---r---gh.' 116.
'Letter XII. From Miss Biddy Fudge to Miss Dorothy ---.' 119, 121.
'Extract VI.' 16, 56n.
'Extract XIII.' 13, 29, 50, 78n.
"'Twas when the world was in its prime.' 69.
'Second Angel's Story.' 212, 686.
'Genius and Criticism.' 5.
'Speech on the Umbrella Question.' 22.
'The Euthanasia of Van.' 4.
'The Song of the Box.' 36.
'Letter II. [From Alciphron at Alexandria to Cleon at Athens]. 31, 53, 122, 126, 152.
'Letter III. [From the same to the same.]' 234, 257, 294, 513.
(1910)
'Here at thy Tomb.' 1.
'My Mopsa is little.' 15, 17.
'Hymn of a Virgin of Delphi, at the Tomb of her Mother.' 51.

Hannah MORE 1745-1833.

(1830)
[Volume I.]
'Reflections of King Hezekiah, in his sickness.' pp.157, 161, 162.
'Sensibility: An Epistle to the Honourable Mrs. Boscawen.' pp.168, 169, 171.
'The Pentateuch.' p.198.
'The Prophets.' p.214.
'The Bas Bleu: or, Conversation.' p.299.
'An Heroic Epistle to Miss Sally Horne, (aged three years,) Youngest Daughter of Dr. Horne, late Bishop of Norwich.' p.354.
'Sir Eldred of the Bower.' pp.375, 380.
'The Bleeding Rock.' p.401.
'Pleasing Recollections and Joyful Anticipations: On being importuned by a friend to write verses when I was very ill.' p.414.

[Volume II.]
'On the Rev. Mr. Penrose, Thirty-Two Years Vicar of St. Gluvias, Cornwall.' p.63.
'On Mrs. Blandford.' p.63.
'On Mrs. Little, in Redcliff Church, Bristol.' p.64.
'On General Lawrence, Memorable for his Conquests in India, and for his Clemency to the Vanquished. On a Monument erected by Sir Robert Palk.' p.64.
'On the Reverend Mr. Hunter, Who received a Degree from the University of Oxford, for his Work against Lord Bolingbroke's Philosophy.' p.65.
'On C. Dicey, Esq. in Claybrook Church, Leicestershire.' pp.65-6.
'Inscription on a Cenotaph in a Garden, erected to a Deceased Friend.' p.66.
'On the Reverend Mr. Love, in the Cathedral at Bristol.' p.67.
'On Mrs. Harford Battersby, in Henbury Church.' pp.69-70.
'To the Memory of Mrs. Jackson, Who perished in the wreck of the Elizabeth, East Indiaman, off Dunkirk, December 27th, 1810.' p.70.
'To the Memory of Mrs. Ireland.' p.71.
'In Memory of Anna and Emma Dicey of Claybrook Hall: Anna aged twenty years, Emma twenty-two years.' pp.71-2.
'The Ploughman's Ditty.' p.76.
'The Black Slave Trade.' p.113.

William MOTHERWELL 1797-1835.

(1849)
'The Battle-Flag of Sigurd.' 32, 64, 136.
'The Sword Chant of Thorstein Raudi.' 44, 94.
'The Madman's Love.' 225, 319.
'True Love's Dirge.' 67.
'Midnight and Moonshine.' 111.
'The Water! the Water!' 64, 80.
'O that this weary war of life!' 28.
'Melancholye.' 77.
'I am not sad!' 9, 18, 27, 36, 45, 54, 63, 72.
'The Joys of the Wilderness.' 12.
'A Solemn conceit.' 23.
'The Witches' Joys. A Rhapsody most pleasant and merry.' 2, 48.
'A Monody.' 27, 44, 97.
'The Voice of Love.' 25.
'Ding Dong!' 6, 12, 33.
'Clerke Richard and Maid Margaret.' 71.
'She is not dead.' 11-12.
'Sonnet — Silvery hairs.' 7.
'Lady Margaret.' 22, 55, 91.
'Cruxtoun Castle.' 69.
'Roland and Rosabelle.' 1, 20.
'Isabelle. A Serenade.' 27.
'The Wanderer.' 51.
'Choice of Death.' 16.
'To the Tempest.' 14.
'The Poet's Destiny.' 5.
'The Knight's Requiem.' 36.
'O think nae mair o' me, sweet May!' 14, 23.
'Superstition.' 9, 32.
'Lay of the broken-hearted and hope-bereaved men.' 9.
'The Ritters ride home.' 49.

(1824)
'Renfrewhshire Scenery and Character. A Poem.' Canto I: 10n, 153n.

John MOULTRIE 1799-1874.

(1876)
'To Margaret in Heaven.' 31, 35.
'My Brother's Grave (1816).' 10, 32, 52, 86, 154-6.
'The Hall of my Fathers.' 49.
'Day Dreams.' 73.
'Sonnet XIV. Are there no marriages in heaven?—' 5.
'The Witch of the North.' 172, 190, 398.
'Sir Launfal.' Canto II: 203, 713; Canto II: 569.
'The Three Sons.' 38.
'To Henry Alford, author of "The School of the Heart," and other poems.' 109.
'Come with us.' 138.
'Dirge, suggested in sleep.' 22.
'Farewell to Herne Bay. Written at the Moment of Departure.' 18.
'To Sylvia.' 56, 94.
'Elegiac Stanzas.' 55.
'The Dream of Life.' Book I: 390, 793; Book II: 70, 290, 296-7, 305, 326, 332, 867; Book III: 104, 163, 171-3; Book IV: 425, 671.
'First Sunday in Advent.' 23.
'St. Stephen's Day.' 90.
'St. John the Evangelist's Day.' 64.
'The Innocents' Day.' 62, 204.
'The Epiphany.' 50, 147.
'First Sunday after Epiphany.' 147.
'Second Sunday after Epiphany.' 52, 90.
'Fourth Sunday after Epiphany.' 92.
'Septuagesima Sunday.' 72, 206.
'Hymn for Easter Eve.' 6, 24, 84, 91.
'Sunday in the Mountains.' Canto II: 114.
'Sonnet VIII. With fond parental pride did I devote.' 10.
'Euthanasia.' 557.
'The Song of the Kettle.' 34.
'Alice Gay's Bridal.' 168, 183.
'Pentecostal Ode. 1852.' 21, 321, 456.
'The Black Fence.' 64.
'Saint Mary, the Virgin and the Wife. A Cottage Eclogue.' 63, 128, 132.
'Sunset in Arran.' 41.
'The King's Quarters.' 117.
'Sonnet. Accept, dear wife, this new sixteenth of May.' 9.
'The Three Minstrels.' 22.
'Musæ Etonenses.' 190.
'A Hertfordshire Legend.' 4-11, 22, 26, 86, 86-90, 95, 108, 111, 126, 133.
'The Knell of the Nameless.' 48.
'The Poet's Daughter.' 208, 221, 228.
'Easter Dirge for the Dying.' 19, 35, 44, 56.
'Sonnet. I would not think that I have look'd my last.' 3.
'The Shadow of Death.' 241.
'The Resting-Places.' 55, 172, 185, 222, 229, 247, 252, 297, 300, 311.

John NICHOLSON [The 'Airedale Poet'] 1790-1843.

(1826a)
'Walk through Knaresbrough.' 44, 201, 209.

(1826b)
'Lines on the present state of the country. July, 1826.' 66, 126, 166.

(1876a)
'The Factory Child's Mother.' 322.

(1876b)
'Airedale in Ancient Times.' 280, 379.
'The Lyre of Ebor.' 253, 374, 530, 798, 1248, 1473, 1486.
'Elwood and Elvina.' Part II: 119, 130, 237.
'Genius and Intemperance.' 169, 223-4, 333, 352, 674, 875, 904, 916.
'The Fall of Belshazzar.' 81.
'On visiting a workhouse.' 18, 39.
'Song. The birks may wave, the heath may bloom.' 20.
'Alas! where are they?' 18.
'On the New Church at Wilsden.' 54.
'Return of the Swallow.' 94.
'Solemn Reflections.' 4, 18.
'Appeal of the Spanish Refugees.' 2.
'Elegy on the death of Lord Byron.' 11, 15.
'On the Death of the Poet's Child in London.' 16.
'On Returning from London.' 14.
'Lines on "Long Tom," Bramham Park.' 3.
'On the Death of Lady Rickitts.' 9.
'Melpomene.' 13.
'Dirge.' 39.
'Musical Festival at York, 1825.' 282, 330.
'England's Lament for the loss of her Constitution.' 254.
'Owen's New Moral Worlrd.' 131, 246.
'On the Death of Thomas Cooper, Esq., Surgeon, Bingley.' 45.
'Mary's Lament.'
'On a Young Lady, Drowned in the Strid.' 35, 71.
'The Poet's Sickbed.' 6.

William NICHOLSON 1783-1849.

(1797)
'A Tale of Terror.' 38.
'Donald's Grave.' 24.
'Song. Again the breeze blaws through the trees.' 31.
'The ghost of Crazy Jane.' 12, 17, 23.
'The Tear hung in his E'e.' 17, 22.

(1814)
'Mary's Lament.' 1.
'Song. Where are the joys that I felt in life's morning?' 24, 28.

**Amelia OPIE** 1769-1853.

(1826)
'The Black Man's Lament; Or, How to Make Sugar.' 36.

(1802)
'Elegy to the Memory of the Late Duke of Bedford.' 16, 57, 223, 228-9, 253.

(1840)
'Dirge on the death of my relation, Captain Charles William Thompson, of the 1st Guards, who was killed near Bidart, in the Winter of 1813.' 4, 36n, 41, 51, 72.
'Lines Addressed to a Departed Friend.' 27, 47.
'On the Anniversary of the Birth-day of my dear relation, Ollyett Woodhouse, Advocate General of Bombay, which recurred soon after I had heard of his death, 1822.' 16.
'Stanze on the death of the same.' 9, 24.
'On the Anniversary of a Funeral, 1832.' 10.
'On the Funeral of ----.' 6.
'The Shipwreck.' 16, 46.
'On the Death of Lady ----, only Daughter of the late Marquis ----, and Widow of Colonel ----.' 4, 27.
'On the Death of Reginald Heber, Bishop of Calcutta.' 57.
'On the Death of a Bride.' 18, 36, 51.
'Epitaph. On an amiable individual in humble life.' 1, 8, 13.
'Epitaph on a mother and daughter, relations of mine, who died at Penzance, within a short time of each other.' 15, 18.
'Tributary Lines.' Part 2: 1, 8, 32.
'On the Death of a Child.' 16.
'The Parents' Chaunt of Thanksgiving on the death of one of two only children, with whom they had just returned from their deceased mother's house in the North of England, to their home in the West.' 28.
'Lines, Written in an album after the death of its owner, and under the verses with which I had begun it a few years ago.'
'On the Portraits of Deceased Relatives and Friends, which hang around me.' 5: 160, 168; 6: 186.
'The Last Letter.' 18.
'Sketches of Saint Michael's Mount, gratefully inscribed to the Lord de Dunstanville and Sir John St. Aubyn, Bart.' 3: 136.
'The Skeleton.' 88, 93.

(1811)
'The Mourner.' 10, 22.
'Lines for the album at Cossey, The Seal of Sir William Jerningham, Bart.' 100.
'A Mad-Song.' 5.
'Song. I once rejoiced, sweet Evening Gale.' 4, 8, 12.
'The Complaint.' 63, 67.
'The Despairing Wanderer.' 50.
'Lines respectfully inscribed to the Society for the Relief of Persons Imprisoned for Small Debts.' 38, 42, 92.
'Epistle to a Friend on New Year's Day .... 1802.' 58, 146.
'On Reading, since the Duke of Bedford's Death, Mr. Burke's Letter Reflecting on his Grace.' 43, 54.

(1808)
'Julia, or the Convent of St. Claire: A Tale founded on Fact.' 268.
'The Lucayan's Song.' 3.
‘Secret Love.’ 36.
‘Lines on hearing, three or four years ago, that Constantinople was swallowed up by an
earthwauke; A Report, though false, at that time generally believed.’ 103.
‘How fondly I gaze on the fast falling-leaves.’ 8.

Sydney OWENSON 1776-1859.

(1807)
‘Fragment. The Irish Harp.’ 31.
‘Fragment. To Mrs. Browne, of Mount Prospect, near Dublin.’ 35.
‘Fragment. To Signor Alphonso Pilligrinni, LL.D. Professor of Italian and Spanish, Trinity
College, Dublin.’ 28, 37.

(1801)
‘On my Birth-Day.’ 54.
‘The Recantation.’ 98.
‘The Adieu, on leaving the country, December 1799.’ 154.
‘To —. As by thy paly lamp, dew-weeping Hesper.’ 8.
‘Effusions, Written on a Tomb among the Ruins of Sligo Abbey, September, 1799.’
‘Elegy on the Death of Capt. --- E.L. Late of the 6th Regiment of Fools.’ 2, 9, 11, 15, 26, 31.

Thomas PARK 1759-1834.

(1804)
‘Hits the Centre of the Target.’ 15.

(1818)
‘Occasioned by the Poems of Drummond of Hawthornden, First printed in 1616.’ 14.

(1797)
‘To Miss Seward.’ 3.
‘Sonnet. Written on the Sea-Coast.’ 8.
‘On a Grave-Stone In Acton Church-Yard, Middlesex.’
‘Sonnet. On reading Miss Williams' Elegaic Tribute to Dr. Kippis.’ 11.
‘On Viewing the Graves of James and Sarah Easton, In Fairlight Church-Yard, Sussex.’ 4, 38.
‘On the Death of an Old Family Acquaintance.’ 3-4.
‘On a Young Lady, who died of a Consumption.’ 12.
‘On Seduction.’ 60.

Thomas Love PEACOCK 1785-1866.

(1924-34)
‘Song. In his last binn Sir Peter lies.’ 21.
‘The Flower of Love.’ 12.
‘There is a fever of the spirit.’ 4.
‘The Massacre of the Britons.’ 8, 72.
‘The Legend of Saint Laura.’ 2, 48, 66, 77.
‘Maria's Return to her Native Cottage.’ 59.
‘Fiofar, King of Norway.’ 44, 172, 226, 247, 251, 255.
‘Henriette.’ 32.
‘The Old Man’s Complaint.’ 24, 28.
‘On the Death of Charles Pembroke, Esq.’ 1, 12.
‘The Rain-bow.’ 15.
‘Ellen.’ 1, 8.
‘Mira.’ 8.

‘Inscription for a Mountain-Dell.’ 53.


‘Sir Proteus: A Satirical Ballad; By P. M. O’Donovan, Esq.’ I: 23; II: 89, 92n.

‘The Round Table; or, King Arthur’s Feast.’ 70n.


‘I dug, beneath the Cypress Shade’. 2.

‘Necessity.’ 31, 36.

‘Phedra and Nurse.’ 27.

‘Prologue to Mr. Tobin’s Comedy of The Guardians, performed at the Theatre Royal, Drury Lane, November, 1816 Spoken by Mr. ---.’ 3, 9.


James Robinson PLANCHÉ 1796-1880.

(1881)

‘To ----. Yes, I have loved and I have known.’ 13.

‘On the Death of Mrs. ---.’ 1, 9.

‘A Prologue.’ 23.


‘Song from “Babil and Bijou.”’ 5.


Robert POLLOK 1798-1827.

(1827)


Thomas PRINGLE 1789-1834.

(1811)

‘The Institute.’ Canto I: 42; Canto IV: 125.

(1839)

‘Evening Rambles.’ 56.

‘The Emigrants.’ 162, 411.


‘Lines Written on Hearing of the Death of an Early Friend.’ 10, 46.

‘Verses, on the Restoration of Despotism in Spain, in 1823.’ 19.

‘Spaniards, yield not to despair.’ 17.

‘Inscription, for a Tomb-stone in the Burial-Ground at Dryburgh Abbey. (1830)’ 15.

Bryan Waller PROCTOR [Barry CORNWALL] 1787-1874.

(1877)

‘To Edward.’

‘The Burial Club.’
(1857)
'Ludovico Sforza.' Scene I: 20; Scene II: [set in 'An underground Cemetery'] 10, 156.
'Juan.' 55, 219, 287.
'The Last Song.' 12.
'The Temptation.' Scene II: 239; Scene II: 368, 382.
'Michael Angelo.' 217.
'The Florentine Party.' 365.
'The Victim.' Scene I: 117, 120.
'A Garden Scene.' 52.
'Old Love.' 11.

(1851)
'To the Author of Eothen.' 13.
'Stanzas. Let who will go mad for glory.' 2.
'Dirge. Farewell! Day is done!' 10.
'The Rake's Progress. (A Faint Impression of Hogarth.)' 46.
'Thirteen years ago.' 62.
'A Dirge. (For Music.)' 3.
'The History of a Life.' 7.
'A Sicilian Story.'
'On a Stranger's Grave near Venice.' 1, 14.
'To Our Neighbour's Health.' 19.
'A Common Thought.' 10.
'Stanzas. That was not a barren time.' 17.
'The Sailor's Lament for the Sea.' 8.
'Song. Sing no more! Thy heart is crossed.' 10.
'The Time of Charlemagne.' 34.
'Babylon.' 4.
'The Night Shade.' 2-3.
'The Fight of Ravenna.' 204.
'Courage.' 29.
'The Pauper's Jubilee.' 26, 43.
'A Thought on a Rivulet.' 22.
'On some human bones, found on a headland in the Bay of Panama.' 9, 19.
'The Uses of Courage.' 7.
'The Sorrow of an Heir.' 1.
'Friends in Death.' 1, 3.
'A New Alcestis.' 32.
'The Rise of a Favourite.' 4.
'A Conqueror's Account of Himself.' 13.
'The Grave.'
'A Young Man's Opinion of Age.' 7.
'A Bold Man.' 9.
'An Epitaph. Mark, when he died, his tombs, his epitaphs!' 1.

(1823)
'The Girl of Provence.' 88, 533, 728.
'The Fall of Saturn. A Vision.' 121, 237.
'A War Song.' 64.

(1820a)
'The Last Song.' 12.
'Stanzas. She died — she died; — yet, still to me.' 14.
'On a Rose.' 11.

(1834)
'The Marseillois Hymn.' 46-7, 51.
Edward QUILLINAN 1791-1851.

(1810)
‘Ball Room Votaries.’ 229, 235, 458, 467, 845, 989, 1142.

(1822)
‘Stanzas written at Sudeley Castle.’ 89.
‘Epitaph in the church of Wootton, in Kent.’ 36, 70.

(1814)
‘Dunluce Castle, A Poem.’ Part III: 4; Part IV, 145.

(1817)
‘In Memory of Grey Matthew Brydges; Who died at Minorca on the 25th of February, 1812 Aged Fourteen Years and Four Months.’ 50, 68.

(1815)
‘Monthermer.’ Canto I: 104; Canto III: 1217, 1355; Canto IV: 2010, 2076; Canto V: 2436, 2566, 2690, 2821, 2871, 2891, 2911-2, 2916, 2943, 2966-8; Canto VI: 3068, 3208, 3416, 3427.

(1853)
‘Wild-flowers of Westmoreland.’ 79.
‘Clouds. Lines sent to a friend, after watching with her one summer’s evening the passage of clouds at different altitudes as are here described.’ 5.
‘On a Portrait by Comerford.’ 4.
‘Cave of Meditation, Field-foot.’ 10.
‘To Angus Fletcher.’ 10
‘“Jesus Wept.” (St. John xi. 35.)’ 4.
‘A Request.’ 1, 9.
‘Stanzas. Deem not the Bard ungentle of his kind.’ 97, 173-5.
‘To a Lady of Supercilious Air.’ 35.
‘Alone.’ 27.
‘Interior of Canterbury Cathedral, as seen by Moonlight, September 30, 1841.’ 31, 42.
‘Agnes of Holmgard.’ 20, 79.
‘Zelinda.’ 40.
‘Epitaph on Colonel George Homes, C. B.’ 8.
‘Funeral of Robert Southey.’ 24, 36.
‘Elegy on G. M. B. Addressed to Lady B.’ 52, 70.
‘Elegy on E. W. G. B. Addressed to Lady B.’ 29, 94.
‘Madness, if thou wilt let me dwell.’ 48.
‘Near Lauffenberg.’ 15.
‘Elegy on the same, written twelve years later.’ 41, 50, 62, 106, 134, 158.
‘Elegy on a Young lady who died at Torquay, Feb. 2, 1833.’ 8, 34.
‘Lines composed in the English Burial-ground at Oporto.’ 8.
'To Angus Fletcher. Grasmere Church-yard, September 22, 1849.'
'Stanzas. The clouds of wintry yesterday are gone. Rydal. Sunday, February 2nd, 1851.' 41n, 42.

(1816)
'The Sacrifice of Isabel.' 591, 637, 653, 675, 712-3, 737-9.

(1820)
'Death to Doctor Quackery.' 1.
'Sudeley Castle. Now savage elders flourish in thy courts.' 71.
'The Cross in Ireland.' 13.
'Song. Be merry, be merry in Clifton Halls.' 33-4.
'The Valley of the Seven Churches.' 19.


(1826)
'Salisbury Plains. Stonehenge.' 143, 820, 930.
'Written in the Isle of Wight.' 59, 77.
'To the River Dove.' 48.

(1816)
'The Mariner.' 48.


(1819a)
'Benjamin the Waggoner.' 166.

(1821)
'The Romance of Youth.' 103, 107, 820, 848.
'The Ladie of Provence.' 246, 299.

(1816)
'A Tale.' 6, 117, 136.

(1815)
'An Ode. Lone is the night.' 183, 212.

(1826)
'Ode to the Great Unknown.' 267.
'Ode to Joseph Grimaldi, Senior.' 95.
'An Address to the Steam Washing Company.' 81.
'An Address to the Very Reverend John Ireland, D. D., Charles Fynes Clinton, LL.D. ...' 31, 36n, 40.

(1819b)
'Peter Bell. A Lyrical Ballad.' 8, 18, 24, 133, 137-40, 183, 193, 209.

(1822)
'The Press. a Satire.' Part I: 133, 248, 437; Part II: 79.
(1814)
‘Safie. An Eastern Tale.’ 97, 161, 199, 752, 831, 1043, 1072, 1088 and n, 1126.

Charlotte RICHARDSON 1775-1850?

(1809)
‘On hearing the Passing-bell.’ p.18.
‘A Prayer, in the immediate prospect of death, March, 1808.’ p.84.
‘Stanzas, written in April, 1808, when still under the pressure of severe sickness.’ p.89.
‘To Miss ----, May, 1808.’ p.107.
‘Self-examination, on recovery from severe illness, October, 1808.’ pp.121, 122.
‘Epitaph, on Jane Brown, aged two years and a half, who died Feb. 14, 1809.’ p.136.

(1806)
‘Elegy on the death of a tender indulgent mother, who quitted a world of sin and sorrow, on
Friday, November 5, 1790. Aged 40.’ p.9.
‘Elegy on the death of Mrs. T. Withers, April, 1802.’ p.50.
‘Elegy on the death of the late Dr. Robert Cappe, On a voyage to Italy, for the recovery of his
health, November 16, 1802.’ pp.53-4.
‘Addressed during my own severe illness, to the kindest of husbands.’ p.61.
‘To my dearest friend M. S----, on her birth-day.’ pp.75, 76.
‘He sleeps. 1805.’ p.78, 79, 80, 81.
‘On the Anniversary of our Marriage, Oct. 31. 1805.’ p.95.
‘Ode on visiting the Retreat, near York; A House erected by the Society of Friends, for the
reception of Insane Persons.’ p.102.
‘On meeting accidentally with some drawings coloured by my dear Brother.’ p.108.

Emma ROBERTS c.1794-1840.

(1830)
‘A Scene in the Doaab.’ p.2.
‘The Dying Hindoo.’ p.17 and endnote [pp.252-3].
‘The Rajah’s Obsequies.’ p.35.
‘Constantine the Great. A Dramatic Sketch.’ p.75.
‘The Incantation. A Dramatic Sketch.’ p.95.
‘Geraldi Sforza. A Dramatic Tale, in Four Scenes.’ p.130.
‘Ballad. The old ancestral tower is reft.’ p.241.

Alexander RODGER 1784-1846.

(1827)
‘The Greek Chief to his Countrymen.’ 30.
‘Alang Kelvin’s Banks.’ 32.

(1901)
‘Ah no! — I cannot say.’ 29.
(1821)
‘Who can hear without emotion.’ 90.

(1842)
‘Suggested on planting flowers on the Grave of John Tait, 31st July, 1837.’ 1, 6, 24-6.
‘Ye Who Mourn Dear Friends Departed. Written for and sung at a concert given in aid of the
Bridgeton Grave Protecting Society, — 1824.’ 8, 22.
‘Sunday Railway Trains.’ 77.
‘The Indian Cottager’s Song. Founded upon St. Pierre’s tale of an Indian cottage, an adapted to
an Hindostan air.’ 11.

Samuel ROGERS 1768-1855.

(1875)
‘An Epistle to a Friend.’ 200.
‘The Voyage of Columbus.’ Canto VII: 41; Canto XI: 22, 32; Canto XII: 38.
‘Thy lonely watch-tower, Larenille.’ 41, 49.
‘Jacqueline.’ 44, 199.
‘Ode to Superstitious.’ I: 23.
‘Written at Midnight.’ 6.
‘To the Butterfly.’ 8.
‘An Inscription in the Crimea. 1812.’ 10, 13.
‘From an Italian Sonnet.’ 10.
‘Written in Westminster Abbey.’ 23, 52.
‘The Brothers.’ 45.
‘Coll’alto.’ 80.
‘St. Mark’s Place.’ 99.
‘Arquà.’ 3, 8.
‘Ginevra.’ 96.
‘Bologna.’ 62, 103.
‘The Campagna of Florence.’ 94.
‘A Funeral.’ 70.
‘The Campagna of Rome.’ 100.
‘The Nun.’ 58.
‘The Fountain.’ 5.
‘Banditti.’ 20, 45, 77.
‘An Adventure.’ 118.
‘Monte Cassino.’ 4.
‘The Feluca.’ 78.

William Stanley ROSCOE 1782-1843.

(1834)
‘How shall he rest whose mouldering hand.’ 8.
‘Dirge.’ 1-3.
‘Verses Written in Lancaster Church-Yard, August, 1800.’ 8-10, 28, 49, 55.
‘Monody.’ 110, 116, 156.
‘Deo Optimo Maximo.’ 32.
‘Epitaph on a Lady, who died soon after her marriage.’ 2.
‘Fragments of a Poem entitled “The Contemplative Day,” suggested by scenery in the
neighbourhood of Allerton, and Wootton Hill.’ 41, 166, 189, 223, 231, 266, 384, 433.
‘From the Messiah of Klopstock.’ 323, 451, 712.
William Stewart ROSE 1775-1843.

(1819)
'The Court and Parliament of Beasts.' Canto III: 134; Canto VI: 6, 184, 190; Canto VII: 164n.

(1810)
'St. Lewis.' 68.
'Edward the Martyr.' 113.

(1837)
'Prologue.' 2.
'To the Right Honourable John Hookham Frere, in Malta.' 28, 73.
'The Talisman.' 24.

Walter SCOTT 1771-1832.

(1904)
'The Lay of the Last Minstrel.' Introduction: p.2; Canto I: xxii; Canto II: i, iv, vii, xii, xiv, xv, xvi, xvii, xviii, xxii, xxiv; Canto IV: xxvi, xxxiv, xxxv; Canto V: i, xxvii, xxix, xxx; Canto VI: xxii, xxiii, xxix.
'Marmion.' Introduction to Canto I: pp.90, 91; Introduction to Canto II: pp.103, 104; Canto II: i, iv, xiv, xvii, xxv, xxvii, xxxi, xxxii; Canto III: xi, xxvii, xxx; Introduction to Canto IV: p.125; Canto IV: xxi; Canto V: xxi, xxxv; Introduction to Canto VI: p.154; Canto VI: xii, xi, xxxv, xxxvi.
'The Lady of the Lake.' Canto III: iv, v, vii, xvi, xxii; Canto IV: xxvi; Canto V: xxvii.
'Rokeby.' Canto I: xiv, xx, xxv; Canto II: xvi, xxvii, xxviii; Canto III: xix, xii, xxx; Canto IV: xii, xiv, xvi, xxiv; Canto V: xxi, xiii, xiv, xxv, xxx; Canto VI: xxii, xxxvi, xxxvii.
'The Lord of the Isles.' Canto II: xv, xxv; Canto III: xxxii; Canto IV: xiv, xi, xx; Canto V: xxvii, xxviii.
'The Vision of Don Roderick.' Canto II: xxii; Canto III: xvi, xxix; Canto IV: xxi; Canto V: xvi, xxv; Canto VI: xiv, xvi, xxvii, xxviii.
'The Bridal of Triermain.' Introduction: xi, xvi, xvii, xix, xxiv, xxxi; Canto IV: xxvi, xxvii; Canto V: xxxi, xxvii.
'The Vision of Don Roderick.' II: i, ii, ixx.
'The Field of Waterloo: A Poem.' v, xiii, xxxiii; Canto IV: xxv; Canto V: xvi, xxvii; Canto VI: xvi, xxviii.
'War-Song of the Royal Edinburgh Light Dragoons. (1802.)' p.702.
'The Bard's Incantation. (Written under threat of an invasion in the Autumn of 1804.)' p.702.
'Hellvellyn. (1805.)' pp.703, 704.
'Epitaph. For a monument in Lichfield Cathedral, at the burial-place of the family of Miss Seward.' p.711.
'The Dance of Death. (1815.)' p.726.
'Mr. Kemble's Farewell Address on taking leave of the Edinburgh stage. (1817.)' p.741.
'Epitaph on Mrs. Erskine. (1819.)' p.745.
'Epilogue. (1824.)' p.754.
'Inscription for the monument of the Rev. George Scott. (1830.)' p.757.
[From Waverley] 'To an oak tree in the churchyard of ----, in the Highlands of Scotland, said to mark the grave of Captain Wogan, killed in 1649.' p.764.
'Mottoes.' p.767.
'My banes are buried in yon kirk-yard.' p.774.
'Proud Maisie is in the wood.' p.775.
[From Ivanhoe] 'Alas! how many hours and years have pass'd.' p.783.
[From The Pirate] 'Saint Magnus control thee, that martyr of reason.' p.806.
'Where corpse-light.' p.807.
'Champion famed for warlike toil.' p.807.
[From The Fortunes of Nigel] 'Bid not thy fortune troll upon the whirls.' p.812.
[From The Talisman] 'The Lay of the Bloody Vest.' p.825.
[From Castle Dangerous] 'The way is long, my children, long and rough.' p.837.
Mary SEWELL 1797-1884.

(1805)
[Volume I.]
To the Author of The Man of Feeling.’ p.3.
‘To the Memory of a young Woman, found dead in St. George’s Fields.’ p.5.
‘On the Death of Miss B******.’ p.12.
‘To the Memory of my Brother Marcellus.’ p.28.
‘An Elegy, written by desire of Mrs. Britten, to the memory of her daughter.’ pp.70, 72.
‘Epitaph on a favourite old Horse, which had appeared at the Coronation of his Majesty.’ p.79.
‘To the Memory of Miss C. W.’ p.168
‘Lines to the Memory of William Hibbs Bevan, Esq. of Lincoln’s-Inn, Who died October 13, 1794.’ p.175
‘On some of our troops coming to Chertsey after the war. Written in 1802.’ p.244
‘Lines to the Memory of John Milbank, Esq., son of the late Sir Ralph Milbank. Written by particular request of the author’s sister.’

[Volume II.]
‘The Farewell.’ p.13
‘To the Memory of the Same [Mr. G.].’ p.54.
‘To the same [a Poet] on being desired to write an epistle from Petrarach to Laura.’ pp.78-9.
‘Eudosia to Evander.’ pp.97, 98.
‘On a favourite squirrel. By desire of Miss W——.’ p.126.
‘Epistle from George Barnwell to Millwood.’ p.128.
‘Ellinor, a Ballad.’ p.159.
‘Epitaph. How poor is Grandeur, and how vain is Power.’ p.181.

Percy Bysshe SHELLEY 1792-1822.

(1804)
‘The Revolt of Islam a Poem in Twelve Cantos.’ Canto I: 390, 414; Canto II: 692, 754, 963, 989, 1047, 1094; Canto IV: 1481, 1624; Canto V: 1820, 1914, 1946, 1956; Canto VII: 3081, 3106, 3124; Canto VIII: 3287, 3295, 3367, 1314; Canto IX: 3533, 3664, 3671, 3713, 3729, 3751; Canto X: 3967, 4173; Canto XI: 4398, 4427; Canto XII: 4523.
‘Prince Athanase a Fragment.’ 14.
‘Rosalind and Helen a Modern Eclogue.’ 231, 300, 318, 339, 445, 472, 505, 546, 823, 1298, 1311.
‘Julian and Maddalo a Conversation.’ 369, 386, 389, 506.
‘Prometheus Unbound a Lyrical Drama in Four Acts.’ Act I:i.197, 496, 638-9, 686; Act II:i.172, iv.171; Act IV:i.4, 348, 551.
‘The Cenci a Tragedy in Five Acts.’ Act I:i.125, 139; Act II:i.157, ii.127, 149; Act III:i.347; Act IV:i.18, 48, 54, iii.15; Act V:i.104, iii.50, iv.114, 154.
‘The Mask of Anarchy written on the Occasion of the Massacre at Manchester.’ 210, 274n.
‘Peter Bell the Third By Miching Mallecho, Esq.’ 24; Part III: 216; Part VI: 613, 615; Part VIII: 762.
‘Letter to Maria Gisborne.’ 211, 293.
'Oedipus Tyrannus or Swellfoot the Tyrant. A Tragedy in Two Acts.' Act II, ii, 57.
'Epipsychidion verses addressed to the noble and unfortunate lady, Emilia V—, now imprisoned in the Convent of —.' 69, 123, 230, 352, 366, 522, 598.
'Passages of the Poem, or connected therewith.' 71, 152.
'Hellas a Lyrical Drama.' 312, 782, 810, 862, 909, 994.
'Charles the First.' Scene II: 405; Scene IV: 2.
'The Triumph of Life.' 56, 90, 242.
'Stanzas. — April, 1814. Away! the moor is dark beneath the moon.' 21.
'On Death. The pale, the cold, and the moony smile.' epigraph, 19, 28.
'A Summer Evening Churchyard Lechlade, Gloucestershire.' 28.
'Feelings of a Republican on the Fall of Bonaparte.' 3.
'The Sunset.' 42.
'To William Shelley.' V: 39.
'Hymn to Intellectual Beauty.' 47, 65.
'A Fragment to Music.' 3.
'To the Lord Chancellor.' 14, 40, 63.
'Lines. That time is dead for ever, child!' 12.
'Death.' 2, 8, 16.
'The Past.' 9.
'Lines written among the Euganean Hills. October, 1818.' 26, 187, 259.
'Invocation to Misery.' 42.
'The Woodman and the Nightingale.' 24.
'Marenghi.' 98.
'Lines written during the Castlereagh Administration.' 1, 15.
'Song to the Men of England.' 6, 30.
'Fragment: To the people of England.' 7.
'A New National Anthem.' 2.
'An Ode Written October, 1819, before the Spaniards had Recovered their Liberty.' 12.
'Ode to Heaven.' 32.
'Ode to the West Wind.' 8.
'To William Shelley.' 5, 14.
'Fragment: The Sepulchre of Memory.' 1.
'The Sensitive Plant.' Part II: 53.
'A Vision of the Sea.' 9, 56, 150.
'The Cloud.' 83.
'Ode to Liberty.' 144, 157, 196, 242.
'Ode to Naples.' Epode II: 38, 163.
'Autumn: A Dirge.' 22.
'The Tower of Famine.' 2.
'Sonnet. Ye hasten to the grave! What seek ye there.' 1, 14.
'Fragment of a Satire on Satire.' 4.
'Fiordispina.' 65.
'Dirge for the Year.' 20.
'Remembrance.' 21.
'Ginevra.' 64.
'Dirge on Keats who desired that on his tomb should be inscribed —.'
'Fragment: Life rounded with sleep.' 2.
'To Jane: The Invitation.' 37.
'With a Guitar, to Jane.' 39.
'Epitaph. These two friends whose lives were undivided.' 3.
'Spirit of Plato from the Greek.' 1.
'Scenes from the Magico Prodigioso from the Spanish of Calderon.' Scene I: 15; Scene II: 70.
'Scenes from the Faust of Goethe.' Scene II: 124, 279.
'Queen Mab. A Philosophical Poem, with notes.' I: 273, III: 161, 164; IV: 32, 70, 179n, 260, 264; V: 2, 250; VI: 61, 140, 151, 180; VII: 67n, 88, 136n, 145, 183, 202; VIII: 212.
'A Dialogue.' 2.
'To Death.' 12.
'Song Cold, cold is the blast when December is howling.' 4, 32, 39.
'Song Hope.' 23.
'Song. Fierce roars the midnight storm.' 21-3.
'Saint Edmond's Eve.' 11, 67, 75-7, 86, 96, 120.
'Revenge.' 7, 10, 22-4, 23, 61.
'Ghasta or, The Avenging Demon!!' 79, 182.
'Sister Rosa: A Ballad.' 56, 64, 72, 95.
'Bereavement.' 9.
'Fragment. Yes! all is past — swift time has fled away.' 24.
'Melody to a scene of former times.' 36.
'Love.' 10.
'To the Republicans of North America.' 7.
'On Robert Emmet's Grave.' 1.
'The Retrospect: Owln Elan, 1812.' 50, 75.
'Sonnet. To a balloon laden with knowledge.' 8.
'Sonnet. Ye hasten to the grave! What seek ye there.'
'To an icicle that clung to the Grass of a Grave.' 35.
'The Devil's Walk. A Ballad.' 63.

(1887)
'The Wandering Jew.' Canto I: 293, 309; Canto II: 519; Canto III: 575, 608, 767, 858, 957;
Canto IV: 1135, 1167, 1419-20, 1433.

Horatio [or Horace] SMITH 1779-1849.

(1813)
'Ode. The Straw Bonnet.' 4.
'Ode. Ah me! on his wide-waving pinions.' 18, 36.
'Ode. Penny wise and pound foolish.' 23.
'Ode. The Unanswerable Query.' 44.

(1846)
'Prefatory Stanzas.' 17, 41.
'Address to a Mummy.' 57, 61.
'Address to the Orange-tree at Versailles, Called the Great Bourbon, which is above four hundred years old.' 31-4.
'The Birth of the Invisible.' 99.
'The Murderer's Confession.' 89, 135.
'The Contrast.' 18.
'The Bard's Song to his Daughter.' 12, 23.
'The flower that feels not Spring.' 17, 34, 41.
'Moral Alchemy.' 27, 29.
'The Sun's Eclipse. — July 8th, 1842.' 24.
'Lachrymose Writers.' 26.
'Why are they shut?' 52.
'Campbell's Funeral.' 12, 19, 25, 35, 42, 52.
'The Life and Death.' 70.
'To a log of wood upon the fire.' 46.
'Death.' 39.
'The Song-Vision.' 13, 17.
'To a Lady.' 25.
'Music.' 1.
'The Dying Poet's Farewell.' 42.
'To the Setting Sun.' 13.
'On a Green-house.' 13.
'The Astronomical Alderman.' 25.
'York Kidney Potatoes.' 41.
'Elegy.' 23, 35.
'Poetical Epistle, From Amos Stokes, Esq., of Nashville, United States, to Washington Nokes, Esq., of Liverpool, commencing the Account of a very remarkable Aerial Voyage made in the grand Kentucky Balloon.' 98, 113, 143.
'Charade.' 16
'The Vision of the Maid of Orleans.' 433ff.
James SMITH 1775-1839.

(1840)
'The Cave of Trophonius.' 42.
'Sonnets In imitation of Shakspeare.' 18.
'Heraldry.' 9.

Robert SOUTHEY 1774-1843.

(1845)

(1838)
'Fragmentary thoughts occasioned by his son's death.' 16.
'Little Book, in green and gold.' 54.
'Joan of Arc.' Book 1: 327, 329, 440; Book 2: 61, 239, 293, 303; Book 3: 168, 286, 294, 307-8, 551, 553; Book 4: 124, 131, 134; Book 5: 232; Book 6: 82; Book 7: 230, 590; Book 8: 219; Book 9: 27, 34, 133, 190, 355; Book 10: 611.
'Wot Tyler; A Drama.' 224.
'Sonnet. Why dost thou beat thy breast and rend thine hair.' 11.
'Sonnet. High in the air exposed the slave is hung.' 9.
'Verseyes spoken in the Theatre at Oxford, upon the installation of Lord Grenville.' 7, 90.
'Humphrey and William.' 63-4.
'Frederic.' 19.
'Lucretia.' 43.
'The Old Mansion-house.' 120.
'The Grandmother's Tale.' 8.
'Introduction.' 44.
'La Caba.' 39
'To Contemplation.' 40.
'The Chapel Bell.' 35.
'Written on the First of December.' 38, 42.
'Written on the First of January.' 56.
'The Destruction of Jerusalem.' 36.
'The Death of Wallace.' 38.
'The Dead Friend.' 1: 1, 11, 15; 4: 43.
'Song of the Araucans during a thunder storm.' 28.
'Song of the Chikkasah Widow.' 39, 42.
'The Pauper's Funeral.' 8, 25.
'The Soldier's Funeral.' 17.
'Autumn.' 26.
'Written immediately after reading the speech of Robert Emmet, on his trial and conviction for
high treason, Sept. 1803.' 1, 4n, 40.
'Hymn to the Penates.' 263.
'The Old Mansion-house.' 33, 77-9.
'Hannah.' 5, 54-5.
'The Witch.' 114.
'The Ruined Cottage.' 107.
'The Last of the Family.' 7, 16, 98.
'The Alderman's Funeral (Bristol, 1803.)' 23.
'The Filbert.' 19.
'For a Column at Truxillo.' 10.
'Epitaph. He who in this unconsecrated ground.' 2.
'To the Memory of Paul Barrard, mortally wounded in the Battle of Coruña.' 61.
'To the Memory of Sir William Myers.' 2, 35.
'For the Walls of Ciudad Rodrigo.' 33-6.
'To the Memory of Major General MacKinnon.' 50.
'Written in an unpublished volume of letters and miscellaneous papers, by Barré Charles
Roberts.' 2, 39, 50.
'Epitaph. Some there will be to whom, as here they read.' 28.
'Epitaph in Butleigh Church.' 55.
'Ode to His Royal Highness the Prince Regent of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland.' 127, 131.
'Ode. The Battle of Algiers.' 21, 24.
'Ode on the Death of Queen Charlotte.' 51.
'Ode written after the King's visit to Ireland.' 162.
'Ode on the portrait of Bishop Heber.' 63.
'Madoc.' Part 1: 546, 1257, 1352, 1551, 1657, 1660, 1819, 1833, 2099, 2134, 2142, 2530, 2609, 2622, 2880, 3216, 3238, 3255, 3462; Part 2: 165, 679, 700, 706, 951-2, 967-9, 1508, 2238, 3252, 4069-70, 4569, 5088, 5273.
'Jasper.' 99.
'The Cross Roads.' 60, 65.
'King Charlemain.' 50.
'St. Romauld.' 55.
'Garci Ferrandez.' Part I: 45; Part II: 6.
'The Old Woman of Berkeley, A Ballad, shewing how an Old Woman rode double, and who rode before her.' 33, 36, 65.
'The Surgeon's Warning.' 36, 39, 68.
'Henry the Hermit.' 19.
'The March to Moscow.' 136.
'Queen Mary's Christening.' 179.
'To Edith May Southey.' 85, 91, 110.
'A Youth hath enter'd the Sorcerer's Door.' 108, 122, 132, 171, 463, 809, 1342.
'The Curse of Kehama.' I: 47; IV: 74; XI: 78; XIV: 191; XV: 10, 15; XVI: 172; XXIV: 74, 164.
'The Poet's Pilgrimage to Waterloo.' Part I: 105, 396, 412, 573, 582, 589, 600, 618, 658, 661, 857; Part II: 3, 16, 61, 234, 653.
'Carmen Nuptiale. The Lay of the Laureate.' 101.
'Funeral song, for the Princess Charlotte of Wales.' 15, 23, 89, 112.
'The Trance.' 51.
'The Vault.' 45.
'The Accusers.' 62.
'The Young Spirits.' 28, 58.
'The Meeting.' 25.

(1829)
'Sonnet. What though no sculptured monument proclaim.' 10.
'Sonnet. The Faded Flower.' 11.
'Sonnet. To Reflection.' 14.
'The Mad Woman.' 7, 12, 28, 52.
'To Urban.' 56.
'Hospitality.' 16.
'To Lycon.' 45, 66.
'Rosamund to Henry. Written after she had taken the veil.' 30, 188, 206, 240, 242, 245.
'The Death of Odin.' 81, 84.
'Old Christoval's advice, and the reason why he gave it.' 25.

(1847)
'Robin Hood.' Part I: 85, 163; Part II: 122, 174, 213.
'The Three Sisters.' 49, 86, 98.
'To a Centagenarian on her Hundredth Birthday.' 25.
'To a Widowed Friend.' 25.
'On, on upon our mortal course we go.' 3.
'The Emigrant's Grave.'
William Robert SPENCER 1769-1834.

(1835)
'Chorus from the Iphigenia in auulis of Euripides. Written at Harrow School, in the Year 1784.' 64, 68.
'Beth Gelêrt, or the Grave of the Greyhound.' headnote, 81, 96.
'Prologue to "The Grave." A Comedy.' 40.
'To a Butterfly, at the end of Winter.' 16.
'The Emigrant's Grave.' 2-3, 32.
'To the Hon. Miss Crewe (now Mrs. Cunliffe), with the Emigrant's Grave.' 8.
'To the Viscountess Hinchinbrook. (lately married)' 28.
'To the Memory of Edward Doney, a native of Africa, for more than thirty years a faithful servant in the family he lived with.' 8.

Robert STORY 1795-1860.

(1826)
'The Young Poet dying at a distance from home.' 21, 26, 42.
'The Royal Minstrel.' 32.
'On the Death of Miss ---.' 32.
'On the Death of a Young Lady.' 28, 31, 47.

(1816)
'Harvest.' Canto II: 395, 500.

(1861)
'Burns' Centenary Festival, An Ode.' 94.

(1829)
'Anna's Grave.' 7, 31.
'Sleep, my Mary.'
'To Dream of the Dead.'
'Peter King. A Legend of Craven.' 60, 84.

(1857)
'The Flower of Malhamdale.' 32.
'Where, Loved One! is thy dwelling now?' 28, 31, 47.
'Mary Lee.' 6.
'Edward Stanley.' 71, 191, 197, 201, 207.
'Fitz-Hartil.' 179.
'Long within the Danish Camp.' 32.
'The Mood is on my Soul.' 57.
'The Fountain, An Allegory.' 66, 341.
'Twenty Years Parted.' headnote, 11.
'Again the Sweetest Season.' 44.
'The Music of another Spring.' 11.
'I saw her in the Violet time.' 14.
'Though almost Twenty years.' 32-3.
'The Union Workhouse.' 56.
'Dear Hudson.' 11.
'Mute is the Lyre of Ebor.' 4, 46.
'My William. 1846.' 6, 15.
'Sleep, my Mary.' 14.
'At Parker's Tomb.' 1.
'Guthrum the Dane: A Tale of the Heptarchy.' Canto III: 54, 215-6, 223, 336; Canto IV: 130; Canto V: 54, 621, 637, 644n, 652.

(1849)
'Our British hearts are loyal still.' 12.
'O Weep ye for Erin!' 16.
'They've built a house.' 56.
'Beaumont Side.' 35, 38.
'Wethercote Cave.' headnote, 14.
'The Confession.' 209, 404.

(1854)
'The Third Napoleon.' 104.

Charles STRONG 1785-1864.

(1862)
'Passing th' enclosure where the dead repose.' 4.
'Chief splendour of the azure-vaulted sky.' 12.
'Past the grey tombs what space an arrow flies.' 1.
'To the Memory of Susan, Viscountess Ebrington.' 7.
'Raise, raise, dear gentle Flower, thy drooping head.' 14.
'Well I remember, on my youthful ear.' 12.
'In memory of the Honourable John St. Clair, A. B., who died in 1842, aged 21, at Ch. Ch., Oxford, and lies buried in the Cathedral.' 12.
'The Prince of Wales at the Tomb of Washington.'

Thomas Noon TALFOURD 1795-1854.

(1852)
'Lines written at the Needles Hotel, Alum Bay, Isle of Wight after a week spent at that place.' 115.

[(1811)]
'On the Education of the poor.' 110, 132, 137, 150, 158, 224-5.
'On a Tear.' 30-2.
'On the Death of a Poor, but Excellent Man.' 38.
'Prologue to Cato.' 51, 69.
'Natural Religion Universal.' 118, 136, 142, 145, 148, 170.
'Indian Tale.' 48, 72, 194, 290, 299.
'On the Tomb of an Infant.' 29, 38, 58.
'Verses to the memory of a child, who, named after Charles Lamb, died a year after him, at Brighton.'

Robert TANNAHILL 1774-1810.

(1911)
'The Defeat of the French.' 31.
'The Soldier's Funeral.' 20.
'The Lament of Wallace after the Battle of Falkirk.' 10.
'The Soldier's Widow.' 13.
'The Worn Soldier.' 16.
'Barochan Jean.' 30.
'Faithful Ellen More.' 28.
'Wi' waefu' heart.' 20-1.
'Lone silent grave.' 8, 16, 20, 24.
'Despairing Mary.' 7.
'The Dirge of Carolan.' 4, 18-20.
'Ode. Burns Anniversary Meeting. Written for, and Performed at the Celebration of, Robert Burns' Birthday, Paisley, 1807.' 44.
'Dirge. Written on reading an account of Robert Burns' Funeral.' 16.
'Epistle to James Scadlock. On receiving from him a small MS. volume of original Scottish poems.' 52.
'Epistle to Alexander Borland.' 62.
'The Resolve.' 22.
'The Old Beggar.' 36, 51.
'The Filial Vow.' 12.
'A Resolve. Written on hearing a fellow tell some stores to the hurt of his best friends.' 1.
'On a Crabbed Old Maid.' 4.

Ann TAYLOR 1782-1866.

(1875)
'The Churchyard.' 32, 35.
'Old Age.' 16.
'The Palace and Cottage.' 51, 65.
'Crazy Robert.' 18.
'Night.' 40, 43.
'The Poor Old Man.' 26.
'The Orphan.' 5.

(1810)
'The Cook Cooked.' 16.

William TENNANT 1784-1848.

(1838)
'Anster Fair.' Canto VI: 584, 592.
'Ode to peace. 1814.' 33.
'Epitaph on David Barclay, Church-warden in Anstruther Easter.' 6, 8.

(1816)
'The Dominie's Disaster, A True Tale.' 2-3.

(1814)
'Elegy on Trotting Nanny.' 218, 225.

(1827)
'Papistry storm'd; or, the dingin' down o' the Cathedral.' II: 996; V: 3315, 3503; VI: 3708, 4195.

(1822)
'The Thane of Fife.' Canto I: 725, 728; Canto III: 176; Canto IV: 157, 198, 368; Canto V: 40; Canto VI: 40.

John THELWALL 1764-1834.

(1806)
'Monody on the Right Hon. Charles James Fox.' 2, 66.

(1793)
'And hence, my Stella! from thy feeling breast.' 27.
'O Grief! how oft thy wizard-touch, malign.' 6, 20.
'Nor here forgets (as cheerful we aspire.' 78.
'For here, while Phoebus sheds the radiant beam.' 44, 56.
'Let raging tyrants, with malignant pride.' 38.
'Ahn! witness thou, o'er whose untimely bier.' 4.

(1787)
'The Hermit of the Ruined Palace.' 278.
'The Seducer; or, Damon and Amanda; A Poem, In Five Cantos; With a Prefatory Essay on the Crime and Consequences of Seduction.' Canto 3: 170; Canto 4: 163; Canto V: 76.
'A Dramatic Poem, founded on facts, recorded in the Reports of the Humane Society.' Act I. iii.83, iv.90; Act IV.i.38; Act V.iii.92.
'Elegy. Twelfth Day.' 18.
'Elegy. The Departed Friend.' 124.
'Eclogue. The Weeping Lyre.' 191.
'Song. The Best Air.' 24.

(1795)
'Ode. Why toils my friend, to train the docile mind.' 39.

((1805?a))
'Elegy, written in 1786, at a time when the subject of Imprisonment for Debt was much discussed.' 56.
'Stanzas. On a clay candlestick, given to the Author by an esteemed and valuable friend.' 28.
'The Orphan Boy.' 73.
'Effusion I. Llys-Wen, Feb. 1800.' 47, 81, 91.
'Effusion IV. During a severe Indisposition. May 18, 1800.'
'Effusion V. In the Vale of Taff. June, 1800.' 21.
'Effusion VI. On returning from a Journey to Merthyr Tydfil. June, 1800.' 38.
'Effusion VII. At Merthyr Tydfil. June, 1800.' 10.
'Effusion IX. After having spent a Part of the preceding Day in cheerful Society. Llys-Wen. Sept. 14, 1800.'
'Effusion X. Cerrig-Enion: (Enion's Tomb) on Pen-Heol-Enion, in Brecknockshire. August, 1800.' 1, 27, 40.

(1805b)
'The Trident of Albion: An Epic Effusion; Sacred to the Glorious Cause of National Independence.' 59, 224.

William THOM 1789-1848.

(1880)
'Lines occasioned by the sudden death of Count John Leslie of Bariquhain and Fetterneir.' headnote.
'Whisperings for the Unwashed.' 46.
'The Maniac Mother's Dream.' 9, 14n.
'Old Father Frost and his Family.' 38.
'Jeanie's Grave.' 12, 16.
'My Heath Land.' 15.
'To my son Willie.' 12.
'The Monitor's Song.' 10.


(1830a)
'The March of intellect, A Comic Poem.' 228.

(1830b)
'Old Booty, or the Devil and the Baker.' 8.

((1850))
'Books and Bipeds!' 48.
'Mr. and Mrs. Railton. A Comic Conjugal Duet.' 9.
Edward THURLOW, 2nd Baron Thurlow 1781-1829.

(1814)
'Song. The clouds gather fast, and the oak-forests roar.' 10.
'Stanzas to the shade of ----.' 11.
'A Lament. Fair flower! fair flower!' 20.
'Love's Mutability!' 11, 15.
'Eleanor Grey. Ballad.' 3.
'Pity's Pearl.' 7.
'Woman's first love!' 9.
'Lines. Love aim'd his arrows at my heart.' 11.
'Despondency.' 13, 18.
'The Spaniard to his Country.' 8, 23.

Mary TIGHE 1772-1810.

(1811)
'Song, To the River Avon.' 14.
'An Epigram of Antipater of Sidon Upon Anacreon.' 2.
'Sonnet. This forest is to me the sweetest college.' 13.
'Ode. Teach me no laws, or laws like these.' 17.

William Sidney WALKER 1795-1846.

(1816)
'The Appeal of Poland. An Ode.' 45.

William WATT 1793-1859.

(1860)
'The Rose of Sharon.' 135, 163.
'All Must Die.' 52.
’The Vision of Mopus.’ IV: 124; VIII: 210; XII: 353, 373.
’The Missionary’s Death.’ 98, 102.
’The Rebel’s Lament.’ 22.
’A Sabbath Morning Reflection.’ 47, 72.
’The Infanticide.’ 175, 200.
’An Elegy On the Death of the Kilbride Beadle, Charles Mair.’ 73.
’The Misanthropos.’ 44.
’Britannia in Lacrymis.’ 8.
’Vice’s Entreaty.’ 8.
’The Convert’s Hymn.’ 31, 40, 42.
’To Vice.’ 24.
’The Bard’s Address to his Flute.’ 26.
’Stanzas composed on reading the account of the Execution of Marshal Ney.’ 16, 23.
’Solitude.’ 39.
’Elegy on the Death of his Majesty George the Third.’ 45.
’Address to Line Water.’ 60.
’An Address to the Kirkton Pharisees.’ 74.
’Stanzas on reading in the Glasgow Herald the account of laying the foundation stone of a monument in memory of Robert Burns.’ 10.

Alaric Alexander WATTS 1797-1864.

(1851)
’May-flowers found after the lapse of years in a volume of “Burns”.’ 32.
’Greece. Written in Doctor C. Wordsworth’s “Greece”.’ 13.
’To Caroline Bowles, Now Mrs. Southey.’ 23.
’Hymn of Triumph over Babylon.’ 49, 74-5.
’Consolation.’ epigraph, 4.
’A Woman’s Farewell. Adapted to an air by Mozart.’ 23.
’My Native Vale.’ 68.
’The Grey Hair.’ 30.
’The Death of Pompey the Great.’ 25.
’Napoleon’s Dream.’ 64, 76, 87, 92.
’The Love of Poetry not Extinct. On hearing it asserted that the age of poetry, like that of chivalry, was gone.’ 37.
’Envoy.’ 165, 187.

(1828)
’The Broken Heart. A Sketch.’ 13, 117, 156, 214.
’Years of anguish and gloom have gone by.’ 42.
’Posthumous Fame. Written after perusing a paragraph respecting the monument recently erected to the memory of Burns.’ 15.
’My race is almost run.’ 24.

Charles Jeremiah WELLS 1800-1879.

(1895)
’A Dramatic Scene.’ 127, 476.

Henry Kirke WHITE 1785-1806.

((1830))
’Time. A Poem.’ 111, 137, 214, 568, 592, 599.
’Childhood. A Poem.’ Part I: 4, 89; Part II: 18, 21, 94, 223.
’Lines written on a survey of the Heavens, in the morning before daybreak.’ 60.
‘Lines supposed to be spoken by a lover at the grave of his mistress. Occasioned by a situation in a romance.’ 1, 42.
‘Lines. Go to the raging sea, and say, “Be still!” ’ 33.
‘Written in the prospect of Death.’ 12, 46.
‘Elegy occasioned by the death of Mr. Gill, who was drowned in the River Trent, while bathing, 9th August, 1802.’ 8.
‘Inscription for a monument to the memory of Cowper.’ 12, 21.
‘Fanny! upon thy breast I may not lie!’ 10, 15.
‘Thanatos.’ 27.
‘To Midnight.’ 18.
‘To Contemplation.’ 109, 139.
‘Genius.’ 52, 81.
‘To the Muse. Written at the Age of Fourteen.’ 13.
‘To the Herb Rosemary.’ 12, 28.
‘To the Morning. Written during Illness.’ 68.
‘On the Death of Dermody the Poet.’ 46.
‘Give me a cottage on some Cambrian wild.’ 14.
‘Supposed to have been addressed by a female lunatic to a lady.’ 14.
‘Written at the Grave of a Friend.’ 8.
‘To a Taper.’ 12.
‘To my Mother.’ 8.
‘Yes, ’twill be over soon. — This sickly dream.’ 12.
‘Gondolline. A Ballad, in the style of the Ancient Reliques.’ 120.
‘The Lullaby of a Female Convict to her Child, the Night previous to Execution.’ 12.

Thomas WHITEHEAD.

(1817)
‘Elegy on the Death of Her Royal Highness the Princess Charlotte Augusta.’ pp. 6, 11.

Jeremiah Holmes WIFFEN 1792-1836.

(1819)
‘Aspley Wood.’ Canto I: 180, 894; Canto II: 80, 144, 510, 733, 863, 904.
‘Lines on Howard.’ 171.

(1820)

(1813)
‘Henry’s Harp: A Tribute to the Memory of Henry Kirke White.’ 12.
‘Epitaph. If we should weep when Death destroys.’ 4.
‘Imitated from Ossian.’ 40.
‘Ode to the memory of Collins.’ 81.
The Bard of Yarrow; A tribute to the memory of William Hamilton, Author of the beautiful Song, after the ancient Scottish manner, entitled "The Braes of Yarrow." 25, 30-2.

Lines, Addressed to — 24.

Contemplative Stanzas.' 42.

Epitaph. If youthful grace, if filial duty e'er.' 4.

'To my Lyre.' 30.

'Horace, Book II. Ode III. To Delius.' 36.

'Ode from Ossian.' 24.

'To Mary.' 42-4.

'The Harp of Love.' 12.

John WILSON [Christopher North] 1785-1854.

(1858)


'The Convict.' Part I: i. 97, 179; ii. 140, 183; Part II: ii. 33, 128, 132, 149.

'The Scholar's Funeral.' 52, 72, 109, 118, 153, 243, 261, 279, 282, 371.

'To a Sleeping Child.' 9.

'Address to a wild deer in the Forest of Dalness, Argyllshire.' 55, 36, 55.

'The Widow.' 36, 55.

'Hymn to Spring.' 182.

'Elegy on the death of an infant.' 44, 47.

'LINES. Sacred to the Memory of the Rev. James Grahame, author "The Sabbath," etc.' 3-4, 36-7, 75, 115, 121, 173, 221.

'Troubley Chapel.' 65, 72.

'LINES. To Grahame)

'A Churchyard Dream.' 18, 32, 37, 41, 48, 53.

'A Churchyard Scene.' 3, 28, 47.


'An Evening in Furness Abbey.' 127, 155, 849, 868, 932, 964, 1028-9, 1050-2, 1060, 1119, 1126-7, 1189, 1216, 1251.


'Elderline's Dream.' Canto First: 6, 16, 322.

'The Voice of Departed Friendship.' 8-10, 18.

'Lord Ronald's Child.' 133.

'The Fairies. A Dream-like Remembrance of a Dream.' 151.

'The Hermitage.' 25, 118, 122.

'LINES written on the Memoirs of Miss Elisabeth Smith.' 2, 6, 21, 40, 50, 102, 118, 133, 174-6, 184.


'LINES written in a burial-ground on the Northern Coast of the Highlands.' 4, 18, 23, 31, 42, 51.

'Waking Dreams. A Fragment.' 25.

'The French Exile.' 131.

'My Cottage.' 148.

'Lines written on the banks of Windermere, on recovery from a dangerous illness.' 9.

'Mary.' 16, 24-6, 33.

'Solitude.' 2.


'The Desolate Village. Third Dream. The Departure.' 1, 17-8, 24, 44, 82.
'Lines written on Oak Island, Killarney.' 6-7.
'The Fallen Oak, a Vision.' 17.
'Nature Outraged.' 157.
'Melrose Abbey.' 30, 103.

Charles WOLFE 1791-1823.

(1903)
'Song. If I had thought thou could'st have died.' 23.
'The Frailty of Beauty.' 40.
'The Contrast. Lines written while standing under Windsor Terrace.' 9, 14.
'On hearing "The Last Rose of Summer".' headnote, 14.
'Battle of Busaco; Deliverance of Portugal.' 127, 134.
'The Raising of Lazarus.' 18.
'Prize Poem. On the Death of Abel.' 139, 159.

William WORDSWORTH 1770-1850.

(1798)
'The Female Vagrant.' 88, 177.
'We Are Seven.' 37, 55.
'Lines written near Richmond, upon the Thames, at Evening.' 12.

(1849-50)
'Lines written while sailing in a boat at evening.' 12.
'Descriptive Sketches taken during a pedestrian tour among the Alps.' 200n, 527, 551.
'Guilt and Sorrow; or, Incidents upon Salisbury Plain.' 268.
'The Borderers. A Tragedy.' Act I: 16-20, 144, 181; Act II: 19, 142; Act III: 24-26; Act IV: 13, 262; Act V: 103.
'The Poet's Dream. Sequel to the Norman Boy.' 24.
'She dwelt among the untrodden ways.' 11.
'Tis said, that some have died for love.' 2, 11.
'The Affliction of Margaret ---.' 4.
'Maternal Grief.' 68.
'The Childless Father.' 10n.
'Michael. A Pastoral Poem.' 90, 232, 417.
'The Widow on Windermere.' 36.
'It was an April morning, fresh and clear.' 45.
'A Morning Exercise.' 18.
'To a Sexton.' 32.
'The Wagoner.' Canto 1: 13; Canto 3: 28.
'There was a Boy.' 34.
'Star-Gazers.' 26.
'The Thorn.' 52-5, 61, 93, 158, 169, 219, 241.
'Yes, it was the mountain Echo.' 15.
'To a Young Lady, who had been reproached for taking long walks in the country.' 18.
'The Triad.' 211.
'Presentiments.' 66.
'On the Power of Sound.' 216.
'Epitaph in the Chapel-yard of Langdale, Westmoreland.' 20.
'Lines left upon a Seat in a Yew-tree, which stands near the lake of Esthwaite, on a desolate part of the shore, commanding a beautiful prospect.' 43.
'Yew-trees.'
'Three years she grew in sun and shower.'
'Ruth.'
'Hart-leap Well.' Part 2, 144, 172.
'Laodamia.' 58, 80, 170.
'To Enterprise.' II: 85.
'Surprised by joy — impatient as the Wind.' 3.
'Methought I saw the footsteps of a throne.' 14.
'Even so for me a Vision sanctified.'
'Mark the concertred hazels that enclose.' 7.
'Though the bold wings of Poesy affect.' 10.
'On the Death of His Majesty (George the Third).' 7.
'A Parsonage in Oxfordshire.' 10.
'A Gravestone upon the floor in the Cloisters of Worcester Cathedral.' 8.
'On a Portrait of the Duke of Wellington upon the Field of Waterloo,' by Haydon.' 10.
'In my mind's eye a Temple, like a cloud.' 11.
'Roman Antiquities Discovered at Bishopstone, Herefordshire.'
'Fillial Piety. (On the Wayside between Preston and Liverpool.)'
'At the Grave of Burns. 1803. Seven years after his death.' 30, 60.
'Thoughts suggested the day following, on the Banks of Nith, near the Poet's Residence.' 9.
'To the Sons of Burns, after visiting the Grave of their Father.' headnote, epigraph, 2, 47.
'Ellen Irwin; or, the Braes of Kirtle.' 46, 51-2.
'Glen-Almain; or, the Narrow Glen.' 28.
'Rob Roy's Grave.' headnote, 6, 100.
'Sonnet in the Pass of Killicranky, An invasion being expected, October 1803.' 14.
'Suggested by a beautiful ruin upon one of the islands of Loch Lomond, a place chosen for the
retreat of a solitary individual, from whom this habitation acquired the name of the Brownie's
Cell.' 19.
'Composed at Cora Linn, in sight of Wallace's Tower.' 42.
'Effusion, in the Pleasure-ground on the Banks of the Bran, near Dunkeld.' 49.
'Is there a power that can sustain and cheer.' 3.
'Ah! where is Palafax? Nor tongue nor pen.' 2.
'In due observance of an ancient rite.' 11.
'Feelings of a Noble Biscayan at one of those funerals. 1810.' 7.
'Feelings of a French Royalist, on the Disinterment of the Remains of the Duke D'Enghien.'
'Ode. Imagination — ne'er before content.' 81.
'The Italian itinerant, and the Swiss Gaathered.' Part II, 15.
'Occasioned by the Battle of Waterloo. (The last six lines intended for an Inscription.) February,
1816.'
'Brave Schill! by death delivered, take thy flight.'
'Ode. 1815. III. But if the valiant of this land.'
'After Visiting the Field of Waterloo.'
'Memorial, near the Outlet of the Lake of Thun.'
'The Column intended by Buonaparte for a Triumphal Edifice in Milan, now lying by the way-side
in the Simplon Pass.'
'Elegaic Stanzas.' 21, 46.
'Musings near Aquapendite. April, 1837.' 80, 84, 160, 169, 267.
'In Lombardy.' 12.
'Near the same lake [Thrasymene].' 3n.
'Pastoral Character.' 3n.
'The leaves that rustled on this oak-crowned hill.' 19.
'At Vallombrosa.'
'The Pillar of Trajan.'
'The Egyptian Maid; or, The Romance of the Water Lily.' 241.
'Return.'
'The Kirk of Ulpha to the pilgrim's eye.' 11.
'After-thought.' 12.
'A place of burial in the South of Scotland.' 2, 9.
'The Earl of Breadalbane's Ruined Mansion, and Family Burial-Place, near Killin. 1.
'The Highland Broach.' 32.
'No record tells of lance opposed to lance.'
'The White Doe of Rylstone; or, the Fate of the Norton.' Canto 1: 67, 141, 172, 221, 268;
Canto 3: 291; Canto 4: 160; Canto 6: 158, 162, 184; Canto 7: 8, 344-8.
'Saxon Monasteries, and lights and shades of religion.' 10.
'His Descendants [Alfred]. When thy great soul was freed from mortal chains.' 3.
'Crusades.' 14.
'An Interdict.' 10.
'Apology. Not utterly unworthy to endure.' 6.
'Baptism.' 11.
'Forms of Prayer at Sea.'
Funeral Service. 14.
To the Moon. 28, 64.
In sight of the town of Cockermouth. 3.
Address from the spirit of Cockermouth Castle. 10.
Stanzas suggested in a steam-boat off Saint Bees' Heads, on the coast of Cumberland. 107.
In the Channel, between the coast of Cumberland and the Isle of Man. 8.
Tynwald Hill. 8.
Written in a blank leaf of Macpherson's Ossian. 46.
A Poet's Epitaph. 12, 20, 60.
'Coldly we spake. The Saxons, overpowered.'
Wicliffe. Once more the Church is seized with sudden fear.'
Cranmer. Outstretching flame-ward his upbraided hand.'
Funeral Sermon. From the Baptismal hour, thro' weal and woe.'
Burial Ceremony. Closing the sacred Book which long has fed.'
Church to be erected. Be this the chosen site; the virgin sod.'
Continued. Mine ear has rung, my spirit sunk subdued.'
New Church-Yard. The encircling ground, in native turf arrayed.'
'There!' said a Stripling, pointing with meet pride.'
Monument of Mrs. Howard, (by Nollekens,) in Wetheral Church, near Corby, on the Banks of the Eden.'
'Strretched on the dying Mother's lap, lies dead.'
The Two April Mornings. 32-42, 57.
Tribute to the Memory of the Same Dog. [Music] 9.
Fidelity.'
The force of Prayer; or, the founding of Bolton Priory. 52.
'Humanity.' 77.
'To May.' 56.
[In allusion to various recent histories and notices of the French Revolution] Concluded. 9.
'Tenderly do we feel by Nature's law.' 13.
The Prioress' Tale. 230.
The Farmer of Tilsbury Vale. 91.
'Perhaps some needful service of the State.' 18.
'Not without heavy grief of heart did He.' 4, 21.
'Pause, courteous Spirit! — Babli supplicates.' 7.
'Cancel.' 12.
Written at the Request of Sir George Beaumont, Bart., and in his name, for an Urn, placed by him at the Termination of a newly-planted avenue, in the Same Grounds.'
'Inscription. In these fair vales hath many a Tree.'
The massy Ways, carried across these heights.'
Inscribed upon a rock. Pause, Traveller! whoseo'er thou be.'
[Epitaphs translated from Chiabrera.] 'V. True is it that Ambrosio Salinero.'
'By a blest Husband guided, Mary came.'
'Address to the Scholars of the Village School of ----.' 72 and n.
'By the side of the grave some years after.'
'Elegiac Stanzas, suggested by a picture of Peele Castle, in a storm, painted by Sir George Beaumont.'
'To the Daisy. Sweet Flower! belike one day to have.' 2, 56, 70.
'Elegiac Verses, in memory of my brother, John Wordsworth, Commander of the E. I. Company's Ship the Earl of Abergavenny, in which he perished by Calamitous Shipwreck, Feb. 6th, 1805.'
'Invocation to the Earth. February, 1816.'
'Elegiac Stanzas. (Addressed to Sir G. H. B. upon the Death of his sister-in-law) 1824.' 43.
'Elegiac Musings in the Grounds of Coleorton Hall, the Seat of the Late Sir G. H. Beaumont, Bart.' 2, 55.
Written after the death of Charles Lamb. 20, 52.
'Intimations of Immortality from Recollections of Early Childhood. Ode.' 118.
'Extempore Effusion upon the Death of James Hogg.'
Inscription for a monument in Crosthwaite Church, in the Vale of Keswick.'
‘[From an Essay upon Epitaphs.] What needs my Shakspeare for his honoured bones.’ 10.

(1916)
‘George and Sarah Green.’ 4, 18, 24, 29.

(1850)

(1985)
‘The Pedlar.’ 311.
‘The Two-Part Prelude.’ I: 313, 353

Francis WRANGHAM 1769-1842.

(1795)
‘The Restoration of the Jews.’ 42.

(1813)

(1823)
‘Scarborough Castle.’ 34n, 75, 143.

(1816)
‘The Holy Land, a Seaton Prize Poem; 1800.’ 86, 122, 142, 151, 194, 279.
‘The Raising of Ja'irus’ daughter, a Poem; 1803.’ 1.
‘Joseph made known to his Brethren: A Seaton Prize Poem, 1812.’ 197.
‘Prologue on General Wolfe.’ 18.

([1805])
‘A Volunteer Song.’ 8, 21.
‘The Vision.’ 15.
Mid-Nineteenth Century 1835-1870.

Sarah Fuller [née Fower] ADAMS 1805-1848.

(1841)
"Vivia Perpetua." Act II.v.307; Act III.ii.120, 135, v.177; Act V.ii. 219, iii.43, 56, 64, 100.

Thomas AIRD 1802-1876.

(1878)
"The Last Day." 66.
"Songs of the Seasons." 83.
"The Holy Cottage." 54.
"The Devil's Dream on Mount Aksbeck." 83.
"Fancy." 77.
"Epitaph on Sinclair Mulholland for a ward of hospital."
"A Summer Day." 557, 579, 594, 601, 710.
"A Winter Day." 58.
"Our Young Painter." 30.
"Wash the Feet of Poor Old Age." 33.
"My Mother's Grave." 14, 35, 82.
"Nebuchadnezzar." Canto I: 116; Canto V: 6; Canto VIII: 4, 37.
"Frank Sylvan." Fitte II: 139, 224; Fitte III: 81.
"The Old Soldier." III: 281.
"Othuriel." Canto IV, 166ff.; Canto VI, 100.
"A Father's Curse: A Dream, in Four Visions." IV: 162.
"A Mother's Blessing: A Dramatic Poem." Act I.i.208, 282; Act II.v.41.
"The Demoniac." Chapter I: 87; Chapter III: 32-4; Chapter VII: 4, 6, 8, 24, 57.

William ALEXANDER 1824-1911.

(1900)
"The Sonnet, the Lady, and the Prince. A Vignette and Moral." 27.
"Death of Archbishop Malachy." 118.
"Funeral of Jacob." 17.
"Semadar." V: 89.
"The Chamber Peace." 55.
"The Waters of Babylon." 257.
"Revival of Memory." 14.

(1886)
"St. Augustine's Holiday. (August to December, A. D. 386)" 270, 308.
"Adrift on the Arctic Sea." 20.
"On reading some lines by William Archer Butler." 4, 25, 55.
"The Death of Jacob." 85, 245, 260, 270.
"Epitaph on Agnes Jones. Buried in Fahan Churchyard."
Henry ALFORD 1810-1871.

(1833)
‘Epicedia.’ I: 4; II: 23.
‘On seeing the following epitaph at Selworthy, West Somerset. (August 5, 1832)’ epigraph.
‘A Remembrance.’ 39, 73.
‘Ballad. The Baron is back from his hawking.’ 33.
‘Thou shalt lie in the grave: never of thee mention or memory.’ 1.
‘Introductory.’ 12.

(1868)
‘The School of the Heart.’ Lesson 3: 48; Lesson 5: 167-9, 246, 275, 299, 422; Lesson 6: 220.
‘The Ballad of Glastonbury. (1832)’ 87.
‘Hymn to the Sea. (1832)’ 7, 12.
‘Written in a copy of "The Revolt of Islam".’ 10.
‘A Village Tale. Related almost in the words of the narrator.’ 54, 66.
‘A Spring Scene.’ 60.
‘If thou wouldst find what holiest men have sought.’ 12.
‘The Death-Chamber.’ 3.
‘On the same occasion [Seeing our family vault].’ 3.
‘Easter-Eve, 1833.’ 1.
‘Stratford-upon-Avon (January 1837).’ 1.
‘Winter drear and chill, but withal merry and free.’ 12.
‘August 19, 1830.’ 28.
‘Portsmouth, 1830.’ 1.
‘Last Words. (1831)’ 7.
‘Faith. (1844)’ 2.
‘Henry Martyn at Shiraz. (1851)’ 6n, 20.
‘“Father, wake — the storm is loud”.’ 3.
‘An Easter Ode. (1838)’ 16, 21.
‘A Wish. (1838)’ 19.
‘Sacred to the Memory of Edward Spedding, who died September 3, 1832 (Written at Worthy Farm, near Porlock, Somerset).’

(1835)
‘Hymn for All Saints Day in the Morning.’ 19, 48.
‘The Epitaph of Bion.’ 42, 47.

William ALLINGHAM 1834-1889.

(1890a)
‘To a Primrose.’ 4.
‘I hear the hum of earth, alive and merry.’ 4.

(1912)

(1888)
‘Ivy.’ 8.
‘Spring is Come.’ 23.
‘Hymn. O how dimly walks the wisest.’ 2.
‘The Old Sexton.’ 18.
‘Æolian Harp. Is it all in vain.’ 5-6.
‘Under the Grass.’ 16.
‘Squire Curtis.’ 29, 32.
‘Sir Hugh de la Pole.’ 41.
‘Kostas: A Romaic Ballad.’ 29, 32-4, 42.
(1890b)

'Abbey Asaroe.' headnote, 29.
'A Boy's Burial.' headnote, 2, 16.
'The Girl's Lamentation.' 35.
'The Nobleman's Wedding.' 29.
'Familiar Epistle to a little Boy.' 41.

(1890c)

'Autumnal sunshine spread on Irish hills.' Chapter V: 444; Chapter VI: headnote, 187-8; Chapter VII: 29; Chapter VIII: 140, 277; Chapter X: 92.

(1889)

'Cartaphilus.' 13.
'W. W. (April 23rd, 1850). One April found a Youth on Mona's shore.' 19.
'Bridegroom's Park.' II: 197; IV: 478.
'Fireside Magic.' 54.
'A Week-day Hymn.' 40.

(1850)

'Graywackè's Tomb.' 2-4.
'Evening Shadows.' 4, 7, 13.
'On reading of the Funeral of the Poet Wordsworth.' 9.

(1890d)

'An Evil May-Day.' Part I: 56, 76.
'In Shadow.' 4, 7, 13.
'The Crucible.' III: 30; IV: 33.
'In Highgate Cemetery.' 12.
'The Funeral.' 2.
'Urn Burial.' 1.
'No funeral gloom, my dears, when I am gone.'
'A Dream.' 15.
'The Ruined Chapel.' 22.
'Learn to Live," "Remember Death".'
'These little Songs.' 20.

Matthew ARNOLD 1822-1888.

(1840)

'Alaric at Rome.' 8, 38, 49, 138, 182, 192.

(1885b)

'In harmony with nature. To a Preacher.' 10.
'The Church of Brou.' 70, 104-9, 124, 147, 158, 174.
'Youth and Calm.' 13-5.
'Stagirius.' 4, 12, 61.
'Requiescat.'
'A Question. To Fausta.' 7, 11.
'Sohrab and Rustum. An Episode.' 225, 323-4, 791, 794, 805, 821, 834.
'The Sick King in Bokhara.' 221, 228.
'Balder Dead.' 880, 1048, 1178.
'Tristram and Iseult.' 385, 465, 540.
'The Forsaken Merman.' 74.
'Immortality.' 10.
'The Good Shepherd with Kid.' 8, 12.
'Monica's Last Prayer.' 1.
'Empedocles on Etna. A Dramatic Poem.' Act II: 205.
'Westminster Abbey July 25, 1881.' 53-4, 124, 163.
'Geist's Grave.' 75.
'Poor Matthias.' 48, 82.
'Bacchanalia; or, The New Age.' 73, 83.
'The Youth of Nature.' 128.
'Lines written in Kensington Gardens.' 28.
'The Scholar-Gipsy.' 137-8.
'Memorial Verses — April, 1850.' 5, 71.
'Stanzas from Carnac.' 8, 48.
'A Southern Night.' 22, 60, 76, 113, 137.
'Haworth Churchyard. April, 1855.' 52, 65-6, 78, 89.
'Epiologue.' 9
'Wigby Chapel. November, 1857.' 83.
'Stanzas from the Grande Chartreuse.' 72, 151, 174, 201.
'Stanzas in memory of the author of Obermann.' headnote, 168, 180.
'Obermann once more. (Composed many years after the preceding.)' 148, 170, 175, 270.

(1898)
'Kaiser Dead. April 6, 1887.' 82.

William Edmondstoune AYTOUN 1813-1865.

((1849))
'The Alabama Duel.' 54.
'The Death of Duval. By W--- H--- A----th, Esq.' 84.

(1858)

(1863)
'Edinburgh after Flodden.' 173, 298, 401.
'The Execution of Montrose.' 136.
'The Heart of the Bruce.' 120.
'The Island of the Scots.' 100.
'Charles Edward at Versailles on the Anniversary of Culloden.' 120.
'Blind old Milton.' 98, 119.
'Hermotimus.' 84,
'The Buried Flower.' 172.

(1867)
'Nuptial Ode on the Marriage of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales.' 52, 125, 344.

(1832)
'Poland.' 53, 103, 240, 293, 416, 474-6, 489, 672, 747.
'Homer.' 278-80, 327, 408, 417, 426, 449.
'Sonnet. The Mausoleum.' 14.

Philip James BAILEY 1816-1902.

(1858)
'The Age; A Colloquial Satire.' 1260, 3821.
'War.' 14.
(1850)
'The Mystic: A Poem.' 928, 1264.
'A Spiritual Legend.' 851, 865, 1348, 1371, 1527, 1562.

William BARNES 1800-1886.

(1822)
'There are who scorn the Muse's soothing power.' 76.

(1868)
'The Stream Side.' 16, 24.
'My Fore-elders.' 12.
'Shellbrook.' 16.
'Mother of Mothers.' 11.
'The Window. Brother and Sister.' 22.

(1866)
'Readen ov a Head-stwone.'
'The Weepen Leady.'
'Meary-Ann's Child.'
'Eclogue. A Ghost. Jem an' Dick.'
'The Church an' happy Zunday.' 26.
'The Bells ov Aldernburnham.'

(1863)
'Ellen Brine ov Allenburn.'
'The Stwonen Bwoy upon the Pillar.'
'The Young that died in Beauty.' 33.
'Hallowed Pleaces.' 29.
'Dobbin Dead. Thomas (1) an' John (2).' 28.

(1862)
'The Echo.' 1, 21.
'Woak Hill.'
'The Child an' the Mowers.'
'Zunday.' 3-4.
'The Widow's House.' 19, 22.
'The Child's Greave.' 9-12, 15, 30.

(1848)
'Erwin and Linda. A Tale of Tales.' 66.
'The Bird-Boy's Dinner Token.' 39.
'Whitburn's Green and White.' 52.
'Sonnet. To Dead Friends.' 14.
'Sonnet. On seeing some very old family portraits in an ancient mansion.' 7.
'The Hines of Burnley.' 10.
(1820)
'Themselves Addressed to a Oak near my Father's Cottage.' 19.
'Danger.' 33.
'Faithful Isabel.' 20.

(1870)
'The View by the Trees.' 30.

---

Thomas Lovell BEDDOES 1803-1849.

(1851)
'The Second Brother; An Unfinished Drama.' Act l.i.11, 66, 171; Act II.i.58, 94, 118; Act III. ii.25; Act IV.i.24, 64, 74.
'Torridson; An Unfinished Drama.' Act I.i.43, iv.53, 70, 107, 158, 166, 207, 218.
'Erminia Abbandonata.' 107, 140, 163.
'An Apotheosis.' 15.
'Death's Jest-book; or the Fool's Tragedy.' Act I.i.76, 82, ii.192, 195, 203, 235, iv.29, 79, 89.
  Act II.i.71, II.214, 277, 337, iii.31, 51, 55-8, 73, 83, 85, 89, 147, 218; Act III.i.44-7, iii.13, 94, 105, 117, 136, 140, 233, 334, 381, 399, 440-2, 481, 496, 555, 562, 591, 644; Act IV.i.6, 50, ii.4, 28, 80, iii.108, 245, 252, 266, 341, 360, 384, iv.1; Act V.i.44, 48-50, iv.25, 227, 231-4, 240, 244, 270, 355.
'Sweet to Die.' 8.
'Life's Uncertainty.' 10, 13.
'Dream of Dying.' 6.
'A subterranean City.' 18.
'Man's anxious, but ineffectual, Guard against Death.' 10.
'A Night-Scene.' 13.
'Mourners Consoled.' 8.
'The Murderer's haunted Couch.' 3, 44, 49, 59.
'Affarabi; the World-Maker. A rhapsodical fragment.' 81.
'The Romance of the Lily.' 42, 150, 154, 274, 309, 314.
'Pygmalion.' 136, 158.
'Letter to B. W. Procter, Esq. From Oxford; May, 1825.' 13.
'The Boding Dreams.' 6.
'The Ghosts' Moonshine.' 21.
'From the German.' 3, 18, 21-3.
'The Phantom-Wooer.' 12
'A Dirge. (Written for a Drama)' 4.
'Dirge and Hymeneal: supposed to be sung as the Funeral and Wedding Processions cross each other at the church-door.' 4.
'Dial-Thoughts.' 28.
'Ballad of Human Life.' 25-8.
'The Lily of the Valley.' 26.
'Dirge. Let dew the flowers fill.' 3.
'Threnody.' 8.
'Doomsday.' 14, 44, 48, 54.
'The Brides' Tragedy.' Act I.i.43, iii.6, 116; Act II.i.121, iv.64, v.10, vi. [scene set at a suicide's grave]; Act III.i.57, iii.63, 97, 105, 152, 178; Act IV.i.63, 91, 96, iv.17, 132; Act V.i.62, iv.56, 85.

Charles Dent BELL 1818-1898.

(1894)
'Grasmere from Red Bank.' 31, 34.
'A Legend of the Lakes.' 136.
'Was Man Made for Naught?' 2, 24.
'Our Dead.' 5.
'“A world out of course”.' 20.
'A Christmas Lyric.' 14.
'The Twilight.' 2.
'Love's Questionings.' 4.
'Confession.' 6, 31, 54, 138, 266, 342.
'Longfellow. In Memoriam.' 3.
'An Artist. In a Sculptor's studio.' 216.
'The Locust-eaten Years.' 24.
'Lionel and Margaret.' Part II: 164, 351.
"And there was no more sea." (Rev. xxi. I.)' 13.

(1887)
'Egypt.' I: 6.
'At Bethel.' 25.
'The Lake of Gaillee.' 5.
'Palestine.' 30.

(1893)
'In the Escurial.' 74, 102, 106.
'The Old Home.' 4.
'Remorse.' 24.
'The Theban Plain.' 2.
'The Vocal Memnon.' '10.
'Dying Words.' 15 and n.
'A Summer Day at Ambleside.' 68, 76.
'Winter at Ambleside.' 42, 53, 67, 72, 76.
'Wilfred Ray.' 9, 473.
'Eileen.' 464, 477-9, 536, 577, 592.
'Lord Nann and the Fairy.' 58, 66-7.
'A Summer Evening in Brathay Churchyard.' 18, 46.
"I would not live alway."' 35.
'The Dream of Pilate's Wife.' 126.
'Merlin the Bard.' 46.
'A Story of the Crimean War.' 55, 104, 186, 251.
'Effie.' 42-4.
'A Village Lay.' 66, 95.
'What is your life?' 12.
'Sonnet. Hastings, dear Hastings, I do love thee well.' 14.
'The Marriage Zone.' 54.
'An Incident in the Austrian Camp.' 24, 39, 61.
'War Time.' 130.
'A Grave by the Sea.' 4, 9.
'The Night Charge at Kassassin.' 60.
'Ambleside Churchyard at Eastertide.' 5, 22, 30.
'Spring-time.' 33.
'Not for the dead.' 4.
'The Wigton Martyrs.' 52, 79, 120, 203.

(1884)
'Memory.' 16.
'Past and Future.' 28, 32.
'Deborah's Song.' 60.
'The Curse in the House.' 103, 184, 195.
'Good-bye.' 6.

(1881)
'Life's Contrasts.' 44, 124.
'King David.' 38.
'Ever with God.' 31.
'William D'Albiney. A Ballad.' 200, 231, 246.

(1877)
'Sonnet. St Mary's Churchyard, Ambleside.' 10, 14.
'Sonnet. The Same.' 11.
"Not unclothed, but clothed upon." 2, 31.
'Life or Death.' 16.
'The Well of Bethlehem.' 124, 190, 311.
'Naomi.' 17.
'Sonnet. The Same [Our Cathedrals].' 5.
'Sonnet. The Sybyll's Cave, Naples.' 13.
'Reollections of a Picture.' 62.

(1888)
'Tidwell.' 5, 10.
'Ramases II.' 7, 11.

William Cox BENNETT 1820-1895.

([1868])
'The Fall of Harald Hardrada. 1066.' 248.
'The Hunt of the Saxon Swine. 1068.' 30.
'The Burial of William the Conqueror (1087).’ 50-4, 57-60, 64-5.
‘Deus lo vult!’  ‘God wills it!’ The cry of the Crusades. 1095.’ 10.
'Queen Eleanor's Vengeance. 1180.' 236-7, 248-9, 257.
'The Raising of the Flag at Fort Sumter, April 12, 1865.' 42.
Our Glory Roll.' 307.

(1843)
'Napoleon at the Tomb of Frederick the Great (November 17th 1842).’ 3.
'Lines written after visiting the Library of the Greenwich Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge.' 15.
'Can he, the frail, weak, child of clay.—' 2, 24.

(1862)
'By a Grave in Lee Churchyard.' 22.
'My Native Town.' 60.
'To A. E. B. with an Album.' 26.
'And say you that my Spring has fled.' 21.
'Kitty Palmer.'  headnote, 2, 37, 79.
'Sketches from a Painter's Studio. A Tale of To-Day.' 67-8.
'A Dirge. Conclusion to "Sketches from a Painter's Studio".' 2-3, 18, 34, 56, 66, 72.
'A New Griselda.' 488, 613.
'A Character. In Two Scenes.' Scene II: 135.
'In Paris.' 90, 97.
'A Village Tale.' 69.
'The Triumph of Salamis.' 283.
'A Sailor's Song.' 34.
'Haydon's Napoleon at St. Helena.'
'The French Invasion.' 3, 9, 18.
'Pierre Jean de Béranger (July 18th 1857).’ 92.
Ellen, you're my rose.' 10.
'O Summer, paint me her sweet lips.' 18.
'Mary! Mary!' 3, 40.
'The Green Hills of Surrey. An Emigrant Song.' 50.
'Ballad. O that I were lying still in the grave cold and deep!’ 1, 27.
'The Glories of our Thames.' 42.
'Columbus.' 67.
'A Dirge. Hence afar, fond mirth, mad folly.' 8-10.
'Death's Lesson.' 10.
'The Alma.' 62.
'Cavour.' 83.
The Launch.' 18.
'At Clovelly.' 24, 28.

(1873)
'The Nile. August 1st, 1798.' 41, 70.
'Would you be a sailor's wife?' 34.
'Our Heroes of To-day.' 14.
'From 'Our Glory Roll.' 3.

Alexander BETHUNE 1804-1843.

(1845)
' 'A Mother's Love'. ' 30.

(1843)
'Verses occasioned by the death of an only brother.' 5, 60, 70.

(1838)
'The Voice of the Wind.' 76, 106.
'The Unmarried Widow.' epigraph, 60, 84.
'A Vision of Death.' Part I: 32; Part 3: 7, 14

John BETHUNE fl. 1830.

(1863)
'The Bethunes: or, The Fifeshire Foresters.' Part 5: 116; Part 9: 10; Part 12: 63, 47.

(1840)
'A Random Thought.' 1.
'Withered Flowers.' 53.
'The Land of Rest.' 100.
'The Resurrection of Christ.' 7, 17-20, 124.
'The Last Farewell.' 33.
'The Benevolence and Sufferings of the Saviour.' 16.
'The Dying Mother.' 56.
'The Orphan Wanderer; or, Kindness for Kindness.' Part I: 71; Part II: 61, 336, 427.
'The Soldier's Wife.' 115.
'The Early Dead.' 2.
'The Sixth Psalm.' 12.
'The Shout of Victory.' 31.
'Song to the Rising Sun.' 34.
'Cholera.' 4-6.
'warnings of Death in Everything.' 34, 38, 58.
'Poetical Preacher.—No. III.' 28.
Edward Henry BICKERSTETH 1825-1906.

(1872)
'Ode. At noon the sun was darken'd.' 13.

(1848)
'December.' 4.
'Stonehenge.' 14.
'Elegy to L. E. L.' 8.
'To Spring.' 12.
'Paraphrase. Remember, oh! my child, thy God.' 19.
'The Silent Lute.' 16.
'Song. List! to old Ocean's voice, oh list.' 27.
'The Poet's Wreath.' 21.
'The Knight and the Lady. A Romaunt.' 59, 107, 110.
'Stanzas. I sigh for the mountain—I sigh for the wild.' 32.
'Elegaic Stanzas on a departed parent.' 6, 24
'Yes, we will meet.' 11.
'Hampton Court.' 22, 38.

(1849)
'Plato. After reading Macaulay's comparison of Plato and Bacon.' 63.
'To Death.' 24.
'Conrad to Medora.' 8.
'Written on visiting Black Gang Chine, and hearing of the loss of a vessel in Chale Bay.' 20.
'Fragment. Our life is one long childhood—and each toy.' 12.
'La Giroflee.' 8.
'To ---.' 20.
'The Branch of the Almond Tree.' 15.
'To a Favourite Poet.' 12.
'To a Youth on the Death of his Mother.' 6.
'To the Memory of ---.' 10.
'To Oblivion.' 22.
'Farewell to the year which is past.' 12.
'Ceruline.' 405, 410, 417; Part II: 31, 418, 428, 440.
'The Protestant.' 27.

([c.1880])
'Litany to the Eternal Father.' 47.

(1872)
'The Things that Are.' 15.
'Samson.' 22, 415.
'Nineveh.' 31, 97, 118, 241, 446, 496.
'Der Ausruf.' 43.
'Ode on the Third Centenary of the Annual Commemoration in Trinity College.' 118, 147.
'Death and Victory.' 2, 12, 21-2.
'The Tower of London.' 56.
'Caubul.' 108, 135.
'Cæsar's Invasion of Britain.' 1.

(1861)
'The Branch and the Vine.' 8.

(1873)
John Stanyan BIGG  1828-1865.

(1854)
'Night and the Soul. A dramatic poem.' Scene I: 367, 397, 497; Scene II: 473; Scene V: 33; Scene VI: 33, 72, 204; Scene VIII: 13, 177; Scene IX: 183, 187, 216; Scene X: 195; Scene XI: 99, 143, 147, 451; Scene XII: 411, 420, 504, 590, 736.

(1848)

(1862)
'Little Jane.' 5.
'Shifting Scenes.' 934.
'The Two Graves.' 28-30, 67-9, 96-8, 155-7, 218-20, 278-82.
'The Same and not the same.' 111.
'Ode on the Birth of Burns.' 65.
'Zara.' 65.

John Stuart BLACKIE  1809-1895.

(1857)
'Introduction.' 92.
'Salamis.' 125.
'A Song of Loch Cander.' 7.
'Ode to Liberty.' 60.
'The Song of Meterodorus.' 14.

(1872)
'The Death of Columba.' 133.
'The Disappointed Tourist.' 2.
'A Psalm of Ben More.' 53.
'Stennis. II.' 14.
'Maeshow.' 32.
'Kinloch Leven.' 2.
'John O'Groat's House.' 127, 134.

(1860)
'Lines Written in Wigton Churchyard. (Wigton, 1859)' 5, 10, 46.
'The Bow Window.' 11.
'Onward and Upward.' 31.

(1886)
'The Emigrant Lassie.' 44.
'Song of a Good Eclectic.' 34.
'Alexander Peden.' headnote.
'Merlin and Kentigern. A Legend of Tweeddale.' 176.

(1869)
'Hail, Land of my Fathers.' 11.
'Students' May-Song.' 28.

(1890)
'Alexander.' 35.
'St. Paul.' 302.
'Cromwell.' 137.

(1876)
'Advent-Hymn.' 67.
'To the Saviour.' 22.
'Lift up your Hymns, all Men. A Song of Praise for British Workmen.' 72.
'The God of Glee.' 37.
'Trimurti.' 113.
'Walter Myln.' 120.
'A Song of Summer.' 32.

Helen Selina Sheridan BLACKWOOD, Lady Dufferin (Countess of Gifford) 1807-1867.

(1894)
'The Irish Emigrant.' p.106.
'And have I lost thee?' p.147.
'I am weary.' p.149.
'They bid me forget thee.' p.152.
'The Gates of Somnauth.' p.179.
'Consulting the "Sticks of Fate"' p.186.
'The Nuns of Minsk.' p.203.

Isa BLAGDEN 1816-1873.

(1873)
'The Story of Two Lives.' pp.3, 7, 10, 15, 18, 21.
'The Church of the Gesù.' pp.34, 38.
'Despondency. No.I.' p.73.
'Rome from the Ripetta.' p.81.
'To Georges Sand on her interview with Elizabeth Barrett Browning.' p.107.
'Mesmerism.' pp.114, 124.
'To dear old Bushie, from one who loved her.' p.133.
'Charles Dickens is Dead." June 9th." p.135.
'Dialogue between two friends.' p.140.
'On the Italian colours being replaced on the Palazzo Vecchio.' p.143.
'The Seasons in Italy. Winter.' p.148.
'A Love Poem.' p.150.
'A Roman Street.' p.157.

Samuel Laman BLANCHARD 1804-1845.

(1876)
'The Spirit of Poesy.' 63.
'The Captive Lamb.' 51, 72.
'To-Day.' 3.
'To an Earthly Beauty.' 34.
'Song for Shakspeare's Birthday.' 5.
'Stanzzas for Evening.' 2.
'The Shadows of Life.' 19.
'Malibran is Dead.' 48.
'The Dance of the Peasants. (In the "Winter's Tale")' 123.
'The Game at Chess.' 34.
'The Art of Book-Keeping.' 65.
'The Epitaph of 1830.' 46.
'To William Charles Macready. On his becoming the Lessee of Old Drury.' I, 7.

Emma BLYTON.

(1858)
'Ode to the Memory of Lord Byron.' pp.15, 16.
'Lines written in Hucknall Church, the burial-place of Lord Byron.' pp.16, 17.
'To the Memory of Rogers, the author of "The Pleasures of Memory"' p.19.
'Cowper's Grave.' p.20.
'To the Memory of Keats.' p.22.
'Sonnet to the Memory of Collins.' p.23.
‘Ode to Solitude.’ pp.28, 33.
‘To C.’ p.38.
‘A Fragment, written in the Cemetery at Nottingham.’ pp.47-8.
‘Edith and Etheld.’ p.54.
‘In Memory of Captain Hedley Vicars, addressed to his sister, Lady Rayleigh.’ p.58.
‘To the Ivy.’ p.64.
‘To the Memory of M.’ pp.66-7.
‘To the Departed.’ p.72.
‘To M.’ p.79.
‘Impromptu Lines.’ p.89.

Horatius BONAR 1808-1889.

(1889)
‘“Death is swallowed up in victory.” 1 Cor., xv, 54.’ 2-5, 12.

((1912))
‘Home Sickness.’ 4-6, 56.
‘The Everlasting Memorial.’ 5.
‘Our Mingled Life.’ 36.
‘The Old Story.’ 55, 58.
‘At Last!’ 15.
‘Time and Eternity.’ 32.
‘Light’s Teachings.’ 88.
‘A Pilgrim’s Song.’ 4.
‘Gone Before.’ 11.

(1878)

(1872)
‘The Song of the New Creation.’ 102, 107.
‘The Year’s Last Moment.’ 15.
‘Ye know not what ye ask!’ 20.
‘The Stone rolled away.’ 9, 18, 77.
‘For ever Perfect.’ 53.
‘Show us Jesus.’ 21.
‘These are the true sayings of God.’ 11.
‘Who is he that condemneth?’ 11.
‘Christmas Cheer.’ 20.
‘Elijah’s Ascension.’ 36.
‘The Light of the Risen One.’ 9, 15.
‘Psalm XLVIII.’ 44.
‘Psalm XLIX.’ 41, 45-8, 56.

(1850)
‘Sabbath.’ 10, 15.
'Prayer for Revival.' 3, 7.
'A Pilgrim's Song.' 4.
'Praise.' 8.
'Life a Span.' 2.
'The Surety.' 24.
'Relics of Love.' 1, 40.
'Wind Songs.' 16.
'The Just for the unjust.' 7-9.
'The Supper of Thanksgiving.' 38.
'Resurrection.' 27-9.

(1890)
'The World's Storm.' 10.
'The Hill Beyond.' 15-18, 29.
'Our Hill of Deliverance.' 59.
'Luther.' 120.
"‘Once offered to bear the sins of many.” Heb. ix. 28.’ 6.
'A Churchyard by the Sea.' 11.

Anne BRONTË 1820-1848.

(1979)
'A Voice from the Dungeon.' p.60.
'To -----. I will not mourn thee, lovely one.' p.88.
'The Student's Serenade.' p.99.
'Yes thou art gone.' pp.100-1.
'Night. I love the silent hour of night.' p.110.
'When sinks my heart in hopeless gloom.' pp.115-16.
'Song. We know where deepest lies the snow.' p.121.
'Vanitas vanitatis etc.' p.123.
'Severed and gone, so many years!' pp.141-3.
'The Three Guides.' p.147.
'Self-communion.' p.160.

Charlotte BRONTË 1816-1855.

(1923)
'Mementoes.' pp.8, 14.
'Frances.' p.22.
'Gilbert.' 2: 'The Parlour.' p.38.
'Presentiment.' p.47.
'Passion.' p.51.
'Stantras. If thou be in a lonely place.' p.57.
'The Missionary.' p.66.
'The Orphans. (Translated from the French of Louis Belmontet)' pp.70-2.
'The Churchyard.' pp.76-7.
'Written on the summit of a high mountain in the North of England.' p.80.
'The Violet.' p.108.
'The Fairies' Farewell.' p.125.
'Lines on Bewick.' p.131.
'The African Queen's Lament.' p.135.
'Death of Lord Rowan.
'A Lament. Sound a lament in the halls of his father.' p.139.
'The Haunted Tower.' p.144.
'Memory. When the dead in their cold graves are lying.' pp.146-7.
'Richard Coeur de Lion and Blondel.' p.153.
'Twilight Song.' p.156.
'Death of Darius Codomannus.' p.162.
'The Spell.' p.179.
'Marian.' p.204.
'On the Death of Emily Jane Bronte.'
'He saw my heart's woe, discovered my soul's anguish.' p.221.
'A Fragment. Lo! stretched beneath the clustering palm.' p.228.

Emily Jane BRONTE 1818-1848.

(1992)
'i. Faith and Despondency.' 39.
'iv. Remembrance.' 2, 20, 28.
'vi. Song. The linnet in the rocky dells.' 9.
'vii. Anticipation.' 46.
'x. A Day Dream.' 61.
'xv. Self-Interrogation.' 41.
'xix. Stanzas. I'll not weep that thou art going to leave me.' 8.
'7. Start not upon the minster wall.' 10.
'10. There shines the moon, at noon of night.' 14, 66-7.
'11. The night of storms has passed.' 11, 48.
'12. I saw thee child one summer's day.' 53.
'24. The organ swells the trumpets sound.' 12.
'34. Lines. I die but when the grave shall press.' 1.
'36. Weaned from life and torn away.' 4.
'Deep deep down in the silent grave.' 1.
'The wide cathedral aisles are lone.' 4.
'Darkness was overtrace on every face.' 4.
'A. G. A. to A. S.' 18.
'Glendenen's Dream.' 28.
'Lines by Claudia.' 28.
'Shed no tears o'er that tomb.' 1.
'I gazed within those earnest eyes.' 5.
'Written in the Gaaldine Prison Caves to A. G. A.' 5.
'Far, far away is mirth withdrawn.' 24.
'I see around me tombstones grey.' 42.
'Rosina.' 74.
'Written in Aspin Castle.' 47.
'On the Fall of Zalona.' 76-8.
'To A. S. 1830.' 7, 14, 21.
'To A. G. A.' 19.
'The Death of A. G. A.' 95, 109, 314.
'Julian M. and A. G. Rochelle.' 60, 102, 140.
'Why ask to know the date—the clime?' 46, 248.
'All day I've toiled but not with pain.' 8.
'His land may burst the galling chain.' 24.
'To the Horse black Eagle.' 20.

Frances BROWN[E] 1816-1879.

(1848)
'A Parting Voice.' p.15.
'The Young.' p.18.
'My Childhood's Tune.' p.24.
'We are growing Old.' p.27.
'On the Death of Thomas Campbell.' pp.31-2.
'Songs of our Land.' p.44.
'The Violet's Welcome.' p.47.
'The Hope of the Aztecs.' p.55.
'Farewell to the Flowers.' p.57.
'The Last Friends.' pp.62-3.
'The Song of Summer.' p.66.
'The Lonely Mother.' p.73.
'The Drowned Child.' p.76.
'The Flowers of May.' p.79.
'The Returning Janissary.' pp.80, 83.
'The Jewish Pilgrim.' p.89.
'Our Early Loved.' p.90.
'The Ancient Tombs.' pp.96-7.
'The Friends of our Darker Days.' p.111.
'The Templar's Summons.' pp.118-20.
'The First.' p.131.
'To the Cathedral of Glasgow.' p.134.
'The Mirror of the Danube.' p.139.
'The New Year's Omen.' pp.142-4.

(1844)
'The Star of Attéghéi.' pp.6, 8, 10, 14-5, 20, 21, 22, 30, 37, 39, 41, 47, 52, 53, 59, 62, 68, 74, 76, 83, 91, 94, 96, 98-103.
'The Maid of the Rhone.' p.117.
'Let us return.' p.120.
'In vain.' p.125.
'All things new.' p.127.
'The parting gifts.' p.133.
'The Picture of the Dead. Suggested by an anecdote in Catlin's Travels.' p.137.
'The First and Last Smile.' p.142.
'Dreams of the Dead.' pp.144-6.
'The Poet's Prayer.' p.182.
'The Stars of night.' p.184.
'The Unsent Messenger.' pp.196, 198, 201.
'Youth and Age.' pp.204, 206.
'La Perouse.' pp.207-8.
'Roustan.' p.212.
'Copan.' p.216.
'"I have missed my destiny."' pp.221-2.
'The Cypress of Somme.' pp.223-5.
'The Prayer of Childhood.' p.229.
'The Treasures of the Earth.' p.231.
'The Unknown Comet.' p.233.
'The Removal of the Cherokees.' p.240.
'The Truest Voice.' p.241.
'The Statue. Suggested by an incident, said to have occurred at one of the festivities consequent on the Coronation of her present Majesty.' p.244.
'The Unworn Crown.' p.249.
'The Dying Stranger.' p.252.

Thomas Edward BROWN 1830-1897.

(1900)
'Old John.' 140, 151.
'Catherine Kinrade.' 32.
'To K. H.' 2.
'In Memoriam: A. F. Ob. Oct. 12, 1879.' 16
'A Sermon at Clevedon Good Friday.' 42.
'A Fable.' 12.
'Betsy Lee.' 1562, 1572.
'Christmas Rose.' 147, 166, 892, 1504, 2269.
'Captain Tom and Captain Hugh.' 273.
'Tommy Big-Eyes.' 1502, 1606, 3075.
'The Doctor.' 1355, 1679, 2063, 3082, 3996.
'The Indiaman.' 449.
'Hallam's Church, Clevedon.'
'Dora.' 1.

Elizabeth Barrett BROWNING 1806-1861.

(1897)
'An Essay on Mind.' Book I: 4, 193, 217, 224, 266, 362, 427n, 432-3; Book II: 1203n, 1258.
'Stanzas on the Death of Lord Byron.' 8, 33.
'The Prayer.' 1.
'On a Picture of Riego's Widow, placed at the Exhibition.' 17.
'The Tempest. A Fragment.' 134.
'A Vision of Life and Death.' 12, 50.
'To the Memory of Sir Uvedale Price, Bart.' 64.
'To a Boy.' 52.
'The Seraphim.' II: 340, 800, 954, 1000; III: 1026.
'The Poet's Vow.' Part I: 97.
'Isobel's Child.' 188.
'The Soul's Travelling.' VIII: 163.
'Sounds.' II: 73; IV: 128.
'Earth and her Praisers.' 13, 104, 223.
'The Virgin Mary to the Child Jesus.' 84.
'To Bettine, the Child-Friend of Goethe.' 39.
'The Student.' 45-6.
'The Young Queen.' 6, 30.
'Victoria's Tears.' 46.
'Vanities.' 17.
'A Supplication for Love. Hymn 1.' 16.
'Cowper's Grave.' 56.
'A Drama of Exile.' 70, 499, 1148, 1620, 1643, 1988, 2075, 2116, 2120.
'The Seraph and Poet.' 6.
'Tears.' 12.
'The Mourning Mother (of the Dead Blind).' 2, 36.
'Lady Geraldine's Courtship: A Romance of the Age.' 293.
'A Lament for Adonis. From the Greek of Bion.'
'Rime of the Duchess May.' 8.
'The Rhyme.' 83, 143, 203, 413, 428.
'The Poet and the Bird. A Fable.' 10.
'The Lost Bower.' 280.
'A Child Asleep.' 40.
'To a Poet's Child.'
'The Cry of the Children.' 32, 36-9, 45, 56.
'Vendred and Buried.' 26, 90, 132, 143, 162, 166.
'A Flower in a Letter.' 43.
'Bertha in the Lane.' 209-11.
'Loved Once.' 50.
'L. E. L.'s Last Question.' 55.
'Catarina to Camoens (dying in his absence abroad, and referring to the poem in which he recorded the sweetness of her eyes).' 63.
'Wine of Cyprus. Given to me by H. S. Boyd, Author of "Select Passages from the Greek Fathers," etc.' 32.
'The Dead Pan.' 144-5.
'The Runaway Slave at Pilgrim's Point.' 194.
'Life.' 11.
'A Sabbath Morning at Sea.' 26, 46.
'A Man's Requirements.' 39.
'A Year's Spinning.' 21.
'Proof and Disproof.' 30.
'Sonnets from the Portuguese.'
V. 'I lift my heavy heart up solemnly.'
XVII. 'My poet, thou canst touch on all the notes.' 14.
XXIII. 'Is it indeed so? If I lay here dead.' 4, 13.
XXXIV. With the same heart, I said, I'll answer.' 10.
'Grief.'
'Casa Guidi Windows.' Part I: 42n, 74n, 136, 173, 214, 245, 283, 310, 413-5, 422-6, 484, 495, 462 and n, 859, 1214; Part II: 333, 674-7, 694, 724-9.
'A Year's Spinning.' 21.
'Italy and the World.' 3, 25.
'Void in Law.' 47.
'Bianca among the Nightingales.' 143.
'My Kate.' 34.
'A Song for the Ragged Schools of London. Written in Rome.' 102.
'Where's Agnes?' 2.
'Summing up in Italy. (Inscribed to intelligent publics out of it) 55.
'Died...'
'From Heine. The Last Translation. (Rome, 1860) 57-8, 67, 74.
'Excerpt from Gregory Nazianzen.' 9, 20.
'[Excerpt from Synesius.]' 32.
'[Excerpt from George Pisida's Vanity of Life.]' 16.
'The Forced Recruit. (Solferino, 1859) 42.
'Parting Lovers. (Siena, 1860) 45, 64.
'Prometheus Bound.' 661.
'Hector and Andromache. (Iliad, Lib. VI)' 26, 107.

Robert BROWNING 1812-1889.

(1888-94)
'Pauline; A Fragment of a Confession.' 39, 854, 964.
'Sordello.' Bk. I, 46; Bk. II, 317; Bk. III, 180, 413; Bk. V, 37, 367, 592, 935, 977; Bk. VI, 632.
'Paracelsus.' Part II, 363; Part IV, 358, 673; Part V, 34, 367ff., 755.
'Strafford; A Tragedy.' Act II, scene ii, 276.
'Pippa Passes.' Part III, 123, 313; Part IV, 19.
'King Victor and King Charles; A Tragedy.' Part I, 192.
'An Epistle containing the strange medical experience of Karshish, the Arab Physician.' 46.
'Fra Lippo Lippi.' 54, 313.
'A Grammarian's Funeral.' 31.
'The Statue and the Bust.' 200 ff.
'Childe Roland to the Dark Tower Came.' 31.
'The Lost Leader.' I, 14.
'Old Pictures in Florence.' 218.
'De Gustibus.' II, 19.
'The Bishop Orders His Tomb at St. Praxed's.' 15, 67, 52.
'Christmas Eve.' X, 565.
'Easter-Day.' IV, 157.
'Saul.' XIII, 177ff.
'Any Wife to any Husband.' 106.
'Two in the Campagna.' 14.
'Cleon.' 175.
'In a Gondola.' 113.
'Gold Hair: A Story of Pornic.' 34, 126.
'The Worst of It.' 59.
'Dis Aliter Visum; or, le Byron de nos jours.' 29, 115.
'Too Late.' 8.
'Mr. Sludge, "the Medium".' 450, 483.
'The Ring and the Book.' I, 7; V, 1460, 2016; VI, 1155, 1185; X, 627; XI, 603, 1682, 2343; XII, 307, 612.
'St. Martin's Summer.' 26ff.
'Fifine at the Fair.' XIX, 203; LXII, 977-83.
'Red Cotton Night-Cap Country.' Ill, 2185, 2368, 2513; IV, 3859.
'The Inn Album. 1875.' IV, 1407; V, 2274.
'Aristophanes' Apology; including a transcript from Euripides: being the Last Adventure of Balauston.' 490, 3180, 3904, 4115, 5000, 5041, 5683.
'The Agamemnon of Aeschylus.' 531, 1335, 1603.
'Bifurcation.' 2, 41.
'Filippo Baldinucci on the Privilege of Burial. A Reminiscence of A. D. 1676.' 104, 351, 430.
'La Saisiaz.' 354, 633.
'Doctor ---.' 124-6.
'Cristina and Monaldeschi.' 74.
'Jochanan Hakkadosh.' I, 630ff., 715.
'Flute-music, with an accompaniment.' 48.
'The Flight of the Duchess.' 870.
'Fust and his Friends. An Epilogue.' 26.
'Earth's Immortalities.'
'Clive.' 59ff.
'Mary Wollstonecraft and Fuseli.' 7.
'With Gerard de Lairesse.' XVI, 431.
'Epilogue.' 199.

Robert Williams BUCHANAN 1841-1901.

(1901)
'Pastoral Pictures.' IV: 479.
'Convent-robbery. (Old style)' 14, 84.
'Hugh Sutherland's Pansies.' 280.
'The Swallows.' II: 1; II: 25.
'Proteus; or, A Prelude.' 105.
'Pan.' 381-3, 394.
'Pygmalion the Sculptor.' 15.
'Antony in Arms.' 26, 55.
'Fine weather on the Digesta.' 212, 214.
'Poet's Epilogue. To Mary on Earth.' 19, 56.
'Poet Andrew.' 16, 81-3.
'White Lily of Weardalehead.' 214.
'The Dead Mother.' 17, 20, 38, 53-6, 74, 101-5.
'Jane Lewson.' 624.
'Up in an Attic.' 22.
'In London, March 1866.' 31.
'The Swallows.' 3, 12, 27.
'The Modern Warrior.' 63.
'The Death of Roland.' 252.
'The Gift of Eos.' 97.
'Clari in the Well.' 31.
'Meg Blane.' 477, 656, 670, 965.
'The Battle of Brumllemoor. (Covenant Period)' 102.
'A Scottish Eclogue.' 63.
'The Scaith O' Bartle.' 10, 38, 102, 474, 608.
'The Glamour.' 10, 168.
'A Poem to David.' I: 35, 64.
'But the Hills will bear Witness.' 4.
'Lord, art Thou here?' 13.
'Could God be Judged.' 7.
'Inscription to F.W.C.' 1.
'The Man and the Shadow.' 82, 310, 316, 403.
'Songs of Corruption.' 101, 126, 242, 247-9.
'The Devil's Mystics.' 378, 403.
'The Reply.' 129.
'The Two Voices. (January 1871)' 43.
'A Dialogue in the Snow. (Before Paris, December 1870)' 81.
'The Apotheosis of the Sword. (Versailles, 1871)' 118, 132.
'Balder the Beautiful. A Song of Divine Death.' 75-6, 1477, 1689, 2437, 3229, 3402, 3808, 3850, 4104, 4591, 4673-6, 4693.
'The Strange Country.' 48.
'The Ballad of Judas Iscariot.' 66.
'Phil Blood's Leap. A Tale of the Gold-seekers.' 117.
'O'Connor's Wake. An Irish Fiddle Tune.' 209.
'On a Young Poetess's Grave.'
'Giant Despair.' 53, 65.
'The Secret of the Mere.' 22, 163.
'Mnemosyne; or, the Retrospect.' 43.
'Ad Carissimam Puellam.' 76.
'The first Christmas Eve.' 501, 790.
'Herein lies a mystery.' Canto I: 234, 411; Canto II: 592, 1750, 1789, 2762, 2783.
'The Wandering Jew.' 88, 284, 424-6, 450, 596, 787, 860, 867, 1067, 1178, 1220, 1289, 1334, 1343, 1353, 1512, 1533, 1602, 1655, 1748, 1944, 2151, 2191, 2268, 2274, 2282.
'The Devil's Case.' 964, 1384, 2490, 2530, 2540, 2687.
'The Litany. De Profundis.' 64.
'Shepherds, wake, 'tis Christmas tide!' 18.
'Twas Mary, the woeful Mother.' 179, 1460, 1673, 1689.
'Ad Madonnam.' 20, 112.
'Antiphones.' 32.
'Proem to David in Heaven. Thirty years After.' 45, 158.
'The Mercenaries.' 51.
'Be Pitiful.' 29.
'The Grand old Man.' 40.
'Song of the Slain.'
'The Union.' 8.
'Peace, not a Sword. (The Arbitration Treaty, January 1897)' 28, 44.
'The Irishman to Cromwell.' 31.
'Old Rome.' 27, 37.
'The Sphinx. (On Thames Embankment, London)' 57, 74, 80, 102.
'The Cry for Life.' 146.
'Maeterlinck. (After a Matinee of “Pelleas and Melisande”)’ 42.
'The Last Christians.' 4, 14, 19, 23, 30-1, 128.
'The True Song of Fairyland.' 188-9, 211.
'Justinian; or, the New Creed.’ 500.
'The New Buddha. (Schopenhauer)’ 265, 412.
'The Last Faith.’ 108.
'Spring Song after Snow.’ 55.
'To a Poet of the Empire.’ 45.
'The Gnome. (A Fantasy)’ 193.
'The White Robe; or, Zola in a Nutshell.’ 132.
'Carlyle.' 27, 37, 97, 111.
'Socrates in Camden. With a look round.' 79.
'Walt Whitman.’ 5.
'The Gift of Burns.’ 8, 68.
'Coruskeen Sonnets.’ 93.
'The Widow : A War Song.’
'The Burial of Parnell.’ 91.
'Proem to “The Shadow of the Sword”.’ 30-2, 46, 54.
'Last Night.’ 20.

(1894)

John William BURGON, B.D. Dean of Chichester.

(1885)
[dedication to volume.]
'Petra.’ pp.23 and n, 24, 28n, 30, 32, 36n.
'The Day of the Duke’s Funeral. Thursday, 18th November 1852.’ pp.73ff.
'Worcester College.’ p.82.
'S. Paul Preaching at Athens.’ pp.109, 111.
'A Century of Verses.’ pp.119, 124.
'In Memoriam.’ pp.141-4.
'The Loss of the Eurydice.’ p.147.

James Drummond BURNS 1823-1864.

(1869)
'To the Memory of Sir Walter Scott.’ 26-8.
'Nineveh.’ 7, 13.
'To Flora.’ 12.

(1858)
'The Vision of Prophecy.’ 192
'The Cave of Machpelah.’ 4-6, 38, 110, 126, 131.
'The Burial of Jacob.’ 11, 69.
'Ichabod.’ 78.
'The Vision from the Mount.’ 117.
'Miracles of the Saviour.’ 96, 164.
'Reason and Faith.’ 7.
'Lines written in a Franciscan Convent.' 73.
'The Grave of Doddridge at Lisbon.’ 2.
'Ruins of Carteia, a Phoenician City near Gibraltar, supposed to be the ancient Tarshish.’ 3.
'Incisa, a scene of Petrarch’s boyhood, near Florence.’ 12.
'Discovery of the North-West Passage.’ 14.
'A Thought on Time.’ 8.
'Faith, Hope and Love at the Sepulchre.’ 5.
Wathen Mark Wilks CALL 1817-1890.

(1871)
'The Lion of Androclus.' 129.
'Psalm. All things good for good unite.' 8.
'OId feelings.' 64.
'The Haunted Shore.' 9.
'The Young Crusaders.' 2.

(1875)
'Alcestis.' 73.
'Admetus.' 80, 96, 179, 198.
'The Noble Lesson.' 19.
'Palingenesis.' 76.
'Consolation.' 7.
'A Reverberation from the Riviera.' 60.


(1894)
'To the Laureate on hearing him read the proof-sheets of the "Idylls of the King," 1857.' 7.
'A Crown of Flowers.' 12.
'Inhlobane, Zululand (On the death of Hon. Ronald Campbell in the Zulu War, March 29, 1879).'

'Danbury Chase, Essex on the morning after the death of Thomas Legh Claughton, First Bishop of St. Albans August, 1892.' 8.
'To the Sand Grouse.' 16.
'Tewkesbury.' 36.

Edward CASWALL 1814-1878.

(1873)
'The Minister of Eld.' Scene III: 308.
'To the Seasons.' 77.
'To the Flowers.' 18.
'A Vision of Waters.' 187, 206.
'The Angels.' 33.
'Chastisement.' 1-2.
'Catholic Ruins.' 8.
'England's Future Conversion.' 34.
'St Kenelm's Well.' 50, 55, 65.
'A Sick Person's Complaint.' 7.
'A Dream in Spring.' 7, 40.
'To the plumes on a hearse.' 22.
'Hope and Memory.' 13.
'Lesson from a Cloud.' 1.
'St. Clement's Tomb.' 11, 31.

(1865)
'A May Pageant.' Canto III: 297, 310-12.

Elizabeth CHARLES 1828-1896.

(1887)
'Mary the Mother of our Lord.' II: 44.
'The Tomb and the Temple.'
'Mary Magdalene.' 143-7, 191, 205.
'The Widow of Nain.' 24.
'Talitha Cumi!' 62.
'On the Grave of a Faithful Dog.'
'To our Little Dog Dot.' 14.
'St. Francis D'Assisi's Canticum Solis.' 34.
'The Tomb and the Temple.' 5-10.
'The Crypt.' 3, 6, 14, 30, 45.
'To One at Rest.' 26.
'Around a Table, not a Tomb.' 1, 7, 21.
'He saved others'.' 13.
'The Three Wakings.' 136, 143, 170, 240.
'Italy.' 1848. 25, 30.


(1856)
'The Grave.' pp.5-9.
'Former Home.' p.20.
Written for a friend who wished to have in verse the Persian sentence: I came to the place of my birth and cried, "The friends of my youth, where are they?" and an echo answered, "Where are they?" p.28.
'Age.' p.34.
'Adon.' pp.36-41.
'The River Rea.' p.59.
'I watched the Heavens.' pp.66, 69, 72, 88, 89, 104-5.
'The Queen's Ball.' pp.112, 115, 118, 122, 124.
'A Fragment. E'en now methinks, I see the ashes stir.' pp.129-30.
'The Valley of the Mortas.' pp.139, 141, 151, 156, 183-4, 189.
'Venice. 1853.' p.207.
'The Mosel.' p.216.
'Death, death! oh! amiable, lovely death!' p.221.
'We two have sate and sung together.' pp.225-6.
'The Lady.' p.229

Arthur Hugh CLOUGH 1819-1861.

(1869)
'Easter Day.' 10, 56, 67, 87; I, 160.
'Cold Comfort.' 15.
'The Silver Wedding.' 15.
'The Shadow.' 3, 55.
'Dipsychus.' Part I, scene I, 22; scene V, 19; Part II, scene V, 179.
'Duty.' 26.
'Amours de Voyage.' Canto III, 86; Canto V, 124.
'That there are better things within the womb.' 4.
'The Lawyer's First Tale.' I, 30; IV, 529.
'The Clergyman's Second Tale.' 105.

Sara COLERIDGE 1802-1852.

(1837)
'Ne'er ask where knaves are mining.' 7.

(1845)
'Birds.' 14.
Mortimer COLLINS 1827-1876.

(1855)
'William Wordsworth.' pp.9-10.
'Love and Death.' p.11.
'The Doom of Maud Maleverer.' p.31.
'After Alma.' p.35.

(1871)
'The Inn of Strange Meetings.' pp.20, 33, 34.
'A Poet's Philosophy.' p.45.
'Gone.' p.102.
'An old almanac.' pp.126-7.
'Eleanore.' p.131.

John CONINGTON 1825-1869.

(1842)
'The Victory of Suffering.' 21, 90.

Eliza COOK 1812-1889.

(1840)
'Stanazas. They told me, in my earliest years' [later titled 'The Dream is Broken.'] 17.

(1870)
'Melaia.' 81, 237, 673, 693.
'A Romaunt. Tracy de Vore and Hubert Grey.' 294.
'Song of the Rushlight.' 10.
'The Land of my Birth.' 30-1.
'Summer's Farewell.' 28.
'Spring.' 20.
'Miser.' 8.
'Buttercups and Daisies'. 47.
'Stanazas. Thou hast left us long, my mother dear.' 28.
'The Poet.' 70.
'The Song of Marion.' 40.
'The Sexton.' 6, 21.
'Galla Brae.' 23.
'Song of the Carrion Crow.' 32, 59.
'The Loved One was not There.' 13.
'Gratitude.' 30.
'The World.' 43.
'The Mourners.' 20, 48, 73, 80, 90.
'My Grave.' 1-4, 8, 15, 28, 39.
'The Sacrilegious Gamesters.' 72, 82, 129, 136.
'The Dead.' 35.
'The Star of My Home.' 24, 23.
'Song of the Mariners.' 54.
'The Homes of the Dead.' 18, 39, 42.
'Prayer.' 59.
'The Slumber of Death.' 20.
'The Tomb.' 1-3, 13, 25.
'The Willow Tree.' 1-2, 13.
'The Acorn.' 24.
'The Christmas Holly.' 23.
'Washington.' 34
'The Surgeon's Knife.' 31.
'Love on.' 31.
'Song of the Worm.' 8, 32, 40.
'The Future.' 16.
'Song of the Dying Old Man to his Young Wife.' 45-6.
'Sunshine.' 41.
'Truth.' 52.
'Under the Moon.' 17, 48.
'Silence—A Fragment.' 81.
'Birds.' 145-7.
'Some Call the World a Dreary Place.' 19.
'The Waters.' 88, 115.
'A Thanksgiving.' 42.
'The Old Barn.' 34.
'The Ship and the Maiden.' 25.
'The Grandfather's Stick.' 73.
'Song of the Spirit of Gold.' 52, 55.
'The Poor Man's Grave.' 27, 32.
'Song of the Hempseed.' 61, 72, 104.
'The Old Clock.' 64.
'The Tree of Death.' 4.
'Rest.' 71.
'The Bonnie, Green Bough.' 54.
'To Winter.' 48.
'Song of the Ostrich.' 54-6.
'The Playground.' 80.
'Mourn not the Dead.' 20.
'Young Kathleen.' 14.
'Stanzas to the Memory of Burns.' 16.
'Song of the Spirit of Poverty.' 107.
'Mother, Come Back!' 28.
'Many Happy Returns of the Day.' 33.
'Old Songs.' 92.
'On the Death of a Favourite Hound.' 45.
'The Tree of Death.' 1, 47.
'Song of the Sea-Weed.' 67.
'The Dog of the Alps.' 14.
'The Sea-Child.' 31.
'A Forest Thought.' 12.
'Derbyshire Dales.' 36.
'The Village Church.' 11.
'Lines written for the Sheffield Mechanics' Exhibition, 1846.' 6.
'“Bonnie, Sweet Robin” is “Nae Dead and Gane”.' 50.
'Time's Changes.' 42.
'Lines among the Leaves.' 27.
'Tis a wild night at Sea.' 64, 93.
'“Where the weary are at rest”.' 2.
'The Trysting Place.' 4, 8, 12, 16, 20, 24, 28, 32, 36, 40, 44.
'Thank God for Summer.' 28.
'To ---. On her birthday.' 44.
'Faith's Guiding Star.' 27.
'A Pathetic Lament.' 25.
'Bessy Gray.' 1.
'The Deck of the “Outward Bound”.' 1.
'The Holy Well.' 54.
'The World is a Fairy Ring.' 19.
'The Galloping Steed.' 31, 34-6.
'The Churchyard Stile.' 12, 24-7, 36, 47-8.
'On Seeing some Agricultural Emigrants embark.' 30.
'Impromptu Stanzas. (To the memory of an old friend)' 18.
'Once upon a time.' 125.
'The Raising of the Maypole.' 25.
'The Fairy Wish.' 16.
'“Poor Hood”.' 5, 21-3, 50.
'“Country Words”.' 45.
‘The Violet Boy.’ 101.
‘I'll think of thee.’ 24.
‘Simple Stanzas, written in young sorrow.’ 20.
‘The Only Daughter.’ 16.
‘Christ Crucified.’ 15.
‘On the Death of Richard Cobden.’ 43.

Thomas COOPER [Adam Hornbrook] 1805-1892.

(1846)
‘The Baron's Yule Feast. A Christmas Rhyme.’ Canto I: 48; Fytte II, 27, 33, 115; Fytte III, 12, 71; Canto II: 92; Canto IV: 65, 68, 73.

(1877)
‘To Lincoln Cathedral.’ 2.

William DAVIES 1830-1896.

(1873)
‘Winter.’ 19.
‘Mutability.’ 30.
‘The Epitome.’ 18.
‘The Shepherd will follow his best mistress, Virtue, wherever she may lead him.’ 8.

(1869)
‘Maid Marian.’ 25.
‘By night, when the moon was shining.’ 2.
‘Incacity.’ 12.
‘A Requiem.’ 27.
‘Out of the Window.’ 5.
‘On the Grave.’ 5.
‘He who to Time will be the slave.’ 7.
‘The Festa at Genazzano.’ 5.
‘The Loving Heart.’ 4.
‘Thy beauteous face is Love's sweet argument.’ 6.
‘Tortured by fierce experiences consumed.’ 8.
‘Lo! yonder oak whose branches loved to spread.’ 14.
‘An afternoon at Church.’ 5.
‘Death King.’ 10.
‘Although thy darkened road lead through the tombs.’ 1.
‘The Mean.’ 5.
‘Couplets.’ 8.
‘To the Genius of my Colour Box.’ 402.
Thomas Osborne Davis 1814-1845.

(1846)
'Tone's Grave.' 1, 11, 16-8, 29, 32.
'Nationality.' 19.
'The West's Asleep.' 22.
'The Victor's Burial.' 2.
'O' Sullivan's Return.' 41-2.
'A Rally for Ireland. [May, 1689]' 14.
'The Burial.' 68.
'A Scene in the South.' 47.
'William Tell and the Genius of Switzerland.' 26.
'My Home. A Dream.' 88, 94.
'My Grave.' 3, 9, 13, 29.
[John Fisher Murray, 'To the Memory of Thomas Davis.]

Sydney Thompson Dobell 1824-1874.

(1875)
'The Roman. A Dramatic Poem.' Scene I: 18-20, 24, 31, 44, 153; Scene II: 438; Scene III: 10, 140-3; Scene V: 158; Scene VI: 278, 302, 540, 554; Scene VII: 378, 441, 611, 767; Scene VIII: 44, 213, 249, 409.
'Dead-Maid's-Pool.' 51.
'The Gaberlunzie's Walk.' 27, 49.
'An Evening Dream.' 75.
'In War-time a Psalm of the Heart.' 82.
'A Musing on a Victory.' 64-7.
'To a Cathedral Tower, on the evening of the thirty-fifth anniversary of Waterloo.' 80.
'Crazed.' 101.
'The Snowdrop in the Snow.' 34.
'Vox Populi.' 9.
'Poland. Italy. Hungary.' 1.
'Austrian Alliance.' 4.
'The Common Grave.' 3.
'A Hero's Grave.' 8-10, 52, 69.
'Home, wounded.' 237.
'The Mother's Lesson.' 97-8.
'He loves and he rides away.' 163.
'When the rain is on the roof.' 38, 148, 236.
'Baldor, Part the First.' Scene III: 103, 175, 181; Scene XV: 7, 14; Scene XVIII: 96; Scene XIX: 4-5; Scene XXI: 12, 18; Scene XXIII: 2, 830, 1099, 1200; XXIV: 4, 145, 671, 807, 977; Scene XXV: 155; Scene XXVIII: 44; Scene XXXIX: 287; Scene XLII: 83.
'The Youth of England to Garibaldi's Legion.' 8-9.
'Love. To a little girl.' 83, 266, 303.
'To 1862. (In prospect of war with America)' 23.
'At the Grave of a Spanish Friend.'
'Lord Robert.' 75.
'Mentana.' 31.

Alfred Domett 1811-1887.

(1877)
'At Jefferson's Tomb. Monticello, 1834.' 4.
'Livingstone.' 31.
'Cripplegate.' 1.
'The Bride of the Avon. (A True Incident) 99.
Sir Francis Hastings Charles DOYLE 1810-1888.
Rowland Eyes EGERTON-WARBURTON [Rambling Richard] 1804-1891.

(1887)
'A Looking-glass for Landlords.' 372.

(1877a)
'The Woore Country.' 53.
'The Spectre Stag. A Legend of the Rhine.' 68.
'The Ladie Cunigunda of Kynast.' 52, 66.
'Cheshire Chivalry.' 40.
'The Sawyer. 1844.' 18.
'Newby Ferry.' 10, 28.
'On a Thorn Tree planted over the Grave of “Miss Miggs,” a Brood Mare.'
'Inscription on a garden seat formed from the bones of an old racer.' 6.

(1833)
'Ballad. The tide of war had turned at last.' 48.

(1877b)
'Translation. The sea! unfathom’d in its depth, unbounded in its flow.' 8-9.
'Argument of a Dissenter in favour of the Burial Bill.' 4.
'The Death of Geoffrey Rudel.' 88.
'The Squire of Dames; or a tour in Spain.' 34.
'Sink or swim.' 6.
'The Duke lieth here; and in sorrow I bend.' 2.
'A Dilemma.' 6.
'On visiting Petrarch’s House.' 2.
'The Christian Martyr in the Coliseum.' 5-6.

(1879)
'Vive La Chasse!' 76.


([1864])
'The Brother. A Scene from '98.' 78.
'The Famine Year.' 34-8.
'The Enigma.' 43.
'The Voice of the Poor.' 36.
'A Lament.' 12, 23.
'The Year of Revolutions.' 44.
'Griefs.' 13-5, 41.
'The Exodus.' 39, 45.
'The Faithless Shepherds.' 12, 23, 30, 39.
'To-day!' 5.
'A Remonstrance, addressed to D. Florence M’Carthy, M. R. I. A.' 6, 43.
'The Fall of the Tyrants. A Spanish Ballad, 1492.' 71.
'Who will show us any good?' 68, 73.
'Have we done well for Ireland?' 24, 55.
'William Carleton.' 55-6.
'Vanitas.' 20.
'La Via Dolorosa.' 8.
'Shadows from Life.' 103.
'Tis not upon earth.' 13-5.
'An Appeal to Ireland.' 6.

(1874)
'The Legend of Jubal.' pp.10, 35, 45.
'Agatha.' pp.56, 64.
'How Lisa loved the King.' p.166.
'Arion.' p.236.
"O may I join the choir invisible". ' p.242.

(1868)

Henry ELLISON [Henry Browne] 1811-1890.

(1839a)
'Day-dreaming.' 65, 78.
'True Life developing.' 16.
'Villagebells.' 18, 49.
'On a Gravebrinksporting Child.' 2, 9, 17, 30, 59.
'Against pride: addressed to the spirit of humanity.' 24.
'To Venice.' 54.
'Churchyardthoughts.' 4, 9-13.
'Children.' 114, 122, 126.
'On hearing an eldtime Song.' 110.
'An unbridled fancyburst, or prelude to a deathtale.' 5, 23.
'To the Gentian.' 7.
'Sabbathbells.' 94-8.
'The Hour of homeparting told by a Churchclock.' 28-30, 39, 97.
'Man and Nature.' 88.
'Dramatic Scenes.' Scene 1: 15; Scene 2: 7-8, 20, 130; Scene 3: 13, 59, 99.
'Reveries of Nature.' 303, 458, 465, 523.
'Despondency removed by a Dream.' 170, 183, 194-7, 203, 312, 454.
'Emma a Tale.' 465.
'Thoughts of man, art and nature.' 323, 389, 1300, 1317, 1394, 1620, 1660, 1725, 1740.
'Seasonchanges, their signs, and moral.' 413.
'Thoughts on true and false ambition.' 120, 130, 138, 224, 606.
'Thoughts written on the Lake of Geneva.' 286, 489, 613, 686, 710, 868, 1100, 1234, 1299, 1379, 1914, 2140, 2684.
'Genius. A Series of Thoughts.' 19, 32, 57, 295, 519, 158.
'Freedom.' 14.
'On being told I could not live long.' 8.

(1851)
'Time.' 1, 13.
'Folly and Wisdom.' 3.
'Death.' 9.
'The Dryad's Curse.' 12.
'God in the World.' 21.
'Birthdaybells.' 2, 71.
'On Seeing A Gravestone.' 13-6, 25.
'Winterfireside.' 38.
'Nature and Man.' 22, 33, 79.
'A Churchyardsporting Child.' 1, 15.
'Song To Freedom.' 6.
'Oldage.' 13.
'The Grave. The Grave! what is there in that name to raise.' 1, 10-1.
'Nightstorm.' 22.
'The Strangersburialcorner.' 7-9.
'Moonlitchurchyard.' 1.
'Aspirations after the Impossible.' 36.
'The Churchyard.' 3-6, 9.
'The Burial.' 2.
'On Westminsterabbey.' 3, 11.
'The Grave. Descend with me into the Grave, and there.' 1, 14.
'Timesglass.' 100.
'A Maydaywalk into the Country in Nottinghamshire.' 113, 184.
'Hope.' 9, 21.
'Eveningthoughts.' 52, 157.
'Nightthoughts.' 16.
'The Gravehaunter.' 13, 22-4, 45, 97.
'On Imaginationusing.' 10, 50.
'Moneycoveters.' 11.
'Lament.' 13.
'Fame.' 9.
'Gravechusing.' 2, 25, 97.
'Grayhairs.' 12.
'The Grave. Hast thou e'er wept above the grave of those.' 1, 15, 18.
'Life.' 12.
'The Grave. Behold yon Grave, that in the golden Light.' 1, 13.
'To an Old Homesong.' 29.
'False Glory.' 70.
'The Fleetingness of Earthly Things.' 15.
'Lament for Love, Faith, and Poesy.' 174, 185, 190, 205, 213, 226, 247.
'Time.' 1, 5, 13.
'Folly and Wisdom.' 3.
'Death. Oh Death! no poet ever called on thee.' 8.
'By the Sea-side, on a stormy day.' 3.
'On Dante.' 11.
'On a Shipwreck, off Beachy-Head, by Copley Fielding.' 10.
'On the Roughness of my Verse.' 14.
'Ambition.' 3.
'On the Rosemary.' 1.
'On seeing a beautiful Revenue-cutter put out to assist a vessel in distress.' 8.
'On the arrival of the vessel announcing the settlement of differences with America.' 9.
'On seeing a whale on shore.' 4.
'Against narrow-minded scepticism.' 85.
'To a Friend.' 30.
'On seeing a grave-stone. And is this all that now remains.' 8, 25-8, 49.
'Ode to Psyche.' 47.
'The Story of Aeson transformed by Medea; a heathen fable Christianly moralised.' 46, 118.
'Grave-chusing. Oh! Father, let me buried be.' 9, 57, 105, 142.
'The Grave-haunter. Why sitt'st thou on that old gravestone.' 113.

(1875)
'Livingstone and Westminster Abbey.' 15, 32.
'A Warning.' 4.
'Life unstable.' 11.
'On a Seat by an Ancient Tomb.'
'Dawn in a Cathedral.' 8.
'On a Tomb.' 1.
'Poesy.' 10.
'Patience.' 6-8.
'Eclipse.' 7-9.
'Death not in the pot, but pen.' 6.
'The Past.' 11.
'Hamlet again.' 4, 7.
'Nothing new under the sun.' 12.
'Modern literature, or deluge no. II.' 6.
'The Glorification of Youth.' 14.
'The Death of Mozart.' 13.
'Sacer Vates.' 9.
'Reiteration of old, worn-out themes.' 6.
'Time. O Time! thou turnest Earnest into Jest.' 6.
"Unseaworthy" England! 8.
'Faith. The Sceptic "Malgre lui".' 3.
'Nelson's Column in Trafalgar-Square, before it was finished.' 12.
'Personal Identity.' 23-4.
'Old Age. Sour looks, harsh words, and stinted courtesy.' 13.
'An Aspiration.' 8.
'Remorse.' 11.
'The Stars.' 12.
'To ----.' 1.
'To be, or not to be.' 34.
"Everlastings" and neverlastings.' 5.
'Livingstone's Grave in Westminster Abbey. 'Neath this Dead-stone lieth the Living-stone!'
'Livingstone's Grave in Westminster Abbey. Open thy maw, insatiate Death! and take.'
'The Beginning of the End.' 15.
'Westminster Abbey again.' 7.
'Immortality.' 19.
'Faith and Hope in view of the "Automatic action of matter" theory.' 11.
'Hygeia.' 18.
'Fox and Pitt lie almost side by side, near to Chatham, in Westminster Abbey.' 13.
'Desecration without therefrom: Westminster Abbey.' 25.
'In Vain!' 14.
'Consciousness.' 14.
'Wisdom.' 43.
"To be, or not to be." During severe illness.' 14.
'Alcestis: or the inner life.' 11.
'An Allegory.' 1, 5.
'Atlantic "rollers" and calm.' 7.

(1839b)
'Venice.' 22.
'On Napoleon.' 45, 68.

Anne EVANS 1820-1870.

(1880)
'The Deadly Arbour.' 15.
'The Hard Rider.' 52.
'Outcry.' 8, 18.
'Sonnet. Poor lonely heart, aching with passionate woe.' 14.
'Sir Ralph Duguay. A Ballad in Two Parts.' Part I: 304.

Sebastian EVANS 1830-1909.

(1865)
'Of Robin Hood's Death and Burial.' 127.
'Charlemagne's Daughter.' 367, 438.
'Nickar the Soulless.' 192.
'The Fifteen Days of Judgment.' 148.
'Cavour.' 26, 49.
'Der Tod als Freund. A translation of the picture by Alfred Rethe.' 37.
'The Old Time and the New.' 4.

(1875)
'Jones and Calypso. a monologue in the studio.' 343, 348.
'Arnaud de Merveil. [At the Abbey Gate]' 217, 237, 247.
‘Dudman in Paradise.’ 311.

(1899)
‘To the Memory of William Makepeace Thackeray, Dec. 24, 1863.’ 134, 198, 220.

(1859)
‘Rhymes read at Aston Hall, January 25, 1859.’ 195.

Frederick William FABER 1814-1863.

(1857a)
‘The Styrian Lake.’ 1046.
‘The Mourner’s dream, arising from a strange and distressing impression of a friend’s death in a foreign country.’ 63, 96, 250.
‘The Dream of King Croesus.’ 322, 335, 425, 490, 505.
‘The Senses.’ 175.
‘The Isis.’ 44.
‘College Chapel.’ 3.
‘Birthday Thoughts, At a Grave in Somersetshire, 1839.’ 9.
‘Heaven and Earth.’ 13.
‘Childhood.’ 44.
‘Ambitious Repentance.’ 16.
‘Past Friends.’ 7.
‘Lent.’ 39.
‘France.’ 109, 214.
‘Written in Conway Castle.’ 6.
‘Up a stream or down.’ 54, 81.
‘Where the pinewoods wave.’ 6, 24.
‘The Earth’s Heart.’ 52-5.
‘The Ascent of Helvellyn.’ 47.
‘The Last Palatine.’ 60-2, 68.
‘Constantinople, or New Rome. From the Hill above the Mosque of Eyoub.’ 54, 68, 92.
‘Thoughts while reading history.’ 94.
‘College Library.’ 1.
‘Ross Churchyard.’
‘Loughrigg.’ 62.

(1857b)


(1850)
‘Monody on the Death of Her Majesty Adelaide the Queen Dowager.’ 7, 170, 211.
(1857)
'Shrill sings the merry lark, as in the east.' 52.

(1852)
'Sonnet to Louisa.' 3.
'How canst thou lie sleeping so calmly.' 8.
'To him, who much possesseth, shall be.' 6.
'The Complaint.' 29.
'The Simile.' 18.
'The Lay of Bragi.' 18, 157.
'Jerusalem.' 103.
'Dramatic Fragment.' 90.
'Shelley's Grave.' 2, 10, 35, 41-3.
'Stanzas. Pain and Pleasure, thou hast wrought.' 25.

Edward FITZGERALD 1809-1883.

(1903)
'Agamemnon.' 774.
'The Downfall and Death of King Oedipus. A Drama in Two Parts.' Part I: 6, 942, 970; Part II: 273, 322, 708, 1143, 1337, 1382, 1402.
'A Bird's-eye view of Farid-Uddin Attar's Bird-parliament.' 608, 768, 780, 886.
'The Two Generals.' 107.
'To a Lady Singing.' 19.


(1827)
'The Tallow Chandler.' 44.

(1835)
'The Battle of the "Annuals".' 114.

Thomas Hornblower GILL b.1819.

(1858)
'February 22. (On this day, 1732, George Washington was born)' 33.
'Easter Day.' 6, 20.
'April 23. Shakespeare.' 54.

(1841)
'The Fortunes of Faith; or, Church and State.' Book I, 85, 130, 171, 238, 264, 334; Book II, 32, 130, 142, 250, 331n, 363, 388, 401, 435, 448, 467, 469, 488, 528, 542; Book III, 111, 126, 406; Book IV, 59.

David GRAY 1838-1861.

(1874)
'The Luggie.' 78, 527, 546, 551, 939.
'The "Auld Aisle"—a Burying Ground.' 6, 22, 96, 120, 129.

Dora GREENWELL 1821-1882.

(1876)
'Demeter and Cora.' 14.
'Between Two Worlds.' 86, 182.

(1869)
'The Aloe.' 26.
'A Life-Requiem.' 1, 46.
'November.' 34.
'Coelo tegitur qui non habet urnam.' 15, 29, 56.
'Oh, amiable, lovely death!'
'L'Envoi.' 1, 8.
'A Mystery.' 12.
'A Song of Joy and Pain.' 48.
'Summa Theologiae.' 18.
'The Marriage Supper of the Lamb.' 51.
'Si descendere in infernum, ades.' 2.
'Quid dixit, Maria?'' 4, 17, 37, 71.
'Buried, but not dead.' epigraph, 46, 89.
'Decension and Revival.' 6.
'The Meek shall increase their joy in the Lord.' 84.

(1848)
'The Dream of a Poet's Youth.' 65, 70.
'The Song of Death.' 36.
'Sabbath Peace.' 72.
'The Home Grief.' 104, 169.
'Auf Fröhliches Wieder-sehen.' headnote, 35.
'The Scented Clay.' 13.
'Isabel.' 133, 147, 155.
'The Last Wish.'

(1867)
'The White Crusade—Italy, 1860.' 10, 14-7, 32, 46.
'A Song to Call to Remembrance. A Plea for the Coventry Ribbon-Weavers.' 20, 24.
'Go and Come.' 47, 60.

(1861)
'Christina.' 1, 149, 152, 158.
'The Kiss.' 35.
'A Story of Olden Time.' 8, 47.
'Haunted Ground.' 36.
'To a Long-Parted Friend.' 14.
'To --- ---.' 23.
'Forsaken.' 10.
'Winter.' 26.

(1873)
'L'Envoi.' 40.
'A Soliloquy. The human soul in a garden.' 9.
'A Good Confession.' headnote.

(1850)
'The Mower-Maiden.' 36.
'Lady Alice's Shrift.' 55; Part II: 50-1.
'A Life-Requiem.'
'A Song of Rest.' 8.
'The Illuminated City. Suggested by a night picture of Venice.' 67.
'Lord Roland.' Part IV: 62.
'The Memorial of Mary.' II: 17.
'The Silent Grave-stone.'
Thomas Gordon HAKE 1809-1895.

(1879)
'The Palmist.' 16, 102.
'The Soul-painter.' 35.
'The Lost Future.' 42.
'New Souls.' 29, 102.

(1871)
'Madeline.' 90; Part III: 116; Part VI: 116; Part VII 3, 81, 155; Part IX: 106; Part XII: 167; Part XIII: 95, 193, 206; 205, 238.
'On the storm of Life.' 4, 21-2.
'On Genius.' 55.
'On Life.' 4-6.
'On the Bereaved.' 34, 77.
'On Early Death.' 8.
'On Despair.' 12.
'On Belief.' 21.
'On the Churchyard.' 18, 24.
'On the tombs.'
'On Death.' 12, 22.
'On the Resurgam.' 14.

(1880)
'The Betrothed.' 16, 73.
'Remember how your art has raised again.' 8.
'How can we die? And what memorial.' 9.
'Michael Angelo.' 26.
'The Cripple.' 10-12, 150.
'The Spirit's Kiss.' 59, 71, 86, 91.
'The Heart-broken.' 29.
'The Poetess.' 67.

(1890)
'Yet what pathetic moments she betrays!' 2.
'When kings, moon-stricken, challenge.' 8.
'There is a Conscience in the tomb.' 14.
'Where Nature is there dwells all beauty.' 9.
'The poet of all time, the one in whom.' 3.
'While Nature in her far-off worlds reposes.' 13.
'But Nature never sleeps; her rounded eyes.' 7.
'Have they thought out aright their narrow scope.' 12.
'There summer has its setting like the sun.' 9.
'Could we once choose, twere at some distant time.' 6.

(1876)
'Pythagoras.' 37, 53, 83.
'The Exile.' 24.
'The First Saved.' 74.
'Michael Angelo.' 59.

(1872)
'Old Morality.' 18, 26, 39, 57-8, 62, 93-5, 104, 140, 153.

(1894)
'The Wedding Ring.' 19.
'Let the Dead Bury their Dead. Luke ix. 60.' 18.

(1828)
'The Misanthrope. A Poem. In two Cantos.' Canto I: 8; Canto II: 185.
'Elegy, written in the ruins of the priory of St. Pancras.' 24, 55.
'Farewell. a Song.' 20.

(1883)
'The Serpent Play.' Act I.i.17, 33, ii.33, iv.19; Act II.i.71; Act III.i.53; Act V.i.18, iii.39, 84, 103, vi. 73.

Sir John HANMER 1809-1881.

(1839)
'Approach to Venice on a November day.' 66.
'Fra Cipolla. How Friar Onion showed the coals on which St. Laurence was broiled, instead of the feather of the Angel Gabriel, as he promised, to the people of Certaldo.' 88.
'The "Friar and the Ass".' 136, 230.
'The Strategy of Death. How Three Revellers went to find death, and how they found him.' 8, 67, 71.
'Proteus.' 162, 175.

(1833)
'Enter Monks. From the Same [An Unfinished Mask]' 2.

(1840)
'Art.' 14.

Robert Stephen HAWKER 1803-1875.

(1899)
'Pompeii.' 6, 45, 88, 94, 141-5, 203, 213, 229.
'The Lady of the Mount.' 7.
'The Burial of Harold.' 8.
'The Death-race.' 11.
'Trevarrow.' 12, endnote.
'On the Grave of a Child in Morwenstow Churchyard.'
'The Cell by the Sea.' 23, 36.
'The Bier of Mary, Mother of God. A Legend.' 49.
'The Southern Cross.' 3.
'Sir Beville—The Gate Song of Stowe.' 24.
'The Silent Tower of Bottreaux.' 1n.
'Down with the church.' An electioneering Cry.' 17.
'Annot of Benallay.' 18.
'Datur hora quieti.' headnote, endnote.
'The Quest of the Sangraal.' 218.
'The Fairy Vision.' 86.
'Home. A Fragment.' 97.
'A Tribute.' 3-6, 9, 23.
'I am the Resurrection and the Life! saith the Lord!' May, 1840.' 1, 27-30.
'The Exile's Text.' 6, 13, 24.
'The Poor Man and his Parish.' 40-2, 51, 94.
'The Figure-head of Caledonia at her Captain's Grave. 1841.'
'A Ballad for a Cottage Wall.' 13, 20.
'Genoveva.' Part II: 27, 161-3; Part III: 52.
'The Twain. Which only hath Immortality.' 10.
'The Dirge. 1842.' 1, 4, 17.
'A Night-Sketch.' 42.
'To Nature.' 42.
'The axe is laid at the root of the tree'. 20, 28.
'David's Lament.' 16.
'Translation of an Epitaph on Rosa, Countess of Warwick, in Broadhimson Churchyard.' 3.
'Death Song.' 9.
Ann HAWKSHAW 1813-1873.

(1842)
'Introductory Stanzas.' iii-iv.
'Dionysius, the Areopagite.' Part I: pp.6, 7, 9, 11, 13, 17, 18, 19, 22, 25, 28, 29, 31, 35, 43, 54, 55, 56, 57, 61; Part II: pp.65, 66, 73, 74, 81, 86, 87, 89; Part III: pp.95, 99, 100, 101.
'The Past.' pp.118, 120, 124, 125.
'Wild Flowers.' p.148.
'The Welsh Bard's Last Song.' p.151.
'To the Primrose.' p.153.
'To a bereaved father.' p.164.
'The mother to her starving child.' pp.171, 172.
'To ---- on the death of three of her children.' p.173.
'To ---- after the death of her daughter.' p.175.
'Lines on a friend lost at sea.' p.177.
'The Prophet's Lament.' pp.180, 182.
'Song. Though a smile is on my lip.' p.183.
'The Captive King.' pp.189, 190.
'Why am I a slave?' pp.191, 192, 193.

[(1847)]
'The Oak Tree.' p.47.
'The Hermit, the Chieftain, and the Child. A Tale about Happiness.' p.72.
'The Monk of Chester.' pp.79, 80.
'A Talk in Furness Abbey.' p.85.
'Sir Oswald's Return.' pp.98, 105, 106, 107.


(1846)
'The Noble Heart. A Bohemian Legend.' 583, 765, 928, 1446, 1606.
'The Church Poor-Box.' 14.
'The Ballad of Delora; or, the Passion of Andrea Como.' 424, 518, 599, 634.

(1875)
'Arctic Heroes. A Fragment of Naval History.' 155.
'Don Quixote at the Grave of Rozinante.' 4.
'Pelters of the Pyramids.' 10.
'The Laurel-Seed.' 22.
'Jacob Van Dort; or the Modern Sadducee.' 32, 54.
'Euthanasia.' 6.

(1867)
'Galatea Secunda, an Odaic Cantata, addressed to H. R. H. Prince Alfred, Duke of Edinburgh, on his first arrival in the Colony of Victoria.' 48, 51.

(1872a)

(1848)
'The Urn, a Pastoral Monody.' 32, 153-4, 181, 201.
'An Irish Funeral.' epigraph, 61.
'The Last Words o' the Thane o' Cawdor. An Ancient Scottish Ballad.' 3-5.
[(1883)]
'The Last Words of Cleanthes. B. C. 220.' 136-8, 147.

(1872b)

(1841)
'The Franklin's Tale.' 248.

(1882)
'Soliloquium Fratris Rogeri Baconis, Anno domini 1292.' 141, 160.

[[1865?]]
'The Two Georges: A Dialogue of the Dead.' 15, 64.

William Walsham HOW 1823-1897.

(1886a)
'Funeral of a Child in Spring.' 5, 32.
'Stars and Graves.' epigraph, 6, 26.
'The Boy Hero. (A True Story in its main facts)' 81.
'Poetry and the Poor.' 2n.
'Haberly Valley. (Near Kidderminster.)' 57-8.
'The Last Bathe.' 86.
'My Clergy.' 56.
'A Vision of Barmouth.' 22.

(1886b)
'Was Lost and is Found'. 29.

Cecil Frances HUMPHREYS [after Mrs. Alexander] 1818-1895.

(1859)
'The Voice of Lamentation.' 72.
'The Voice of the Mother.' 22.

(1882)
'The Lost Favourite.' 43-5.

(1896)
'The Cave of Machpelah.' 9-10, 14, 44.
'Caleb and Joshua.' 29.
'Rachel.' 1-3, 7, 25, 50-3.
'The Dead. Suggested by a scene on Ascension Day.' 52.
'The Burial of Moses.' 4, 64-5, 73.
'The Burial of Samuel.' 13.
'The Death of David.' 1.
'The Resurrection.' 14, 22-4.
'The Yellow Damask Chair.' 73.
'The Eve of Battle.' 19, 91.
'The Rising at Aix.' 40, 76, 168.
'The Siege of Derry.' 46.
'Lilian.' 1, 26, 300, 345, 350, 509.
'The Lonely Grave.' 34, 64, 107.
'Sorrow on the Sea.' 65, 70, 78, 118, 133.
'New Year's Eve.' 33.
'King Edward's Dream.' 54, 58.
'The Baron's Little Daughter.' 174, 202.
'Joanna.' 13-6.
'The Graveyard in the Hills.' 1-2, 81, 101, 277, 296.
'The Lapidary's Daughter.' 24, 65, 235.
'The Dying Soldier's Wife.' 49.
'The Twin Mutes; Taught and Untaught.' 6-7.
'Dying among the Pines.' 24.
'The Grave at Spitzbergen.' headnote, 54, 100-5.
'The Grave of Mrs. Hemans.' 1-2, 48, 54-6, 78.
'Southey's Grave.' 13, 16, 21, 47.
'The Grave by St. Columba's Cross.' headnote, 40.
'In Memoriam, Maximilian Didley Digges Dalison, Lieutenant in the Scots Guards.' 10, 16.
'A Brother's Grave.' 4, 28.
'On the laying of the first stone of the memorial church at Constantinople.' 85.
'"The work of woman's hand."' 19.

(1888)
'Lot and Sodom.' 46.
'Joseph A Type.' 40.
'The Plagues of Egypt.' 27.
'Israel's Cry.' 51.
'The Red Sea.' 4.
'The Punishment of Moses.' 51.
'Gerizim and Ebal.' 50.

John William INCHBOLD 1830-1888.

(1876)
'Love's Revenge.' 14.
'Love's Autumn Buds.' 11.
'Sans Peur.' 14.
'Love's Year.' 14.
'At Last.' 13.

Jean INGELOW 1820-1897.

(1878)
'Thou hast found me and I cannot bear Thy light.' 18.
'Thou wert far off, and in the sight of heaven.' 8.
'From Psalm CXXX.' 15.
'Friday.' 3, 16.
'Double Hymn.' 6.
'Mary of Magdala, when the moon had set.' 11, 22.
'A Requiem.' 12.
'Harvest.' 16.
'Early Questions of the Church.' 8.
'Mighty and merciful, to Thee.' 14.
'Listening to the Waits.' 28.
'I wait till Christ be form'd in me.' 33.

(1888)
'Honours—Part II. The Answer.' 233.
'Requiescat in Pace!' 78-80, 111.
'Afternoon at a Parsonage.' 141, 195.
'The Star's Monument. In the concluding part of a discourse on Fame.' 480.
'A Dead Year.' 2, 38, 64, 130, 144-9.
'The Letter. L.' 291.
'Brothers, and a Sermon.' 287, 329, 353-5.
'The Four Bridges.' 3, 298, 604, 676.
'The Dreams that came true.' 131.
'Laurence.' II: 272.
'With a Diamond.' 2.
'Gladys and her island. (On the advantages of the poetical temperament)' 542.
'Winstanley.' 293, 305.

(1885)
'Rosalmond. ' 289, 291, 341, 537, 588, 644.
'Preludes to a Penny Reading.' II: 138; III: 153.
'Speranza.' 155.
'The Sleep of Sigismund.' 308.
'The Maid-Martyr.' 385.

(1850)
'The Two Margarets.' 518-22, 704, 789.
'Mimie's Grass-Nest.' 631.
'Hannah.' Part I: 98, 103, 159.
'The Death of Moses on Mount Nebo.' 327.
'The Shunamite.' Part II: 24.
'To Katie, asleep in the day-time.' 169.
'Katie, aged five years. [asleep in Jesus]' 30-2.
'Samuel, aged nine years.' 48.

John Kells INGRAM 1823-1907.

(1900)
'The Master first brought clearly to our view.' 11.
'A Protest.' 14.
'The moon was bright that Autumn night.' 23
'“How sacred is this place”,' in awe I cried.' 5.
'The Memory of the Dead.' 20.


(1891)
'After reading "Ajax".' 12.
'iole.' 15.
'Stesichorus.' 10.
'Caius Gracchus.' 32.
'A Dirge.' 17.
'Academus.' 2.
'After reading "Maud".' 8.
'Melliren.' 4.
'A Retrospect of School Life.' 21.
'Nuremberg Cemetery.' 14.
'Hypermnestra.' 23.
'A Serving-man's Epitaph.' 2.
'A House and a Girl.' 14.

Ellen JOHNSTON 1835-1873.

(1867)
'Lines on the Death of a Beloved Child.' p.15.
'Welcome, Garibaldi. A Voice from Dundee.' p.28.
'Love and War.' pp.43-4.
'To my Aunt Phemie.' p.46.
'Farewell. Written by Request.' p.50.
'The Broken Heart. A Tale.' p.56.
'The Summer's Away.' p.59.
'The Drunkard's Wife.' p.59.
'Address to the High Church of Glasgow on the rash judgment of man.' pp.61-2.
'Epitaph. Thou art gone to thy cold and narrow bed.' pp.70-1.
'Perjury's Victim.' p.81.
'Your Wee Neebour Nell.' p.88.
'The Drygate Brae, or Wee Mary's First Love.' p.90.
'An Address to Kelvin Water.' p.93.
'Lines to the Memory of a Beloved Wife.' p.138.
'The Trip o' Blochaint.' p.144.

Ebenezer JONES 1820-1860.

(1843)
'Remembrance of Feelings.' 44.
'Life.' 14.
'Song of the Gold Getters.' 3.
'To a Corpse Watcher.' 32, 38.
'A Crisis.' 24.
'A Lady's Hand.' 29.
'The Poet's Death.' 39-40.
'A Coming Cry.' 21.
'Plea for Love of the Universal.' 13.
'Ways of Regard.' 36.

(1879)
'Seekers.' 1, 16.
'I believe.' 43.
'To Death.' 1, 23, 40, 47.

Ernest Charles JONES 1819-1868.

(1855)
'The Cost of Glory.' III: 199, 279; IV: 543.
'The Battle-Day; or, the Lost Army.' I: 12; V: 337, 369, 437, 452.
'Leawood Hall, A Christmas Tale.' 52
'The Cornfield and the Factory.' 77.
'The Peasant.' 14.
'Liberty.' 2.
'The Coming Day.' 31.
'The Better Hope.' 31, 50.
'The Poet's Prayer to the Evening Wind.' 6.
'New Year's Eve.' 35.
'The Harper Wind.' 7, 53-5.
'The Life of a Flower.' 42, 74, 126.
'Percy Vere the Peer's Story.' 7, 28, 109, 148, 183; Part I: 132, 729.

(1860)
'The Spirits' Call.' 14.
'The Parting Hour.' 32.
'Olden Days.' 22.
'The King.' 9.
'The Temptation.' 42.
'The Flight.' 48.
'The Siege.' 4, 47.
'The Red Rose.' 52.
'On hearing of a Poet's death.' 4.
'Hope.' 29.
‘Earth’s Burdens.’ 32.
‘The Trees.’ 15.
‘Too Soon.’ 19.
‘Where?’ 14.
‘Percy Vere: A Day of Youth.’ II: 146, 211.

(1856a)
‘The Baltic Fleet.’ 52.
‘The Baltic.’ 21, 30.
‘The Emperor’s Vigil.’ 156, 266.
‘Prayer for Peace.’ 40, 54, 75.
‘Helping Hands.’ 18.

(1830)
[Rodolski].’ 43-5, 131.
‘The Sigh.’ 25.

(1857)
‘The Revolt of Hindostan; or, the New World.’ 343, 897, 1028, 1077, 1096, 1191.
‘The Soldier’s Return.’ 42.
‘The Emperor’s Vigil.’ 91, 187.

[[1856b]]
‘A Song of Resurrection.’ 5, 19.
‘Song of the Factory Slave.’ 35, 57.

Robert Dwyer Joyce 1830-1883.

(1908)
‘The Old Love and the New Love.’ 37.
‘The Blacksmith of Limerick.’ 52.
‘Ballad of Dark Gilliemore; or, the Mournful Squire.’ 255, 274.
‘The Black Robber.’ 52.
‘Asthoreen Mochree.’ 17.
‘The Pilgrim.’ 7, 27.
‘The White Ladye.’ 5.
‘The Battle of Manningford.’ 40.

(1861)
‘The Siege of Clonmel. A. D. 1650.’
‘The Templar Knight.’ 4n, 68.
‘Mary’s Sweetheart.’ 24.
‘Rosssnalee.’ 37.
‘Mary Lombard.’ 77.
‘The Ensign and his Banner. A Brigade Song.’ 35.
‘Oh! Fair shines the sun on Glenara.’ 14.
‘I sit on the hold of Moyallo.’ 20.
'I built me a bower.' 20.
'The March out of Limerick.' 13.
'The Wind that shakes the Barley.' 37.

(1879)
'O thou, to come, though yet perchance unborn.' 7.
'Blanid.' 477, 887, 1172, 1179, 1183, 2338, 2805.

(1877)
'Deirdrè.' 2406, 2927, 3502, 4239, 4344.

(1868)
"The woods of Drumlory".' 6.

John KEBLE 1792-1866.
"Primo dierum omnium". 3.
"Salve flores martyrum". 11.
"Chorus novae hierusalem." 8.
'To a Cave under High Peak, Sidmouth.' 8.
'To the Memory of John Leyden, M.D.' 7.
'Robin Lee.' 60.
'At Hooker's Tomb.' 6.
'Hammond's Grave.' 9, 13.
'Newton Cliff, near Fledborough.' 38.
'Malvern at a Distance.' 12.
'Fragment.' 9.
'For the Tomb of the old Biddlecombes, May 24, 1861.'

Fanny [Frances Anne] KEMBLE 1809-1893.

(1883)
'Farewell to Italy.' 20.
'Lines to Miss St. Leger.' 64, 79.
'Lines addressed to the young gentlemen leaving the academy at Lennox, Massachusetts.' 27.
'Tis an old tale and often told'. 4-5, 45.
'Song. Pass thy hand through my hair, love.' 28.
'Lines written in London.' 3.
'Written at Trenton Falls.' 16.
'Arrival at Rome.' 82.
'The Siren's Cave at Tivoli.' 4.
'Hadrian's Villa.' 34.
'To Pius IX.' 13.
'The Black Wallflower.' 9.
'Ode written for the 22d of August 1834—The Berkshire Jubilee.' 84.
'To Shakespeare.' 5.
'The Red Indian.' 4, 8, 24.
'A Wish.' 5, 12.
'The Minstrel's Grave.'
'Lines for Music.' 10.
'To a Star.' 13, 26.
'Lines on a sleeping child.' 32.
'Lines written at Sea.' 22.
'To Emilia Lovatelli, weeping by Shelley's Grave in the Protestant Cemetery of Rome.' 10, 11.
'Sonnet. Have you not heard that in some deep-sea'd graves.' 1, 14.

Charles Rann KENNEDY 1808-1867.

[1860?]
'Francis Beaumont: A Tragedy.' Act I, (i) 46; Act II: 59; Act IV, (i) 40, (iv) 70, 155; Act V, (iii) 46.

[1866]
'Hannibal: A Poem.' 65, 286, 472, 725, 1042.

(1843)
'The Word of God.' 16.
'Chanticleer.' 16.
'Consolation.' 168.
'Courage.' 4.

(1857)
'The Poet's Dream. Is poesy then all a dream?' 123, 232.
'The Poet's Dream. Of Poesy why grudge the praise?' 115, 240.
'The Murderer.' 83.
Letitia Elizabeth LANDON ['L. E. L.'] 1802-1838.

(1837)
'Birthday Tribute.' 125, 221n.

(1832)
'Christ crowned with thorns. "Behold the man".' 10.
'St. John in the Wilderness.' 3.
'The Magdalen.' 56, 90, 154.
'The Incredulity of St. Thomas.' 74-7, 85.
'The Infant St. John.' 27.
'Christ blessing little children.' 20, 28.

(1821)
'The Fate of Adelaide.' Canto I: 201, 207, 485; Canto II: 12, 169, 223, 460, 462, 468, 536, 541.
'Curtius.' 27.
'Sonnet. Green willow! over whom the perilous blast.' 14.
'Sonnet. It is not in the day of revelry.' 8.
'Stanzas. I do not weep that thou art laid.' 2, 6.
'Lines addressed to Colonel H—, on his return from Waterloo.' 2, 6.
'Dirge.' 4, 20.
'The Phoenix and the Dove.' 4-6.
'Fable.' 8, 22.
'Fragment. I saw her amid pleasure's gayest haunts.' 26.
'Lines. She kneels by the grave where her lover sleeps.' 1, 9-12.
'Fragment. Is not this grove.' 42, 50, 65.

(1827)
'Erinna.' 250.
'The Omen.' 102, 109.
'One Day.' 92.
'Love's Last Lesson.' 60, 132.

(1831)
'The Improvisatrice.' 158-9, 300, 401, 598, 865, 1187, 1208, 1212, 1266, 1465-70, 1486, 1498.
'Rosalie.' 254, 257, 261.
'The Guerilla Chief.' 161-2.
'The Bayadere. An Indian Tale.' 179-81, 201, 215.
'St. George's Hospital, Hyde-Park Corner.' 24, 38.
'The Deserter.' 7-9, 30, 40, 49, 87-9.
'Gladesmuir.' 125, 142, 149.
'The Sailor.' epigraph, 37-8, 88, 92.
'The Covenanters.' 92, 111.
'Manmadin, the Indian Cupid, floating down the Ganges.' 27, 40, 65.
'Arion. A Tale.' 18, 76.
'The Female Convict.' 44, 60.
'The Painter's Love.' 113-4.
'Inez.' 150, 155.
'The Violet.' 15-7.
'The Grey Cross.' 2, 9, 19.
'On a Star.' 16, 21.
‘The Crusader.’ 38, 49, 57.
‘The Soldier’s Grave.’ 1, 12, 26.

(1841)
‘The Polar Star.’ 35.
‘Castruccio Castrucani; or, the Triumph of Lucca.’ Act II.ii.25; Act III.iii.109; Act IV.ii. 25; Act V. iii.72.
‘Petrarch’s Dream.’ 6, 70.
‘Rienzi showing Nina the Tomb of his brother.’ 48.
‘A Supper of Madame de Brinvilliers.’ 105.
‘The Moorish Maiden’s Vigil.’ 84.
‘The Carrier-pigeon returned.’ 96.
‘Ariadne watching the sea after the departure of Theseus.’ 98.
‘The Two Deaths.’ 218.
‘Stanzas on the death of Mrs. Hemans.’ 44.
‘Three Extracts from the Diary of a Week.’ 94.
‘The Future.’ 42, 45.
‘A Long While Ago.’ 40.
‘Vanity.’ 4.
‘Love’s Followers.’ 13.
‘The Disturbing Spirit.’ 12.
‘Memory.’ 7.
‘The Marriage Vow.’ 7, 10.
‘Remembrance.’ 10.
‘Changes in London.’ 11.
‘Age.’ 11.
‘Immortality.’ 5.
‘Stanzas on the New Year.’ 35.

(1836)
‘The Sailor.’ 38, 44.

(1829)
‘The Lost Pleiad.’ 424, 455.
‘The Ancestress, A Dramatic Sketch.’ Scene II: 17, 77; Scene III: 18, 50; Scene IV: 47;
Scene V: 45; Scene VI: 45.
‘His brow is pale with high and passionate thoughts.’ 9, 36.
‘A Night in May.’ 48.
‘Warning.’ 68.
‘The Nameless Grave.’ 1, 9, 44.
‘Revenge.’ 22.
‘The Dying Child.’ 38.
‘A Summer Evening’s Tale.’ 142, 234.
‘Lines of Life.’ 64.
‘The Battle Field.’ epigraph.
‘New year’s Eve.’ 13, 60.
‘Song. I pray thee let me weep to-night.’ 31.

(1835)
‘The Vow of the Peacock.’ 30, 56; Canto 1: 23, 244, 460, 672-3, 691; Canto 2: 100, 364, 522,
572, 623, 628, 635.
‘Head of Ariadne.’ 13-16.
'L' Amore Dominatore.' 88.
'The Castilian Nuptials.' epigraph.
'The Painter.' 86.
'A Village Tale.' 12, 15, 31, 37, 148, 154, 182, 187, 199.
'The Factory.' 28, 84.
'The Wreck.' 32, 38.
'The Frozen Ship.' 32, 39.
'The Spirit and the Angel of Death.' 56.
'The Danish Warrior's Death Song.' 32.
'The Aspen Tree.' 21.
'The Little Shroud.' 5, 33.
'The Churchyard.' 31.
'Change.' 14.
'Edith.' 2, 39.
'The Forgotten One.' 74.
'The City of the Dead.' III: 20; IV: 25; V: 50.
'Admiral Collingwood.' 44.
'The First Grave.' headnote, 1, 5, 17, 22-3, 37-9, 64.
'Follow Me.' epigraph, 12.
'The Legacy of the Lute.' 18.
'The Middle Temple Gardens.' 16.

(1839)
'The Minster.' 22.
'Sir Walter Scott.' 90.
'Fountain's Abbey.' 15.
'The Reply of the Fountain.' 22, 44.
'To Olinthus Gregory, on hearing of the death of his eldest son, who was drowned as he was returning by water to his Father's house at Woolwich.' 15, 28, 39.
'Long years have past since last I have stood.' 30.
'The Funeral.' 4.
'On an Engraving of Hindoo Temples.' 36.
'On Reading a Description of the Delectable Mountains in Bunyan's Pilgrim's Progress.' 19.
'Smolensko Church.' 13.
'The Unknown Grave.' 1, 26.
'The Church at Polignac.' 5, 20.
'Scene during the plague at Gibraltar.' 3, 29-31.
'Felicia Hemans.' 20, 80.
'The Kings of Golconda.' 41, 65n.
'The Cedars of Lebanon.' 16.
'The Prophetess.' 16, 66.
'To the Memory of a Favourite Child, the Daughter of a Friend.' 39, 83, 89.

Robert Eyres LANDOR 1781-1869.

(1828)
'The Impious Feast.' Book II: 320; Book III: 166, 598; Book IV: 275; Book V: 283, 388; Book VI: 2, 19, 113, 167; Book VII: 203; Book VIII: 254, 433, 526, 569; Book IX: 76, 218, 364; Book X: 134, 162, 339, 479.

Robert LEIGHTON 1822-1869.

(1869a)
'When we two were dear friends I sway'd between.' 87.
'I could not think what gave her that fine beauty.' 12.
'If thou should'st die, my little one! —This dread.' 116.
'I wonder when I'll die, and what will be.' 13.
'My heart has choked me through this live-long day.' 132.
'I cry for rest! e'en cast a weary eye.' 2.
'Farewell, my Channing! I will call thee mine.' 17.
'The guid gray cat: a witch story of the sea.' Part II: 133.

(1880)
'First be, then teach.' 7.
'Beauty.' 7.
'Ever Young.' 7.
'The Dried-up Fountain.' 34.
'After a Thunderstorm.' 3.
'The Lone Soul.' 36-7.
'At The Grave of Margaret.' 1, 4, 15.
'The Fog.' 18.
'The Duke of Brunswick's Diamonds.' 19, 37.
'My Mither's Grave.' 2, 32.

(1875)
'Reuben. A dramatic Poem.' Act I.i.123, iii.1, 41; Act II.i.147, 158.
'The Rookery.' 36, 46.
'The Weasel's Cairn.' 82.
'The Neglected Canary.' 71.
'Use of Beauty.' 12.
'5th February, 1868.' 8.
'Poet's Corner.' 29, 67.

(1869b)
'The Bapteesement o' the Bairn.' 34.

Mary E. LESLIE.

(1861)
"He is risen!" Mark xvi, 6. Harp and psaltery awake.' p.21.
"The Lord hath anointed me . . . to comfort all that mourn." Isaiah lxii, 1, 2. Thou art anointed, not for war and strife.' p.23.
"By Thy holy Nativity and Circumcision [...]" By Thy strange childhood's years, Thou Holy Child.' pp.35-8.
"Now is Christ risen from the dead." 1 Corinthians XV, 22. Thou didst arise.' pp.39-42.
"Let Thy loving spirit lead me forth unto the land of uprightness." Psalm cxliii, 10. Spirit of tenderness, who leadest ever.' p.95.
"I have redeemed thee." Isaiah liii, 1.' p.157.
"Neither pray I for these alone." John xvii, 21.' p.160.
"Thy visitation hath preserved my spirit." Job x, 12.' p.193.
"Thanks be to God who giveth us the victory through our Lord Jesus Christ." 1 Corinthians xv, 57.' p.207.

(1856)
'Ina.' Scene I, pp.3, 4, 5, 6, 8, 9; Scene II, pp.12, 13, 14, 19; Scene IV, pp.50, 52; Scene VI, pp.78, 79, 80, 84 and n; Scene VII, pp.93, 108, 109, 111; Scene IX, pp.129, 130, 132, 134, 138 and n, 139, 140, 141; Scene XI, p.166.
'The Death of Moses.' Scene I, p.200; Scene V, p.215.
'Tintoretto and his Daughter.' pp.231, 237-8.
'The Ruined House.' p.244.
'Died at Sea.' p.249.
'The Death of Admiral Blake.' p.273.
'Polar Shadows.' p.278, epigraph.

(1876)
'Adventures of Ulysses.' Book 1: 75; Book 2: 120, 191; Book 3: 84, 170.

(1845)
'The Life and Adventure of Bob Thin.' 433, 440.

([1891])
'Catoninetales A Domestic Epic.' subtitle, Fytte 1: 17, 81, 195; Fytte 4: 93; Fytte 9: 325, 343, 393, 400, 405n.

(1865)
'Claribel or Love and Friendship in Two Acts.' Act II: ii.29, 33, v.54.
'Harry Marten's Dungeon Thoughts.' 23-6, 44-7, 61, 82, 109, 121, 150, 157-9.
'The old Legend of King Arthur.' 57, 63.
'Threnody. In Memory of Albert Darasz.' 2, 25-7, 39, 47.
'The Captive Arab.' 26.
'The Ruined City.' 58.
'Eve.' 25.
'God Wish.' 27.
'Choruses from a Political Poem.' 60.
'A Dirge. Nightingale! sing o'er her tomb.' 1, 6, 11.
'Old Friends.' 6.
'The Dirge of Love.' 3, 13.
'Nought.' 17.
'Hope.' 1.
'Tears.' 9.
'The Song of the Pauper.' 20.
'Triumph.' 5.
'After a Defeat.' 22.
'Gaudiamus igitur.' 21.
'Change.' 3, 8.
'Ode to Youth.' 26.
'The Ghouls in the Belfry.' 43.
'A Homily.' 6, 10.
'Heart and Will.' 13, 20.

(1875a)
'Famine: A Masque.' 38, 236.

([1892])
'The Burglar.' 121.

(1867)
'Our Heritage.' 11.
'Consecrated Land.' 2, 11.
'Property.' 12.
'The Contrast.' 26.
'The Poor-house.' 10, 13.
'Emigrants.' 14.
'Emigration.' 23.
'The Mechanic.' 24, 61.
'God's Martyrs.' 6, 28.
'Courage.' 20.
'The Exiles.' 11.

(1895a)
'Questioning.' II: 230.
'Grief.' 9.
'Threnody.' 19.

(1889)
'Two.' 9.
'In her Grave.' 1, 10-3.
'Rosalind.' 16.

([1875b])
'Under-lines On a Poet's Tomb.' 1.

(1895b)
'Ultima Verba.' 53.

Frederick LOCKER-LAMPSON 1822-1895.

(1904)
'A Human Skull.' 31.
'St. James's Street.' 33.
'The Old Oak-tree at Hatfield Broadoak.' 56.
'Geraldine.' 66.
'Yorick's Funeral.' 9.
'It might have been.' 16.
'Heine to his mistress.' 12.
'Tempora Mutantur!' 35.
'Mr. Placid's Flirtation' epigraph.

(1865)
'"O Domine Deus".' 30.
'A Wish.' 5, 21, 32.
'Glycere.' 16.
'Implora Pace. (One hundred Years Hence)' 27, 35.

Capel LOFFT, the younger 1806-1873.

(1868)
'Ernest: The Rule of Right.' Book II: 554; Book III: 600; Book VI: 426; Book VII: 114.

Thomas Toke LYNCH [Silent Long] 1818-1871.

(1869)
'Wisdom.' 102.
'The young they laugh: Laughs not the sky?' 13.
'The Sailor and his Mother.' 76.
'Rest.' 10, 33, 48.
'The Dark Doctor.' 25.
'Wish and Response.' 2.
'A Church with Bells.' 16.
'The Traveller's Christmas Reverie.' 40, 51.
Denis Florence MACCARTHY 1817-1882.

(1884)
'The Bridal of the Year.' 39.
'The Pillar Towers of Ireland.' 20-2.
'Ferdia; or, the Fight at the Ford.' 556, 787.
'The Bell-founder.' 203, 220.
'Advance!' 85.
'Ireland's Vow.' 8.
'The Dead Tribune.' 41.
'A Mystery.' 81.
'The Meeting of the Flowers.' 168, 178, 16.
'The Resurrection.' 19-21, 32, 60.
'The Lay Missioner.' 13.
'The Spirit of the Ideal.' 27.
'To the Memory of Father Prout.' 28.
'Those Shanden Bells.' 12.
'Sunny days in Winter.' 40.
'A Shamrock from the Irish shore.' 74.
'The Irish Emigrant's Mother.' 46, 63-4.

(1857)
'Moore. An Elegaic Ode.' 92.
'Ode.' 79.

Charles MACKAY 1814-1889.

(1856a)
'The Founding of the Bell.' 35.
'The Dionysia; or, Festivals of Bacchus.' 33.
'Young Genius.' 69.
'A Traveller's Tale.' 155, 164.

(1859)
'Buried Griefs.' 5, 10, 19.
'Many Changes I have seen.' 5.
'The Dangers.' 21.
'The Kissing-gate.' headnote.
'Ellen.' 1.
'The Withered Flowers.' 12.
'Mourn for the Mighty Dead.' 4.
'The Joy-bell and the Requiem.' 25.
'Our Swords are Sheathed.' 20.
'The Flower and Chain.' 12.
'Oh, leave her to her grief.' 16.
'The Mother's Lament.' 19, 26.
'The Death-Song of Thaliessin.' 11.
'The Tambourine Girl.' 26.
'The Ship.' 20.
'That is the Way.' 32.
'The Bard's Epitaph.' 1.

(1848)
'The Drunkard's Children; A Sequel to "The Bottle".' Part VII: 58.
(1850)
'Angel Visits.' 165.
'A Plea for our Physical Life.' 6.

(1890a)
'The Great World and the Poet.' 35.
'The Secret Drawer.' 40.
'Perennial Daisies.' 3.
'At the Ball and in the Grave.'
'Only Straws.' 71.
'We dare not.' 14.
'To my old Highland Plaid.' 39, 55.
'Strathnaver no more.' 18.
'Donald Macleod.' 104, 130.
'The Burial March of King Duncan.' headnote, 13, 33, 45, 53, 57, 69.
'Lord Ronald, and the two great chests.' 28.
'Two Studies of Death.' 9, 13, 40.
'A Burial-place.'
'The Sea-King's Burial.'
'The Little Chink.' 10.
'Can this be all?' 55, 62.
'Euthanasia.' 12.
'Bondage.' 12.
'A Grave.' 4.
'Amrta.' 28.
'The Lost Me.' 46.
'Nirvana.' 36.
'A Man's Heart.'
'On the Death of a Great Man.' 1.

(1840)
'The Hope of the World.' Canto I: 143, 194; Canto II: 28-30.
'To the Winds.' 22.
'American Indians at the Graves of their Fathers.'
'Thirteen at Table; A Vision of Death. Imitated from Beranger.' 4.
'Lorenzo.' 27.
'The Pilgrim's Dog.' 55, 89.

(1884)
'Very virtuous and respectable.' 12.
'A Triad of Love Lyrics.' II: 27.
'Eheu! Miserrimi!' 8-10.
'Childless.' 11.
'Kissing the Thimble.' 2.
'A Grave. All that I want.'

(1857a)
'St. Columba; or the counting of the Isles.' 56.
'The Kelpie of Corryvreckan.' 95.
'The Wraith of Garry Water.' 117, 123.
'The King's Song.' 60.
'The Bridge of Glen Aray.' 64.

(1856b)
'The Lump of Gold.' Part 1: 77, 191; Part 2: 37, 73, 140, 166, 546.
'The Column of Luxor.' 96.
'The Pageant in the Beech-tree Avenue.' 52, 142.
'The Invisible Crown.' 64.
'At a Poet's Grave.' 6, 47.
'The Poplar Leaves.' 35.
'A Bard's Request.' 9, 11, 19.
(1890b)
‘A Man’s Heart.’ Canto I: 218; Canto III: 104, 320; Canto V: 274-7; Canto VII: 326, 345, 374, 396, 424.

(1861)
‘Come, if you dare!’ 8, 17.
‘One Half-hour.’ 90.
‘The Poor Man’s Bird.’ 4.

(1856c)

(1834)
‘A Grave Beneath a Tree.’
‘The Alder Tree.’ 2, 18.
‘Ballad.’ 12.

(1864)
‘Chiron.’ 60, 119.
‘Dynamene.’ 41, 132.
‘The old Man by the River.’ 18.
‘The Red and Yellow Leaf in October.’ 32.
‘There’s a Land, a Dear Land.’ 14.

(1857b)
‘One half-hour.’ 40, 80.
‘Lullingsworth.’ 331.
‘The Briony Wreath.’ 64.
‘The Mock Jewels.’ 69.

(1857c)
‘The Dying Mother.’ 24, 30, 39, 43.
‘The Deposition of King Clog.’ 55.
‘Above and Below.’ 34.
‘A Question answered.’ 2.
‘The Phantoms of St. Sepulchre.’ 17, 47-9, 57-60, 78, 137.

(1857d)
‘The Drop of Ambrosia.’ 45, 54, 76.
‘Now.’ 35.
‘A Reverie in the Grass.’ 32.

Theodore MARTIN 1816-1909.

(1894)

(1863)
‘The Monk’s Dream.’ 45, 192.
Gerald MASSEY 1828-1907.

(1855)
'Not lost, but gone before.' 7.
'I love my love, and my love loves me.' 32.
'Eighteen Hundred and Forty-Eight.' 43, 63.
'A Cry of the Peoples.' 17.
'The Lord's Land and Money.' 16.
'The Deserter from the Cause.' 14.
'All's Right with the World.' 8.
'A Song in the City.' 80.
'The Famine-Smitten.' 44.
'Peace.' 9, 72.

(1856)
'Craigcrook Castle.' II: 48; IV: 197.
'Lady Laura.' II: 94.
'Glimpses of the War.' I: 26; II: 131; III: 136-42; IV: 192, 222; V: 252-8; VII: 272-8; X: 336-42;
XII: 492; XVII: 746; XVIII: 756, 759, 762, 764, 768, 774, 780; XIX: 807; XXI: 883.
'Dirge.' 10.
'Only a Dream.' 120-4, 163.

(1861a)
'Havelock's March.' The Revolt: 33; The Avengers: 12, 114; Cawnpore: 43; The Relief: 39;
Death of Havelock: 101.
'Hugh Miller's Grave.' 1, 6, 104, 122, 132.
'The Fighting Temeraire tugged to her last berth.' 52.
'Our little child with radiant eyes.' 12.
'How the flowers came from Eden.' 70, 76.

(1889)
'Babe Christabel.' 156, 176.
'In Memoriam.' epigraph, 45, 55-8, 82-5, 89, 139.
'An April Wedding.' 3, 23.
'As they passed.' 13.
'English John Talbot, Shakspeare's terribly brave.' 2, 7.
'Via crucis via lucis.' 14, 26, 30, 69, 249.
'Protoplasm. (Professor of Physics loquitur)' 102, 118.
'A Poet's Love-letter.' 93, 282, 308-10.
'Widow Margaret.' 20, 26, 37, 50, 117, 120-2, 133.
'Pictures in the Fire.' 42, 108, 111.
'Robin's Song.' 21-4.
'The Bridegroom of Beauty.' 189, 291.
'A Winter's Tale for the Little Ones.' 150, 162, 175, 194, 205.
'For Christie's Sake.' 29, 93.
'Christie's Portrait.' 25.
'Christie's Poor Old Gran.' 14.
'Little Willie.' 8, 32, 40, 48.
'Children at Play.' 17.
'Poor Ellen.' 23.
'Imperfection.' 4.
Part IV: 24, 57, 89; Part V: 92; Part VII: 20, 47, 169, 222, 263, 275.
'The Norseman.' 48.
'The Stoker's Story.' 40, 90, 133, 172.
'The Captain of the "Northfleet".' 35.
'The Sea Kings.' 52.
'A Daughter of the Sea-Kings.' 144.
'Hood, who sang the "Song of the Shirt". 22, 62, 93, 100.
'Albert the Good." 5, 70, 144, 152-4.
'Across the Water.' 48.
'A Reviewer Reviewed.' 69.
'A Personal Reply.' 9.
'At the Prison-door.' 50.
'Dedication to the "Natural Genesis".' 23.
'Garibaldi in Exile.' 13.
'Garibaldi on the March.' 2.
'One of Garibaldi's Men.' 24, 34.
'France and Garibaldi.' 6.
'The Young Poet to his Wife.' 119.
'Wedded Love.' 93, 191.
'Love and the Lady.' 4-6.
'On a Wedding-Day.' 62, 76.
'Life and Death.' 8.
'The People's Advent.' 39.
'The Battle-Call.' 43, 63.
'The Earth for all.' 20.
'The Lords of Land and Money.' 16.
'"All's right with the world".' 8.
'Anathema Maranatha.' 8, 16, 24, 32.
'A Cry of the People.' 17.
'Song of the Red Republican.' 8.
'After the Struggle.' 12.
'Our Martyrs.' 8, 47.
'A Welcome.' 41.
'The Exile.' 44.
'It will end in the right.' 13.
'The three voices.' 7.
'The World is full of beauty.' 16.
'To-Day and to-morrow.' 19.
'New Year's Eve in Exile.' 114, 179.
'Troops leaving Edinburgh.' 57.
'Down in Australia.' 20.
'After Alma.' 49, 51, 79.
'Inkerman.' 93.
'Cathcart's Hill.' 5, 8, 11-3, 17, 23, 29.
'The Coalition and the People.' 58.
'All Over.' 36.
'The Old Flag.' 85, 124-5.
'England and Louis Napoleon. May, 1859.' 212, 274.
'A Grave Error.' 3.
'A Plea for the Republic.' 12, 35.
'The Abolitionist to his Bride.' 60.
'Waiting for the Verdict.' 4, 12.
'False Marriage or True Union?' 10.
'Labourers' Election Song. (Tune: "John Brown's body lies a-mouldering in the grave")' (1861b)
'The Three Spirits.' 87.

(1870)
'Out of the Depths.' 18.
'The Light of the World.' 10.
'The White Child.' 31.
'A Letter in Black.' 28, 48.
'Our Maid Marian.' 22, 72, 142.
'England.' 50.
(1851)
'We know there's something wrong.' 52.

George MEREDITH 1828-1909.

(1912)
'The Olive Branch.' p.3.
'The Death of Winter.' p.9.
'Requiem.' p.19.
'The Flower of the Ruins.' p.19.
'Song. Should thy love die.' pp.42-3.
'Sorrows and Joys.' p.57.
'Antigone.' p.59.
'Song. Come to me in any shape!' p.65.
'The Doe: A Fragment (From 'Wandering Willie,' an unfinished early poem).' pp.85, 87.
'The Three Maidens.' p.94.
'Phantasy.' p.114.
'['Modern Love.'] 'I. By this he knew she wept with waking eyes.' p.133.
'XIII. 'I play for Seasons; not Eternities!' ' p.139.
'XXVIII. At dinner, she is hostess, I am host.' pp.140-1.
'XXX. What are we first? First, animals; and next.' p.146.
'XLIII. Mark where the passing wind shoots javelin-like.' p.152.
'Cassandra.' pp.159, 162.
'The Woods of Westermain.' pp.197, 200.
'The Day of the Daughter of Hades.' p.207.
'Earth and Man.' p.242.
'A Ballad of Fair Ladies in Revolt.' p.252.
'The Song of Theodolinda.' p.269.
'King Harald's Trance.' p.284.
'Whimper of Sympathy.' p.285.
'The Nuptials of Attila.' pp.292-4, 300.
'Men and man.' p.302.
'Bellerophon.' p.311.
'The South-Wester.' p.322.
'A Faith on Trial.' pp.355, 356.
'The Sage Enamoured.' p.391.
'The Comic Spirit.' p.397.
'Youth in Memory.' pp.404, 406.
'Tardy Spring.' p.413.
'To a Friend Visiting America.' p.422.
'The Empty Purse.' p.447.
'The Revolution.' pp.468, 471, 472.
'Napoléon.' pp.483, 485, 493.
'France, 1870.' pp.499, 504.
'With the Persuader.' p.535.
'The Centenary of Garibaldi.' p.564.
'On the Tombstone of James Christopher Wilson (d. April 11, 1884) in Headley Churchyard, Surrey.' p.569.
'The Emperor Frederick of our time.' p.570.
'On hearing the news from Venice [The Death of Robert Browning].' p.570.
Thomas MILLER 1807-1874.

([1864])
'How the robin became red.' Part 2: 24.
'The Burying Beetle.' 1-7, 18, 41.
'The Dead Butterfly.' 26.
'The Old Hostler.' 14, 81.

(1836)
'The Night-walk with the Dying.' 44.
'The Dying Widow.' 40.
'The old English Wood.' 3, 72.
'Song.' 4-5, 31.

([1852])
'Sister Martha in Heaven.' 5.

(1861)
'Death of the Brave.' 8.

(1841)
'The old Fountain.' 16.
'The Evening hymn.' 58.
'Melrose Abbey.' 52-5.
'The Haunted Lake.' 5, 20.
'On the death of my daughter.' 14, 41, 60.
'The old bridge.' 18.
'Song of the outlaws.' 38, 45.
'Summer morning.' 171, 180.
'Westminster Abbey.' 21-2, 36, 41.
'Shakspeare.' 26.
'Ellen Gray.' 53, 57, 62-4.
'The Passing Bell.' 12, 19, 22, 27, 47, 54-5, 60, 76, 81.
'Margaret.' 84, 125-6.
'The Fisherman.' 52, 93.
'Song. Yes! I will weep upon thy grave.' 1, 9, 17.
'Song. With aching heart I pressed her lips.' 13-5.
'Song. Wave on, thou dark green aged thorn.' 4-5, 31.

(1855)
'Time, love, and the flowers.' 6.
'Drooping Daisy.' 61, 102-3.

(1832)
'Song of the Nereides.' 88.
'Song of the Syrens.' 86, 96.
'Extracts from Adelaide and Reginald, A Fairy Tale of Bosworth Field.' 228, 356, 363, 403, 420, 439.


(1838)
'This dainty instrument, this table toy.' 24, 50.
'The Immortality of Rome.' 76-7.
'Valentia. A Fragment.' 87.
'The Death of Almanzor.' 23.
'The Departure of St. Patrick from Scotland. From his own "Confessions".' 15.

(1844)
'Six years, six cycles of dead hours.' 38.
'The Flower-garden.' 11, 22.
The Brothers.' 171, 182.
'Two Visits to a Grave.' 1, 25, 40, 51.

(1876)
'The Return of Ulysses.' 34.
'A Vision of the Argonauts.' 6.
'Greek Religion.' 69.
'The Tomb of Laius.' 3.
'The Flowers of Helicon.' 37.
'Written at Petrarck's House at Arqua, among the Augusteans Hills.' 10.
'Meditative Fragments, On Venice.' III: 131, 134, 144, 179; V: 299.
'To --- Written at Venice.' 120.
'To the Moon of the South.' 82.
'The Martyrdom of St. Christina.' 11.
'Sir Walter Scott at the Tomb of the Stuarts in St. Peter's.' 4-5.
'An Incident at Pisa.' 43.
'The Greek at Constantinople.' 9, 28, 32.
'The Song of the Wahabees.' 4n.
'Christian endurance. To Harriet Martineau.' 8.
'The Kiosk.' 3, 185.
'The Burden of Egypt.' headnote, 125, 161, 292, 334, 351n.
'On the Church of the Madeleine at Paris.' 13.
'On the Grave of Bishop Ken, at Frome, in Somersetshire.' 3.
'The Funeral of Napoleon.' 4.
'A Monument for Scutari, after the Crimean War, September, 1855.' 16, 29.
'England and America, 1863.' 6.
'On the Opening of the First Public Pleasure-ground at Birmingham.' 9.
'Workman's Choral Song.' 8.
'Arthur and Helen Hallam.' 37.
'Mary and Agnes Berry.' 1, 80.
'Dryden and Thackeray.' 19-20.
'The Death of Livingstone.' 23.
'The flight of Youth.' 32.
'Friendship and Love.' 39.
'The Friendship-Flower.' 8.
'Love-thoughts.' 150.
'The Long-ago.' 49.
'Simple Sounds.' 20, 45.
'The Marvel of Life.' 24.
'The Solitude of Life.' 43, 48.
'Sorrows.' 134.
'The Curse of Life.' 30.
'Domestic Fame.' 1, 13.
'Requiescat in Pace.' 76.
'On Turner's Picture.' 13.
'Once.' 3.
'Breton Faith.' 66, 97, 121, 164.
'To A Mourner.'
'The Tragedy of the Lac de Gaube in the Pyrenees.' 60, 80.
'The Northern Knight in Italy.' 435.
'Mrs. Denison.' 3.

Robert MONTGOMERY 1807-1855.

(1828a)
'The Runaways. A political dialogue.' 254.

(1825)
'Reflections at the Setting Sun.' 46.
'To Miss —.' 29, 36.
'The Warrior's Death.' 32.

'Lines to a friend, on his birthday.' 26.

'The soldier's return.' 16.

'Death spares not.' 15

'From the Italian. Oh! could but death remove the weight.' 5.

'A Fragment. Free from the toiling cares of busy life.' 71.

' Retrospect.' 46, 107.

(1854)

'The omnipresence of the deity.' Part I: 84, 359; Part II: 159, 303, 401, 603, 615, 669, 762, 782; Part III: 78, 156, 168, 192, 218, 245, 255, 261, 282-4.

'God Creates.' 71.

'Soothing Charm of Time.' 25, 77.

'Christ the grand refuge.' 8, 77.

'Power of the dead.' 80.

'Bodily suffering.' 58, 84.

'The Dying Girl. [Inscribed to Philip Rose, Esq., the Founder of the Hospital for Consumption]' 22, 36, 44.

'Social, and yet alone.' 44.

'Great untruth.' 48, 57, 67.

'The Weeping Christ.' 22, 29, 36.

'Vanity of all created good.' 8, 18, 31, 45-7.

'Weep not for the dead.' 26.

'Infancy in Heaven.' 54-6, 64.

'Divine Walk.' 24.

'A Believer's Wish.' 40.

'Here we have no abiding home.' 44, 72.

'Make thee an ark.' 9.

'The Arkless Dove.' 12.

'The bow of promise.' 76.

'Christ in communion with the soul.' 12, 21, 43-5.

'Departed, not dead. [C.H.E.M., born May 4, 1848: Died June 8, 1848] 76, 93, 118-9, 129.

'Prevailing intercession.' 73.

'Life is a fading leaf.' 52, 65-9.

'The Redeemer's Sigh.' 28.

'Expressive Night.' 42.

'Star Dreams.' 29.

'Religion and the Sea.' 68.

'Idols in the heart.' 32.

'Paradise of the Dead.' 17, 33, 51, 81, 79.

'Hearts which have no echoes.' 23.

'Inspiration of the Past.' 31.

'Religion of the Young.' 43.

'No peace for the wicked.' 18, 41.

'Infant Death.' 12.

'A Perfect Will.' 5.

'Conviction, and Confession.' 18, 55.

'Believer's Destined work.' 10.

'Name without nature.' 83, 98.

'The homeless one.' 48, 100.

'Voice of those no more.' 39.

'Sinfulness of sin.' 53.

'World of Spirits.' 42, 66, 89.

'Reason and Death.' 77, 98.

'The Poetry of Spring.' 58.

'Poor in Spirit. First Beatitude.' 16, 35, 47.

'They that mourn. Second Beatitude.' 38-9.

'Be merciful. Fifth Beatitude.' 31, 48.

'The Reviled. Eighth Beatitude.' 34, 41.

'Silence of the Soul.' 26, 36.

'Sentiment of Flowers.' 34, 40, 81, 99.

'Reconciliation.' 18.
'Angelic Ministry.' 45.
'The Single Eye.' 64.
'My First-born. [C. H. E. M. Born May 4th, 1848]' 98.
'Let us pray.' 30.
'Revere the dead.' 42.
'The Gates of Life.' 42.
'Mother's Grief.' 18, 20.
'Divine Secrets.' 47.
'Marriage.' 52, 65.
'Visitation of the Sick.' 29.
'Burial of the Dead. (Village Funeral)' 14-5, 28, 62, 67, 73, 77.
'Churching of Women.' 78.
'Prayers at Sea.' 31, 76.
'Eucharist.' 5, 90.
'God save the Church.' 67.
'Luther; or, Rome and the Reformation.' 445, 491, 516, 772, 784, 903, 925, 1415, 1665, 1866, 2443, 2456, 2596, 2814, 2942, 2993, 2997, 3830, 3850, 3871, 4010, 4160, 4461, 4756, 4762, 5376, 5592, 6085, 6181, 6613, 6635, 6775, 6948, 7000, 7011, 7044-6, 7388, 7411, 7457, 7767, 7947, 8385, 8530, 8862, 8960, 9033.
'Woman: the Light of Home.' Canto I: 241, 276, 291, 564-6, 592, 658, 787, 817; Canto II: 912, 997, 1104, 1111, 1119, 1124, 1134, 1198, 1274; Canto III: 291, 310, 679, 979, 979, 980, 981, 1058, 1169.
'Wellington; or, the Hero's Funeral.' epigraph, 8, 88, 127, 226, 364, 401, 447, 468.
'Shadows of Death.' 90, 97, 104, 111, 119, 123, 127, 141, 162, 168, 230, 252, 291, 404, 408, 427, 446-8, 533, 544, 598-600, 607, 651, 666-8, 740, 762, 780, 797, 828-9, 856, 860, 867, 872, 877, 886, 899, 922, 943-5, 953, 969, 201, 275.
'Universal Prayer.' 184, 238.
'Scarborough. A Descriptive sketch.' 196-9, 204.
'Infants and their Glory.' 50, 87.
'"Better Days".' 7.
'Starlight on Marathon.' 46.
'Pains of Genius.' 8, 18.
'Ellesmere Lake.' 57, 61, 65.
'Spirit of Time.' 22-5, 112, 123, 189, 193, 207.
'A Fading Scene.' 20-4.
'The Departed Year.' epigraph, 21-3, 47, 132, 156, 250.
'Reflective Stanzas.' 12, 86, 99.
'Stanzas. Oh! rest thee in thy green-turf grave.' 1-3, 13.
'The Crucifixion.' 47, 100, 141.
'The Dreadful Prayer.' 17, 41.
'Lost Feelings.' epigraph, 31.
'The Trance. A Fragment.' 46.
'Stanzas. The hour is past, the pleasure o'er.' 12.
'Stanzas. Who hath not watch'd the heaven of eve.' 42.
'A Sad Thought.' 5.
'The Tomb of Gray. (1836)' 3, 17, 34, 46.
'The Minstrel's Funeral.' 2, 5, 8, 64, 78-80, 90, 100, 104-6, 129, 147.
'A Mourful Truth.' 20.
'Reason and Faith.' 44.
'The Church in Canada. (Inscribed to the Bishop of Toronto)' 27, 62.
'The Inspiration of Dreams.' 15, 24.
'Individual Providence.' 25.
(1828b)
'The Puffiad.' Part II: 365.

((1847))
'Westminster Abbey.' 14, 31.
'The Call of Samuel.' 102.
'A Country Churchyard.' 1-3, 5, 18, 27, 42.
'Christ appears to Mary.' 16, 22, 36, 52, 60, 70, 74, 104, 122, 166, 213-5, 227-8, 234, 323-5.
'The Judgment of Solomon.' 32, 41.
'Night in Palestine after the Crucifixion.' 61, 74.
'The Sensuality of the Age.' 46.
'Moral Power of the Press.' 14, 26.
'A Moment.' 15.
'The Prodigal Son.' 136, 151.
'Napoleon at Moscow.' 18.
'Martha and Mary.' 83.
'The Dying day.' 52.
'The Finding of Moses.' 124, 209.
'The Smitten Rock.' 110.
'The Aged Minister's Funeral.' 2, 5, 8, 64, 78-80, 85, 90, 100, 104-6, 129, 147.
'John the Baptist.' 182-4.
'The Inspiration of Remembered Home.' 14.
'The Raising of Lazarus.' 2, 9, 17, 21, 26-8, 42, 68, 86-9, 185, 229, 249, 270, 283, 285-6, 316, 331, 354, 371-5.
'Female Virtues.' 16.
'The First Death.' 20, 56.
'Moral Impotence of the Scriptures.' 9.
'The final Doom.' 21, 31, 37, 58-60.

(1855)
'Te Deum.' 56.
'Nunc Dimittis.' 57.
'Collect for Peace.' 11, 32.
'Invocation.' 40.
'Grace to Sanctify Troubles.' 18.
'For Fair Weather.' 28.
'Dearth and Famine.' 39.
'War and Tumults.' 1.
'Plague or Sickness.' 35.
'For Rain.' 18.
'For Peace and deliverance.' 23, 32.
'For Public Peace at Home.' 3.
'Deliverance from Plague.' 27, 45.
'St. John the Evangelist's Day.' 44, 56.
'Sunday after Christmas Day.' 34.
'Second Sunday after the Epiphany.' 12.
'Sexagesima Sunday.' 38.
' Ash-Wednesday.' 32-3.
'Tuesday before Easter.' 28.
'Good Friday.' 35.
'Monday in Easter Week.' 61.
'Tuesday in Easter Week.' 26.
'Ascension Day.' 10.
'Trinity Sunday.' 23.
'Second Sunday after Trinity.' 19.
'Fourth Sunday after Trinity.' 25.
'Fourth Sunday after Trinity.' 39, 47.
'Fifth Sunday after Trinity.' 16.
'Sixth Sunday after Trinity.' 3.
'Ninth Sunday after Trinity.' 16, 43.
'Tenth Sunday after Trinity.' 30, 51.
'Twelfth Sunday after Trinity.' 8.
‘Sixteenth Sunday after Trinity.’ 8, 13, 40, 52, 69, 74.
‘Twenty-Fifth Sunday after Trinity.’ 46, 95.
‘Saint Andrew’s Day.’ 72.
‘Saint Thomas the Apostle.’ 14.
‘Saint Mark’s Day.’ 30.
‘Saint James the Apostle.’ 56.
‘Prayer for the Church Militant.’ 51.
‘Absolution.’ 9, 19.
‘Communion.’ 23.
‘Marriage.’ 52, 65.
‘Churching of Women.’ 78.
‘Prayers at Sea.’ 31, 76.

William MORRIS 1834-1896.

(1910-11)
‘King Arthur’s Tomb.’ 125, 182.
‘Sir Galahad: A Christmas Mystery.’ 59, 100.
‘The Chapel in Lyoness.’ 26-8, 45.
‘Sir Peter Harpdon’s End.’ 74.
‘The Tune of Seven Towers.’ 39.
‘The Life and Death of Jason.’ Book II: 789; Book III: 17; Book VI: 17, 229, 255; Book VIII: 310; Book X: 408; Book XII: 286; Book XV: 66, 199, 343, 505; XVI: 307, 393, 395-6; Book XVII: 182, 1357.
‘The Earthly Paradise.’ Part I: 109, 353, 1931, 2864,2906, 3211, 3435, 3708, 5933, 5965, 7644, 7695, 9174, 9187; Part II: 815, 1313, 2201, 2255, 2945, 4160, 4883, 5551, 6010, 7985, 8078; Part III: 495, 522, 674, 3140, 4801, 5193, 5992, 6227, 9405, 10569, 10685, 11263, 12021, 12485, 12801, 13211, 13353, 13376; Part IV: 2721, 3932, 4434, 4604, 5380, 5976, 6231.
‘A life scarce worth the living, a poor fame.’ 7.
‘Story of Sigurd the Volsung and the Fall of the Niblungs.’ Book I: 200, 1202,1229, 1313,1358; Book II: 601, 822, 1503, 1521, 1531, 1538, 1542, 1545-8, 2139; Book III: 1488; Book IV: 629, 1697.
‘Agnes and the Hill-Man.’ 17.
‘O Folk-wolf, heed and hearken; for when shall.’ 5.
‘No ill for thee, beloved, or for me in the hauberk.’ 7.
‘The days of the world thrust onward, and men.’ 19.
‘Grettir, stand up from thy grave.’ 1.
‘By the sea’s wash have we made.’ 2.
‘O thou warden of horn’s wave.’ 2.
‘The Song of Atli.’ 265.
‘The Lament of Oddrun.’ 237.
‘Love is enough; or, the freeing of Pharamond.’ 422, 533, 1167, 1744, 2111.
‘On the wooing of Hallbiorn the Strong, A story from the land settling book of Iceland, Chapter XXX.’ 252, 261.
‘Iceland first seen.’ 20.
‘The King of Denmark’s Sons.’ 20.
‘Gunnar’s Howe above the House at Lithend.’ 2, 4.
‘The Day is coming.’ 25.
‘All for the cause.’ 9.
‘Pomona.’ 6.
‘The Son’s Sorrow from the Icelandic.’ 36.
‘Knight Aagen and Maiden Else. Translated from the Danish.’ 59, 66, 83.
‘St. Agnes’ Convent.’ 5
‘Goldilocks and Goldilocks.’ 504.
‘I am Thiodolf the Mighty: but as wise as I may be.’ 2, 9, 11.
‘Not on earth shall I learn this wisdom; and how.’ 2.
‘Here then the tale of the Hauberk and the truth.’ 26.
Edward MOXON 1801-1858.

(1829)
'The Descent from the Wooden Horse.' 22.
'T'was in church on Palm Sunday.' 18.
'The Wanderers [The First Prologue to the Earthly Paradise].’ 511, 685, 1146.
'The Story of Aristomenes.' 12.
'In Arthur's House.' 331.
'[Anthony].’ 271.
'The Pilgrims of Hope.' V: 412.

(1826)
'The Prospect.’ 26, 104, 189, 204, 372, 432, 746, 752, 859, 896, 911, 916, 957, 1001, 1072, 1161, 1466.
'Lines, Written after reading Burns's Poems and Life, June 12, 1825.’ 67.
'On the Death of a Friend.’ 8, 40.

(1830-35)
'Whene'er I linger, Thomson, near thy tomb.' 1, 7.
'Sidney, thou star of beaming chivalry.' 12.
'The moon is sailing thro' the calm blue sky.' 10.
'Ah, what is life! a dream within a dream.' 14.
'The meads are scatter'd with the pride of Spring.' 6.
'Written in Pere La Chaise, on the spot where Marshal Ney is buried.’ 1, 3, 13.
'Abelard and Heloise.' 2, 11.
'(Written at Saint Cloud).’ 11.

Dinah Maria MULOCK [after CRAIK] 1826-1887.

(1866)
'Immutable.' p.5.
'The Dead Czar.’ p.9.
'By the Alma River.’ p.29.
'Living: After a death.' pp.32, 33.
'Moon-struck. A Fantasy.' p.43.
'Mortality. "And we shall be changed".' p.57.
'Life Returning. After War-time.' p.58.
'Cousin Robert.' p.73.
'Only a Dream.' p.90.
'Buried To-day. February 23, 1858.' p.131.
'Violets sent in a little box.' pp.139-40.
'Eudoxia. Third Picture.' p.154.
'Benedetta Minelli. I. The Novice.' p.156.
'A Dream of Resurrection.' pp.162-4.
'On the Cliff-top.' p.165.
'Lost in the Mist.' p.189.
'A German Student's Funeral Hymn.' p.204.
'A Man's Wooing.' p.217.
'The Cathedral Tombs.' pp.221-3.
'Only a Woman.' p.230.
'Cathair Fhargus. (Fergus's Seat)' pp.242-3.
'A True Hero. James Braidwood: Died June 22, 1861.' p.245.

(1896)

(1852)
‘Home.’ 64.
‘Clare Hall.’ 41.
‘St. Mary’s.’ 43.
‘Adelphe.’ 143.
‘The Dancers.’ 81.
‘Vulcan Victorious.’ 35.
‘Thou wert a timid girl in those wild days—.’ 14.
‘The Bridegroom’s Song.’ 11.
‘Speech and silence.’ 54.
‘In the Twilight.’ 25.
‘The Visionary.’ 22.
‘Our Father.’ 25.
‘Death.’ 32.
‘Miserere.’ 12.
‘Work and Rest.’ 4, 92.

(1859)
‘Elegiacs.’ 124.

(1901)
‘Then and Now. — the North Downs.’ 33.
‘Failure.’ 10.
‘February Filldyke.’ 44.

(1909)
‘Havelock January 7, 1858.’ 32.
‘In Eternum, Domine.’ 7.

(1865)
‘Romney Marsh.’ 76, 83.
‘Casque and Plume.’ 1, 9, 19, 70-2, 87, 96.
‘A Jilt.’ 43.
‘Post Mortem.’ 5.
‘Vestigia Retrorsum.’ 14.
‘Autumn: A Triptych.’ 8, 25, 70.
‘Death and Life.’ 11.
‘Question and Answer.’ 28.

(1891a)
‘Milestones.’ 89.
‘The Widower.’ 84.
‘Illusions.’ 14, 43-5.
‘Epithalamium.’ 17.
‘Fallentis Semita Vitae.’ 85.

(1891b)
‘Queen Kara.’ 250.
‘De Haut en Bar.’ 90.
‘One in Bedlam.’ 12, 52.
‘This is the final sunset of the year.’ 24.
‘The Vales of Medway.’ 98.
Joseph John MURPHY 1827-1894.

(1890)
'The Yews of Borrowdale.' 7, 10, 16.
'The Consecration of the Pantheon.' 63.
'Hannibal's Return to Carthage.' 68.
'The Temptation of Christ.' 130.
'The Dream of Pilate's wife.' 23.
'Saint Patrick's Breastplate.' 9.
'Autumn and Death.' 24
'A thought of Stoicism.' 18.
'Marguerite.' 6.
'A Suggestion for a Painter.' 17.

John Mason NEALE 1818-1866.

(1854a)
'Let the merry church bells ring.' 23.
'The world itself keeps Easter Day.' 9.
'The foe behind.' 24.

(1854b)
"Gabriel's message does away.' 27.
"Good Christian men, rejoice.' 17.
"Royal Day that chasest gloom.' 26.
"O'er the hill and o'er the vale.' 29.
"Toll! Toll! because there ends.' 20.

(1845)
'The Battle of Maser, and Martyrdom of S. Oswald. (A. D. 642) 55n.
'The Last Hunt of William Rufus. (Aug. 1st or 2nd, 1100) 74.
'The Dissolution of the Religious Houses. A. D. 1536.' 89.
'The Cure of the Abbeys.' 12.
'The Discovery of Madeira. (July 1, 1419) 84.
'Lord Brooke is shot before Lichfield Cathedral. (S. Chad's Day, 1644) 23.
'The White King's funeral.' 3, 27.
'The Great Plague. (A. D. 1666) 122.

(1864)
'The Loosing of the Euphratean Angels.' 370.
'Mammon.' 102, 112, 290.
'Egypt.' 307, 443, 475.
'The Disciples at Emmaus.' 22, 135, 157, 323, 334-7.
'King Josiah.' 57, 111, 163, 317.
'The Seven Churches of Asia.' 61.

(1866)
'Maundy Thursday. Compline.' 4.
'At a Funeral.' 9.
'Hymn for the Dedication of a Bell.' 22.
'The good Old Times of England.' 14.

(1843)
'The Church of England.' 32.
Charles NEAVES 1800-1876.

(1875)
‘Hilli-onnee.’ 41.
‘The Jolly Testator who makes his own will.’ 10.
‘Song sung at the symposium in the Saloon, 3d of January 1840.’ 11.

Francis William NEWMAN 1805-1897.

(1858)
‘Death.’ 12.
‘Faith, — Trust and Belief.’ 114.
‘The Future of the Righteous.’ 6, 11.
‘Waters of Lethe.’ 36.

John Henry NEWMAN 1801-1890.

(1914)
‘The Dream of Gerontius.’ 66, 68.
‘Corcyra.’ 14.
‘Reverses.’ 16.
‘Relics of Saints.’ 6.
‘The Age to Come.’ 12.
‘Consolation.’ 14.
‘St. Philip and his Disciples. (A Song)’ 24.

Robert NICOLL 1814-1837.

(1842)
‘Our auld Hearthstane.’ 51.
‘My Grandfather.’ 63.
‘The thistle.’ 12.
‘I am blind.’ 64.
‘The Grave of Burns.’ 9, 15-6, 23.
‘The Village Church.’ 3, 26.
‘My only sister.’ 50.
‘A Day among the Mountains.’ 96.
‘My Lily.’ 29.
‘The Dying Maiden.’ 7, 55.
‘Thomas Clarkson.’ 19.
‘The Wanderer.’ 32.
‘The Saxon Chapel.’ 16.
‘Life’s Pilgrimage.’ 76.
‘Death.’ 12.
Roden NOEL 1834-1894.

(1902)
'Beatrice.' Book I: p.6; Book III: pp.25, 26, 28, 30; Book IV: p.32, 33, 34.
'Song. "Like her, but not the same".' p.34.
'Kathleen.' p.35.
'The Grandmother's Story.' p.45.
'Leonardo's Christ.' p.51.
'A Child's Funeral.' p.56.
'The Two Friends.' p.60.
'Mencheres A Vision of Old Egypt.' pp.61, 65, 66, 73.
'On the Rhine.' p.76.
'A Long Mourning.' p.76.
'A New Light.' pp.77, 78, 79, 80.
'An Angel's Gift.' p.80.
'What the Old Church Said.' pp.84, 85.
'"To whom shall we go?"' p.87.
'In Memoriam Thackeray.' p.97.
'Palmyra.' p.101.
'Harvest.' p.117.
'At Court.' p.123.
'The Water-nymph and the Boy.' p.127.
'Death and Life.' p.131.
'On Richmond Hill — 1870.' p.135.
'Was it well?' p.136.
'Palingenesia.' pp.137, 138, 139.
'Eric: A Dirge.' p.147.
'War: 1870-1.' p.148 ['Christ']; p.149 ['The Village']; pp.153-4 ['A Vision of War'].
'The Children by the Sea.' p.158.
'Livingstone in Africa.' epigraph; Canto I: p.172; Canto II: p.176; Canto III: pp.179, 185, 186;
'At his Grave.' p.253.
'Lament.' p.255.
'Night and Morning suggested by Chopin's funeral march.' p.256.
'A Tomb at Palmyra.' p.257.
'Sleep.' p.259.
'In the Corsican Highlands.' pp.260-1.
'Only a little Child.' p.263.
'Music and the Child.' p.265.
'Nature and the Dead.' p.267.
'All Saints, and All Souls.' p.271.
'"The Sea shall give up her Dead".' pp.273, 274.
'Among the Mountains.' p.276.
'Last victims from the wreck of the Princess Alice.' pp.278-9.
'Old scenes revisited.' pp.281, 283.
'De Profundis.' pp.287, 288, 289, 290.
'Love Hiding.' p.311.
'The Temple of Sorrow.' pp.312, 316.
'Thalatta.' pp.318, 319, 320.
'By the Sea.' p.321.
'O to be sure for ever! weary of hopes and guesses.' p.325.
'Melcha.' pp.331, 332, 339, 340, 344, 345, 346.
'The Agnostic.' p.349.
'The Death of Livingstone.' pp.350-1.
'Byron's Grave.' p.351.
'Snowdrops.' p.352.
'I who longed for the whispering cool of the grove.' p.354.
'Great-hearted statesman, eagle-eyed, and pure!' p.357.
'The Sanctuary.' p.359.
'To my Mother.' p.434.
'Arise! A Song of Labour.' p.349.
'The Polish Mother. A Dramatic Monologue.' p.443.
'Poor People's Christmas.' pp.448, 449, 452.
'A Song of Nereids.' p.457.
'Passion.' p.459.
'Ballad of the dead Monk; or, Brother Benedict.' pp.450, 451.
'The Call of the Caves.' p.463.
'The Spirit of Storm.' p.465.
'Midnight.' p.475.
'Only a lock of hair.' p.489.
'The Death of Tennyson.' p.490-1.
'The Song of Tennyson.' p.492.

Caroline Elizabeth Sarah NORTON 1808-1877.

(1847)
'The Story of Blanche and Brutikin.' 52.

(1859)
'A Hundred Years! Does that recurring chime.' 62.

(1846)
'Of all the joys that brighten suffering earth.' 85, 198, 296, 598, 697, 900, 1400, 1444, 1526, 1719, 1766, 1773, 1913, 1948, 1953, 2124, 2220, 2233, 2242-3, 2259, 2353, 2378, 2476, 2483, 2516, 2924, 3005, 3230, 3294, 3300.

(1840)
'The Dream.' 247-8, 255, 404, 435, 671-2, 699, 735, 1033, 1134-8, 1186, 1206, 1345.
'The Creole Girl; or, the Physician's Story.' 4.
'Twilight.' 139.
'The dying Hour.' 61, 82.
'The Faithful Friend.' epigraph, 1-2, 8-10, 43, 51.
'The Winter's Walk.' 84.
'The Reprieve.' 48.
'The Forsaken.' 62.
'The Blind Man's Bride.' 66.
'The Widow to her Son's Betrothed.' 16, 60.
'The Christening.' 66.
'The Mother's Last Watch.' 44.
'Sonnet. Be frank with me, and I accept my lot.' 5.
'Sonnet. White Rose of Bourbon's branch, so early faded!' 8.
'Dedication.' 35.

(1862)
'The Lady of Garaye.' Part II: 125, 173, 252, 418, 421; Part IV: 186, 438.

((1850?))
'Love Not.' 9.

(1833)
'The Future.' 103.
'The Ringlet.' 44.
'The Rebel.' 40.
'On "T.B.S."' 12.
'The Lost One.' 1, 7, 16, 25.
'Edward.' 21.
'To the Nursery.' 32.
'Marriage and Love.' 73, 151.
'Thy will be done!' 11, 29, 38.
(1829)
'The Darkness of the Grave.' 1-3, 9.

(1853)
'They loved one another.' 24.
'Escapes from the snares of love.' 12.
'The Captive Pirate.' 50, 66.
'We have been friends together.' 19.

Eliza OGILVY 1822-1912.

(1856)
'The Child's Departure from India.' p.19.
'A Woman's Denunciation.' pp.22-3.
'Convent of the Visitation, Maquetra, above Bologne-sur-Mer.' pp.36-8.
'La Morgue.' p.45.
'The Rhine at Basle.' p.50.
'Strasburg.' pp.61, 64, 66-9.
'Savonarola.' p.73.
'The English Cemetery at Rome.' pp.75-8.
'Bona and Piero.' pp.90, 106.
'Ogni Morti.' headnote, p.113.
'Constancy.' p.123.
'La Bella Simonetta.' p.137.
'The Lombard Ploughman.' p.144.
'The Rock Niobe, on Mount Syple, Lydia.' p.157.
'Graves. Lo, many isles and continents have felt.' p.169.
'The End of 1851.' p.175.
'The Death of Elliot Warburton.' p.197.
'Wellington's Funeral.' pp.205-8.
'Francesco Madiai in the Prison of Volterra.' p.209.
'Charon's Ferry.' p.222.
'Logie Almond.' p.231.
'A Vision. Methought it was Volterra's rocky base.' pp.233-35.
'A Nuptial Dirge.' p.236.
'La Madonnina.' p.263.
'An Apparition.' p.280.
'Quicklime.' p.281.
'Shortcomings.' p.285.
'Ferrachur Leeich.' pp.294, 297.
'The End of 1854.' p.301.
'The Dwina.' p.314.
'Walter von Vogel. The Minnesinger.' p.324.
'Sultan Ibrahim.' p.340.

John Walker ORD 1811-1853.

(1841)
'The Bard.' Part I: 48, 172; Part II: 128; Part III: 76, 170, 184, 191; Part IV: 36, 141, 151; Part V: 172, 183, 189.
'Fragment. From an unfinished poem.' 22, 60.
‘Hannibal at the Altar.’ 14, 33.
‘Address to the Moon.’ 36.
‘Lines written near a Waterfall.’ 27.
‘Poland.’ 33.
‘First and last love.’ 56.
‘Lines addressed to Thomas Campbell, Esq.’ 25.
‘Pasquin’s Pillar.’ Part II: 72, 112.
‘Carmen Triumphale. The Royal Progress to the City.’ 83.
‘Lines written beside the two old ruined towers of Dover Castle.’ 95.
‘Home Revisited.’ 23, 64.
‘First Song of Spring.’ 8.
‘Ode to Marsden Rock.’ 29.
‘Chartist Eclogue.’ 59, 229.
‘Verses Inscribed on the Tombstone erected to the Memory of Jacob Minnikin, Master of the brig Syria, of Sunderland, who was drowned from the wreck of that vessel in the great storm of Nov. 13, 1840.’ 3.
‘To the cuckoo.’ 28.
‘Lines on the death of the Earl of Durham.’
‘Napoleon.’ 5, 23-4, 32, 66.
‘Tynemouth Priory.’ 5, 17.
‘Lines suggested by the late appalling accident at South Shields.’ 11.
‘Guisborough Abbey.’ 81, 89.
‘Lines written on the Wreck of the Ship “Lockwood”.’ 42.
‘Lines to a Snow-drop.’ 8.
‘Song of Miriam.’ 16.
‘Lines descriptive of a day’s angling among the hills.’ 84, 253-5.
‘Lines on seeing portion of a wreck on the sea-shore.’ 44.

(1834)
‘England: A Historical Poem.’ 15, 196, 205, 436, 943, 963, 1024, 1067, 1145, 1285, 1436-7, 1631, 1949, 2615, 2715, 2763, 2793, 2815, 2835, 2914, 2932, 2942, 3006, 3058, 3077, 3085, 3097-8, 3104, 3111, 3228, 3253, 3372, 3479, 3542, 3658, 3878, 3968, 3969, 3999, 4025, 4186, 4230, 4365, 4385, 4397, 4441, 4721, 4821, 4829, 4844, 4909, 4921; 885, 1069, 1079, 1094, 1115, 1379, 1484, 2028, 2028, 2297, 2489, 2800, 3245, 3453, 3615, 3817, 3830, 3975, 3982, 4160, 4427, 4477, 4751, 4789, 4892, 4910, 4922, 5082, 5100, 5109, 5172, 5240, 4257, 5279-81, 5289, 5415, 5510, 5519, 5788, 5811.

(1845)
‘The Lovers.’ 54.
‘Lines Suggested by the exhumation of a very ancient Urn from the Tumuli on Eston Nab, in Cleveland, November 9, 1843.’ 19n, 48n.
‘The Last of the Phoeniceans.’ 8.
‘Lines on the Death of Campbell.’

(1833)
‘Coronach, of Druid Bards over a British Chieftain.’ epigraph.

George OUTRAM 1805-1856.

(1916)
‘Ae day I got married.’ 7, 14, 21, 28.
‘The Song of Memory.’ 19.
‘A Linnet Warbled.’ 40.
Henry Nutcombe OXENHAM 1829-1883.

(1871)
'The Sentence of Kaires.' 30.
'The Fate of Columbus.' 13, 271.
'Stanzas for Music. (To R. H. B.)' 2.
'Strife and Peace.' 101, 106.
'The Funeral of the Last of the Stuarts.' 36.
'There is no joy in all the earth.' 15.
'To my brother on his fifth birthday.' 58.
'I ne'er beheld thy winning grace.' 26.
'Bereavement.' 39, 46.
'The three peals of the Angelus.' 20.
'An Easter Greeting.' 14.
'Mater Coronata.' 33.
'Beatus sis, carissimel' 20.
'The Martyrdom at Canterbury.' 16.
'Farewell to Harrow.' 20.
'Requiem Aeternam.' 32.
'In Memoriam C.H.C.' 19.

(1854)
'The Two Rivers.' 88n, 98, 103.

Francis Turner PALGRAVE 1824-1897.

(1892)
'On Lyme Beach.' 36n, 45.
'Quatuor Novissima.' 4, 62, 104, 114.
'The Church of Christ in England.' 40.
'Four Hymns for Public Use. Christian Burial.' 3, 11.
'Hymn to our Saviour.' 46.
'The Love of God.' 30.
'Death and the Fear of it.' 37, 41.
'I am the resurrection and the life.' 15.
'In Memory of Robert Browning.' 32.
'San Carlo Borromeo at Arona.' 27.
'Chislehurst.' 47.
'Père la Chaise.' 3.
'Between Grave and Cradle.'
'Amenophis or the Search after God.' Book I: 65, 75; Book III: 120, 175, 217.

(1854)
'Riding to Cover.' 119.
'Blanche and Ada.' 433.
'The Judas Kiss.' 18.
'Milton.' 30.
'On the Death of Sir Robert Peel.' 12, 15.
'The Dream-Child.' 45.
'Prayer and Answer.' 21.
'In Memoriam C.W.' 15, 35.

[[1874]]
'The Danish Barrow.' 32.

(1871)
'Melusine.' 206, 224, 242.
'Alcestis.' 110.
'Past and Present.' 13.
'Margaret Wilson.' 30.
'At Bemerton 1630-1633.' 60n.
'Pro Mortuis.' 35.
'Two Graves at Rome.' 49, 53, 60.
'Ask not what next shall be.' 10.
'Ibycus and Cleora.' 48, 117, 316, 378.

(1887)
'Ode. As when the snowdrop from the snowy ground.' 99.

(1891)
'Prelude Caesar to Egbert.' 25, 104.
'Hastings October 14: 1066.' 23, 32.
'A Crusader's Tomb.' 7, 25, 57.
'The Rejoicing of the Land. 1295.' 74.
'The Black Death 1348-9.' 45.
'The Pilgrim and the Ploughman 1382.' 114, 140.
'Grocyn at Oxford the English Renaissance.' 25.
'London Bridge July 6: 1535.' 24, 38n.
'Sir Hugh Willoughby 1853-4.' 59.
'Crossing Solway May 16: 1568.' 35, 68.
'Sidney at Zutphen October 2: 1586.' 20, 65.
'Death and the fear of it.'
'In Memory of Charles Wells and Joseph Severn, dying in 1879.'
'On the death of Sir Robert Peel.'
'After Chalgrove Fight June 18: 1643.' 10n, 73.
'A Churchyard in Oxfordshire September: 1643.' 106.
'The fugitive King August 7: 1645.' 32, 38.
'The Captive Child. September 8: 1650.' 16.
'At Hursley in Marden 1712.' 9, 68.
'Charles Edward at Rome 1785.' 126.
'After Cawnpore June: 1857.' 55.
'Mount Vernon October 5: 1860.' 1, 70, 84n.
'A Home in the Palace 1840-1861.' 119.

Bessie Rayner PARKES [after Belloc] 1829-1925.

(1863)
'The Fate of Sir John Franklin.' p.10.
'Carisbrooke Chimes.' p.51.
'St. Laurence, Undercliff.' p.53.
'The World of Art.' p.96.
'Autumn Violets.' p.112.
'To-morrow.' p.126.
'The Desolation of Veii.' pp.176, 178.
'Two Graves.' pp.185-6.
'Under the Olives.' pp.197, 203, 205, 206.

(1904)
'Death the Encircler.' pp.10, 11.
'The Dome.' p.35.
'The Monk of Marmoutier; Or, The Legend of Limerick Bells.' p.48.
'The Curé of Plœrémel.' p.49.
'The Massacre of Avalon.' pp.53, 54.
'An Argyllshire Mission.' p.59.
'In the Tabernacle.' p.60.

(1855)
'The World of Art.' p.5.
'The Death of Evan Lloyd.' p.11.
'Reminiscences.' p.67.
'The Deserted Village.' p.86.
'London from Hampstead Heath.' p.91.
'Life's River.' p.100.
'Life is our dictionary.' p.104.
'England and Hungary.' p.108.
'The Last Home.' p.109.
'Lilian's First Letter.' p.148.
'Lilian's Second Letter.' p.163, 167, 173.
'Helen's Answer.' p.179, 181.
'Thoughts on God's Acre.' p.190.

Coventry Kersey Dighton PATMORE 1823-1896.

(1906)
'The Angel in the House.' Book I, Canto VI, 81; Book II, Canto V, 75.
'The Victories of Love.' Book I, 936; Book II, 460, 654, 1853.
'Amelia.' 28, 131, 168.
'The Unknown Eros.' Book I, 378; Book II, 525, 1441.
'The Yew-Berry.' 2: 35.
'The Rosy Bosom'd Hours.' 36.
'Tamerton Church-Tower; or, First Love.' III, 7, 430.

Joseph Noel PATON 1821-1901.

(1861)
'Culloden.' 13.
'"Through the waters".' 66, 125.
'Circe.' 26.
'Alone.' 24.
'Monody.' 11.
'Midnight.' 14.
'Winter.' 16.
'The Tomb in the Chancel.'

(1867)
'Perdita.' 379, 391, 534, 597, 688, 848, 1050, 1080, 1119, 1157.
'Dirge.'
'Two Fragments.' 36.
'Chieftain's Coronach.' 21.
'Annie's Grave.' 1, 25.
'Under the Shadow.' 35.
'Sonnet: written on hearing of the death of James, Earl of Elgin.' 10.

Emily Jane PFEIFFER 1827-1890.

(1889)
'Blown seed of Song.' 67.
'The Witch's Last Ride.' 57, 103.
'Patience.' 11.
'Twas lately said in open court.' 7.
'A Threnody.' 9.
'I wander in the month of May.' 8.
'The Highland Widow's Lament.' 21.
'Outlawed: A Rhyme for the Time.' 212, 292.
(1878)
'Gerard's Monument.' 3, 24, 583, 1242, 1539, 1890, 2087, 2110.
'Martha Mary Melville.' 117, 254, 573.
'A Rhyme for the Time.' 63.

(1877)
'Glan-Alarch. His Silence and Song.' Book I: 1599, 1604; Book II: 8, 162, 487, 510, 1020, 1888, 2054, 2136; Book III: 137, 714, 800, 1072.

(1879)
'Quaterman's Grace.' Part I: 278; Part II: 116, 177-9, 183, 190, 195, 298.
'A Vision of Dawn.' 53.

(1884)

(1886)
'The Lost Light. (George Eliot)' 24.
'Hellas. An Invocation.' 14.
'Gospel of Dread Tidings.' 8.
'A Chrysalis.' 5.
'All love-adepts, all faithful hearts who wear.' 11.
'Kassandra.' 24.
'Wearihead.' 9.

(1882)
'From out of the Night.' 10, 239, 307, 398.
'The Pillar of Praise.' 130.
'A Lost Eden. [As it was told to me.]' 251, 290.
'The Wynnes of Wynhavod: A Drama of Modern Life.' Act I.i.502; Act II.i.125; Act IV.ii. 310; Act V.i.30.

Edward Hayes PLUMPTRE 1821-1891.

(1884a)
'Lazarus.' 622, 627, 783, 845, 1114.
'Thoughts of a Galatian Convert. A. D. 57.' 221, 271.
'Rizpah the Daughter of Aiah.' 87, 111, 157, 177, 269, 296-8.

(1884b)
'Master and Scholar.' 39, 178, 461, 789.
'Augustine. In Memoriam Adeodati.' 88.
'Miriam of Magdala.' 84, 309, 361, 367, 373, 450-3.
'Demodocos.' 47, 91.
'Claudia and Pudens.' 418.
'* And the was no more sea*.' 39.
'An Old Story.' 144, 159.
'The Last Words of Socrates.' 12.
'Not without witness.' 284, 394, 512.
'Gilboa.' 110, 139.

(1882)
'Chalfont St. Giles.' 176.
'Adrastos.' 41, 197.
'The Emperor and the Pope.' 171.
'Vasadavaatta. A Buddhist idyll.' 144.
'Nirvana.' 38, 166.
'New Year's Eve.' 14.
'Politics in 1867. Nemesis.' 11.
'In Memoriam F. D. M.' 24.
'In Memoriam L. Y. P.'
'In Memoriam. Albert the Good.' 2, 145.
Winthrop Mackworth Praed 1802-1839.

(1844)
'The Troubadour.' Canto I: 181, 508, 643; Canto II: 231, 447, 664; Canto III: 31.
'The Legend of the Haunted Tree.' 12.
'The Bridal of Belmont. A Legend of the Rhine.' 599.
'Lidian's Love.' 32, 184.
'L'Inconnue.' 15.
'A Farewell.' 7.
'A Ballad teaching how poetry is best paid for.' 39.
'Fragments of a Descriptive Poem.' 54.
'Alexander and Diogenes.' 62.
'Arminius.' 8.
'Fuimus!' 15.
'Childhood and his visitors.' 14.
'Hope and Love.' 51, 63.
'Cassandra.' 60.
'The Covenanter's Lament for Bothwell Brig.' 52.
'Stanzas written under a picture of King's College Chapel, Cambridge.' 16.
'Edward Morton.' 147.
'Australasia.' 34, 74, 172, 185, 233.
'Athens.' 18, 42, 53, 72, 212, 280.
'The Ascent of Elijah.' 143, 149.
'Enigma. The Letter A.' 8-10.
'Woden.' 28.
'The Home of his Childhood. St. Leonard's-on-Sea, December 22, 1838.' 8, 16.
'The Eve of Battle.' 87, 90, 292.
'The County Ball.' 363, 592, 631.
'Laura.' 190, 248.
'The Confession of Don Carlos.' 96.
'Reminiscences of my youth.' 123, 160.
'The Child's Destiny.' 59.
'The Chaunt of the Brazen Head.' 3.
'Twenty-eight and Twenty-nine.' 26.
'The Fancy Ball.' 55.
'Our Ball.' 69.
'To Florence.' 68, 72.
'A Child's Grave.'
'Campbell.' 24.

(1888)
'Ode to the Chancellor.' 17, 26.
'The Riddles of the Sphinx.' 30.
'The Complaint of Liberty.' 61.
'King Alfred's Book.' 2.

John Critchley Prince 1808-1866.

(1880)
'The Poet's Sabbath.' 180, 187, 201, 371.
'A Vision of the Future.' 53.
'To France.' 13.
'The Contrast.' 14.
'A Father's Lament.' 78.
'A Call to the People.' 34.
'Clifton Grove. Occasioned by a visit to the scene of H. K. White's poem of that name.' 30.
'The Blind Enthusiast.' 26.
'Domestic Melody.' 4.
'Land and Sea.' 23.
'To Hypatia. In reply to some beautiful verses addressed to the author.' 44.
'The Captive's Dream.' 3, 396.
'Stanzas, addressed to the child of my poet-friend, J. B. Rogerson.' 39.
'Written in Affliction.' 14.
'An Appeal on behalf of the uneducated.' 110.
'A Sick man's Fancies.' 28, 222.
'The Slave.' 63.
'A Fragment for the People.' 114.
'Stanzas, written after a winter's walk in the country.' 24.
'The Banks of Conway.' 63.
'Death's Doings.' 56.
'The Drummer's Death-Roll.' 23, 70.
'Human Brotherhood.' 8.
'The Poet at the Grave of his Child.' 1, 10.
'Sad and sick unto death.' 44, 46.
'Stanzas suggested at the grave of Shakespeare.' 3, 60, 72.
'The Pen and the Sword.' 188, 193.
'A Winter Sketch from Oldermann.' 28.
'The Wanderer.' 45, 54.
'War.' 8.
'The Partition of the Earth.' 16.
'On the death of Robert Southey, late Poet Laureate.' 10-1, 48.
'A Familiar Epistle to my Friend John Ball.' 56.
'New Year's Day Aspirations.' 6.
'The Merchant and the Mourner.' 79.
'Contrition.' 60.
'To the Memory of a deceased Friend.' 6, 54.
'The Household Jewels.' 70.
'Buckton Castle.' 12.
'Kossuth's Prayer.' 31.
'On the death of two infant children.'
'The Shepherd's Dog.' 28.
'The Fairy's Funeral. A Fantasy.' 131, 152, 162, 175.
'Pleurs; or, the Town of Tears.' 460, 485, 568.
'Zoana.' 553.
'At my Wife's Grave Side.' 11.
'The Saving Angel.' 22.
'The Holy Land. Prologue to an unfinished sacred poem.' 66, 85.
'Birthday Sonnet.' 7.
'A Good Man Gone.' 82-3.
'The Pauper's Grave.' 10, 20, 30, 37, 40.
'Suppliance.' 12.
'The Meeting of the Winds.' 14, 20.
'Address: spoken by the author at the ancient shepherds' anniversary, Town Hall, Ashton, January 1st, 1846.' 36.
'Extempore Lines.' 21.

Adelaide Anne PROCTER 1825-1864.

(1905)
'The Angel's Story.' 197-200.
'A Doubting Heart.' 11.
'A Tomb in Ghent.' 91, 124, 175, 234, 256, 290.
'The Present.' 22.
'The Warrior to his Dead Bride.' 33.
'The Army of the Lord.' 64.
'The Unknown Grave.' 6.
'A Shadow.' 23.
'The Sailor Boy.' 247.
'The Two Spirits.' 10.
'A little Longer.' 27.
'A Vision.' 3, 9.
'True or False.' 73.
'A Legend of Provence.' 314.
'Beyond.' 20.
'King and Slave.' 20.
'From "Lost Alice".' 2, 19.
'A Changeling.' 9-10.

William Brighty RANDS 1823-1882.

(1857)
'For Music.' 23-4.
'Penitent Alfred.' 25.
'A Plea for Italy.' 18.
'Snow-Fall.' 28.
'Song. As the stars in the sky, as the sand on the shore.' 11.

William Caldwell ROSCOE 1823-1859.

(1860)
'A Wet Autumn.' 14.
'Gibson's Statue of Aurora.' 12.
'To a Friend.' 2-3.
'Daybreak in February.' 11.
'Eliduke, Count of Yveloc. A Tragedy.' Act IV.i.122; Act V.ii.5, iv.76.
'Violanzia. A Tragedy.' Act I.i.38; Act II.iii.23, viii.33; Act III.iii.26; Act IV.iv.128; Act V.i.44, iii.45, 94, 102.

Christina Georgina ROSSETTI 1830-1894.

(1979-90)
'Goblin Market.' 312.
'Spring.' 9.
'An End.' 13.
'Song. Oh roses for the flush of youth.' 5.
'Shut Out.' 10.
'Sound Sleep.' 20.
'"The Love of Christ which passeth knowledge".' 17.
'Sweet Death.' 4-5.
'The Prince's Progress.' 170, 213, 259, 317.
'Shall I forget?' 1.
'"The Iniquity of the Fathers upon the Children".' 423, 508, 542.
'Dost thou not care?' 21.
'Love lies bleeding.' 2.
'By the waters of Babylon. B. C. 570.' 19.
'"When my heart is vexed, I will complain".' 30.
'Dead in the cold, a song-singing thrush.' 4.
'A baby's cradle with no baby in it.' 2.
'Monna Innominata. A Sonnet of Sonnets.' 13.
'A Life's Parallels.' 1.
'The Thread of Life.' 8, 14.
'Later Life: A Double Sonnet of Sonnets.' 14.
'A Martyr. The Vigil of the Feast.' 114.
'"King of kings and Lord of lords".' 14.
'One Sea-side Grave.'
'Birchington Churchyard.'
'A Churchyard Song of Patient Hope.'
‘Easter Tuesday.’ 10.
‘As the dove which found no rest.’ 16.
‘Sooner or later: yet at last.’ 20.
‘Hope is the counterpoise of fear.’ 8.
‘Toll, bell, toll. For hope is flying.’ 5.
‘AWake, thou that sleepest!’ 6.
‘What good shall my life do me?’ 17.
‘Bury Hope out of sight.’ 8.
‘Heaveness may endure for a night, but Joy cometh in the Morning.’ 1.
‘Repining.’ 152.
‘If.’ 21.
‘Husband and Wife.’ 31.
‘Cardinal Newman.’ epigraph.
‘The Time of Waiting.’ 18.
‘Life out of death.’ 5.
‘Love and Death.’ 43.
‘Despair.’ 22.
‘Lord Thomas and fair Margaret.’ 44.
‘The Novice.’ 29.
‘Young men aye were fickle found since summer’.’ 12.
‘The Stream moaneth as it floweth.’ 23.
‘Floral Teaching.’ 7.
‘Death is swallowed up in Victory’.’ 38, 49.
‘Death.’ 1, 32.
‘Zara.’ 2, 81, 89.
‘What to do?’ 8.
‘Have Patience.’ 14.
‘A Year Afterwards.’ 65.
‘A fair World tho’ a fallen’.’ 3.
‘I look for the Lord’.’ 17.
‘All night I dream you love me well.’ 7.
‘Two thoughts of Death.’
‘There remaineth therefore a rest’.’ 16.
‘Look on this Picture and on this’.’ 52.
‘Only believe’.’ 51.
‘Then they that feared the Lord spake often one to another’.’ 15.
‘Under Willows.’ 1, 5, 17.
‘Yes, I too could face death and never shrink.’ 6.
‘The Succession of Kings.’ 18.
‘I said good bye in hope.’ 19.
‘Heaven overarches earth and sea.’ 8.

Dante Gabriel ROSSETTI 1828-1882.

(1911)
‘The Staff and Scrip.’ 58.
‘Sonnet. Lost on both sides.’ 5.
‘The Card-dealer.’ 42.
‘William Blake.’
‘Wellington’s Funeral 18th November 1852.’ 56.
‘Czar Alexander the Second (13th March 1881).’ 11.
‘Stratton Water.’ 145.
‘The Church-Porches. I — to M. F. R.’ 5.
‘Dis Manibus.’ 7.
'Sir Peter Paul Rubens (Antwerp).’ 12.
'A very pitiful lady, very young.' 78.
'Dante and his Circle.’ 58.
'Sonnet Of the Grave of Selvaggia, on the Monte della Sambuca.’
'Sonnet Of Love in Men and Devils.’ 3.
'Forese Donati to Dante Alighieri. He taunts him concerning the unavenged Spirit of Geri
Alighieri.’ 8.
'Lenore.’ 56, 69, 85, 230-1.
'John of Tours. Old French.’ 32.

William Bell SCOTT  1811-1890.

(1838)

(1854)
'The Artist's Birthplace.’ 33.
'Maryanne.’ 23.
'To the great Sphynx: considered as the symbol of religious mystery.’ II: 23; IV: 118.
'Death.’ 32.

(1875)
'Lady Janet, May Jean.’ 70.
'Kriemhild's Tryste.’ III: 301.
'Woodstock Maze.’ 20, 40, 62, 82, 102-5, 122.
'Anthony.’ 136.
'Science Abortive.’ 9.
'Youth and Age.’ 13.
'Bede in the Nineteenth Century.’ II: 63, 179.
'On the Inscription, Keats' Tombstone.’ headnote, 7.
'Sandrart's Inscription, on Albert Dürer's Grave, Nürnberg.’
'Music of the Spheres.’ 36, 61, 158, 200.
'To the Memory of Percy Bysshe Shelley. (1831)’ 75.
'To the Memory of John Keats. (1832; revised)’ 14, 28, 117.
'The Incantation of Hervor.’ 75, 80, 117.

(1893)
'Teliessin.’ 9.
'The Tide.’ 12.
'Thorolf and Gudrun.’ 1.
'Music.’ 36.
'Hortus Paradisi.’ 4, 9.
'Orpheus.’ 9.
'Wm. Blake's designs for The Grave. Seen after many years.’
'Cardinal Newman.’ 17.

(1846)

Arabella SHORE  c.1820/3-after 1900.

(1890)
‘“In Memoriam”.’ 65.

(1855)
'War's Magic Lantern.’ 225, 244.
'Inkerman.' 40.
'The Maiden at Home.' 86.
'Words to the Czar.' 43.
'Sebastopol.' 3.
'The Banquet.' 18.

Louisa Catherine SHORE 1824-1895.

[All these poems are accompanied by a headnote: 'The attribution of this poem is questionable.]

(1870)
'Fra Dolcino.' I: 74; II: 209, 377, 773, 797, 905; II: 982; III: 1037; IV: 1171, 1203; II: 1489; III: 1638, 1653; V: 1980; IV: 2527; V: 2882, 2913.
'The River's Fate.' 12.
'Annette Meyers.' 175, 288.
'The Hunting of Aversa.' 64.
'The Old Churchyard.' 1, 24.

Menelia Bute SMEDLEY 1820-1877.

(1869)
'A Ballad.' 50.

(1856)
'The New Forest.' 93.
'The Captivity of Coeur de Lion. In Five Lays.' 72.
'The Lament of Eleanor of Bretagne.' 74, 88.
'The Black Prince of England.' 81.
'The Lay of King James I in his Captivity.' 16.
'The Death of James I.' 55.
'Grizzel Hume.' 88.
'The Death of the Captal de Buch.' 44.
'The Brethren of Port Royal.' 19, 59.

(1868a)
'Hero Harold.' I: 94, 120.
'Ranger.' 14.
'Two Boys.' 7.

(1868b)
'On the Death of Prince Albert.' I, 5, 12.
'Eremos and Eudaemon.' 145, 195, 212, 224.
'Lady Grace. A Drama, in Five Acts.' Act I.i.81; Act II.v.66; Act IV.i.20; Act V.i.123, ii.20.
'The Mother's Lesson.' 75, 102, 108, 179.
'Odin's Sacrifice.' 366.

(1863)
'The Story of Queen Isabel.' 132, 158, 631-2, 904, 943.
'Cavour.' 35-6.
'Garibaldi at Varignano.'
'The Hermit of Gibraltar. (A True Story)' 60.
'Out of the Depths.' 15.
'Rizpah.' 66, 76, 81.
'Sunset.' 26.
'Maidenhood.' 40.
'The Painter.' 48, 52.

(1874)
'Lines on the Greek Massacre.' 62.
James SMETHAM  1821-1889.

(1893)
'An Antidote to Care.'  1.
'Paraphrase — Psalm XVI.'  52.
'The Rest.'  40.
'Quiet Hearts.'  3.

Alexander SMITH  1829-1867.

(1857)
'Horton.'  110, 190, 337, 460, 467, 492, 558, 581, 711, 722, 747, 815.
'Glasgow.'  6, 106, 111, 133.
'Squire Maurice.'  28, 103, 310, 443, 509.
'A Boy's Poem.'  65, 100, 111, 162; Part I: 18, 60; Part II: 279, 287, 314, 330, 519, 548, 572, 581; Part III: 60, 102, 119, 205, 247, 262.
'Our Mother.'  12.
'The Night before the Wedding, or Ten Years After.'  59.

(1861)
'Torquil and Oona.'  40, 98, 102, 106.

(1868)
'A Spring Chanson.'  16, 51.

(1855)
'Vox Populi.'  9.
'Sebastopol.'  14.
'Rest.'  8.
'Freedom.'  8, 14.
'Poland. Italy. Hungary.'  1.
'Austrian Alliance.'  4.
'Volunteers.'  11.
'The Common Grave.'  3.

William Chalmers SMITH  1824-1908.

(1902)
'The Bishop's Walk.' II: 138, 151; IV: 505, 598, 648; V: 660, 671, 808, 892; VII: 1050, 1058.
'From the Bass.'  260.
'The Confession of Annapel Gowdie, Witch.'  7, 56.
'Marion Brown's Lament.'  8.
'Olrig Grange.' Book 1: 95, 384, 497; Book 5: 451, 463, 496; Book 6: 163, 529, 556.
'Borland Hall.' Book 1: 34, 42, 61, 114, 631; Book 2: 547; Book 3: 109.
'Hilda among the Broken Gods.'  86; Book 1: 421; Book 2: 831, 976, 981; Book 3: 437-9, 696;
'Confidence.'  7.
'Hope.'  28-30.
'The Ancient Cross.'  60.
'A Parabolic Discourse.'  36, 47.
'Dr. Linkletter's Scholar.'  437.
'Dick Dalgleish.'  218.
'Lost and Won.'  193.
'Morgana.'  178.
'Bailie Butters and young Dinwoodie.'  216.
'Deacon Dorat's Story.'  40, 177.
'Iona.'  22, 50.
The Cry of the Maiden Shareholder.' 35.
Kildrostan.' Act I.i.50, ii.45, 94, iii.44, 210, iv.17, 28, 200; Act II.i.238, iii.172; Act III.i.54, 301;
   Act IV.i.193, iii.253; Act V.i.41, 56, iv. 170.
Once they sought the Cross of shame.' 35.
Jesus, in the deep, dark night.' 16.
Oh, are they near to us or far away?' 10, 12.
O'er land and sea love follows with fond prayers.' 5.
A Heretic.' 1, 120, 536.
A Pulpitier.' 114, 186.
Herr Professor Kupfer-Nickel.' 10, 252.
Found and Lost.' 208.
A Calm.' 88.
'It came with a lass, and will gang with a lass'. 16.
Young Erskine of Dun.' 54.
The Macgregors.' 18, 23.
The Little Pilgrims. A Tradition of the Plague in Aberdeen.' 198.
Warriston and the signing of the Covenant.' 51.
Grizel Baillie.' 25, 62, 75, 86, 109.
The Rabbling of the Curates.' 76.
Damien and Marion Cunningham.' 35.
The Elder's Daughter.' 77, 107.
The Revelation.' 137.

William SOTHEBY 1757-1833.

(1799)
The Battle of the Nile.' 164-7, 271, 297, 305, 331, 428, 463.

(1810)
Constance de Castile.' Canto I: 252; Canto II: 1, 37-42, 49, 119, 165, 185, 189; Canto III: 130,
   154n, 200, 277; Canto V: 132, 161, 255, 250; Canto VI: 236; Canto VIII: 57, 175; Canto IX:
   39-41, 80; Canto X: 231-2, 291, 424, 433.

(1828)
Rome.' Canto 2: 151, 220-1, 233, 354, 363; Canto 3: 51, 207, 232, 278, 298, 312, 335, 366,
   548, 597.
Venice.' 315.
Florence.' 62, 214-6, 257-8, 272, 295.
On the ruined palace of Rienzi.' 8.
On a Peasant of the Abruzzi Mountains.' 26.
The Lake of Como.' 65.
Carrara.' 33.
The Borromean Islands. Isola madre.' 74.
On Paestum.' 69, 76.
Farewell to Italy.' 229.
Written in Virgil's Tomb.' 6-7, 12, 18.
The Convent of the Great St. Bernard.' 247.
Epitaph On a Dog of the Convent of the Great St. Bernard, Half Buried in the Frozen Lake, by
   the Sudden Fall of an Avalanche.' 22, 75.
On hearing of the death of Francis Horner, Esq. at Pisa.' 12.
The Lay of the Bell.' 221, 243.
Extracts from a Manuscript Poem on the Elements.' 844, 985.
On seeing in a dream the vision of my mother.' 6.
Written in a solitary inn between Munich and Augsburg, August — 1817.' 88.
Retrospect. Written at Brighton — 1820.' 56, 390, 414, 472-4, 490.

(1834)
On the Death of my Mother.' 8.
Sonnet to Wieland.' 11.
Staffa and Iona.' 17.
On the Death of Sir Walter Scott.' 8, 27.
'Lines suggested by the third meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, held at Cambridge, in June, 1833.' 4, 277.

(1790)
'A Tour through parts of South and North Wales, in two books.' Book 2: 38, 42.
'Sonnet III. The Suicide.' 3.
'Ode to Clyda.' VIII: 76.
'Netley Abbey. Midnight.' 20, 42.

(1814)
'A Song of Triumph.' 45, 56, 68, 92.

Thomas Tod STODDART 1810-1880.

(1831)

(1839)
'The Angler's Grave.'
'The Veteran Tar.' 13.
'The Dying Hero.' 15, 28.
'The Mythologist.' 16.
'The Silver Horn. A Ballad.' 120, 134.
'To a Dove in a Deserted Church-Yard.' 17.

(1873)
'Autumn in the Highlands.' 171.
'Winter.' 106, 135, 290, 440, 723, 1058, 1251-5, 1266, 1364, 1445.
'Loch Skene.' 18.
'The Heir of Ardgour.' 23, 51.
'Flower-life.' Part I: 7.
'Death's Herdsmen; or, the Lay of the Rhinderpest.' 22.
'Thoughts suggested by passing events. Written during the Siege of Paris in 1870.' 41.
'The Oakling.' 28, 260.
'The Wail of the Saxon Mother. In Three Phases.' Phase 2: 17; Phases 3: 63.

Lady Emmeline Charlotte Elizabeth STUART-WORTLEY 1806-1855.

(1843)
'Song. — To Nina. From the Spanish.' 82.
'The Birth of a Feeling.' 65.

(1837a)
'Midnight Thoughts.' 12.
'Mourners of Earth!' 22, 59, 88, 111.
'The Parting.' 70.
'Contemplations in Solitude.' 62.
'Not now! not now!' 18.
'Churchyard Contemplations.' 6, 18, 69, 141, 196, 240.
'On the Loss of the Rothsay Castle Steam-boat, 1831.' 23, 27, 46, 139.
'Musings.' 10.
'Woman and Woman's Love.' 178.

(1851a)
' Honour to Labour.' 100, 131, 788, 1084, 1102, 1106.
'Lines to America.' 9.
(1837b)
'Lines written at Naples.' 32, 751, 1095.
'Lines on Morning. Written at Naples.' 68, 133.
'Queen Joanna's ruined palace at Naples.' 4, 25.
'The Wanderer's Return.' 26, 80.
'Oh! They Whose Life.' 29.
'The Felon's Grave. A Fragment.' 1, 17, 21, 34, 75-7, 105-9, 113, 153.
'A Memory's memory.' 147.
'Sunshine and Moonlight.' 53, 57.
'The Delights of Imagination.' 18.
'Death and Infancy.' 20, 28.
'Cold World!' 4, 10, 13.
'A Morning Walk.' 31.
'An Evening walk.' 12.

(1837c)
'On the Ancient Burial Place at Pisa.' 1, 154, 176, 191, 197, 214, 254, 318, 643-7, 685, 689, 725, 871, 1040, 1074, 1167, 1177.
'On the leaning tower at Pisa.' 37.
'Farewell to the Meditarranean.' 12.
'Oh! Ausonia's Land.' 10.
'Doubt.' 10.
'Farewell! Life's made up of Farewells.' 13.
'Sorrow is my perpetual guest.' 7.
'Reform — Liberty — March of Intellect — Equality.' 896, 1015, 2570, 2614.

(1835a)
'The Knight and the Enchantress.' 686, 694, 840.
'The Bridal.' 204, 276, 312, 363.
'On Memory.' 213.

(1838a)
'Irresolution.' 8.
'The Little Boat.' 39.
'A Spring Evening.' 4, 7.
'And is she dead?' 7, 21.
'The heart's guests.' 38.
'To Napoleon in the Grave.' 18.
'On Disappointment.' 9.
'Stanzas. (From Inez, an MS. poem)' 26.
'The Dreamer's Grave.' 1, 9, 20, 29.
'Happiness.' 29-30.
'The Commencement of Spring.' 19.
'The Dragon Fly.' 1416-19, 1429, 1445, 1781, 1818, 2325.
'On a Fete held in the Open Air.' 14.
'Brightest Spring.' 67, 71, 80-3.
'East, West, South, and North.' 208.
'Earth is Pitiless.' 21, 38, 56.
'The Isle of Beauty.' 7, 27.
'The Farewell to Earth.' 36, 53.
'And shall I longer bend and bow?' 8.
'To pain.' 47.
'The heart's hope.' 20.
'Autumn.' 55.
'The world's true value.' 16.

(1841)
'Lillia-Bianca.' 276, 720, 1151, 1440, 1751, 1756, 1811.

(1834)
'London at Night.' 66, 72, 97, 323, 333, 338, 443, 499, 582, 604, 748, 829, 835.
'The Careless Ladye.' 31.
(1842)
'The Maiden of Moscow.' Canto I: 571, 729; Canto II: 83, 350; Canto III: 77, 213, 367, 984;
Canto IV: 1292, 1296; Canto V: 229, 365, 708, 1021, 1081, 1153, 1177, 1338, 1375, 1683-7;
Canto VI: 59, 112, 381, 696-7, 852, 1170; Canto VII: 16, 48, 78-9, 221, 270, 440, 669; Canto
VIII: 899; Canto IX: 651-2, 963, 976, 1001, 1088, 1469; Canto X: 87, 182, 487, 546, 612, 625,
736, 901; Canto XI: 373; Canto XII: 149, 252, 514-19; Canto XIII: 34, 471, 500, 607, 704,
775; XIV: 287, 745, 835-6, 951, 1012-4, 1146; Canto XV: 54, 385, 427, 439, 476, 507; Canto
XVI: 80, 352, 469; Canto XVII: 201, 214-20, 225, 236, 252, 361, 375, 400, 1000, 1053-6;
Canto XVIII: 1, 313, 374, 956, 1124-6; Canto XIX: 170, 276, 334, 338, 342, 364, 413; Canto
XX: 48, 203, 236, 240, 248, 251; Canto XXI: 12, 307, 533, 598-9, 794, 1027, 2275.
'Stanzas written on finishing the Maiden of Moscow.' 87.

(1851b)
'On the anticipated close of the Great Exhibition.' 270, 404, 447, 476, 578, 638-40, 666, 721,
750, 1036.
'To Niagara.' 74.
'Lines on Napoleon.' 13-5, 52.
'Lines written on the passing of the Sugar-Bill, 1846.' 13.
'On portraits of Madame Le Vert's lost children at Mobile, Alabama.' 30.

(1833)
'The Unloved of Earth.' 42, 200, 232, 313.
'The Mourners.' 3.
'To the Departed.' 11, 25, 68, 96, 104.
'Lines of ----.' 66.
'Greece.' 29.
'The Lark and the Butterfly.' 41.
'From Inez. An unpublished poem.' 2.
'The Injunction.' 13.
'Remember!' 38.
'The Consolation.' 29-31, 49, 75.
'The Mourner.' 29.
'The Lover's Prayer.' 19, 28.
'A Remembered Scene.' 30.
'To the Lark.' 94, 99.
'The Stranger.' 48, 61.
'Dreams.' 24, 40, 82.
'Lines on Martin's paintings.' 10, 14.
'To the Moon.' 75, 110.
'On Music.' 104, 197.
'Night.' 36.
'When the Earth's Overshadowed.' 2, 40.
'The Starry Skies.' 93.
'Elegy.' 20.
'The Stars.' 7.
'It should not be, and shall not.' 1.
'On a Tomb.' 57, 194, 250.
'Song of the Dying Improvisatrice.' 8, 12.
'Death's Sovereignty.' 16, 44.
'Song. Long have I mourned, and long have known.' 16, 20, 32-3.
'Time.' 8-12, 13, 49, 58, 63, 75-6, 83, 100-2, 112, 117, 141, 182, 230, 252, 286.
'The Arab Chief.' 84-6.
'The Lark.' 3.
'The Sailor's Grave.' 1.
'The Hour of Storm.' 36.
'Ohol ye who suffer.' 25, 60, 111.
'Ohol I have made dreams.' 11.
'Hop! hast thou flown away.' 22, 33, 37.
'Sorrow.' 95.
'The human heritage.' 86.
'What are mysteries.' 78.
(1838b)
'Queen Berengaria's Courtesy.' 89, 97, 110, 1076, 1084, 1179, 1192, 1353, 1728, 2084, 2364, 2847.
'The Disconsolate Young Lady.' 69.
'Earth's Vanities.' 24.
'The Tomb's Reproof.' 1, 33.
'The Spanish Maiden's Sorrow.' 6.
'Sonnet. Voices, e'en still small voices, seem to rise.' 1, 12.
'To the Butterfly.' 30.
'The Warrior's Funeral.' 10, 31.
'The Ghastly Guest.' 36.
'A Beautiful Scene.' 15.
'Bonds of Union.' 10, 23, 31.
'Jewish Cemetery seen from the Bosphorus.'
'An Infant's Funeral.' 72.
'The Vision.' 17, 20.
'And are we strangers?' 8, 12, 24.
'Oh! Ofttimes in the festal Hall.' 8.
'On the broad blazoned rolls.' 16, 32.
'Sweet flowers.' 34.
'Fair fairy days.' 114, 124.
'Sonnet On my child's birth-day.' 3.
'From "Inez," A MS. poem.' 6.
'The heart's power.' 18.
'The Sunbeam.' 9.
'The Soul's Unrest.' 20.
'The Maiden's Song of Sorrow.' 4, 8.
'Manuel to Inez. From an MS. Poem.' 16.
'Song of the Dying.' 29, 38.
'Strange! — thoughts glimpse thoughts.' 2.
'Stamped on my mind.' 101.
'Sonnet. Earth's dreams away, like troubled vapours, roll.' 14.
'Sonnet. To thee, sweet Sleep, do I address.' 3.
'The Campo Santo, at Naples.' 4, 32.
'Evening.' 35.
'The World of Graves.' 38, 43, 51.
'The Heart's History.' 8.
'Children round a new-made grave.' 3, 16, 36.
'The Memory of Delight.' 12, 38.
'Clouds! lovely clouds.' 31.
'A Wish.' 12.
'To the Winds.' 48.
'A Churchyard at Evening.' 1, 7, 16, 31.
'A Shadow round me.' 35.
'Song of the Dying.'
'Absence in Presence.' 41, 85.
'Thy memory and thy tears.' 1, 13, 25.
'Low sigh of love.' 22.
'i am weary of my thoughts.' 11.
'Remember me!' 16.
'To the Lost!' 1, 17.
'The Death-Bell.' 26, 65, 98-9, 192, 292.
'County Hugh.' 111.
'Lines from "Inez." (A MS. Poem)' 16-7, 22.
'Sonnet. Man still half makes himself — still but half made.' 12.
'Sonnet. Retired far, far from this world's busy throng.' 4.
'The Festival.' 63.

(1839a)
'Sonnet. The Tower of Roland.' 6.
'Sonnet. The Convent at Wurzburg.' 11.
'Sonnet. The Adriatic at Sunset.' 11.
'Sonnet. Wherefore dost howl? thou boisterous, furious Wind?' 7.
'Sonnet. A Night Storm at Venice.' 5.
'Sonnet. A few last notes of birds! — a few last rays!' 14.
'Sonnet. The Night! the mighty mourner! —' 4.
'Sonnet. She sleeps! — o'er her late bright and beaming face.' 3.
'Sonnet. Inez to Manuel.' 14.
'Dreams of my soul.' 12.
'And must we be strangers?' 2, 16.
'A World of Woe.' 4.
'The Dead.' 13.
'Sonnet. The approach to Varna.' 12.

(1835b)
'Farewell to England. 1833.' 67.
'Recollections of the Corniche.' 95, 646.

(1835c)
'Oh! Say ye not.' 12, 22.
'The Star and the Lightning.' 17.
'It may not be!' 20.
'The Remonstrance.' 20.
'Lines on a bower.' 70.
'The Pirate's tomb.' 1, 13, 28.
'Farewell to Zeineb.' 27.
'Lines on a lovely child.' 72.
'The Sultana's Lamentation.' 59, 77.
'The Story of Sadhu Sing.' 34, 97, 101.
'The King of Terrors.' 1.
'Sonnet. Sleep! come, with all thy honey-dews, oh come!' 5.

(1836-39)
'The Visionary. A Fragment.' Canto I: 838; Canto II: 757, 1041, 1148, 1231, 1339, 1671, 1858, 1874.
'Epitaph. In ripened age and ripened virtues too.' 2, 7.

(1839b)
'The Visionary.' Canto III: Part 1; 272, 455, 460-2, 501, 567, 572-6, 580-1, 737, 813-5, 866, 949, 998, 1058-9, 1155, 1203, 1348, 1370, 1413, 1453, 1595, 1691, 1763, 2036, 2581, 2622, 2656; Part 2; 301, 368, 376, 418, 539, 617, 636, 687, 701, 1017, 1138, 1177, 1354, 1423-4, 1449, 1809, 2219, 2407, 2538, 2568, 2797, 2983, 3204; Part 3; 40, 105, 323, 669, 677, 695, 720, 1081, 1221, 1299, 1309, 1322, 1335, 1506, 1564, 1596 1883, 2015, 2219, 2290, 2360, 2641, 2651, 2659, 2721, 2766.

Henry Septimus SUTTON 1825-1901.

(1886)
'Mount Perilous of Pride.' 64, 143, 159.
' Circles.' 26.
'A Preacher's Soliloquy and Sermon.' 109.
'Clifton Grove Garland.' 968.
'A Hymn of Creation.' 107.
'Love's Freemasonry.' 9.
Charles SWAIN 1801-1874.

(1863)
‘Gainsborough.’ 60.
‘Reynolds.’ 185.
‘Haydon. (The Two Exhibitions)’ 137.
‘Giulio Romano.’ 123.
‘The Chapel Bell.’ 12, 84.
‘The Best Estate.’ 15.
‘A Daily Scene.’ 16.
‘Watching and Waiting.’ 17.
‘Adam.’ 49.
‘Riva di san Marco.’ 28.
‘The Angel’s Call. In Memory of Juliana Anne Tavare.’ 1, 3.
‘The Captive.’ 20, 38.
‘Hymn to the Cross.’ 17, 21.

(1831)
‘Beauties of the Mind.’ 252.
‘Nineveh. (From the celebrated Painting by Martin)’ 38.
‘Eudocia.’ 36.
‘Xerxes.’ 53.
‘The Festival. (A Painting by Perigal)’ 25, 29.
‘The Misanthrope to his son.’ 8.
‘The Last Letter.’ epigraph.
‘Abdoulraham III.’ 47, 51.
‘The Village of Scheveningen.’ 10.
‘The Days gone by.’ 18.
‘The Last Request.’ 18.
‘A Father’s Reproof.’ 32.
‘Truth, youth, and age.’ 12.
‘Count Julian.’ 34, 40.
‘The Visionary.’ 40.
‘The Land of Spirits.’ 15.
‘Canzonet.’ 8.
‘Reminiscences.’ 43.
‘The Wanderer.’ 51.
‘Forest Trees.’ 76-8.
‘Last words of Lord Byron.’ 21.
‘Youth.’ 35, 42.

(1847)
‘Dramatic Chapters.’ Chapter II: 63, 149; Chapter VI: 61, 68, 74; Chapter IX: 14; Chapter XI: 30-2; Chapter XII: 286; Chapter XIV: 139; Chapter XV: 97, 120-5, 140, 153; Chapter XVI: 27; Chapter XVII: 40, 46; XVIII: 231, 252-5; Chapter XIX: 63, 67, 71, 81; Chapter XXI: 219-2.
‘Loving and Forgiving.’ 14.
‘Conradin.’ 84.
‘The Covenanter’s Son.’ 32.
‘Let there be light.’ 12.

(1868)
‘Dryburgh Abbey.’ 44.
‘Spiritual vision.’ 18.
‘The Schooner.’ 51.
‘They are no more.’ 21.
‘The Village Queen.’ 50, 71.
‘The Lost.’ 2, 7-9.
(1849)
'The Childhood's heart.' 8.
'The Sexton.' 514.

(1853)
'Letter Fourth. May 3.' 32, 40.
'Catherine Seyton.' 11.
'Epitaph on the Late Salis Schwabe, Esq.' 29.

(1827)
'Alexander the Great.' epigraph, 52.
'The Rose.' 30.
'King Richard III and his Son.' 49 and n.
'Inez de Castro.' 40.
'Constance de Cezelli.' 8.
'Lines written by the sea shore.' 38, 72.
'Capsalis.' 11, 97.
'The Lover's Last Song.' 16.
'The Tempest.' 19, 23.
'A Monarch's Lament for the Death of his Son.' 12.
'The Death of Otho.' 22.
'To the Night Wind.' 8.
'The Cherry tree.' 29.
'Parting Words.' 24.
'Woman's Affection.' 4, 18.
'Stanzas to a Lady.' 14.
'Lif.' 8.
'The Old Mariner.' 13.
'Written on my mother's grave.' 11.
'The Grave.' 2, 7, 13.
'The Village Church.' 5, 14.

(1870)
'I knew my lot was labor.' 19.

(1857)
'No more.' 15.
'Maid of Saragossa.' 17, 40.

([1846])
'The Poor Blind Man.' 5.
'A True Story.' 18, 24.

(1867)
'The old cottage clock.' 33-4.
'When the heart is young.' 23.
'Do a good turn when you can.' 12.
'Beauty is dead.' 15.
'The Sailor.' 8, 22.
'The Beautiful Day.' 16.

Henry TAYLOR 1800-1886.

(1877-8)
'Olympia Morata. Written after visiting her grave at Heidelberg.'
'Philip van Artevelde. A Dramatic Romance in two parts.' Part I, Act I, 128, 154; Act II, 8, 18;
Act III, 70; Act IV, 117; Part II, Act III, 374-7, 411; Act V, 23, 82.
'Edwin the Fair.' Act I.v.36, 74, x.52; Act IV.i.5; Act V.vii.33.
'Isaac Comnenus. A Play.' Act III.iii. [scene set in churchyard] 2, 9, 14, 62, 80, v.189; Act V.vi. 30, vii.32.
'The Virgin Widow; or, a Sicilian Summer.' Act V.iii.78.
'St. Clement's Eve.' Act I.iii.5-6; Act II.ii.86; Act III.iii.128, 174, 175, 325; Act IV.ii.85, iii.19; Act V.iii.137, v.105.
'Two ways of life.' 102-3, 116, 158, 168.
'To Robert Southey, after reading certain criticisms on "His life and correspondence".' 3-5.

Alfred TENNYSON [1st Baron Tennyson] 1806-1892.

(1897)
The Little Maid. 8.

(1893)
'Remorse.' 36.
'Antony to Cleopatra.' 32, 40.
'I wander in darkness and sorrow.' 13.
'And ask ye why these sad tears stream.' 4.
'On Sublimity.' 24, 58, 66.
'Time: An Ode.' 14.
'The Grave of a Suicide.' 2, 4, 16.
'Lamentation of the Peruvians.' 44.
'On the Moon-light shining upon a friend's grave.'
'Oh! ye wild winds, that roar and rave.' 22.
'Come hither, can't thou tell me if this skull.' 9.
'Written during the convulsions in Spain.' 7, 12.

(1900)
The Burial of Love.
'Love, pride and forgetfulness.' 1.
'English War Song.' 31.

(1907-8)
'Supposed confessions of second-rate sensitive mind.' 35, 85.
'Song. A spirit haunts the year's last hours.' 10, 22.
'A Dirge. Now is done thy long day's work.' 6, 13, 20, 27, 34, 41, 48.
'Circumstance.' 6.
'My life is full of weary days.' 7.
'The Two Voices.' 261, 272, 274.
'The Palace of Art.' 273.
'The May Queen.' 64-5, 87.
'The Lotos-Eaters.' 34, 96.
'A Dream of Fair Women.' 212.
'Morte D'Arthur.' 46, 175.
'To know thee is all wisdom, and old age.' 5.
'Tithonus.' 73.
'Amphion.' 43.
'Edward Gray.' 12.
'Come not, when I am dead.' 2.
'The Letters.' 45.
'The Vision of Sin.' IV: 153, 165.
'To ---, after reading a life and letters.' 12.
'The Brook.' 192.
'Aylmer's Field.' 3n, 164, 396, 624, 777, 845.
'Lucretius.' 243, 255-6.
'The Grandmother.' 6.
'To ---, Thou may'st remember what I said.' 3.
'Enoch Arden.' 246, 280, 308, 892.
'In Memoriam A. H. H. Obiit MDCCCXXXIII.' VI: 136; VIII: 198; XXI: 439; XXXI: headnote, 640; XXXV: 702n; XXXVI: 738; XXXIX: 785; XLVI: 910; LI: 993; LV: 1054; LXVII: 1268n; LXXX:

(1893)
'Stanazas. Yon star of eve, so soft and clear.' 21.
'To one, whose hope repos'd on thee.' 20.
'On the Death of Lord Byron.' 5.
'A sister, sweet endearing name!' 2, 12.
'Anacreontic.' 26.

(1868)
'The Bier of the Christian Soldier.' 3.
'Alice Wade versus small-pox.' 7.

(1830)
'Sweet brother-soul! I may not tarry here.' 2.
'Lines. And art thou gone unto the skies.' 16.
'To a Dying Friend.' 2.
'We all must die — but to the good.' 2, 6.

(1864)
'Great localities. An Aspiration.' 19.
'Cynotaphium.' 18.
'The Lachrymatory.' 1.
'An incident in a church.' 5, 24.
'Goddard and Lycidas.' 6.
'Hebron. The Prince of Wales's Visit.' 18, 27, 30.
'Christ and Orpheus.' 12.

(1873)
'Little Nora; or, the Portrait.' 3.
'The Little heir of Shame.' 10.
'Our New Church.' 9.
'Supposed to be written by one on whom the death of an excellent woman has forced the conviction of a future state.' 2.
'On some humming-birds in a glass case.' 14.
'By a Death-bed.' 2.

Frederick TENNYSON 1807-1898.

(1891)
'Delos Daphne.' 691.
'Crete, Naxos Ariadne.' 523.
'Hesperides Hesperia.' 610.
'Atlantis.' Part I: 231.
'Niobe.' Part II: 222, 402, 452.
'Aeson.' Part I: 370, 727, 1184; Part II: 615, 1224.

(1854)
'Light and Shadows.' 55.
'The Bridal.' 128.
'The Soldier.' 18.
'Woman.' 22.
'Martha.' VI: 73-4.
'The Songs of Sorrow.' 7, 28, 79.
'The Golden City.' Part I: 2.
'To the Poet.' 25.
'The Poet's Heart.' 32.
'The Phantom.' 11.
'The Holytide.' Part V: 27.

(1890)
'Anaktoria.' II: 91.
'Andros.' V: 530.
'Antimenidas.' III: 489, 791.
'The Armoury.' I: 255, 345; III: 472; IV: 537.
'Pittacus.' 46.
'Kleis, or the Return.' XIII: 827; XIV: 1017.
'Chois.' II: 145.

(1893)
'Tis the voice of the dead.' 4.
'The Oak of the North.' 41, 79, 184.

Rose E. THACKERAY.

(1868)
'The Dying Girl.' p.10.
'To the Young Maiden.' p.12.
'To a Rose.' p.21.
'The Consumptive.' p.41
To a Beloved Deceased Father.’ p.52.
To My Sister.’ pp.55-6.
The Faded Flowers.’ p.70.
The Mourning Watch.’ p.88.
The Soldier's Funeral. Suggested by the Melancholy Death of a Young Officer, by Drowning, in the Serpentine River, Hyde Park.’ p.97.
To the Obelisk of Sallust at Rome.’ pp.108-9.
The Conscript's Bride,’ pp.127, 131.
The Dying Nun to the Novice.’ pp.137, 139.

George Walter THORBURY 1828-1876.

(1876)
Norse Battle-Song.’ 5, 24, 35, 40.
The Wiltshire Cairn.’ 16.
The Death of Rufus.’ 50.
The Legend of the Prince's Plume. A Story of the Battle of Cressy, from Froissart.’ 80.
The Legend of St. Vitus.’ 4.
The Lady Witch.’ 3.
The Legend of the Lockharts.’ 4, 42-3.
Dr. Johnson's Penance.’ 31.
The Witches' Ride.’ 6, 44.
A Hindoo Legend.’ 35.
The Madman of Corinth.’ 30.
In my Gondola.’ 19.
The Three Statues of Aegina.’ 30.
The Private Burying-Place.’ 41.
All Alone!’ 12.
"Left his Home".’ 50.
' Shells.’ 4.
'Easter Sunday in the Country.’ 5, 15, 20, 41.
'Primrose Time and Snow Time.’ 26.
'Snow Crystals.’ 6, 19, 63.
The Alderman's Funeral.’ 13, 17, 53.
The Eve of the Laird's Funeral.’ 35.
The Dance round the Plague-pit.’ 33.
The Epicurean's Garden.’ 125.
The Poor Man's heritage.’ 44.
The Parting of the Swallow.’ 30.
The Hidden Roses.’ 21.
The Passing Cloud.’ 9.
'Land in Sight! Home at Last!’ 8, 20, 64.
'Death of Oberon.’ 11.
The Sexton's Supper.’ 10.
'Chivalry.’ 49.
The Twelve Brothers.’ 46.
The Father of the Regiment. (An Old Grenadier’s Story of an Episode in the Retreat of Napoleon's “Grande Armée” from Moscow)’ 47.
The Country Church.’ 37.
The Dying Seneschal.’ 74.

(1851)
' Columbus.’ 7.
'Columbus in Chains.’ 43.
'The tears of Cortes.’ 58.
The Sorrowful Night.’ 15, 42, 80.
'The Murder of Pizarro.' 44, 64, 132.
'The Death of old Carbajal.' 56, 113, 135.
'The Procession of the Dead.' 50, 66.
'The Descent of the Volcano.' 100.
'The Arraignment of the Dead.' headnote.
'Decius.' headnote, 80.
'The Hymn of the Salian Priests.' 49.
'The Demon Oak. A Welsh Legend.' 66.
'Old Letters.' 18.

(1857)
'The Fountain at Beaulieu.' 91.
'The Entry into London.' 8, 19.
'The Bonfire at Temple-Bar. Sung by a party of merry fellows, dressed in greasy crimson and yellow satin, as they leaned out of the window of a Fleet-street tavern, May 29, 1660.' 76, 143.
'The Dance round the Plague-pit.' 138, 174.
'The Death of Marlborough.' 29.
'Culloden.' 158.
'The Dances of the Leaves.' 34, 64, 79.
'The Angels in the Garret.' 113.
'The Belfry Tower.' 26.
'The Horn of Ulphus.' 64
'The Old Grenadier's Story. (Told on a bench outside the Invalides)' 74.
'The Cathedral Builder.' 18-20, 41, 46, 60.
'The Whisper in the Market-place.' 33.
'The Shadow Hunt.' 19.
'The Mad-Pilgrim's Dream.' 24, 54.
'A year ago; or, the dead twelvemonth.' 17.

Henrietta TINDAL [Mrs. Acton Tindal] 1818-1879.

(1850)
'The Lament of Joanna of Spain.' pp.3, 6.
'The Phantom Hand.' p.9.
'The Widow Mother to her Infant.' pp.18, 20.
'The Pilgrim.' p.23.
'The Sinner's Child.' pp.29-30.
'The White Doves.' p.33.
'St. Mary Magdalene.' p.38.
'Isabella of Valois.' p.49.
'The Dark Thought.' p.52.
'An Aged Lady.' p.56.
'Fear not to die.' pp.60-1.
'The Mortality of Love.' p.66.
'The Brother's Summons.' p.68.
'The Lambs of Christ.' p.75.
'The Visit to the Tomb.'
'The Infant Bridal.' pp.95-6.
'The Village, the Church, and the Priest.' pp.99-100.
'The Three Wishes.' p.110.
'The Vengeance of Home of Wedderburn.' p.118.
'The Brother of La Trappe.' pp.120, 122.
'"Is it well with the child?" and she answered "It is well".' pp.126-8.

(1879)
'The Eve of All Souls. An Irregular Fragment.' pp.4-5, 6.
201

‘In Memory of Mrs. Murray Gartshore.’ p.33.
‘To the most Illustrious Mourner in the New Year, 1862.’ p.51.
‘H. D. T. [Henrietta Diana Tindal] Born May 18, 1858; Died December 18, 1867.’ pp.74, 75-6, 77.
‘The Corpse Candles.’ headnote, pp.89-93.
‘My Double-blossoming Cherry Tree.’ p.108.
‘Not all at once they leave us’. p.158.
‘On the Hartley Colliery Accident, 16th January, 1862.’ p.166.
‘To my Guardian Angel.’ p.173.

Richard Chenevix TRENCH 1807-1886.

(1885)
‘The Story of Justin Martyr.’ 38, 68.
‘A Walk in a Churchyard.’ 1, 6, 22, 52.
‘Anti-Gnosticus.’ 77.
‘To the same [To Silvio Pellico. On reading the story of his imprisonment].’ 10.
‘Atlantis.’ 18.
‘To a Friend. Thou that hast travelled far away.’ 24.
‘Young Poets.’ 16.
‘On an early death.’ 55, 62.
‘On a Yew-Tree in Hound Churchyard, Hants.’
‘On the Consecration of a new Churchyard.’
‘To a Friend. The courses of our lives, which side by side.’ 32, 36, 46.
‘The Steadfast Prince.’ 234.
‘The Tree of Life.’ 2, 7.
‘Mooltan.’ headnote, 40.
‘Hymn to Ocean.’ 2.
‘Life and Death. A Parable.’ 84.
‘The Ballads of Haroun al Raschid.’ 316.
‘By Grecian annals it remained untold.’ 10.
‘Life through death.’ 23, 36.
‘What though yet the spirit.’ 42, 68.
‘Sonnet. Together lay them in one common grave.’ 1.
‘After the Battle.’ 41, 48, 58.
‘The Return of the Guards.’ 12, 34.
‘To ---. We did not quite believe this world would give.’ 176.
‘To ---. O friend, high thanks I owe thee, not alone.’ 3.
‘Sonnet. When I consider what our life hath been.’ 10.
‘If our high debt of holy glee.’ 23.
‘O life, O death, O world, O time.’ 2.
‘This winter eve how soft! how mild!’ 11.

Martin Farquhar TUPPER 1810-1889.

(1851)
‘Mont Orgueil: Jersey. An Historical Picture.’ 22.
'A Night-sail in the Race of Alderney, Sept. 6, 1850.' 25.
'A National Anthem for Liberia in Africa.' 25.
"Liberty — Equality — Fraternity!" 23.
'St. Martha's, Near Guildford, Surrey, 1838.' 220, 260.
The Song of Seventy.' 6.
"'My Mind to me a Kingdom is'." 297.
The Cromlech du Tus, Guernsey.' 9, 47.
'Alfred, Born at Wantage, in Berkshire, Oct. 25, 849.' 78.
The Order of Alfred. — 849.' 95, 117.
'Geraldine: A Sequel to Coleridge's Christabel.' Part III: 112.
'On a Bulbous Root, which blossomed, after having lain for ages in the hand of an Egyptian mummy.' 38, 76.
The Souls of Brutes. — 1832.
'Down with Foreign Priestcraft. — 1851.' 11.
"'Ye Thirty noble Nations'." 134.

(1854a)
'To the Soldiers.' 32.

(1870)
'A Creed.' 358.

(1852)
'A Dirge for Wellington.' 51, 50.

(1854b)
The Field Serf.' 45.
The British Slave's Reply to a Political Economist.' 24.
The Outcast.' 36.
The Coalpit Gnome.' 45.

(1874)
'She!' 4.

(1838)
'Flowers.' 18.
The African Desert.' 69, 226.
The Suttees.' 118, 129, 142.

(1853)
The Convict and the Pauper. A Ballad for Home Governors.' 23.

(1887)
'An Ode written for the Coronation of Victoria.' 71.

(1850)
'Of Fame, and Death.' 60.

(1855)
'These days.' 42.
The Common Complaint.' 6.
'Moving on.' 11.
'A. E. T.' 11.

(1832)
'Excellency of Christ.' 8.
'Desolate Old Age.' 21.
'Faith.' 22.
The Crucifixion.' headnote.
'A happy spirit escorted by angels to glory.' 29.
The Three Mary's at the Tomb of Christ.' 5, 10.
The Resurrection.' 16, 26.
'The Ascension.' 3.
'Birth-day wishes. — To my father.' 18.
'To my Cousin.' 11.
'Death disarmed.' 10, 25, 35, 54.
'An accepted spirit.' 10.

(1860)
'Joseph.' 8.
'Isaiah.' 8.
'Epicurus.' 1.
'Marcellus.' 14.
'Self-restraint.' 3.
'Columba.' 4.
'Alfred.' 7.
'Dante.' 13.
'Klopstock.' 12.
'Nelson.' 13.
'To a Premier: 1839.' 6.
'Romish Priestcraft. — 1851.' 8.
'Atlantic mercies.' 8.

Thomas WADE 1805-1875.

(1895)
'Birth and Death.' 3.
'The Fear.' 7.
'The Entreaty.' 14.
'The Sere Oak Leaves.' 5, 11, 14.
'The Sun and the Daisy.' 4.
'Beethoven's "Sonata with the Funeral March".' 2.
'Christmas 1866.' 4.
'The Contention of Death and Love.' 186, 260.
'Helena.' 42, 147, 266, 287, 334, 341, 405, 433-5, 463, 478.

(1835)
'To Poesy.' 15, 57, 100.
'Phosphor and Hesper.' 4, 15, 35.
'"Solvitur acris Hyems".' 6.
'Reality.' 2, 23.
'The Corpse.' 11.
'Present and Future.' 26.
'To a Butterfly at Sea.' 15.
'A Lament for the Past.' 2, 19.
'To Three Skulls.' 3.
'Of Poets.' 6.
'The Reproof of Faith.' 9.
'The Un-charmed.' 12.
'Pain and Solace. A Vision.' 25.
'To a Glow-worm.' 80.
'Evening.' 8.
'A Knell.' 9, 17.
'Indirection.' 14.
'The Hell-mist.' 11.
'Unravelment.' 12.
'The Impossibility.' 12.
'Calvus.' 3.

(1839)
'Prothanasia.' 48, 87.
(1825)
'Tasso's Spirit: A Sketch.' 84, 89.
'The Nuptials of Juno: A Descriptive Poem.' 354.
'The Skeletons.' 113, 142, 149, 171.

Edwin WAUGH 1817-1890.

(1876)
'Keen Blows the North Wind.' 22.
'The Captain's Friends.' 30.
'The World.' 32.
'Cultivate your Men.' 38.
'Love and Gold.' 53-7.
'Alas! how hard it is to smile.' 19.
'Nightfall.' 22, 32.
'All on a rosy mom of June.' 29.
'Here's to my native land.' 13.
'Sea Weeds.' 36.
'When the sun goes down.' 21.
'Things gone by.' 32.
'Prologue (written on the occasion of the Manchester Letterpress Printers' Dramatic Entertainment, April 4th, 1868)' 65.
'Willy's Grave.' 13, 67, 83, 128.
'Jamie's Frolic.' 28.

(1889)
'Old Ireland shall Blossom Again!' 22.
'Owd Raddle.' 8, 46.
'The Moorland Flower.' 40.

Thomas WESTWOOD 1814-1858.

(1843)
'A Last Song of Summer.' 30.
'Winter and the Flowers.' 27.

(1855)
'The Lark's Grave.' 1.
'The Moorland Child.' 37.
'The Tomb and the Rose.' 1, 4, 7, 10.
'A Fireside Story.' 225, 243.

(1850)
'A Fling at the Ballad-mongers.' 22.
'The Grave in the City.'
'A Fragment.' 11.

(1881)
'Springlets III.' 44.
'Under the Olives. L' Aubade.' 47.

('1884)
'So Fine-ear, stooping with a steadfast will.' 2, 7.

(1840)
'The Voice of Winter, suggested by Mrs. Hemans' "Voice of Spring".' 30.
'The Spanish Knight's Farewell.' 38.
'Sonnet. 'Tis sweet to stand at the still, evening hour.' 8.
'Eternity Defined.' 1.
'Dreams.' 49.
'Time.' 29.
'Last Words.' 47.
'Stanzas. 'Tis sweet to gaze upon the unveiled brow.'

(1868)
'The Quest of the Sancgreall.' 219, 235, 905, 914-6, 925, 936.
'Among the Tombs.'
'Under the Palm: A Dream Picture.' 6, 66.
'An Angler's Dream under Rolandseck.' 40.
'Nature.' 12.

Charles WHITEHEAD 1804-1862.

(1849)
'The Solitary.' Part I: 101, 140, 235, 262; Part II: 8, 56, 205, 222, 381; Part III, epigraph, 9, 18, 36, 64, 117, 205, 213, 234, 270, 373, 388.
'The Story of Jasper Brooke.' 5, 393, 407, 513, 1099, 1102.
'The Riddle of Life.' 91-2.
'As yonder lamp, in my vacated room.' 8.
'Ophelia. A Dirge.' 4.

Isaac WILLIAMS 1802-1865.

(1849a)
'The Altar.' 86, 245, 953, 1250, 1259, 1332, 1577, 2056, 1208, 2275, 2291, 2303, 2350, 2361, 2375, 2383, 2411, 2422, 2480, 2494, 2507, 2515, 2757.

(1858)
'Prefatory Thoughts. A Dialogue.' 21, 81.
'The Baptistery.' 32.
'Image the Third. The Preparations for Prayer.' 18.
'Image the Fourth. The Christian Warrior.' 100.
'Image the Fifth. Giving Thanks for All.' 18, 33, 43, 135, 152.
'Image the Seventh. Actions written in Heaven.' 112.
'Image the Ninth. The Shortness of Time.' 16, 40, 189.
'Image the Tenth. The Place of Refuge.' 92, 206, 263, 300, 319, 339, 369-71.
'Image the Eleventh. Religious Retreats.' 132.
'Image the Thirteenth. The Voices of the Dead.' 1, 11, 18-21, 33, 101, 127, 163, 243, 286, 309.
'Image the Fourteenth. The Broad Way.' 66, 102, 116, 152.
'Image the Sixteenth. Trusting always in God.' 80.
'Image the Seventeenth. The Balances of the Sanctuary.' 93, 142.
'Image the Eighteenth. Habit moulding Chains.' 22-4, 127.
'Image the Nineteenth. The Death of the Righteous.' 8, 113-4, 138, 180, 190, 246, 267.
'Image the Twentieth. The Day of Days, or The Great Manifestation.' 62, 70, 112, 140, 234.
'Image the Twenty-First. The Years of Eternity.' 176, 225-227.
'Image the Twenty-Second. The City of Martyrs.' 33, 66, 116, 134, 147, 165, 176, 179, 185, 197, 233, 234, 255-6, 272, 302, 310, 317.
'Image the Twenty-Third. Visiting Holy Places, or The Pilgrims of St. David's.' 45, 71, 104, 221, 297.
'Image the Twenty-Fourth. The Music of the City of God.' 158, 164-5.
'Image the Twenty-Eighth. The Daughters of the Heavenly Sion.' 72.
'Image the Thirtieth. The Spiritual Husbandman.' 9, 243.
'Image the Thirty-First. The Eyes which are in every Place. (A Hermit's Cell)' 169-71, 313.
'Image the Thirty-Second. The King's Daughter.' 105, 119.
(1839)
The Middle Door. Obedience.' 45.
'Forms.' 3.
The Collect for the Day.' 10.
'Sunday.' 7.
'Lost Eden.' 7.
The Chapter House. Episcopacy.' 73.
The North Porch. The Church in hope.' 6, 9, 14.
'Laud.' 9.
'Fast Days.' 1.
The Lord's Prayer.' 209.
'Holy Scripture.' 165, 194, 373.
The Creed.' 292, 365.
'Festivals.' 10, 19.
The Nicene Creed.' 6.
'Distant Church Bells.' 22.
'Disciplina Arcani.' 19.
The Song of the Blessed Virgin, [Or the Magnificat].'] 106.
'Clement of Rome.' 3.
'Epiphanius.' 1

(1849b)
"Ah, mallows in the garden die." 7.
"Gently above the silent grave." headnote, 1, 9-11, 16.
'So doth man's sinful nature deem.' 4.
'When mid those friends we cherish'd long.' 12.
'Plato in realms beyond the tomb.' 1.
'Such was thy rest, Simonides.' 8.
'Coincidences.' 62.
'Socrates on Judgment after death.' 2.
'They seem to walk 'mid the surrounding mass.' 9.
The Abode of Circe.' 61.
The Recognition of Ulysses.' 54, 72.
The Iron Age.' 8.
The Foundling on Earth.' 30, 42.
'Alcestis returning from the Grave.' 38, 72.
The Garland of Hippolytus.' 67.
'Epitaph. "His sacred sleep Acanthian Saon lie".' 6, 8.
'Vanity of Human Life.' 14.
'Home.' 34.
'A Brother's Death: Offerings at a Brother's Grave.'
The Georgics.' 59.
'Lucretius and Horace compared.' 4.
The world renounced.' 14.
'Tibullus.' 20.

(1854)
'Dedication.' 17, 96, 218.
'Advent.' 386, 455.
'Christmas.' 190, 451, 668-9.
'Lent.' 322, 434, 600, 697, 710.
'Easter.' 98, 124, 496.
'Whitsuntide.' 346, 366.
'Allhallowtide.' 194, 322, 407.

(1845)
'[The Widow of Nain.]' 19, 42, 50.
'Christ Risen.' 2, 5, 14.

(1850)
The Seven Days, or the Old and New Creation.' Day 1: 20, 194, 224, 270, 277, 517, 674;
Sarah ["Sadie"] WILLIAMS.

(1872)
'A Face seen at a Window.' p.25.
'The Coast-Guard's Story.' p.104.
'Brothers.' p.118.
'In Time of Doubt.' p.137.
"There they buried him": pp.289-90.

Richard WILTON 1827-1903.

(1902)
'The Garden.' 20.
'Resurrection Types, or, Nature's hints of Immortality.' 36, 39.
'Order; or, The Sepulchre.' 3.
'Auburn (Bridlington Bay). A Seaside Elegy.' 17, 20.
'The Church Spire at Grasby in connection with the poetry of my friend, Charles Tennyson Turner.'
'Grasmerse.' 14.
'Henry Vaughan, Silurist.' headnote.
'Versees placed on Washington's Tomb on the occasion of the hundreth anniversary of his death, 14th December 1899, along with the Earl of Londohergh's Wreath of Oak, Laurel, Ivy, and Yew.' headnote, 2.
'The Sentinel, or, Churchyard Yew.'
'A View from Christ Church Parsonage, West Walls, Carlisle.' 6.
'The Resting Place.' 3.
'On a Thrush singing at a Funeral in November.' 6.
'The sun-dial on the church porch, Londohergh — 1764.'

(1878)
'On a Highland Burying-place, in Morven, by Loch Sunart.' 9.
'The golden Candlestick.' 6.
'A Gethsemane Marigold.' 7.

((1882))
'O'er unknown graves.' 1, 5, 9, 15.
'The Sepulchre.' 1.

(1873)
'The Acacia and the Yew.' 13.
'On a Wall-flower from Gethsemane. To be planted near my Infant's Grave.'
'On seeing some Leaves falling in the Sunshine.' 5.
'Tears for War's Miseries.' 30.
'The Crown of England; or, King John receiving back his crown after promising to pay tribute of a thousand marks a year.' 44.
'On the Launch of "The British Workman" Life-boat.' 32.
'The Lambs in the Churchyard.' 1.
'On Visiting my Mother's Grave, on her Birthday.' 1, 9.
'On "Mary Short," Wife of the late Lord Bishop of St. Asaph.' 7 and n.
'Practising the Easter hymn.' 46.
'Aaron's Death on Mount Hor.' 11.
'The Poet's Grave.' 22.
'Gray at Grasmere (1769) and Wordsworth's Grave (1869). A Centenary Sonnet.' 9.

David WINGATE 1828-1892.

(1866)
'Versees to a (supposed) fossil fish.' 33.
'Auld Archie Bell.' 61, 73-5.
'A Mother's Wail.' 65.
'Robin O'Raplock. A Ballad.' 75, 123.
'Innovation. A Dream.' 98.

(1879)
'Lily Neil.' 2197-8, 2203, 2385, 2437, 2455, 2482, 2485, 2513, 3006.

(1883)
'Last Words.' 36.
'Meditation.' 19.

(1863)
'Elegy, not written in a country churchyard.'
'The Suicide.' 14.
'To my Heart.' 12.
'My Auntie Nannie.' Part 1: 57.
'Benjamin's Dream.' 15.
'A Song of "King Coal".' 31, 48.
'The Faces in the Fire.' 34.

Thomas WOOLNER 1825-1892.

(1887)

(1881)
'Pygmalion.' Book VI: 170, 181; Book VIII: 179; Book IX: 212.

(1884)
'Silenus.' Part 2, Book I: 218; Book V: 71.

(1886)
'Tiresias.' Part 2, Book II: 666.

Christopher WORDSWORTH 1807-1885.

(1827)
'The Druids.' 20.

(1872)
'The Invasion of Russia by Napoleon Buonaparte.' 167, 207.
Late Nineteenth Century 1870-1900.

Alexander ANDERSON ['Surfaceman'] 1845-1909.

(1879)
'Blind Matthew.' 44-7.
'The Engine.' 35.
'Ada.' 6.
'The Spirit of the Waters.' 31, 53.
'The sunshine over Brussels will be mine.' 13.

(1912)
'Rab comes hame.' 33.
'The Two Sowers.' 14-5.
'A Village Scene — Evening.' 15.
'Oh, for those days.' 4, 30, 56.
'Yarrow.' 58.
'The Piper's Tree.' 151.
'Cameron's Stone.' 232.
'Dead Flowers.' 4, 25-7, 34, 48, 64.
'The Pastor's Pool.' 17, 24, 59.
'Patrick Laing.' 27.
'A City Reverie.' 60, 64, 72.
'The Churchyard Tree.' 1, 29, 77.
'A Hillside Graveyard.' 33.
'Life in the Village.' 19.
'By St. Mary's Lake.' 13.
'John Stuart Blackie.' 14.
'A Chamber hushed and dim.' 49.
'Fareweel to my hame.' 18.
'Joseph Thomson.' 5, 22, 45.
'At the Grave of Keats.' 6, 38.
'Alexander Brown, Man and Poet.' 8.
'The Covenanter's Tryst.' 31, 99.
'The Angel that sows the Flowers.' 48.
'Faith arming the Christian Warrior.' 124.
'Grasmere.' 140, 164.
'Like Mists that trail.' 5.

(1873)
'A Song of Labour.' 58.
'The Dead Child.' 27.
'Elinore.' 147.
'The Burial of the Old Year.' 4, 19, 26.
'Spring.' 20.
'The Preacher.' 48.
'A Legend of St. Patrick.' 74.
'The First Break.' 3, 30, 34, 47.
'Old Adam.' 12.
'Rachel.' 33, 36.
'The Child's Grave.' 1, 4, 6-7, 57.
'The Mother.' 2, 18.
'Books.' 75.
'I miss my bonnie bairn.' 48.
'Underneath the Stars.' 27, 32, 55.
'Jeanie.' 2, 7, 17, 24, 34-6, 54.
'Winter Visitors.' 22.
'To go down to the grave.' 1.
'Blood on the Wheel.' 54.
'The Wires.' 41.

(1875)
'Agnes Died.' 15, 203.
'By the Grave of Livingstone.'
'Jamie's wee Chair.' 8.
'Early Poet Life.' 52.
'A Walk to Pamphy Linns.' 185, 257.
'David Gray.' headnote.
'In Kirkconnel Old Churchyard.' 17, 120.
'Oor First Wee Graves.' 24, 31, 39, 59, 71.
'Daft Ailie.' 171.
'Look to the East.' 1, 24.

'AQUILA.'

(1893)
'The Passing of the Poet.' pp.4, 7, 8.
'Requiescat.' p.28.
'Never Again.' p.41

Margaret ARMOUR 18?-1943.

(1896)
'A Firelight Fancy.' p.44.
'Love Triumphant.' p.49.
'Regrets. I. — A Smile.' p.82.
'Ill. — Love's Obituary.' pp.87-8.
'Quick and Dead.' p.103.
'Matthew Arnold.' p.123.
'Robert Browning.' p.126.
'Tennyson.' p.128.
'Christina Rossetti.' p.133.

Edwin ARNOLD 1832-1904.

(1855)
'Griselda. A Tragedy.' Act i.i.198; Act III.i.105; Act IV.i.36; Act V.i.67.
'Vernier.' Part I: 12, 66, 112.
'Dream-land.' 103, 139.
'The "Tiger".' headnote, 4, 13.

(1889)
'Introduction [In my Lady's Praise].' 19, 24, 32.
'F. Fire-opals, Fanny, from the magic cell!' 51.
'M. Moonstone, and Malachite and Almondine!' 35.
'R. Rubies, with Pearls! That's Nature's jewellry!' 152, 162.
'L. Ligure! the holy "Leshem," now I bring.' 127, 147.
'A. "What! A gold coin amid these jewelled treasures!" ' 116.

(1891)
(1887)
'In Westminster Abbey.' 6-8.
'Jeanne.' 12.
'A Rajput Nurse.' 1.
'In Memory of S. S., Aetat. 21.' 16.

(1883)
'Al-Khalik.' 7.
'Al-Wahhab.' 26.
'Al-Fatta'h.' 74n.
'Al-Kabiz.' 6.
'Al-Hakim.' 38.
'Al-Khabir.' 4, 7.
'Al-Hafiz.' 21.
'Al-Mukit.' 6.
'Al-Bahith.' 1.
'Al-Mu'hid.' 16, 80.
'Al-Kalyum.' 7.
'Al-Wal.' 16.
'Al-Muksit.' 49n, 50.
'An-Noor.' 16.
'Al-Âzali Al-Bâki.' 17, 22.

(1888a)
'The First Distribution of the Victoria Cross.' 28.

(1880)
'King Saladin.' 173, 310.
'After Death in Arabia.' 14, 70.
'Dedication of a Poem from the Sanskrit.' 1.

(1853)
'Quentin Matsys.' 17.
'Academe.' 89.
'The Feast of Belshazzar.' 233.
'Sir Evelynge; A Fragment.' 10.
'Hagar in the Wilderness.' 92, 161.
'The Alchemist.' 69.
'The Mourner.' 6.
'On Leaving Italy.' 65.
'Venice.' 4-5.
'To the Genius of Death. A Statue in the Florentine Gallery.' 6, 19.
'Life.' 22.
'Obscure Martyrs.' 14.
'The Sirens.' 12.

(1892)
'The Egyptian Princess.' 45.

(1885a)
'The Rajpoot Wife.' 20.
'The Stratford Pilgrims.' 84, 138, 184, 514, 651, 758.
'The Knight's Tomb at Swanscombe Church.' 12.
'The Three Roses.' 34, 46, 56.
'Inscribed on a skull picked up on the Acropolis at Athens.' 9.
'The Wreck of the "Northern Belle".' 129, 258.
'The Shadow of the Cross.' 19, 68.

(1895)
'The Passing of Muhammad Prophet of Arabia.' 121, 149.
(1901)
'The Voyage of Ithobal.' 2832.

(1888b)
'With Sa'di in the Garden; or, The Book of Love.' 17, 49-51, 60, 84, 157, 195, 206, 224, 284, 299, 339, 377, 382, 429, 487, 505-8, 556, 929, 1409, 1429, 1498, 1794, 1814, 2181, 2310, 2693, 2702, 2819, 2877, 3132, 3218, 3340.

Florence G. ATTENBOROUGH ['“Chrystabel”']

(1898)
' Cameos.' p.11.
'In the Garden. (Easter Carol)' p.14.
'In Memoriam. Prince Henry of Battenberg, died Jan. 20th, 1896.' p.34.
'At Nelson's Tomb. (Trafalgar, October 21st, 1805)' p.43.
'Temptation.' pp.69-74.
'Cleopatra to Antony.' p.96.

Alfred AUSTIN 1835-1913.

(1901)
'England's Darling.' Act II.iii.192; Act III.iv.37.

(1885)
'Prelude.' 61.

(1897)
'A Soulless Singer.' 36.
'To Ireland.' 72.
'A Reply to a Pessimist.' 56.
'John Everett Millais.' 4, 48.
'A Point of Honour.' 12.

(1906)
'The Door of Humility.' 315, 359, 363, 640, 824, 989, 1164, 1337, 1420, 1488.

(1871)
'The Golden Age.' 46, 264, 366, 578, 674, 821, 1206.

(1891a)

(1895)
'Were I a Poet, I would dwell.' 40.

(1872)
'At Shelley's Grave.' headnote, 24, 65.
'Let the weary world go round.' 11-15.
'To Arms!' 26, 35.
'By the Fates.' 39, 45.
'Let us Fly!' 26.
'A Last Request.' 2.

(1898)
'Shepherd swains that feed your flocks.' 12-14.
'What ails you, Ocean, that nor near nor far.' 68.
‘A Fragment.’ 6.
‘At her Grave.’
‘When I am gone.’ 12, 62.

(1877)

(1889)
‘A Dialogue at Fiesole.’ 135.

(1891b)
‘A Birthday.’ 53.
‘A Defence of English Spring.’ 300.
‘Sonnet written in mid-channel. II. And wherefore feels he thus? Because its shore.’ 10.
‘Sonnet written in mid-channel. III. And can it be, — when Heaven this deep moat made.’ 14.
‘A Spring Carol.’ 133.
‘All hail to the Czar!’ 35.
‘George Eliot.’ 73.
‘Off Mesolongi.’ 43.
‘The Passing of the Primroses.’ 58.
‘Celestial Heights.’ 107, 125.
‘Shelley's Death.’ 57.
‘Sweet Love is Dead.’ 10-11.
‘Hymn to Death.’ 41.
‘A Te Deum.’ 8.
‘A Rare Guest.’ 12.
‘The Golden Year!’ 40.
‘The Spring-time, O the Spring-time!’ 34.

(1891c)
‘Ave Maria.’ 74.
‘The Last Redoubt.’ 53.
‘Outside the Village Church.’ 51, 100.
‘At Shelley's House at Lerici.’ 62.
‘Brother Benedict.’ 74.

(1887)
‘Prince Lucifer.’ Act i.i.42, 67-9, 91, 266, 282, ii.141, iii.94; Act IV.iv. [set in churchyard] 12, 18, 35; Act V.vii. [set in churchyard] 1, 6-8, 11-13, 19, 33, 42, 49; Act VI.i. [set in churchyard] 45.

(1908)
‘Sacred and Profane Love.’ 8-11, 137, 184, 207, 300, 317, 326.
‘Mozart's Grave.’ headnote, 6, 9, 20.
‘Wardens of the Wave.’ 20.
‘Too Late.’ 2.

(1881)
‘Savonarola. A Tragedy.’ Act I.i.219, iii.45; Act III.vi.21, ix.188; Act IV.ii.128, iv.1, 18, vi.14.

(1869)
‘The Season.’ 313, 793.

(1882)
‘A Farmhouse Dirge.’ 2, 87, 106.
‘Grandmother's Teaching.’ 54.

(1900)

(1887a)
'Greeting.' 18.
'The Foes of Love.' 7.

(1887b)
'Lost love remembered makes the world a dream.' 12.
'Will they not poison thee against me now?' 12.

(1889)
'Love is a path to virtue for the brave.' 8.
'Yes thou must die: I can but borrow thee.' 2, 10-12.
'A cut rose set in water, poor sick wraith.' 3.
'Is not this cruel that thou, poor child.' 14.
'Lo the same moon, that lights one dreamy sky.' 11.
'The darkness swallows up the feeble light.' 12.
'Wave after wave arises from the deep.' 2.
'When in the lonely stillness of the tomb.' 1.

(1887c)
'Love.' 35.
'Heaven.' 33, 26-9.
'The Isle of Dreams.' 14.
'Chivalry.' 27.
'The Lady of the Tombs (March 10 1886).' 8.

(1884)
'Hymn to Eros.' 117, 181.
'The Two Gardens.' 47-8.
'Night-wandering.' 34.
'Alcaeus.' 12.
'Ode to Euterpe.' 23.
'Nitocris' Feast.' 30.
'The Storm-God.' 44.
'Wave after Wave arises from the deep.'
'To Beatrice.' 1-2.
'The Dead Flower. Magdalen to her sister.' 13.
'Whither?' 12.
'Death-dream.' 19.
'The River's Pilgrimage.' 112.
'Sonnet.' 2.

(1893)
'The Priest of Beauty.' 25.
'The Mummy's Love Story.' 8, 12.
'The Black Troubadour.' 19.

(1883)
'An actor's reminiscences.' 511.
'Sonnet I. "No lily is whiter".' 12.
'Thou art not dead?' 10.
'The Singers of the Nineteenth Century.' 166.
'The Optimist and the Pessimist: A Dialogue.' 129.

(1893)
'Dedication. To my Friend, Arthur Hervey.' 74, 118.

(1884a)
'Love.' 6.

(1880a)
'The Dead Men's Song.' 7.
'A Woman's Bloom.' 6.
'Life and Death.' 40.
'Love and Honour.' 1.
'Ode to England.' 18.
'To Keats.' 3.
'The Crucifixion of Womanhood.' 9.
'So he ceased to believe in man.' 18.
'Christ and Woman.' 39, 49.
'To Gertrude entering a Convent.' 18.

(1878)
'The Marriage before Death, A Tragedy in Two Scenes.' Scene I: 137, 201, 289; Scene II: 20-1, 27.
'The rose will blossom none the less.' 130, 185.
'To Mazzini Triumphant.' 103, 396-8, 392-8.
'To thee, love.' 70.
'Maria Forster and Jean Paul.' 50.
'The Wrestle for a Soul.' Scene 2: 40, 67; Scene 3: 48.
'The Artist.' 7.
'A Soul-Wreath.' 26.

(1871)
'Dell-Inferno.' 3.
'Wreaths.' 5n.
'The Poet's Grave. Second Version.'
'The Poet's Grave. Third Version.'
'Phases.' 21.
'The Rose.' 14.
'The Primrose.' 23.
'A dream of roses.' 70.
'It's all gone away.' 16, 36, 45, 52.
'Across the Sea.' 14.
'Ah, well-a-day!' 22.
'Yet how fair!' 93.
'The Brigand's Letter.' 12.

(1884b)
'Sonnets XLIV., XLV., XLVI. A Moral Victory: and its Result.' III: 42.
'Sonnet LIV. The Coquette-world.' 5.
'The Day of Thanksgiving: After the Egyptian War of 1882.' 4.
'And Yet.' 28.
'Sophia Perovskaia.' 66-7.
'Geliaboff.' 55.
'In the later days.' 12.

([1902-14])
'I follow thee.' 5.
'Bear thou my poems upward.' 10.
"Revealed and vanquished". 5.
'To Apollo.' 78.
'The Child.' 5.
'At a theatre-door in Summer.' 48.
'The Immortal and the Mortal.' 52.
"Darkness", 19.
'The Land of Sleep.' 19.
'An Elegy.' 69, 72.
'Thou art not there!' 91.
'Ten years.' 86.
"Thou art alive!" 104.
'The Poet's Rose.' 14.
'A Passing Glimpse.' 10.
'Hopeless.' 10.
'Yet sweeter and sweeter.' 10.
'The Lost Glory.' 1.
'The highest crown.' 7-9.
'Till she come.' 11.
'At Night.' 5.
'Roses from beyond the Grave.'
'The first true blossoming.' 7.
'Final Resurrection.' 3.
'The Perfume of the Soul.' 3.
'My treasure.' 11.
'Beyond.' 13.
'I call thee.' 7.
'Are we Forgotten?' 11.
'Ten Years.' 7.
'This night thou tarriest with me; not on wings.' 6.
'Gold-winged spirits song.' 18.
'Charles Kingsley.' 6, 79.
'Art's Martyrs.' 91.
'Another Alice.' 176.
'The Dead Poet.' 23.
'Death.' 15-17.
'The Singer.' 70.
'The Great Wave.' 5.
'Blossoms above a Tomb.' 4.
'A gift of Spring.' 16.
'Upon the Pier at Night.' IV: 115.
'Sonnet. My Island.' 14.
'A Song of the Earth.' 60.
'God's Judgment-Day.' 45, 168.
'Sonnet. "If I die first".' 1.
'New Life.' 24.
'A Christmas Cart.' 16.
"Thou knowest not now", 8.
'The Death of Tyranny.' 12.
'One June-Day.' 3.
'Love's Longing.' 11.
"What can I do for thee?" 8.
'Starlight.' 13.
'The Path of Death.' 12.
"Ever upon thy lips a gleam of sadness lingers"', 24.
"If so thine eyes would not forsake the dream!" 6.
"If any strength be mine".' 36.
'Love.' 6.
'Spring Messages.' V: 120.
'A Love-Song.' 37.
'A Dying Poet's Love.' 16.
'Two Dreams.' 3.
'Thy Womanhood.' 34.
'God and Man.' 16.
'An Epitaph. To beauty's sovereign grace.' 8.
'The Youth.' 7.
'Creation.' 36.
'Growing Old.' 32, 35-8, 48, 54, 61, 70, 84.
'A Southern Vengeance.' 51, 74.
'Yo ho! Yo ho!' 48.
'A Poet's Gethsemane.' 66, 296.
'Song of Autumn.' 20.
'Christ, and the Poet.' 40.
'Christ, and the Lover.' 54.
'Christ, and the Man of Genius.' 6, 94.
'Christ, and the King.' 64.
'Christ, and the Lost Woman.' 102, 131.
'Song of the Flowers.' 48, 113.
'Song of the Sea.' 69.
'Song of the Stars.' 63.
'Chant of Positivists.' 27, 51, 80.
'Chant of Christians.' 12, 84.
'Chant of Poets.' 27.
'The Engine Driver.' 27.
'Love the Conqueror.' 16.
'Christ.' 71, 128, 134, 155.
'Prelude Dawn to Sunset.' 28.
'Keble.' 30.
'Church-Bells.' 6, 23, 28.
'The Voice of the River.' 8.
'Hymn. When our bitter foes surround us.' 10, 26, 39.
'And yet!' 22.
'To the Czar.' 112.
'Oid Letters.' 180.
'Fruitless Creation.' 111, 138, 143, 228, 320.
'Love's Choice.' 10.
'A Poet's Vengeance.' 90, 93, 114.
'The Eternal Silence.' 11, 32.
'Love's final powers.' 8.
'Woman and nature.' 17.
'Death and Love.' 11, 23.
'She. — "Why do you love me?"' 77.
'She. — "Have you no faith in God?"' 3.
'Soul to soul, in Hell.' 31.
'After weary years.' 20.
'A Woman's heart.' 20.
'The Eternal death.' 8.
'Man and God.' 84.
'The Sun.' 20.
'A Young Girl's Dream.' 92.
'A Voice from the Sea.' 51, 56.
'The Day after.' 31.
'King Solomon.' 20, 150, 236.
'A Lost Mother.' 18, 204, 264, 391, 477, 486, 502, 508, 600, 633, 673, 727, 809, 816, 891, 920, 1012, 1045, 1058, 1096, 1170, 1182, 1212, 1321.
'The Story of the Life of Caleb Smith the Methodist Minister told by himself.' 155, 317, 350, 539, 559, 620, 920, 939, 984, 1008, 1060, 1144, 1208, 1304, 1315.
'To the Universe-God.' 4.
'Kensal Green.' 1, 12, 18, 32.
'Thou and I.' 20.
'Sonnet. To my Wife, on the Seventeenth Anniversary of our Wedding Day (Oct. 2, 1889.)' 13.
'Shelley.' 13, 18.
'"Her last court".' 24.
'Forget the flowers of summer, even forget.' 13.
'"Far in the years behind".' 16.
'The rose and the lily.' 4.
'Phantom Loves.' 44.
'A Silver Wedding October 2, 1872: October 2, 1897.' 16.
'Sonnet. One Goddess.' 8.
'England's Choice.' 20.
'Man, over-coarse and gross of heart and head.' 13.
'"The dream that we beheld".' 8.
'Sonnet. The chase of beauty.' 4.
'A Death-Song.' 20, 38, 70, 82.
'A Hymn.' 37.
'To the Unknown Father of Jesus.' 36, 47.
'September to May.' 8.
'A Christmas Eve.' 2.
'At a Grave.' 15, 20, 25, 36.
'Love, the Teacher.' 1, 26.
'"Summer in his Song".' 2.
'"If I go first".' 21.
'"Christmas Eve and New Year's Day".' 38-9.
'"The Heart of May".' 20.
'A Spring-Song.' 25.
'A New Year's Greeting.' 4.
'The Gospel of Silence.' 68.
'The Conquest of Death.' 17.
'God's direct voice.' 4.
'To Philip Bourke Marston. Sonnet.' 5.
'A Coronation Poem August 9, 1902.' 34.
'Sonnet. To Violet.' 11.
'Sonnet. Hector MacDonald.' 5.
'"Unmoved",' 21.
'Songless Sonnet.' 6.
'To a Silent Singer. Sonnet.' 7.
'Song's Goal. Sonnet.' 3.
'Love Eternal.' 24, 32.
'Absit omen! Sonnet.' 8.
'To the Memory of a Great Queen III.' 11.
'The Wrestle for a Soul.' 11.
'One chance. Sonnet.' 13.
'The Human Litany.' 84.
'Sonnet. Mary Magdalene.' 8.
'Post-mortem surprises.' 1, 74-8.
'"A Year Ago".' 4, 10.
'Bold was the man who ventured to declare.' 14.
'The Holier Sepulchre.' 19, 22.
'Heavenly Whispers.' 14, 20.
'England Awaking.' 127.
'Sonnet. A Prayer.' 9.
'Sonnet. "Brave Words!"' 12.
'Song for the Boys of Britain.' 28.

(1881)
'To "Somebody".' 40.
'To the Author of "The Prince's Quest and Other Poems".' 49.
'To Venus. An experiment in rhyme.' 12.
'The Incarnation of Venus.' 76.
'What shall be: A song of weariness.' 96, 142.
'A Republican Princess; or, the death of Mesentzoff.' 98.

'Song. — Life is not long.' 23.
'Sweet Life.' 9.

'Dedication.' 38.
'A Hymn of Love.' 18.
'Death is better.' 21.
'Thou could'st not watch with me.' 48.
'A Lament.' 139, 404.
'Christ's Sermon in the city.' 187.
'The Spirit of Beauty.' 12, 145, 198.
'The Hymn.' 239, 243, 296, 338.
'The Old and the New.' 37.
'What a smile can do.' 9.
'It's all gone away.' 35.
'Blood-drops. To my Beauty.' 28.
'Pain-chords. To Beauty.' 56.

Jane BARLOW 1857-1917.

'The Irish Archangel. (Michaelmas, 1915)' 85.
'The End.' 3.

'Th' Ould Master.' 177.
'Walled out Or, Eschatology in a Bog.' 126.
'Miss Honor's Wedding.' 85.

'A Forseer.' 9, 176.
'A White Night.' 4.

Aubrey BEARDSLEY 1872-1898.

'Catullus Carmen Cl.'

Henry Charles BEECHING 1859-1919.

'Kibroth-Hattaavah.' 48.
'From the Window in December.' 1.

'St. Augustine at Ostia: Oxford Sacred Poem.' 51, 172.

Henry Thomas Mackenzie BELL 1856-1930.

'Edgar Vanning: A Sketch.' Scene VI: 63, 68.
'The Excorial, 1879.' 35.
'The Late Autumn is Dying.' 21.
(1909)
'A Plea for Faith.' 59.
'Francisca to Jasper. An Idyl.' 49.
'At the Grave of Dante Gabriel Rossetti. April 9th, 1883.' 2, 5, 8-9.
'Two Lives.' 28.
'Browning's Funeral. I. Venice, December 15th, 1889. II Westminster Abbey, December 31st, 1889.'
'To Frederick Tennyson. (Died February 26th, 1898, in his ninety-first year) London, February 26th, 1898.'

Arthur Christopher BENSON 1862-1925.

(1892)
'Demetrius.' 12.
'Miserrimus (Cambridge 1883). When I am dead.' 2, 53.
'A June Evening.' 24-5.
'Earl Hacon's Tomb. Sligachan, 1892.' 46.

(1895)
'The bee on the glacier.' 10.
'Security.' 11.
'Dea Hypa.' 33, 40.

(1893)
'Berries of Yew.' 16.

(1909)
'Omar Khayyam.' 1.
'Knapweed.' 36.
'Stand Aside.' 35.
'To my Father.' 35.
'The Dandelion.' 25.
'The Dead Poet.'
'Thomas Gray.' 109.
'William Collins.' 10.
'Rosalind.' 1.
'In Eton Churchyard.' 2.

(1900)
'Perplexity.' 12.
'The Letter.' 18.

Robert Lawrence BINYON 1869-1943.

(1917)
'The Antagonists.' 80.
'Edith Cavell.' 24.
'The Deportation.' 48.

(1931)
'In Carissimam Memoriam A. S. P.' 4, 40.
'Present and Future.' 9.
'Tintagel.' 17.
'Illumination.' 68.
'Tristram's End.' 184, 270.
'A Vision of Resurrection.' 25.
'The Crusader.' 21.
'Malham Cove.' 110.
'The Mirror.' 230.
'Thunder on the Downs.' 132.
'Ode for September.' 58.
'The English Graves.' 24.
'The Ebb of War.' 29, 36.
'Mid Atlantic.' 5, 28.
'Stonehenge.' 8.
'Kitchener.' 14.
'Ypres.' 14.
'In Memory of Richard Henry Powell. 2nd Lieut., Cinque Ports Battalion, Royal Sussex Regiment.' 3.
'The Sirens. An Ode.' 155, 205.
'The Idols. An Ode.' 643, 717.
'The Ebb of War.' 27.
'The Sleepers.' 24.
'Whitechapel High Road.' 19.
'The Threshold. An Ode.' 56.
'The Supper.' 94.
'Porphyriion.' Book IV: 14, 259.
'Bahram the Hunter.' 82, 89.
'The Deserted Palace.' 133, 242.
'The Battle of Stamford Bridge.' 90.

(1894)
'Mediterranean Verses. II. Rain and the scolding wind's uproar.' 50.

(1941)
'The North Star.' 17.
'Sowing Seed.' 14.
'Koya San.' headnote, 20.

(1898)
'Lament.' 12.

**Wilfred Scawen BLUNT 1840-1922.**

(1914)
'Yes, who shall tell the value of our tears.' 8.
'It was a booth no larger than the rest.' 8.
'Who might describe the humours of that night.' 2.
'On her Waywardness.' 4.
'Complaining that he had fallen among thieves.' 14.
'In answer to a question.' 7.
'The Same Continued [Farewell to Juliet].' 11.
'The Same Continued [In Anniversario Mortis].' 6.
'The Same Continued.' 10.
'On the shortness of time.' 14.
'Written at Florence.' 16.
'Song. — Why do I love?' 4.
'At a Funeral.' 47.
'An Unwritten Tragedy.' 30.
'Requiescat.' 58, 87.
'Song. — Come with the summer leaves.' 1, 9.
'The Wanderer's Return.' 3.
'The Grief of Love.' 6.
'Griselida. A Society Novel in Rhymed Verse.' Chapter I: 5; Chapter II: 169, 319; Chapter V: 477.
'But with full daylight finding no relief.' 8.
'Nor yet in vain. For to him through the rout.' 9.
'But when they had gone past him every one.' 6, 13.
'But when the church was hushed in the night wind.' 4.
'She wakes, she breathes, she rises from her bed.' 5.
'Rather I hold with those that tell it thus.' 10.
‘Enough, dear Paris! We have laughed together.’ 5.
‘How strangely now I come, a man of sorrow.’ 11.
‘At the gate.’ 13.
‘To a Dead Journalist.’ 12.
‘On a Grave in the Forest.’ 10.
‘Love is Master still.’ 20.
‘Couplets in praise.’ 28.
‘With eternity standing by.’ 29.
‘To Nimue.’ 5.
‘Death in a Ball-room.’ 2.
‘Dedication to George Wyndham. To a happy warrior.’ 145.
‘Worth Forest.’ 64, 283, 303, 404.
‘Târâfa.’ 121.
‘Lebîd.’ 152.
‘The Stealing of the Mare An Arabic Epic of the Tenth Century.’ 917, 964, 1192.
‘The Wind and the Whirlwind (1883).’ 139-40, 160, 324.
‘The Canon of Aughrim (1889).’ 240, 308.
‘The Old Squire.’ 62.
‘“Sed nos qui vivimus”.’ 133.
‘Satan Absolved A Victorian Mystery (1889).’ 481, 549.
‘Fand a Féérie in three acts.’ Act I: 5.
‘The Wisdom of Merlyn.’ 54, 75, 96, 150, 221.
‘Alfred Tennyson.’

Francis William BOURDillon 1852-1921.

(1902)
‘Non immortalis amor.’ 2.
‘Nearing the End.’ 3.

(1878)
‘The Legend of the Water-Lilies.’ 239.
‘A Nun’s Dream.’ 20.

(1914)
‘Christmas Roses.’ 2, 8.
‘The Coming of the Oversea Armies.’ 1.
‘Lord Roberts.’ 6.

([1915])
‘Art thou insatiable, O soul-less Death?’ 2.
‘A Prayer.’ 11.

(1921)
‘Mary spake, the Mother.’ 8, 17.

(1891)
‘A Lost God.’ 381, 791, 1038.
‘Poeta atque Navis.’ 12.
‘The Sinner.’ 7.
‘“Where all Love’s Pilgrims come”.’ 15.

(1908)
‘Prelude: At Pevensey Castle.’ 80.
‘The Debate of the Lady Venus and the Virgin Mary.’ 23.
‘Chryseis.’ 65.
‘Prelude: On Firle Beacon.’ 77.
(1917)
‘Russia Re-born.’ 76.

(1893)
‘An Old Boat.’ 18.

(1900)

(1889)

Robert Seymour Bridges 1844-1930.

(1936)
‘In midmost length of hundred-cities Crete.’ 262, 1139, 1610.
‘Elegy Among the Tombs.’ 3, 8, 48.
‘Dejection.’ 12.
‘I have loved flowers that fade.’ 20.
‘A winter’s night with the snow about.’ 15.
‘The pinks along my garden walks.’ 14.
‘Say who is this with silvered hair.’ 21-2.
‘I never shall love the snow again.’ 34.
‘Weep not to-day: why should this sadness be?’ 9.
‘Ode to Music written for the Bicentenary Commemoration of Henry Purcell.’ 122, 135.
‘Revenants.’ 2, 3.
‘Ibant Obscuri.’ 308, 380.
‘Priam & Achilles.’ 349, 428, 521, 593.
‘Our Lady.’ 9.
‘The north wind came up yesternight.’ 33.
‘For 'Pages Inédites,' etc. April, 1916.’ 1.
‘The Excellent Way.’ 32.
‘Britannia Victrix.’ 84-5.
‘Come se quando.’ 182, 294.
‘Verses written for Mrs. Daniel.’ 174.

(1930)


(1921)
‘Author Unknown.’ 2.

Charles Stuart Calverley 1831-1884.

(1901)
‘Evening.’ 18.
‘“There stands a city”.’ 44.

(1875)
'The Old Manor House.' p.24.
'A Dream of Venice.' pp.54, 57.
'A Story at Dusk.' pp.84, 101.
'The Easter Decorations.' pp.139, 140.
'Autumn.' p.169.
'The Legend of Lady Geraldine.' p.196.
'Home-sick.' pp.208-10.
'Practising the Anthem.' p.214.
'The Resting-Place.' pp.247-50.

(1887)
'The Shadow.' pp.2, 3, 4, 6, 9, 20.
'At Liberty.' p.55.
'Good-Bye.' p.80.

William CANTON 1845-1926.

(1902)
'Easter Dawn.' 3, 16, 23.
'Through the Ages.' 166.
'An Indian Cowrie.' 71.

(1887)
'A Lost Epic.' 222, 229.
'The Legend of the Ark.' 32, 126, 274.

Edward CARPENTER 1844-1929.

(1873)
'Inscribed on a Grave: To the Reader.'
'Narcissus.' 151.
'Persephone.' 609.
'Eflland: A Fairy Intermezzo.' 254.
'In a Canoe.' 30.
'The World-Spirit.' 2.
'The Complaint of Job.' 18, 27.
'The Snowdrop.' 30.

Elizabeth Rachel CHAPMAN 1827-1896.

(1894)
'In Memoriam R. M. Obit Nov. XXI. MDCCXC. Aetat VII.'
'Sonnet. Under the flowers he loved my flower lies.' p.13.
'Sonnet. Rest little love! rest well, my heart's desire!' p.41.

Mary Elizabeth COLERIDGE 1861-1907.

(1908)
'Burial.' 8.
'A Day-Dream.' 19.
'The King's Guard.' 18.
'Lo, when the house is empty come the dead.' 3.
‘Weary was I of toil and strife.’ 10.
‘On such a day.’ 1.
‘Words.’ 20.

**William John COURTHOPE [Novus Homo] 1842-1917.**

(1920)
‘The Country Town a Reverie.’ 36, 73.
‘Nineteen Hundred.’ 19.
‘In Memory of Arthur Eden.’

(1897)
‘The Longest Reign. An Ode on the completion of the Sixtieth Year of the Reign of Her Majesty Queen Victoria.’ 18, 121.

(1869)

(1870)

(1865)
‘Youth and Age. A Dialogue.’ Part II: 25, 44.
‘Sonnet. O come not to my grave when I am dead.’ 1.
‘To Ellen.’ 2.

**Francis Burdett Thomas COUTTS-NEVILL [5th Baron Latymer] 1852-1923.**

(1898a)
‘Beside a Grave.’
‘Ingens Aequor.’ 32.

(1912a)
‘Egypt.’ 14.

(1905)
‘A Pony’s Grave.’
‘The Burial of Love.’

(1900)
‘The Mystery of Godliness.’ 123, 177, 275, 501, 618.

(1896)

(1912b)
‘Psyche.’ 597.

(1898b)

(1907)
‘Uther Pendragon.’ 691, 776.
‘Merlin.’ 198.
‘Launcelot du Lake.’ Act II: 284; Act V: ii [set at a tomb].
‘The Death of Launcelot.’ 14, 182, 192, 265, 286, 351.
Elizabeth [Bessie] CRAIGMYLE.

(1888)
'A Dedication.' p.1.
'Chatterton.' pp.8, 12, 13.
'In the Via del Morte.' pp.24, 25, 26, 28.
'Roundel. We shall not know, when we are fallen on sleep.' p.32.
'Chained Tigers. II.' p.35.
'Three Ballades Against Ballade-making. II. The Modern Balladist.' p.37.
'Solway Sands.' p.41.
'A Sepulchre over Sea.' p.44.
'At the Workhouse Door.' p.48.
'When I am Dead.' p.53.
'Before and After.' p.56.
'The Body's Complaint of the Soul.' p.66.
'Fancy!' p.76.
'The Blue Spots.' p.81.
'Crushed Again.' p.83.
'Old Letters.' p.87.
'Ballade of the Seekers after Venus.' p.89.
'Re-awakening.' p.116.

Thomas William Hodgson CROSLAND 1865-1924.

(1915)
'Reveille.' 24.

(1917)
'Antarctic.' 8.
'For Righteousness' Sake.' 4.
'The Rhyme of the Beast.' 29.
'The Finer Spirit.' 105.
'Graves in France.'

(1926)
'Tails up!' 11.
'Requiem.' 2.

(1894)
'To Cynthia.' 40.
' "Crossing the Bar".'
'The Old Sexton.' 1, 49.

(1916)
'A Rhyme of Right or Wrong.' 51.


(1905)
'Black Butterflies.' p.22.

(1902)
'The Victory of Love.' p.54.

(1894)
'A Ballad in Blank Verse of the making of a Poet.' 244.

(1909)
'Cain.' 4.
'Song for the Twenty-fourth of May.' 14.

(1893)
'St. Swithun’s Day.' 3.
'Good-Friday.' 76.

(1906)
'Holiday.' 13, 41, 66.
'The Twenty-fourth of May.' 61, 72.
'Baptist Tide.' 123.

(1897)
'The Last Ballad.' 30, 318.
'The Ordeal.' 571.
'In the Isle of Dogs.' 63.
'Eclogues.' 178.

(1899)
'A Ballad of an Artist’s Wife.' 33, 113.
'A Woman and her Son.' 221.
'A Ballad of Euthanasia.' 80.
'Serenade (1250 A. D.).' 4.
'A Ballad of a Workman.' 188.
'A New Ballad of Tannhäuser.' 40, 180.

(1896)
'Lammas.' 267, 428.

(1904)
'The Testament of a Prime Minister.' 2, 95, 777.

(1908)
'The Testament of John Davidson.' 1341, 2260, 2290.


(1884)
'The Search after Proserpine. A Masque.' 122.
'I. The Tomb of Agamemnon.'
'II. The Tomb of Agamemnon.'
'The Tomb of Themistocles at the Piraeus.' 13.
'Sophocles.' 2.
'The Prison of Socrates. (A Cave opposite to the Acropolis)' 4.
'Stanze. All things wax old. What voice shall chase that gloom.' 2.
'Lines written under Delphi.' 180.
'King Henry the Second at the Tomb of King Arthur.' Part I: 71; Part II: 19.
'Epitaph.' 6.
'The Infant Bridal.' Part III: 33.
'Queen Bertha's Alms.' 20.
'Lines. You drop a tear for those that die.' 9-11.
'To E. — 3.' 10.
'Silence and Sleep, and Midnight's softest gloom!' 4.
'Pause, lovely Lady, pause: with downward eye.' 2.
'A Churchyard. — 1.' 14.
'A Churchyard. — 2.' 8.
'To ---.' 3.
'Truth.' 8.
'The fall of Rora.' 234.
'Ode on leaving Italy.' 8, 14, 116-7.
'Ode to an Eolian Harp.' 66.
'To M. O. B.' 15-16.
'A Character.' 13, 18.
'My hope, in happier days than these.' 15.
'Death in Childbirth.' 5.
'Epitaph. Ye village poor, whose pitying fingers strew.' 7.
'Dolores. (Scene in a madhouse)' 17-18, 46.
'The Year of Sorrow — Ireland — 1849.' 90.
'Psiche; or, an old poet's love.' 208, 238, 248, 420.
'Frescoes by Masaccio, at Florence.' 13.
'Saints by Pietro Perugino.' 13.
'The Campo Santo at Pisa. — 2.'
'Castelamare.' 8.
'The Sibyl's Cave at Cuma.' 8.
'The Ruins of Cornelia's House at Baia.' 2.
'A Farewell to Naples.' II: 34, 49, 54; III: 75.
'Lines written at Halsteads.' 90.
'A Wanderer's Musings at Rome.' 14, 46, 69, 122, 261, 288, 294, 322.
'On the Death of a Good King.' 3, 13.
'Troilus and Cressida. — 1.' 44.
'On a Portrait.' 12.
'After reading again his letters.' 7-8.
'To Ireland. Against false freedom.' 10.
'The Battle of Clontarf; or, the king's sacrifice. (Ireland in the Eleventh Century)' 145.
'The Disbelief of Milcho, or, Saint Patrick's One Failure.' 66, 171, 310, 387, 567.
'Saint Patrick and the Children of Fochlut Wood.' 295, 342, 519, 527.
'Saint Patrick and King Laegaire.' 10, 42.
'Saint Patrick and the Impostor; or, Mackyle of Man.' 180.
'Saint Patrick at Cashel; or, the Baptism of Aengus.' 35, 146.
'Saint Patrick and the Childless Mother.' 23, 30, 33-5, 59, 84, 89, 91-3, 101, 125-6, 134, 156, 163.
'Saint Patrick at the Feast of Knock Cae; or, the Founding of Mungret.' 282, 290, 299.
'Saint Patrick and King Eochaid.' 25, 363.
'Saint Patrick and the founding of Armagh Cathedral.' 149, 415.
'The Strivings of Saint Patrick on Mount Cruachan.' 170, 203.
'Epilogue. The Confession of Saint Patrick.' 13, 467.
'The Great Contention.' 19.
'The Death of Oscar.' 112.
'Oiseen's Vision.' 21, 77-9.
'Oiseen's Good Confession.' 43-5.
'The Foray of Queen Meave; or, 'The Tain Bo Cualgne.' 8, 13; Book I: 310; Book III: 30-2;
Book IV: 449; Book V: 13.
'Alexander the Great.' Act III, (x) [Susa. The Cypress Cemetery].
'On reading an untrue charge.' 2.
'Sons of Usnach.' Canto II: 156; Canto III: 138; Canto IV: 15; Canto VI: 377, 385, 425.
'The Children of Lir. An Ancient Irish Romance.' Canto I: 45, 466; Canto II: 166, 292, 395, 450.
'The Ballad of King Cormac's Choice.' 9, 43-5.
'St. Columba's Farewell to the Isle of Arran on setting sail for Iona.' 18.
'St. Brigid and the Blind Nun.' 52.
'The Ballad of Turgesius the Dane; or, The Girl-Deliverer.' Part III: 1-2.


Grattan.' 14.

'All-Hallows; or, The Monk's Dream. A Prophecy.' 1, 14.

'Ode to Jerusalem.' 14.

'Adam refuses the gifts of the race of Cain. A Fragment.' 14.


'Hymn. The Meek.' 126.

'Hymn. For Good Friday.' 5.

'Maundy Thursday. The Washing of the Feet.' 5.

'The Penitent.' 1.

'The Year of Sorrow — Ireland — 1849.' 86.

'Widowhood.' 65.

'The Last Irish Gael to the Last Irish Norman; or, The Last Irish Confiscation. A Prediction, 1848.' 90, 96-8, 110, 114.

'After one of Ireland's Famine Years.' 79, 83.

'The Foundation of the Catholic University.' 55.

'To Ireland — Against False Freedom.' 10.

'The Island of Iona.' 1.

'The New Catholic Church near Windermere.' 14.

'The Campagna seen from St. John Lateran.' 7.

'On the Cross in the Interior of the Coliseum.' 8.

'The Graves of Tirconnel and Tyrone on San Pietro, in Montorio.' 1.

'To Italy; 1861.' 8.

'The World's Appreciations.' 7.

'Walter Scott at the Tomb of the Stuarts in Saint Peter's. 1.' 7.

'Walter Scott at the Tomb of the Stuarts in Saint Peter's. 2.' 10, 14.

'The Legend of Saint Thecla.' 340, 381.

'Saint Dionysius, the Areopagite. (Died A. D. 96)' 70, 262.


'The Legend of Saint Pacratius. (Died A. D. 287)' Part I: 185, 250; Part II: 36, 91, 175, 280, 380-4.

'The Legend of Saint Dorothea.' 318.


'The Legend of Saint Alexis. A Roman Legend. (Died A. D. 398)' Part I: 30, 146; Part II: 77, 87.

'Saint Lucy. (Died A. D. 304)' 19.

'Saint Anastasia at Aquileia. (Died A. D. 304)' 82.

'Saint Perpetua. (Died A. D. 203)' 10.

'Eustochium, or Saint Jerome's Letter. (A. D. 382)' 27, 49.


'Stilicho. (Died A. D. 408)' 90.

'The Legend of Saint Genevieve. (Died A. D. 512)' 106-8.

'Amalasunta. (Died A. D. 535)' 39, 126, 130, 135.

'Saint Boniface at Funda. (Died A. D. 755)' 52.

'Legends of the Cid.' IV: 1408-10.

'Pope Hildebrand besieged in the Castle of St. Angelo by the Emperor Henry IV. (A. D. 1084)' 5, 142-5.

'Robert Bruce's Heart; or, the Last of the Crusaders.' 36.

'Joan of Arc.' 197.

'The Higher Purgatory.' 40, 87.

'Columbus at Seville. (A. D. 1504)' 2.

'A Picture by Pietro Perugino.' 13.

'Frescoes by Masaccio.' 13.

Richard Watson DIXON 1833-1900.

(1861)

'St. Paul. Part of an Epistle from Gallio, the Deputy of Achaia, to his brother Seneca.' 285.

'St. Mary Magdalene.' 68.

'The Wanderer.' 5.

'The Sole Survivor.' 12.

'A Nun's Story — Modern Rome.' 6.
‘La Faerie, or Lovers’ World.’ 310.
‘Sonnet. Give me the darkest corner of a cloud.’ 13.
‘Babylon and Nineveh.’ 41, 49, 82.

(1864)
‘Wellington: A Historical Ode.’ 1, 148, 524, 731.
‘Marlborough: a Historical Ode.’ 192.
‘Sir John Franklin.’ 8, 144, 156, 306-7, 371, 434, 438.
‘Havelock’s March.’ 122, 132, 139, 149.
‘Legion.’ 13, 20, 49.
‘By the Sea.’ 8.
‘The Birth of Apollo.’ 1.

(1905)
‘Too much friendship the story of Septimus and Alcander.’ 30, 373, 385.
‘Dust and Wind.’ 19, 48.

(1887)
‘Ulysses and Calypso.’ 36.

(1883)

(1884)
‘The Fall of the Leaf.’ 3.
‘The Crusader’s Monument.’
‘Both less and more.’ 12.

(1888)

Henry Austin DOBSON 1840-1921.

(1913)
‘A Dead Letter.’ 1.
‘A Gentleman of the Old School.’ 78, 98.
‘Before Sedan.’ 10.
‘André le Chapelain his plaint to Venus of the Coming Years.’ 12.
‘A Revolutionary Relic.’ 85.
‘For a copy of “The Vicar of Wakefield”.’ 1, 7, 12.
‘“Fame is a food that dead men eat” (To Edmund Gosse).’ 4.
‘On the Belfry Tower A Sketch. 1887’ 8.
‘The Philosophy of the Porch by a Summer-day Stoic.’ 51.

Charles Lutwidge DODGSON 1832-1898.

([1939])
‘The Path of Roses.’ 26.
‘Stolen Waters.’ 79.
'The Sailor's Wife.' 50.
'After three days.' 12, 46.

Digby Mackworth DOLBEN 1848-1867.

(1915)
'From the Cloister.' 65.
'There was one who walked in shadow.' 26.
'I said to my heart, — "I am tired".' 12-16.
'Dum agonizatur anima, orent assistentes.' 70.

Sarah DOUDNEY.

((1892])
'The Last Snow of Winter.' p.7.
'The Old Home.' p.29.
'Beyond it All.' p.30.

Charles Montagu DOUGHTY 1843-1926.

(1906)

(1923)
'Mansoul or the Riddle of the World.' Book 1: 440; Book 2: 28, 33, 42, 64, 74, 113, 191, 294; Book 3: 311, 457, 486; Book 4: 96, 283, 305, 358, 530, 638; Book 5: 2, 118, 329, 488, 561.

(1916)

(1900)
'Wounds.' 7.
'The Soldier's Grave.' 1, 12, 50.

Edward DOWDEN 1843-1913.

(1876)
'To a Year.' 13.
'A Sonnet for the Times.' 8.
'To a Child Dead as Soon as Born.' 11.
'Recovery.' 5.
'In the Cathedral.' 5.
'Edgar Allan Poe.' 8.
'Imitated from J. Soulary's "Le Fossoyeur".' 2, 14.
'The Wanderer.' 139, 153.
Ernest Christopher DOWSON 1867-1900.

(1934) 'In a Breton Cemetery.' 6.
'Transit Gloria.' 56.
'Sonnet to Nature.' 14.
'The Passing of Tennyson.'
'Yvonne of Brittany. For Marmaduke Langdale.' 37.
'Quid non speremus, amantes? For Arthur Moore.' 12.
'De Amore.' 45.

Mrs. A. ELLISON.

((1875))
'Addressed to the Parents of a Deceased Friend.' pp.17-18.
'Suggested by the Death of a Little Niece.' p.25.
'Written in the Album of a Young Friend.' p.28.
'Suggested by the Death of My Dear Brother, who was found drowned the 24th August, 1871.' p.52.
'Written after a Visit to London in 1862.' p.108.

Samuel FERGUSON 1810-1886.

(1872)
'Congal.' Book I: 272, 394; Book II: 370; Book III: 100, 448, 510, 561, 639; Book IV: 78, 83, 191, 575; Book V: 430, 586, 600.

((1864))
'The Cromlech on Howth. A Poem.' 2, 20, 75 and n, 77n, 153.

(1883)
'The Forging of the Anchor.' 78.

(1897)
'Mesgedra: A Lay of the Western Gael.' 177, 246.
'Deirdre.' 854, 887-8, 896, 900.
'Deirdre's Lament for the Sons of Usnach. (From the Irish)' 3, 7, 11, 17, 53-5.
'Conary.' 411, 654, 922.

(1888)
'The Burial of King Cormac.' 48, 51, 61, 76.
'Adieu to Brittany.' 56.
'Westminster Abbey. On hearing week-day service there, September, 1856.' 3, 30.

(1880)
'Fergus Wry-mouth: A lay of the Western Gael.' headnote.
'The Sinking of the Monitor.' 23.

Michael FIELD, Katherine Harris BRADLEY and Edith Emma COOPER [Arran and Isla Leigh] 1846-1913, 1862-1914.

(1881)
'The Song of Hêrô.' 55.
'The Song of the Hêliadai.' 58.
‘Apollo’s written grief.’ 264, 284.
‘The Flower-sun.’ 69.

(1914a)
‘Dionysus Zagreus.’ 47.
‘De Profundis.’ 6, 30, 93.
‘Caenis Caeneus.’ 150.
‘The Ritual of Earth.’ 27.
‘Glaucus.’ 118.
‘Jason.’ 24.

((1913))
‘The Presentation.’ 7.
‘Gethsemane.’ 16.
‘O Lovely Host.’ 12.
‘But Mary sat still in the House.’ 11-2.
‘The Dormitio.’ 4-7.
‘The Mystery of the Assumption.’ 2.
‘Reservation.’ 5.
‘To see him in his place.’ 6.

(1875)
‘The Wind.’ 12.
‘The Grass of the Field.’ 11.

((1912))
‘That he should taste death for every man.’ 14.
‘Blessed are the beggars. Matt. v. 3.’ 5-6.
‘Relics.’ 2, 16, 95.
‘In the Sea. (The Martyrdom of St. Clement)’ 66.
‘In Monte Fanno.’ 1, 7, 22.
‘In Extremis.’ 18.
‘Adônis and Aphrodîtê.’ 34.
‘Youth Time.’ V: 92.
‘The Unfailing Springtide.’ 8.
‘Ad mortem.’ 1, 8, 17, 29, 33, 38.
‘Confluence.’ 9.
‘A Magic Mirror.’ 42.
‘The Hour of Need.’ 16.

(1892)

(1890)
‘The Tragic Mary.’ Act I.iii.213, iv.8; Act II.vii.112; Act III.ii.104, iii.59, 95, v.132; Act IV.i.14, v.109, vii.135, 140; Act V.iii.48, v.42.

(1893)
‘Mortal, if thou art beloved.’ 16.
‘Sometimes I do despatch my heart.’
‘Solitary Death, make me thine own.’ 5.
‘I stood to hear that bold.’ 5, 8.
‘I laid her to sleep.’ 3.
‘Come, mete me out my loneliness, o wind.’ 8.
‘An Æolian Harp.’ 15.
‘How rapidly the land.’ 10.

(1914b)
‘When others are about me and the lips.’ 11, 15, 25, 30.

(1908)
‘Mintha.’ 14.
‘To the Winter Aphrodite.’ 11.
‘Embalmment.’ 14.
‘From Baudelaire.’ 2.
‘A Train of Queens.’ 10.
‘To the Trinity.’ 3.
‘On an aspic found gliding toward the sea.’ 11.
‘Meeting at Bergamo.’ 2.
‘Renewal.’ 12.
‘Power.’ 2-3.
‘Possession.’ 1.
‘Burial.’
‘Covenant.’ 8.
‘Enna’s Cave.’ 12.

Mary Williamina FINDLATER 1865-1963.

(1895)

Norman Rowland GALE 1862-1942.

([1909])
‘In a Cemetery.’

(1938)
‘Brackenham Church.’ 144.

(1914)
‘A Creed.’ 33.
‘The Link.’ 44.
‘Envy.’ 1-2.
‘To a Whitethroat.’ 13.
‘The Sweater.’ 3.

(1894)
'The Happy Dead.' 34.
'Requiescam.' 1.

(1890)
'Those dear old days of yore.' 82.

([1926])
'An Appeal.' 21.
'The Christmas Robin.' 14.

([n.d.])
'Kismet.' 4, 8, 11-2, 16.
'The Old Professional.' 48.
'The Mower's Vision.' 39.
'Weary Heart and Weary Head.' 6.
'After the Conflict.' V: 81.
'Passing.' 112.

(1919)
'The Review.' 19.
'Aladdin's Lamp.' 96.

(1905)
'Uncle Bob Indignant. ("Flannelled fools at the wicket")' 17.
'The Appeal.' 4.
'Five Years After.' 3, 38, 41.
'Doctor Cricket.' 20.

(1893)
'Better So.' 73.

(1912)
'The Balance.' 8.
'The Lover to his Dead Mistress.' 7, 11.
'Spion Kop.' 17.

([1935])
'A little past eleven o' clock.' 6.
'Twelve words to grave along my stone.' 1.

([1925])
'The God.' 24.
'Found.' 42.
'The Quest in the Vineyards.' 3.

Richard GARNETT 1835-1906.

(1893)
'The Friend of Greece.' 57.
'A Melody.' 3.
'Moira.' 13.
'Forth to the Woods.' 2.
'Lines at Boscombe.' 102, 108.
'Violets.'

(1901)
'The Queen.' 1.
William Schwenck GILBERT  1836-1911.

(1898)
'Haunted.' 13, 54.
'Brave Alum Bey.' 42.
'The Suicide's Grave.' 15.
'The Merryman and his Maid.' 32.
'The Ghosts' High Noon.' 9.

[1932]
' "Eheu! Fugaces".' 9.

May Clarissa GILLINGTON [later May Byron] fl. 1892-1904.

(1892)
'A Dead March.' pp.27-8.
'On Nights like these.' p.35.
'A Resting-place. I.' p.38.
'Moon Story.' p.56.
'Night Piece. II.' p.87.
'Outside the Door.' p.91.

(1911)
'Oblation.' p.74.
'The Pilgrim's Way.' p.110.

Edmund William GOSSE  1849-1928.

(1909)
'A Night in Time of War.' 36.
'The Train of Life.' 17.
'Labour and Love.' 11.
'Aubrey de Vere 1814-1902.' 24.
'Dirge. John Ruskin, January 1900.'
'For a Tomb at Canterbury E. W. B., October 11, 1896.'
'To Henrik Ibsen on entering his Seventy-fifth year, March 20, 1902.' 13.
'Corinella apud Inferos. Paraphrased out of Propertius.' 1, 36.

(1885)
'Firdausi in Exile.' 405-6.
'A Ballad of the Upper Thames.' 253-4.
'The Church by the Sea.' 52.
'A Woman's Keepsake.' 34.
'Theocritus. For A. Lang's Translation.' 32.

(1894)
'The Wounded Gull.' 32.
'In Poets' Corner.' 9.
'Dante Gabriel Rossetti.' 37.
'The Picture of Virtue Imitated from the Latin of Théodore de Beza.' 14.
'The Masque of Painters: As performed by the Royal Institute of Painters in Water Colours, on May 19, 1885, and successive Nights.' 1.

(1893a)
'Inscription for the rose-tree brought by Mr. W. Simpson from Omar's tomb in Naishápúr, and planted to-day on the grave of Edward Fitzgerald, at Bouige.' 1.

(1893b)
'King Erik.' Act I.i.154; Act III.i.81; Act IV.i.48.
(1870)
'Cavalier Song.' 20.
'Madonna in the Antwerp Museum.' 14.

(1879)
'The Sisters. A Dorian Idyl.' 60, 68.
'The Mænad's Grave.' 15.
'Life in Death.' 35.
'The Burden of Delight.' 130.
'February in Rome.' 11.
'The Golden Isles.' 102.
'The Tomb of Sophocles.' 4, 10, 13.
'Villanelles.' II: 22, 28, 34, 38.
'Rondel.' 11.
'My Own Grave.' 9, 76.
'The Loss of the "Eurydice".' 42.

(1873)
'Lying in the Grass.' 38.
'The Renaissance.' 42.
'The saint of old who saw the witch-fire shine.' 30.
'Spillende Genier. A Bas-relief of Thorwaldsen's.' 32.
'Forgotten.' 14.
'The Mandrakes. A Study in Grotesque.' 98, 142.

Alfred Perceval GRAVES 1846-1932.

(1908)
'Lament for Owen Roe O'Neill.' 2, 12.
'The Girl with the cows.' 307, 319.
'The Jug of Punch.' 29.
'Colonel Carty.' 19.
'For I had a spirit above my degree.' 28.
'Maureen, Maureen.' 19.

(1880)
'Ambrose and Una.' 12, 51, 55, 62, 66.
'Companions.' 10.
'The Black '46. A Retrospect.' 42.

(1873)
'The Foster Sisters.' 35.
'Sad Thrush.' 27.
'Spring's Summons.' 179.

John GRAY 1866-1934.

(1926)
'Piety.' 1.
'Summer Holidays.' 3.

(1893)
'Fleurs. Imitated from the French of Stéphane Mallarmé.' 19.

Louise Imogen GUINEY.

(1909)
'Memorial Day.' p.15.
'The Yew-Tree.' p.36.
'Beati Mortui.' pp.54-5.
'An Estray.' p.83.
'Fifteen Epitaphs.' pp.91-7.
'To One who would not Spare Himself.' p.113.
'On the Pre-Reformation Churches about Oxford.' p.150.

Philip Gilbert HAMERTON 1834-1894.

(1855)
'My Old Dog's Grave.' 11, 28, 60.
'The Last Link.' 78.
'The Confines of Thought.' 34.
'Turner.' 48.
'The Pilgrimage of Grace; or, the Ballad of Sir Stephen Hamerton.' 17, 71, 82.
'The Pillar of Peace.' 47.
'The Ship of Misery.' 22.
'The Child-Soldier.' 16, 50.
'The Allies in the Crystal Palace.' 26.
'Coral Islands.' 54-5.
'Footprints in Sandstone.' 53.
'The Isles of Loch Awe.' 615, III: 630, 678 and n, 690, 711, 717-9; IV: 892; V: 1491; VII: 1943.
'My Own Study.' 28, 59n.
'The Sanyassi.' 34, 58.

Thomas HARDY 1840-1928.

(1930)
'She at His Funeral.'
'Her Dilemma (In ---- Church).'
'Her Death and After.' 52, 75, 86-8, 128.
'Leipzig (1813).’ 119.
'The Dance at the Phoenix.' 21.
'The Casterbridge Captains (Khyber Pass, 1842).'
'A Tradition of J. B. L---, T. G. B---, and J. L---.'
'A Sign-Seeker.' 25, 42-3.
'My Cicely (17**).’ 31.
'Her Immortality.'
'A Commonplace Day.' 19.
'The Church-builder.' 17.
'Friends Beyond.' 3.
'Thoughts of Phena At News of Her Death.'
'The Slow Nature (An Incident of Froom Valley),'
'A Christmas Ghost-Story.'
'Drummer Hodge.'
'The Souls of the Slain.' 74.
'Shelley's Skylark (The neighbourhood of Leghorn: March 1887).'
'Rome. Building a New Street in the Ancient Quarter (April 1887).'
'Rome. At the Pyramid of Cestius near the Graves of Shelley and Keats (1887).'
'On an Invitation to the United States.' 10.
'The Subalterns.' 14.
'By the Earth's Corpse.'
'The Inconsistent.'
'Long Plighted.' 22.
'His Immortality.'
'The To-Be-Forgotten.' 2.
'A Man (In Memory of H. of M.)' 29.
'The Last Chrysanthemum.' 4.
'The Dame of Athelhall.' 40.
'The Darkling Thrush.'
'A Wasted Illness.'
'The Levelled Churchyard.'
'The Two Men.' 93.
'Julie-Jane.' 20.
'Her Late Husband (King's Hintock, 182-).' 2, 16.
'The Supplanter. A Tale.' 13, 35.
'Sapphic Fragment.'
'Cardinal Bembo's Epitaph on Raphael.'
'The King's Experiment.' 20.
'I Have Lived with Shades.'
'Memory and I.' 15.
'The Two Rosalinds.' 34.
'A Sunday Morning Tragedy (circa 186*).' 68, 108.
'Bereft.'
'The Dead Man Walking.'
'The Rash Bride. An Experience of the Mellstock Quire.' 56.
'The Dead Quire.' 82.
'By the Barrows.'
'The Roman Road.'
'The Vampirine Fair.' 102-4.
'After the Last Breath (J. H. 1813-1904).'
'In Front of the Landscape.' 72.
'The Face at the Casement.' 64.
'Channel Firing.'
'The Ghost of the Past.'
'My Spirit Will Not Haunt the Mound.'
'In Death Divided.' 5.
'A Singer Asleep. (Algernon Charles Swinburne, 1837-1909).'
'"If you had known".' 10.
'God's Funeral.'
'Spectres that Grieve.'
'Ah, Are You Digging on My Grave?' 1, 7, 13, 19, 25, 31.
'Tolerance.' 13.
'Your Last Drive.'
'Rain on a Grave.'
'I Found Her Out There.'
'Lament.'
'The Haunter.'
'Her Secret.' 11.
'The Cheval-Glass.' 40.
'The Re-Enactment.' 5.
'"I rose up as my custom is".' 3.
'Bereft, She thinks she dreams.'
'The Obliterate Tomb.' 15, 94, 99, 101, 120, 131.
'The Telegram.' 22.
'The Roman Gravemounds.' 13.
'The Workbox.' 11, 20, 32.
'By Her Aunt's Grave.'
'In the Cemetery.' 2, 6.
'At the Draper's.'
'On the Death-Bed.'
'Over the Coffin.' 1.
'In the Moonlight.' 3.
'Copying Architecture in an old Minster (Wimborne).'' 16.
'To My Father's Violin.' 11.
'The Blow.' 18.
'A Merrymaking in Question.'
'A January Night (1879).'' 11.
'Transformations.'
'Life laughs onward.' 8.
'The Sunshade.' 10.
'Love the Monopolist (Young Lover's Reverie).'' 27.
'Logs on the Hearth. A Memory of a Sister.' 14.
'The Caged Goldfinch.' 1.
'The Glimpse.' 23.
'The Pedestrian. An incident of 1883.' 33.
'He revisits his first school.' 10.
'Looking Across.'
'The Memorial Brass: 186-' 11, 25.
'Fragment.'
'The Nettles.' 1.
'Signs and Tokens.' 7.
'The Shadow on the Stone.'
'It thought, my heart'. 17.
'The Choirmaster's Burial.' 10, 46.
'While Drawing in a Churchyard.'
'Before Marching and After (In Memoriam F. W. G.).'
'The Dead and the Living One.' 1.
'A Woman's Fancy.' 25, 40.
'Afterwards.'
'The Curtains Now Are Drawn (Song).'
'At a House in Hampstead sometime the Dwelling of John Keats.'
'A Gentleman's Epitaph on Himself and a Lady, Who Were Buried Together.'
'A Duettist to Her Pianoforte. A Song of Silence (E. L. H. - H. C. H.).'
'Haunting Fingers A Phantasy in a Museum of Musical Instruments.' 12.
'Voices from Things Growing in a Churchyard.' 6, 13.
'Penance.' 4.
'If You Had Known'. 14.
'The Children and Sir Nameless.'
'An old likeness (recalling R. T.).' 33.
'If You Had Known'. 14.
'The Chapel-Organist (A. D. 185*). 70.
'The Carrier.' 5.
'In St. Paul's a while ago.' 14.
'Every Artemesia.' 23, 29.
'The Mock Wife.' 22.
'A Procession of Dead Days.'
'He Follows Himself.'
'The Dream Is — Which?'
'The Marble Tablet.'
'Last Words to a Dumb Friend.'
'Sacred to the Memory' (Mary H.).
'The Inscription (A Tale).'
'Intra Sepulchrum.'
'Epitaph.'
'An Ancient to Ancients.'
'The Monument-Maker.' 1, 21.
'The Later Autumn.'
'When Dead.'
'The Graveyard of Dead Creeds.' 1.
'A Night of Questionings.'
'Life and Death at Sunrise (Near Dogbury Gate, 1867).' 21.
'The Fading Rose.'
'Farmer Dunman's Funeral.'
'The Sexton at Longpuddle.' 1, 3.
'Not Only I.'
'She Saw Him, She Said.'
'Retty's Phases.' 24, endnote.
'Lady Vi.' 31.
'Cynic's Epitaph.'
'A Refusal.'
'Her Haunting-Ground.' 14.
'At the Mill.' 21.
'The rover come home.' 24.
'In the Evening. In Memoriam Frederici Treves, 1853-1923 (Dorchester Cemetery, 2 Jan. 1924).'
'Before my friend arrived.' 10.
'The Whaler's Wife.' 43.
'Silences.' 20.
'The Dead Bastard.' 2.
'Standing by the Mantelpiece (H. M. M., 1873).' 20.
'The Gap in the White (178').' 13.
'Unkept Good Fridays.'
'Squire Hooper.' 40.
'The Lodging-House Fuchias.'
'Lying Awake.' 7.
'The Clasped Skeletons. Surmised Date 1800 B.C. (In an Ancient British barrow near the writer's house).'
'After the Burial.'
'A Necessitarian's Epitaph.'
'A Placid Man's Epitaph.'
'Family Portraits.'
'The Eve of Waterloo. (The Chorus of Phantoms) from "The Dynasts").'
'The Hatband.'
'Epitaph for G. K. Chesterton.'
'Epitaph for George Moore. On one who thought no other could write such English as himself.'

Frances Ridley HAVERGAL 1836-1879.

(1884)
'One Question, Many Answers.' 3.
'Early Faith.' 11.
'No Thorn without a Rose.' 14.
'Constance De V——. An episode in the life of Charles Maurice, Prince de Talleyrand.' 61, 308.
'Our Gem Wreath.' V: 166.
'Our English Sabbaths.' 24.
'Peace.' 8, 46.
'The Shower.' 33.
'Charade No. 6.' 36.
'May Dirge.' 38, 42, 46.
'Evelyn.' 74, 82, 108.
'In Loyal and Loving Remembrance of H. R. H. the Princess Alice.' 14.
'The Coming of the Healer.' 32.
'Tell it Out.' 17.
'Right!' Scene III: 52.
'Singing at Sunset.' 26.
'"Now!" ' V: 39.
'"Free to Serve".' 44.
'The Song of Love.' 31.
'Two Rings.' 26.

Alfred HAYES 1857-1936.

(1911)
'The Age of Iron.' 50, 69.
'Pasteur's Grave.' 1, 8.
'Elegy.' 86.
'Parva domus, magna quies.' 143.

(1888)
'David Westren.' 33, 56, 206, 224, 452, 944, 948, 997, 1063, 1034, 1082, 1494, 1521, 1589, 1712.
243

(1887)

(1891)
'The March of Man.' Canto I: 17, 284, 445, 1100; Canto II: 754.

(1895)
'Dedication To my Wife.' 36. 'To Norman Gale.' 30. 'The Vale of Arden.' 216, 221. 'The Dawn of Spring.' 5. 'A November Parable.' 11. 'Russia.' 2. 'November.' 49. 'Requiescat. (October 6th, 1892)' 6, 17.

William Ernest HENLEY 1849-1903.

(1921)
'Arabian Nights' Entertainments.' 297. 'Forth from the dust and din.' 92. 'I am the Reaper.' 26. 'To W. A.' 2, 12, 22. 'Matri dilectissimae I. M.' 55. 'To R. F. B.' 28. 'There's a regret.' 17. 'I. M. Margaret Emma Henley (1888-1894).’ 46. 'The Shadow of Dawn.' 13. 'Epilogue.' 19. 'Love, which is lust, is the Lamp in the Tomb.' 1, 8. 'Come by my bed.' 14. 'So let me hence as one.' 12. 'St. Margaret's bells.' headnote. 'Forth from the dust and din.' 99. 'Prologue.' 5. 'Two Days (February 15-September 18, 1894). To V. G.' 14. 'In Memoriam George Warrington Steevens. London, December 10, 1869. Ladysmith, January 15, 1900.' 3. 'A Song of Speed.' 191.

Emily Henrietta HICKEY 1845-1924.

(1922)
'A King's Daughter of Hethenesse.' 13, 141.

(1913)
'Love and Grief.' 1, 12, 27.

(1891)
'Michael Villiers, Idealist.' 355, 1864.

(1902)
'He Appears to His Mother.' 8. 'Her Dream.' 47.

(1881)
'A Sculptor.' 35. 'Margaret, a Martyr.' 18.
The Story of Argalus and Parthenia.' 82.
'Madonna della Vita.' 44.
'Too Late.' 1, 20.
'Ghosts.' 44.
'From Victor Hugo's "Mazeppa".' 28.

(1880)
'"And now abideth... Hope".' 24, 30.
'Furze-Blossom.' 17.
'Katey.' 12.
'Said the tomb unto the rose, From the French of Victor Hugo.' 1, 5, 9, 13.
'The Dream of the Holy Rood. From the English of Cynewulf.' 53.


(1933)
'A Late Wooing.' 16.

Edmond Gore Alexander HOLMES 1850-1936.

(1876)
'"Cur deus home".' 76.
'Vera Causa. To the Earth.' 96, 104.
'God has taken him.' 448, 465.
'After Death.' 124, 150, 307.
'Limitless Desire.' 26.

(1879)
'Nature Lost and Found.' 344, 386.
'On the Moors.' 23.
'Anyone to anyone. An old, old story.' 249.
'Waiting for the dawn.' 55.
'The Melee, or Progress.' 12.
'What art thou, God?' 8.
'Face to face.' 154.
'Nature worship.' 106, 150.

(1901)
'The mists rise upward from the Ocean's breast.' 13.
'Well may the river bless the surging flood.' 2.
'Wilt thou be mine when death has set us free?.' 7.
'The poet in the grave of poesy.' 1.


(1902)
'Reverie of Mahomed Akram at the Tamarind Tank.' p.5.
'Story by Lalla-jii, the Priest.' p.30.
'Thoughts: Mahomed Akram.' p.55.
'Unforgotten.' pp.70-1.
'Famine Song.' p.114-15.
'Malaria.' p.168.

(1920)
'The Lute Player of Casa Blanca.' p.17.
'Wind o' the Waste: On the Wall of Pekin.' p.41.
'The Island of Desolation: Song of Mohamed Akram.' p.64.
'Trees of Wharncliffe House.' pp.72, 73.
'The Outlaw.' pp.88, 89.
Gerard Manley Hopkins 1844-1889.

(1918)
'The Leaden Echo and the Golden Echo.' 12.

Nora Hopper [Chesson] 1871-1906.

(1906)
'The Rowing-Song of King Atli.' 12.
'A Connaught Lover's Lament (To Caroline Augusta Hopper).' 2, 11.
'The Cuckoo sings in the heart of winter.' 16.
'The Dead Lovers (All Souls' Eve, November 1).' 4.
'Kathleen Ny-Houlahan.' 13, 17.
'The Three Kings.' 52.
'Three Maids.' 33.
'Osisris (To William Beer).' 24.
'The Shepherd of the Sea.' 12.
'The Strangers.' 85, 98.
'A February Day.' 24.
'Winds.' 2.

Selwyn Image 1849-1930.

(1932)
'In Memoriam A. B.' 8.
'In Memoriam J. W. T.' 52.
'The Year's Seasons.' V: 66, 74.

Lionel Pigot Johnson 1867-1902.

(1915)
'In Falmouth Harbour.' 44.
'Laleham.' 12, 34, 44.
'In Memory.' 14, 108.
'Gwynedd.' 82.
'A Cornish Night.' 51, 92.
'The Coming of War.' 34.
'The Dark Angel.' 39.
'Our Lady of the Snows.' 65.
'The Classics.' 8.
'Ireland.' 129.
'Our Lady of the May.' 38.
'Oxford.' 39.
'Cromwell.' 40.
'Winchester Close.' 6-8.
'The Silent.' 21.
'Nihilism.' 11.
'Münster: A. D. 1534.' 5.
'Winchester.' 21, 298, 463.
'ends of the Earth.' 11.
'At the burial of Cardinal Manning.'
'London Town.' 91.
May KENDALL 1861-1943.

(1887)
'The Philanthropist and the Jelly-fish.' p.35.
'The Ballad of the Boat.' p.55.
'In the Choir.' pp.106-7.
'Burdens.' p.118.
'Failures.' p.138.

(1894)
'A Legend.' p.18.
'Ether Insatiable.' p.89.

Harriet Eleanor Hamilton KING 1840-1920.

(1869)
'The Execution of Felice Orsini, March 13th, 1858.' Part I: 107; Part II: 236; Part III: 193.
'De Profundis.' 31.
'Adelaide.' Part II: 92.
'A Week in July.' 6, 228, 272.
'The Fall of the Leaf.' 89.

(1889)
'The Haunted Czar.' 160.
'The Irish Famine. Bantry, 1847.' 15.
'The Glastonbury Thom.' 14.
'Farewell Hymn for Bishop Smythies of East Africa.' 26.
'To the Memory of Felice Orsini.' 43.
'The Shade of Chatterton. Brooke Street, Holborn.' 18, 30.
'Many Voices.' 50.
'The Siege of Strasburg.' 37.

(1907)
'Overture. 1872.' 316.
'Ugo Bassi.' I: 391; III: 2843, 3310; V: 3437, 3470, 3848, 4225-7, 4062, 4408; VI: 4438, 4477, 4553, 4712, 4719, 5169, 5172; VII: 6200, 6216, 6223, 6273, 6373, 6410.
'Baron Giovanni Nicotera. Salerno, 1858.' 77.

(1902)
'A Word from the Cross.' 25.
'Mater Desolata.' 201.
-lnnocents' Day.' 94, 110.
'St. Alban's Burial-ground.' 16, 30.
'A Portrait.' 60.
'Misericordia written for the guild of St. Barnabas for Nurses.' 41, 130.
'A Midsummer Night's Journey.' 38.

(1895)
'The Prophecy of Westminster.' 182, 199.
'Bayswater.' 54.
'Postscript.' 18.

Rudyard KIPLING 1865-1936.

(1940)
'A General Summary.' 12.
'The Last Department.' 23n.
'A Ballade of Burial.' 1.
'The "Mary Gloster."' 109.
'South Africa.' 47.
'The Burial (C. J. Rhodes, buried in the Matoppos, April 10, 1901).' 1.
'A Nativity.' 25.
'The Ballad of Boh da Thone.' 171.
'The Hyaenas.' 1.
'The files (The Sub-editor speaks).' 52.
'"Wilful-Missing".' 23.
'"Cities and Thrones and Powers".' 22.
'A Tree Song (A. D. 1200).'' 17.
'Old Mother Laidinwool.' 11, 27.
'The Land.' 57.
'The Miracles.' 6.
'The Greek National Anthem.' 5, 25.
'White Horses.' 52.
'The Song of the Dead.' 8.
'Kitchener's School.' 5.
'Dirge of Dead Sisters.' 33.
'The Last Suttee.' 56.
'General Joubert.' 11.
'The Sacrifice of Er-Heb.' 93.
'Russia to the Pacifists.' 11.
'Mesopotamia.' 4.
'The Veterans (Written for the gathering of survivors of the Indian Mutiny, Albert Hall, 1907).'' 1.
'The Conundrum of the Workshops.' 27.
'Tomlinson.' 65.
'A Pilgrim's Way.' 28.
['Epitaphs of the War'] 'A Grave near Cairo.'; 'Pelicans in the Wilderness. A Grave near Halfa';
'Salonikan Grave.'
'Screw-guns.' 15, 36.
'Chant-Pagan.' 72.
'The bees and the flies.' 32.
'The Fabulists.' 10.
'A Pict Song.' 32.
'Macdonough's Song.' 14.
'Gow's Watch.' 114.
'Blue roses.' 13.
'The King's Task.' 13.
'The Hour of the Angel.' 7.
'The King's Pilgrimage. King George V's Visit to War Cemeteries in France.' 18, 36, 49.
'Memories.' 2.
'The Burden.' 25.
'The Mother's Son.' 6.
'London Stone.' 15.

Lucy [The hon. Mrs. O. N.] KNOX 1845-1884.

(1884)
'Exiled.' p.13.
'Trust.' p.25.
'Alone.' p.32.
'Love, the lowest deep.' p.40.
'To him who was ---.' p.45.
'Old Irish Lament.' p.48.
'Irish Song.' p.51.
'Carlyle.' p.56.
'Beethoven.' p.57.

(1876)
'A Sonnet, which saith that the lost one cannot be made known to those new friends which come after.' p.8.
'Oliver Cromwell.' p.23.
'The Engadine.' p.50.
'Rejoice Alway.' p.62.
'A Cry and the Answer.' pp.79, 80.
'A Disciple at Mazzini's Grave.' pp.109, 111.

Mary Montgomerie LAMB [Mary Montgomerie Singleton / Violet Fane] 1843-1905.

(1900)
'At the "Tourbe" of Roxalana.' 50.
'Judas Tree and Hawthorne.' 8.
'Accident.' 4.
'A Picture (En Grisaille). ' 15.
'Ghosts.' 8.
'Now.' 5.

(1875)
'Denzil Place a Story in Verse.' Part I: 1566, 1575, 1598, 1862; Part II: 2199.

(1872)
'Time. Time is a great Destroyer — all have told.' 18.
'A Lock of Hair.' 7, 13.
'To ---- I take my pen, and almost weep to find.' 38.

(1892)
'London.' 33.
'The Silent Player. At "Hamlet," December 30, 1878.' 44, 57.
'In an Irish Churchyard.' 1, 15.
'Time. Of Time what may a poet sing.' IV: 39.
'The Scarab. (Dedication)' 48, 82, 113.
'The Mer-Baby.' 20, 44, 48.
'An Egotist's Creed.' 14.
'On Christmas-Eve.' 50.
'The Guest-Chamber.' 14.
'A Wife's Confession.' 64.
'To a new Sundial.' 11.
'By the Indian Mail.' 42.
'All Souls' Day. ("Le Jour des Morts")' 5, 38.
'A Wish.' 16.

(1876)
'On working a counterpane.' 25.

(1896)
'The Grain of Mustard-Seed.' 73.
'The Red Earl.' 88.
'Ah-Ching.' 34, 44.
'At Christie's.' 37, 45.
'T "Men were deceivers ever",' 13.
'The True Story of Parson Wright (Optimist) As told by Mrs. Betsy Birch (Pessimist).'+ 318, 457.
'Not e'en the tenderest heart.' 12.
'Scorpio': the Scorpion.' 50.

Andrew LANG 1844-1912.

(1923)
'The War.' 119, 183.
'Almae Matres.' 17.
'Freshman's Term.' 15.
'Culloden.' 17.
'Melville and Coghill (The Place of the Little Hand).’ 18.
'Clevedon Church. In Memoriam H. B.' 11.
'Desiderium In Memoriam S. F. A.' 4-5.
'She To H. R. H.' 14.
'Ballade to Theocritus, in Winter.' 6.
'Ballade of the Southern Cross.' 26.
'Ballade of Dead Cricketers.'
'Ballade of a Choice of Ghosts.' 10.
'The Haunted Tower Suggested by a Poem of Théophile Gautier.' 27.
'The Fragment of the Fause Lover and the Dead Leman.' 14.
'On the Death of Lord Tennyson.' 1.
'Zimbabwe. (The ruined Gold Cities of Rhodesia. The Ophir of Scripture)' 21.
'A Dream.' 3.
'The Grave of Orpheus.' epigraph, 7.
'Omar Khayyam.' 2, 36, 47.
'Ronsard's Grave.' 18.
'Pisidicé.' 20.
'Love the Vampire.' 9, 18.
'To Lord Byron.' 38.
'From Omar Khayyám.' 23.
'The Flight of Helen.' 191.
'The Death of Corythus.' 128, 342, 361.

William LARMINIE 1849-1900.

(1892)
'The Nameless Doom.' 14.

(1889)
'Glanlua.' 21, 227, 509, 533.
'The Tower of Glass.' 35.

Emily LAWLESS 1845-1913.

(1914)
'The third trumpet." A Ballad of Meath, May 1, 1654.' Part III: 6, 30.
'Resurgence.' 86.
'The Shadow on the Shore.' 12, 31.
'The Gamblers.' 7-8, 15-6, 23-4.
'A Famine Cry.' 5, 11.

(1909)
'Of the value of Masterpieces (A Protest).’ 33.

(1902)
'Clare Coast Circa 1720.' 13, 47.
'Dirge of the Munster Forest. 1581.'
'Dirge for all Ireland. 1581.' 29.
'Honor's Grave.'
'The Stranger's Grave.' headnote.
'The Cormorant Song.' 14.
Eugene J. LEE-HAMILTON 1845-1907.

(1884)
'Sister Mary of the Plague.' II: 127; III: 213.
'The Bride of Porphyrión.' 119.
'An Ode of the Tuscan Shore.' 104.
'Sword and Sickle.' 153.
'Spring.' 5

(1899)
'At Venice.' 1.
'Rothenburg I.' 2.

(1891)

(1880)
'The Last Love of Venus.' 65.
'The Fiddle and the Slipper.' I: 151.
'The Rhyme of the Reeds.' 50.
'The Ring of St. Mark.' 18, 46, 116.
'The Bell Founder of Augsburg.' 4.

(1888)
'Henry I. To the Sea. (1120)' 3.
'Jacques de Molay to the Dead Templars. (1314)' 2, 14.
'Lorenzo de Medici to his last Autumn. (1491)' 13.
'Doctor Faustus to Helen of Troy. (1520)' 25.
'Chasteland to Mary Stuart. (1653)' 6.
'Lycidas to Milton. (1637)' 1, 6.
'Charles Edward to his last friend. (1777)' 7.
'Kosciusko to the Corpse of Poland. (1796)' 7.

(1909)
'Mimma Bella.' VIII: 100, 106; IX: 113; X: 137; XXVII: 365.

(1882)
'The New Medusa.' 309, 315.
'The Raft.' 174.
'An Elegy on the Death of a Lady Who Died at Florence February 29, 1880.' 144, 156.

(1878)
'The Flute-Player.' 5.
'A Blind Beggar.' 4.
'The Field Grave.' 20.
'The Song of the Plaster Cast.' 176.
'The Secret of the Busento.' 30, 40, 44.

(1894)
'To the Muse. I.' 1.
'Waifs of a World.' 10.
'Sea-shell Murmurs.' 10.
'Sonnet Gold. I.' 1.
'Sonnet Gold. II.' 7.
'In Memoriam. April 14, 1882.' 3.
'The Death of Puck. II.' 10.
'To a Handful of Mummy Wheat.' 6.
'The Grave of Omar Khayyám.'
'Epilogue to these sonnets.' 5.
Edward Cracroft LEFROY 1855-1891.

(1897)
'The Tomb of Diocles.' 3.
'The Epitaph of Eusthenes.' 14.
'The Grave of Hipponax.' 7.
'In the Cloisters. Winchester College, I.' 13.
'In a Churchyard.' 2.
'By a Grave-side.'
'A Disciple secretly, II.' 8.
'Rataplan.' 13.
'The Dead Poet.' 19.


(1892)
'A June Lily [The Poet dramatises his Lady's loneliness].' pp.35, 36.
'Death in a London Lodging.' p.80.
'An Epitaph on a Goldfish. (With apologies to Ariel)' p.94.
'To a Dead Friend.' p.99.

Henry Sambrooke LEIGH 1837-1883.

(1888)
'An Allegory. Written in deep dejection.' p.40.
'A Cockney's Evening Song.' p.66.
'The Plot of a Romance.' p.123.
'The Moonlight Sonata. (By a Musical Maniac)' p.189.

(1882)
'Ballad.' p.61.

(1878)
'My Peculiarity.' p.8.
'After the Banquet.' p.19.
'Too Good for his Place.' p.62.
'The Forsaken One.' p.86.
'Much too kind.' p.152.
'True Friendship.' pp.157-8.

Lady Caroline Blanche Elizabeth LINDSAY 1844-1912.

(1894)
'On the Coast.' pp.34-40.
'Ode to Father Time.' p.75.
'The Fishermen of St. Monan's.' pp.140-1.

(1890)
'Years after.' p.16.
'Two ways.' p.147.

(1907)
'Barry.' headnote, p.38-9.
'An Old Woman's Faith.' p.60.
'Unemployed.' p.65.
'Enoch.' p.97.
'To some Chrysanthemums in a Work-house Graveyard.' pp.130-1.
Sir Alfred Comyns LYALL 1835-1911.

([1907])
'Theology in Extremis: Or a soliloquy that may have been delivered in India, June, 1857.' 123.
'Retrospection.' 118.
'After the Skirmish.' 6.
'Meditations of a Hindu Prince.' 25.
'The Amir's Soliloquy.' 9, 36.
'The Amir's Message.' 10, 40.
'Joab.' 48.
'Lib. I., Ode XXVIII.' 17.
'Eheu! fugaces, Posthume, Posthume! Lib. II., Ode XIV.' 16.

Edward Robert Bulwer LYTON [Owen Meredith, Edward Trevor], 1st Earl of Lytton
1831-1891.

(1887)
'Ad Æsopum.' 12.
'Necromancy.' 3.
'Uriel. (A Mystery)' 56, 87-8, 112.
'Prematurity.' 4.
'Strangers. (A Rhapsody)' 170.

(1868)
'Croesus and Adratus.' 476.
'Gyges and Candaules.' 292.
'Thanatos Athanatou.' 80, 746, 776.
'Licinius.' Part V: 93.
'The Scroll and its Interpreters.' 829, 989.
'Mohammed.' 265.
'The Roses of Saadi.' 56, 73.
'The Apple of Life.' 234.
'The Siege of Constantinople. A Chronicle of the Fall of the Greek Empire. In Four Parts.'
Part I: 508; Part III: 260.
'Fair Yolande with the Yellow hair.' 169.
'Rabbi Ben Ephraim's Treasure. Persecution of the Jews in Spain. (Fifteenth Century)' 51, 116,
208, 214, 229, 351, 358, 443, 453-4.
'Catterina Comaro. (A Picture. — A. D. 1470)' 38, 79.
'Jacqueline, Countess of Holland and Hainault. 1436.' 47.
'The Dead Pope.' 81, 577.
'Thomas Müntzer to Martin Luther. (From Prison)' 146, 425.
'Adolphus, Duke of Guelders. (Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries)' 14, 105, 111, 218, 242,
265-9.
'John Peter Carafa. (Honores mutant mores) A. D. 15—.' 84.
'Christian, the Dol-Hartzog. (So called from his furious behaviour) 1660.' 40.
'Elisabetta Sirani. 1665.' 154, 159.
'Last Words of a Sensitive Second-Rate Poet.' 14, 42, 60, 94, 182.
'A Beaten Army.' 6, 29.
'A Man of Science, Or The Botanist's Grave.' 206, 224, 229.
'Epilogue.' 157.

(1855)
'Clytemnestra.' 656, 683, 703, 752, 937, 1318.
'Good-night in the porch.' 32, 69.
'A Soul's Loss.' 152.
'Aurora Clair.' 43.
'The Wife's Tragedy.' 455, 504, 569.
'Spring and Winter.' 18.
'Adon.' 17.
'Judicium Paridis.' 132.

(1874)
'The Thistle.' 8.
'A Wheat-stalk; or, the near.' 94.
'A Legend.' 129.
'Knowledge and power.' 4.
'Opinion.' 32.
'Fiat Justitia.' 104.
'A Prometheus Unbound.' 82.
'The Mountain and the Marsh. A Reverie.' 152.
'Teleology.' 94.
'A haughty spirit before a fall.' 20.
'Sans Souci.' 22.

(1885)
'Glenaveril; or, the Metamorphoses.' Volume I, Book I: 16, 71, 285, 508, 255, 468, 537; Canto II: 185; Canto III: 20; Canto IV: 161; Book 2, Canto II: 283, 304, 343; Canto III: 12; Book 3, Canto I: 22, 39. Volume II, Book 4, Canto I: 529, 535; Canto II: 354; Book 5, Canto II: 220, 286, 654; Canto III: 301; Book 6, Canto I: 280, 304; Canto II: 506, 521; Canto III: 314; Canto IV: 163, 167.

(1892a)
'King Poppy.' 3, 619n, 694, 1853, 2312, 2317, 4075, 4699, 4891.

(1860)

(1892b)
'Death.' 7, 62.
'Rubies and Pearls.' 3, 7.
'By the Gates of Hell.' 18, 21.
'If thou art still a griefless girl or boy.' 2.
'Ghosts.' 5, 23-6, 48.
'Oceanus.' 48.

(1869a)
'Orval; or, the Fool of Time. a Poem.' Epoch I, Scene I: 21, 55, 62-4; Scene 3: 21-3, 27, 30-4, 44; Scene IV: 293. Epoch 2, Scene I: 4, 8; Scene II: 18, 51; Scene IV: 91, 136; Scene VII: 202; Scene XI: 166; Scene XI: 274. Epoch III, Scene I: 63, 76, 107, 110; Scene III: 13, 66, 135; Scene VI: 199. Epoch IV, Scene I: 11; Scene IV: 32, 41, 120, 416, 529; Scene V: 69, 203, 323, 358. Epoch 5, Scene II: 53; Scene IV: 3, 65; Scene V: 79, 128; Scene VI: 32.
'Lord Olaf.' Part I: 46.
'The Battle of Kossovo.' 675.

(1869b)
'Prologue.' 2, 6.
'Sacrifice.' 12.
'A Love Letter.' 59, 87.
'The Portrait.' 30.
'Home-sickness.' 24.
'The Message.' 86.
'The Vampire.' Ill: 40.
'Earth's Havings. (Song)' 12, 23.
'Futility.' 27.
'The Last Farewell.' 23, 26.
'The Buried heart.' 2, 30.
'On the Sea.' 18.
'Venice.' 30-1.
'Resurrection.' 41, 71.
'A Confession and Apology.' 27, 79.
'The Ideal World. As interpreted by Rabbi Ben Enoch. (From the Scroll and its Interpreters)' 156.

(1881)
'Tannhäuser.' 169, 1091, 1316, 1508, 1515, 1820, 1833, 1944.

Leila MACDONALD [Mrs. Hubert Crackenthorpe].

(1904)
'A Wanderer.' p.27.
'The Love of the Poor.' pp.45, 51.
'The coming of Death.' p.67.
'Respite.' p.88.


(1880a)
'To Melancholy.' 7, 14.

(1880b)
'Lines on the death of a pet dog.' 8.

(1893)
'To Madame de -----. ' 20.
'The Tower at Beaulieu Revisited.' 4, 8.
'Christmas Thoughts, by a Modern Thinker.' 22.
'From Victor Hugo.' 1, 5, 13.

Charlotte MANSFIELD [after Madame Raffalovich].

(1889)
'Before the Dawn.' p. 11.
'Condemned. A Prayer to the Holy Virgin.' p.47.

Rosamund MARRIOTT WATSON ['Graham R. Tomson'] 1863-1911.

(1889)
'Fragment of the "Fause Brither".' p.22.
'Sonnet. Fulfillment.' p.44.
'A Wayside Calvary.' p.85.
'The Quick and the Dead.' pp.86-7.
'Hymn of Labour.' p.91.

(1891)
'In the Rain.' p.11.
'Reveille II. When I am dead and gone.' p.24.
'Borderland.' p.65.
'The Moor Girl's Well.' p.68.
'Ballad of the Willow Pool.' pp.80, 82.
Philip Bourke MARSTON 1850-1887.

(1892)
[L. C. M. [Louisa Charlton Moulton], 'To Philip Bourke Marston.]
'Sonnet. Anticipation.' 8.
'In Grief.' 20.
'After many days.' 76.
'Out of Eden.' 75.
'A Garden Reverie.' 62.
'Dead Love.' 138.
'Not death, but life.' 4.
'Spring's return.' 13.
'Past and present.' 9.
'And thou sleepest.' 36, 41, 107.
'In Extremis.' 5.
'At Hope's Grave.' 31.
'At Love's Grave.' 1.
'Love's Resurrection Song.' 1, 5, 14.
'A June Day.' 13.
'My Grave.'
'To all in Heaven.' 13.
'What wailing wind.' 8.
'Spring and despair.' 8.
'London, from far.' 6.
'When in the darkness I wake up alone.' 14.
'Old memories.' 6.
'Remembered Grief.' 10.
'Shipwreck.' 13.
'The Old Churchyard of Bonchurch.' headnote, 1, 18, 38.
'Nightshade.' 105, 131.
'False rest and true rest.' 7, 46, 61.
'Parables.' III: 37-8.
'Worth Remembrance.' 11.
'The Prisoner.' 8.
'Jonathan Swift; his last illness.' 11.
'After Summer.' 11, 17.
'Love's Ghost.' 12.

Theophilus MARZIALS 1850-1920.

(1873)
'Passionate Dowsabella.' p.57.
'The Ghost of Love.' p.147.
'Tragedies.' p.156.

Annie MATHESON 1853-1924.

(1898)
'To "Carissima." (A Dramatic Lyric) September 29th — St. Michael and All Angels.' p.4.
'Of my little Daughter, before Death touched her. (A Dramatic Lyric)' p.22.
'The Year of Rejoicing.' pp.26, 27.
'The Unsheathed Sword.' headnote, p.29.
'An Old Song.' p.56.
'A Song of the Paschal Host.' p.59.
'Lead-poisoning. A Dramatic Fragment.' p.65.
'St. George defend the Right.' p.72.
'Meeting and Parting. (A Dramatic Lyric)' p.81.
'Unification. "As a city that is at unity in itself." — Psa. cxii. 3.' p.87.


(1884)
'The Lost Morning.' 12.

(1883)
'The White Pilgrim. A Dramatic Poem, in Four Acts.' Act I: 1, 22, 150; Act II: 45; Act IV: 146.
'La Violetta.' 14-6.
"'Nay, I'll stay with the lad'." 8.
'The Heart of Midlothian.' 28.
'Palingenesis.' 48.

Alice MEYNEll 1847-1922.

(1823)
'Parentage.' 6.
'Christ in the Universe.' 16.

Henry Cosmo MONKHOUSE 1840-1901.

(1890)
'Any Soul to Any Body.' pp.1, 3.
'A Dead March.' p.13.
'Montanus and Campestris.' p.71.
'The True Lover.' pp.82, 83.
'Dead.' p.112.
'A Song of the Seasons.' p.145.

(1865)
'The Chief Ringer's Burial.' p.91
'Twilight.' pp.110, 113.
'Posthumous.' pp.175-6.

(1901)
'Pasiteles the Elder.' pp.17, 18, 24.
'The Burial of Leighton.' pp.75-6.

Lewis MORRIS 1833-1907.

(1907)
'By the Sea.' 1, 17, 20-1, 34.
'The Wanderer.' 688.
'Faith without sight.' 5.
'On a Flight of Lady-birds.' 22.
'On an old Minster.' 16, 71.
'Visions.' 29.
'The Organ-boy.' 85.
'The Apology.' 120.
'Gilbert Beckett and the Fair Saracen.' 186.
'A Cynic's Day-dream.' 4.
'Processions.' 7.
'Evensong.' 2.
'In Memory of a Friend.' 2, 62-4.
The Home Altar.' 11.
'At Chambers.' 42.
'Evensong.' 3, 240, 326, 359, 413, 417-8.
'At Last.' 49, 80.
'A Separation Deed.' 20.
'The Epic of Hades.' Book I: 1037; Book II: 2104, 2114, 2125, 2170.
'Gwen.' Act V.i.4, 8, 21, 28, 46; Act V.iv.5-6, v.31, 57, 69; Act VI.i.1, 67.
'The Ode of Childhood.' 123.
'The Ode of Love.' 120.
'The Ode of Perfect Years.' 78, 82.
'Pictures — 1.' 19.
'Vendredi Saint.' 42.
'In the Strand.' 5, 11, 19, 21-5.
'A Night in Naples.' 17.
'Life.' 11.
'Odatis. An old love-tale.' 87.
'Clytaemnestra in Paris.' 51.
'The Orphan girl of Lannion.' 40.
'The Foster Brother.' III: 54; VI: 102.
'Gycia.' Act V.iv.20-1, 52, 115.
'In a Country Church.' 57.
'The Curse of Pantannas.' 292, 318.
'Ightham Mote.' 52.
'The Secret of Things.' 8.
'A Song of Empire. June 20, 1887.' 116, 129.
'The Invincible Armada, 1588.' 90.
'To John Bright. March 27, 1889.' 8, 35.
'A Vision of Saints.' 136, 219, 300, 1387, 1577, 1604, 1626, 2211, 2216, 2277, 2760, 2763,
3065, 3118, 3360, 3527, 4280, 5034, 5144.
'On a poem crossing the Atlantic.' 4.
'Homer, blind.' 17, 38.
'October 6, 1892.' 41, 58.
'In St. Martin's Churchyard. February 5, 1894.' 41.
'The Life and Death of Leo the Armenian. (Emperor of Rome) A Tragedy in Five Acts.'
Act IV.iii. 9; Act V.i.35.
'From an English Sermon.' 17, 32.
'Woman's Work.' 39.
'An Ode to Free Rome. September, 1870.' 211, 219, 233.
'Wales: To-day and tomorrow.' 19-21.
'On Four Patriot Brothers.' 48, 138, 159.
'Two Days in June: 1894.' 10.
'A Last Will.' 129, 145, 170, 222, 231, 267.
'Meliora.' 13, 31.
'A Modern Idyll.' 580, 652, 657, 704, 714.
'Regina Coeli.' 6.
'Lines on the Unveiling of the Statue of the Right Hon. John Bright, February 11, 1896.' 34.
'The Earth's Easter-tide.' 5.
'Tædium Vitæ.' 8.
'The March of Man.' 151.
'The Diamond Jubilee. An Ode. June 20, 1897.' 34.
'On a Young Statesman. In Memoriam: Thomas Ellis. Bala, April 11, 1899.' 1, 12.
'Shelborne. An Ode, Sung on its 350th Anniversary, April 20, 1900.' 11.
'For the New Century.' 12.
'In Memory of Her Majesty the Queen.' 128, 137.
'An Ode of Welcome to the Trades' Union Congress, Swansea, 1901.' 43.
Rosa MULHOLLAND 1841-1921.

(1916)
‘Corcomroe.’ pp.9-11.
‘The Prayer of Queen Mary.’ p.22.
‘Rose-tide.’ p.34.
‘The Year’s Round.’ p.49.
‘Dread.’ p.62.
‘A Lay of the Famine.’ p.74.
‘Shán O’ Neill’s Camp.’ p.78.
‘Glenmalure.’ pp.81-3.
‘Maury’s Vision.’ pp.87, 89.
‘Garalbh’s Ferry.’ pp.101, 104.
‘All Souls’ Night.’ p.110.

(1908)
‘The Willow.’ p.35.
‘He Laughs who Wins.’ p. 81.

(1886)
‘Emmet’s Love.’ p.5.
‘Love and Death.’ p.15.
‘Stowaways.’ p.23.
‘The Children of Lir.’ p.35.
‘After the War.’ p.53.
‘The Builders.’ p.57.
‘Shamrocks.’ p.94.
‘Kilfenora.’ p.119.
‘A Reuke.’ p.120.
‘Our Lily.’ p.145.

Robert Fuller MURRAY 1863-1894.

(1894)
‘Tears.’ 4.
‘The Burial of William the Conqueror.’ 2, 55, 60, 63.

(1909)
‘Catullus at His Brother’s Grave.’ 8.

Ernest James MYERS 1844-1921.

(1880)
‘The Defence of Rome.’ 13, 36, 148.

(1904)
‘Rhodes.’ 84.
‘Arcadia.’ 16.
‘A Tomb at Athens.’
‘A Dirge. Call her not, nay, for she.’
‘Night.’ 3.
To a dweller in a great city.’ 26.

Frederic William Henry Myers 1843-1901.

Belisarius.’ 7, 124, 131, 158.
‘Centenary Poem.’ 13.
‘The Death of Socrates.’ 32.
‘The Prince of Wales at the tomb of Washington.’ 17.
‘Saint Paul.’ 214.
‘The Passing of Youth.’ 130.
‘And all is over; and again I stand.’ 18.
‘And thou too knew’st her, friend! thy lot hath been.’ 18.
‘Brighton.’ 16.
‘A Cosmic History.’ 64.
‘Final Perseverance.’ 10.
‘On a Grave at Grindelwald.’

Constance Caroline Woodhill Naden 1858-1889.

‘The Pantheist’s Song of Immortality.’
‘Sir Lancelot’s Bride.’ p.70.
‘The Abbot.’ p.75.
‘Wearyness.’ p.139.
‘Bury the Dead thou lovest. From the German of Carl Siebel.’ p.160.
‘The Elixir of Life.’ pp.245, 248, 258, 263.
‘Natural Selection.’ p.314.
‘The Priest’s Warning.’ p.358.


‘The Dead to the Living.’ 4, 34-5, 86.
‘Two Voices.’ 11, 19, 23, 60, 72.
‘The Devil’s Due.’ 77, 109.
‘‘Until the Day Break ...”’ 22.

(1911)
‘Via Amoris.’ 3, 46, 54.
‘Ruckinge Church.’ 29, 61, 87, 140, 177.
‘The Singing of the Magnificat. A Legend.’ 118.
‘Refugium Peccatorum.’ 49, 51.
‘The Lily and the Cross.’ 5, 13, 20, 82.
‘The Pixies’ Garden.’ 74.
‘The Lover to his Lass.’ 32.
‘Child’s Song in Spring.’ 3.
'Rose Leaves.' 46.
'The Ballad of the White Lady.' 28.

(1886)
'Tekeyl.' 45.
'The Moat House.' Part I, 276; Part II, 237-8.
'Absolution.' 226.
'Children's Playgrounds in the City.' 12, 20.

(1888)
'Treason.' 381.
'An Appeal.' 2.
'The Message of the Dove.' 59.

((1922))
'The stolen god Lazarus to Dives.' 16.
'May Day.' 12.
'The Eternal.' 20.
'The Death of Agnes.' 12.

(1895)
'The Past.' 24.

(1905)
'”Out of the fulness of the heart the mouth speaketh.”' 28.
'Despair.' 15.
'After Death.' 33.
'A Parting.' 5.

(1898)
'To the Queen of England.' 77.
'After Sixty Years.' 39.
'A Song of Trafalgar.' 75.
'The Ghost Bereft.' 24.
'The Vain Spell.' 17-23, 30.
'Faith.' 6, 18.
'The Appeal.' 16.
'Faute de Mieux.' 20.
'Requiem.' 14, 24.

Henry John NEWBOLT 1862-1937.

(1888)
'A Fair Death.' 204, 222.

(1939)
'Epitaph. Underneath this stone we laid.'
'The Anniversary At Her Son's Grave.'
'The Deliverers.' 4.

(1921)
'For J. S. Haldane.' 6.
'The Nile.' 18, 52.
'Clifton Chapel.' 30.
'Among the tombs.'
'To Belgium, 1914.' 15.
'On Spion Kop.' 4.
'Fidele's Grassy Tomb.' 32, 36, 45, 52, 65.
'The Building of the Temple.' 7.
'Le Byron de Nos Jours; or, The English Bar and Cross Reviewers.' 66.
Rosa NEWMARCH 1857-1940.

(1903)
'The Dead Friend.' p.17.
'Sonnet. One wept upon her breast (she could not weep).' p.25.
'Sonnet. Sometimes she seems estranged and cold to me.' p.38.
'Sonnet. To Her Enemy.' p.40.
'H. W. February 13, 1900.' p.64.

(1906)
'Where Liners Pass.' p.54.
'Waldemar sings at Midnight.' p.88.
'King Waldemar's Midnight Chase.' pp.103-4.

Arthur William Edgar O'SHAUGHNESSY 1844-1881.

(1870)
'A Neglected Harp.' 4.
'Seraphitus.' 88.
'A Whisper from the Grave.' 6, 41, 49, 107.
'The Story of the King.' 48, 67.
'The Daughter of Herodias.' 370, 391, 399.
'A Troth for Eternity.' 169.
'Disclavaret.' 140.
'The Story of the King.' 50.
'Love after death.' 1.
'A Glorious Lady.' 79, 92.
'The Spectre of the Past.' 57, 64, 106, 109, 113, 117, 128.
'A Fading Face.' 13.
'The Heart's Questions.' 14.
'A Life-Tomb.' 6.
'The Poet's Grave.' 10-12, 19-21.

(1874a)
'Laustic; or, the Lay of the Nightingale.' 837.
'The Lay of the Two Lovers.' 683.
'Chativel; or, the Lay of Love's Unfortunate.' 122, 160, 281, 304, 329, 383, 421, 517, 538, 546, 574, 600, 615, 639, 674, 698, 716, 782, 825, 843, 860, 863, 902, 949, 960, 975, 1061, 1074, 1193-4.
'The Lay of Eliduc.' 1154, 1672, 2189-93, 2268.
'The Lay of Yvenec.' 326, 726, 755.

(1874b)
'Song. Has summer come without the rose.' 30.
'Song. Love took three gifts and came to greet.' 11.
'Song of Betrothal.' 51-56.
'Azure Island.' 28.
'Song. Now I am on the earth.' 9.
'The Disease of the Soul.' 80, 165, 172, 272.
'A Song of the Holy Spirit.' 168.
'Greater Memory.' 6, 14.
'In Love's Eternity.' 4.
'Nostalgie des Cleux.' 124.
'From Heaven to Hell.' 79.
'A Farewell.' 4, 21-4.
'Europe.' 34, 132.
(1881)
'Christ will return.' 205.
'En Soph.' Part I: 102, Part II: 23, 49.
'Fallen Flowers.' 18.
'At Her Grave.' 1.
'Growing on a Grave.' 1, 8.
'Silences.' 7, 9.
'Between two Posts.' 14.
'A Duet: Piano and Violincello.' 11, 64.
'A Priest of Beauty.' 64, 122.
'Living marble.' 4.
'The Line of Beauty.' 8.
'Carrara.' 32.
'Dialogue between two Venuses.' 15, 132, 185.
'Colibri.' Canto 1: 184; Canto 2: 9, 72.

Vincent O' SULLIVAN 1868-19?

(1897)
'The House of Ghosts.' p.16.
'Fear at Night.' p.35.
'Francis Borgia at Grenada.' pp.39-41.
'The Full Moon.' p.47.
'The Lonely Women.' pp.54-5.
'To an Enemy: When Dying.' p.57.
'The Voice of the Winds.' p.62.
'For the End.' p.65.

(1896)
'Norman Cradle-Song.' p.4.
'Lament.' p.6.
'A Cold Night.' p.9.
'Rose Witchery.' p.10.
'Dirge.' p.20.
'A Triumph.' p.31.
'Night Voyaging.' p.34.
'The Angelus.' p.53.
'Nights of Dreaming.' p.57.
'Memento homo quia pulvis es.' p.60.

John PAYNE 1842-1916.

(1908)
'The Book of Days and Nights.' 386, 548, 746.
'The Blackbird.' 6.
'The Robin.' 11.
'Fog.' 74.
'Mundus Senescens.' 14, 18-9.
'Her Grave.' 2, 25, 38.
'The Death of Pan.' 100.
'Wreck and Port.' 90.
'Julian.' 14.
'Tomas Zumalacarregui.' 14.
'A New Year's Chime.' 39.
'Counterparts.' 13.
'Weltschmerz.' 39.
'Alas!' 79.
'The Lights of Heaven.' 27.
'March-music.' 58.
'Anima cum animo.' 4.
'The Setting Sun.' 1.
'Pacem Appellant.' 186.
'An Old Refrain.' 60.
'A Last Toast.' 41, 43.

(1909)
'The Peacock.' 46.
'On the Railway Bridge.' 47.
'The Hush of Dusk.' 4, 54.
'London Lightning.' 7, 12.
'The Old and the New.' 70.
'Homing Dreams.' 16.
'Variations on an Alpine theme.' 67, 300.
'Vasco nunez de Balboa. (A.D. 1475-1517.)' 14.
'Raleigh.' 5.

(1904a)
'Jaafer, whose memory, 'mid the sea of slaughter.' 11.
'Hamid the Luckless.' 217.

(1902)
'The Romaunt of Sir Floris.' 223.
'Salvestra.' 567.
'Thorgerda.' 175, 291, 955, 1043.
'The aim of life.' 11.
'The Common Hope.' 4.
'The Fountain of Youth. A Romance of the Sixteenth Century.' 1025, 1035.
'Lautrec.' 30, 33, 55, 65, 263, 293, 494, 843, 850, 855.
'The Masque of Shadows.' 5, 76, 143, 154-7, 189, 370, 587.
'Light O' Love.' 323, 510, 541, 747.
'A Dream of Faiths.' 7.
'The Apples of Paradise.' 10, 176, 250, 262, 275, 297, 312.
'The Hermit's Heritage.' 36, 54.
'Usque ad portas.' 1, 231.
'Quia multum amavit. 115.
'Christmas Bells.' 16.
'The Rime of Redemption.' 28.
'The Ballad of Isobel.' 80, 107, 113, 123, 131, 154, 320-1.
'The Ballad of May Margaret.' 55.
'Sarvarthasiddha-Buddha.' 21, 44.
'Pantoum.' 28-31, 60-63.
'The King's Sleep.' 4, 15, 30, 55, 68, 82, 101, 109, 146, 156.
'Madonna dei Sogni.' 67.
'The Ballad of Shameful Death.' 1, 46, 90.
'The Ballad of the King's Daughter.' 83-4, 88, 92, 97-99.
'On Leconte de Lisle's Prose Translation of Homer.' 6.
'On the Borders of the Night.' 8.
'Love's Epitaph.' 8.
'Ad Zoilos.' 3.
'The Last of the Gods.' 14.
'The Dead Master. A Threnody.' 116, 140.
'Sundown.' 34, 44.
'Shadow-soul.' 204, 231, 235-9.
'In the Night-watches.' 16, 111.
'A Song of Dead Love.' 38.
'Areopagitica.' 30, 57, 81, 92.
'A Song of Willow.' 24.
'In Memoriam Oliver Madox Brown ob. Nov. 5, 1874.' 11, 88.
'Prelude to Hafiz.' 16.
'Requiem for our dead in South Africa.' 7.
'Bassarid's Horn. (From "The Book of Hercules")' 6.
'Barcarolle.' 59.
'The Grave of my Songs.' 31, 146, 182, 194.

(1904b)
'To the Winds. (Suggested by Sir Edward Burne Jones's picture, “Sponsa de Libano”)’ 47.
'Life’s Retreat.’ 2.

(1903)
'The Months.' 153.
'The Foredawn Hour.’ 4, 23, 53.
'Haydn.’ 1.
'Berlioz.’ 9.
'Vallée D’Obermann. (A verse-transcription of Liszt’s tone-poem)’ 41, 73.
'Auguste Villers de L’Isle Adam.’ 5.
'Pan im Gebüsch. (A Picture by Hans Thoma)’ 9.
'To Max Eberstadt in Willesden Cemetery.’ 8, 14.

(1920)
'Prisoner Soul.’ 14.
'Lonesome Thought.’ 4.
'Resurrection.’ 1, 5.
'Memento aequam servare animam.’ 8.
'Harvest-tide.’ 14.
'Sea and shore.’ 6.
'Numinis Umbra.’ 5.
'The Might-have-been.’ 7.
'The Beginning of Knowledge.’ 8.
'Coelum non animum.’ 14.
'The Buried Past.’ 4, 8.
'Almond Blossom.’ 7.
'Nil Nisi Bonum.’ 4.
' “Il est des morts qu’il faut qu’on tue”.’ 3.

Stephen PHILLIPS 1864-1915.

(1894)
'Eremus.’ 121, 202, 376.

(1913)
'Dawn and Loss.’ 24.
'Shakespeare.’ 8.
'A View of Peterboro’ Minster by Moonlight.’ 25.
'The Miser Mother.’ 14, 36.
'The blow (The true story of an ancient house).’ 16.
'Nero’s Mother A Drama in One Act.’ 72, 168, 192.
'The Adversary A Drama in One Act of Four Scenes.’ Scene II: 33; Scene III: 25.
'The King’s Tragedy A Tragedy in a Continuous Series of Scenes.’ Scene I: 12; Scene II: 69;
Scene III: 33; Scene IV: 51; Scene V: 77, 110.

(1911)
'The New Inferno.’ Canto I: 106; Canto II: 82; Canto IV: 41, 103, 138; Canto V: 61; Canto VI: 23;
Canto VII: 68; Canto IX: 181.

(1908)
'Grief and God.’ 4.
'Cities of Hell.’ 43.
'Midnight — the 31st of December 1900.’ 137.
'The Quest of Edith.’ 162.
'Dreyfus.’ 16.
'The Torturers.’ 37.
'To a Lost Love.’ 1, 25.
'Iole A Tragedy in One Act.’ 22, 314, 392.
(1915)
'The Midnight Guest.' 201.
'Vergil and Tennyson.' 31.
'The Passing of Julian.' 37.
'The Daughter of Jephthah on the mountains.' 20.
'Versoes on the Coronation of King George the Fifth.' 14, 38.
'Tripoli.' 10.
'The Titanic.' 36, 44.
'The Maiden on the Mountains.' 4.
'Force or Faith.' 22.
'The Quest of Haidee A Poem in Ten Cantos.' Canto 1: 71; Canto 2: 5; Canto 4: 72; Canto 5: 99; Canto 6: 37, 72, 92, 102.

(1898)
'Marpessa.' 90, 160, 177, 188.
'Lazarus.' 17.
'Christ in Hades A Phantasy.' 204.

Susan K. PHILLIPS 1831-1898?

(1898)
'By the Fire.' p.14.
'Rhyme.' p.36.
'Life's Autumn.' p.49.
'All Saints' Day at St. Martin's, Scarborough.' p.57.
'At St. Sebastian.' pp.68-9.
'The Last Whaler.' pp.70, 71, 72.
'Lent Lilies.' p.85, 88.
'June 21st, 1879.' p.89.
'A Rest.' p.94.
'Heartsease.' p.102.
'Requiescat.' p.110.
'Anemones.' p.112.
'The Death of Love.' p.117.
'Doomed!' p.122.
'Cost-counting.' p.127.
'The Daisy.' p.131.

(1879)
'How the smack came in.' p.4.
'Me and my mate. A Whitby Story.' p.38.
'Bill is washed ashore.' pp.41-2.
'The Dying Wrecker.' p.52.
'Among the Sand-hills.' p.54.
'Mad Luce.' p.56.
'A True Story of the Yorkshire Coast.' pp.64-9.
'Nameless Graves.' pp.71-3.
'The Natural.' pp.81-4.
'No more sea.' p.87.
'I'll die at home.' p.94.
'The Seven-nights' watch. North-country superstition.' p.96.
'Our Village.' p.100.
'The Village Flower-show.' p.104.
'The Squire's Funeral.' pp.105-6.
'Within and Without.' p.110.
'Absorbed.' p.119.
'After the Battle. July the 3rd, 1644.' pp.125, 126.
'April 16th, 1746.' p.131.
‘The Two Threads.’ p.143.
‘In the Evening.’ p.154.
‘Hard Saying.’ p.156.
‘“If Only”.’ pp.158-9.
‘By the River.’ p.185.
‘Baffled.’ p.186.
‘Launched.’ p.194.
‘C’est la guerre. 1870.’ p.197.
‘Hush!’ p.201.
‘Over the river.’ p.223.
‘“Forgotten”.’ p.234.
‘Thirsty.’ p.236.
‘“And there came two angels at even.” — Genesis xix.’ p.237.

(1884)
‘Told in a coble.’ p.4.
‘Our Dan.’ pp.53, 55.
‘The Storm.’ p.66.
‘Told in Flanders.’ p.85.
‘Love and Faith.’ p.86.
‘The Dead Poet.’ p.105.
‘“Not false, but fickle”.’ p.110.

(1865)
‘My life.’ p.20.
‘Madge.’ p.29.
‘My Comforters.’ p.53.
‘A Lullabye.’ p.56.
‘War.’ p.87.
‘Time and the Hour.’ p.111.
‘The Dead Dream.’ pp.113, 114, 115.
‘The Tichbourne Doe.’ p.142.
‘Alma.’ p.152.
‘“Our soldiers found written on the walls of the English prison at Cawnpore, ‘Remember us! Avenge us!’”’ pp.163, 164.
‘April in Clifton.’ p.186.
‘Georgie.’ pp.202, 204.
‘The Banners at Redcliff.’ pp.220, 221.
‘Home.’ pp.251, 252.
‘Gazing Seaward.’ p.255.
Victor Gustave PLARR 1863-1929.

(1899)
'The Firstborn.' 42.
'To the Men of "Warriors' Ward." Buried in a Common Grave in the Cemetery of Greenwich Hospital.' 2, 5.
'"Ces petits fantassins".' 2.

(1896)
'Ad Cinerarium.' 16.
'i gaze into her loved eyes, and behold.' 11.
'The Night-jar.' 2.
'To one asleep.' 19.

May PROBYN 1856-1909.

(1883)
'Jane Shore.' pp.12, 23.
'Boy Butterfly.' pp.26, 28.
'The Platelayers. A True Story.' pp.42, 44.
'Mary Trent.' p.61.
'A. E. I.' pp.70-1.
'Duckie.' p.76.
'Tenebrae.' p.95.
'Adrift.' p.96.
'Changes.' p.98.

(1895)
'Ballad. "Lo, my seam is but begun".' p.2.
'Rondeau Redouble. The dream thou'rt dreaming — tell it very low.' p.52.

(1881)
'Sonnet. The Future or the Past — which fear we most?' p.26.
'City Chimes.' pp.75, 78.

Dollie RADFORD 1858-1920.

(1891)
'In the Woods.' p.47.

(1895)
'How the unknown poets die.' pp.43-7.
'New Year Card. 1892.' p.76.

Ernest RADFORD fl. 1880-1920.

(1906)
'The Sea-spell.' 6.
'A Pen Sketch.' 12.

(1895)
'Idyll of the British Museum.' 8.
'Twice Dead.' 5.
'For an Urn.'
'Let Rest.' 6.

(1918)
'Faith.' 5.
'Ichabod.' 14.
'Soliloquy. (To R. B.)' 16, 25.

Sir Walter Alexander RALEIGH 1861-1922.

(1923)
'How far is it to London? Well, my friend.' 7.
'The Battle Hymn of Kensit's Men.' 35.

Hardwick Drummond RAWNSLEY 1850-1920.

((1892))
'A Ballad of Cumberland, 1319.' 110.

(1896)
'Captain Baird. In Memoriam.' 15.
'Loss of H. M. S. Victoria off Tripoli, June 22nd, 1893.' 16, 127.
'A Ballad of Port Blair.' 42.
'Well done, 'Calliope'! 16th March 1889.' 60, 105.
'A Cumberland Miner's Story.' 24, 42, 89.
'The Wreck of the “Ocean Queen.” To the heroes of Colwyn Bay — Nov. 7, 1890.' 35.
'Dodd the Hero of Audley Mine.' 61-2.
'The Brothers A Ballad of Schleswig-Holstein.' 52.
'The Heroes of Rhondda Vale.' 16.
'Brave Plate-laying.' headnote, 21.
'In Honour of E. A. Hatton, Seaman of the "Dunbar Castle".' 2.
'The Aider's Master.' 19.

(1900)
'The Trooper who carried the Colonel in.' 49.
'At the Grave of Major Scott Turner.' 13.
'At the Burial of General Wauchope.' 7, endnote.
'The Sailing of the "Maine".' 2.
'To Lord Roberts on his departure from England as Commander-in-chief in South Africa.' 14.
'A Graveside Memory at Colesberg.' 18, 28, endnote.
'The City Imperial Volunteers at St. Paul's.' 7.
'Pat O'Leary's Grave.' 10, endnote.
'Saturday Night and Sunday Morn. A Contrast, February 24-25.' 32.
'In the Burial-Ground at Lady-smith.' 7.

(1877a)
'Mother Pugsley's Field, Nine-Tree Hill.' 5n.
'Chatterton.'
'St. James' Churchyard.' 2n, 7n.
'Clifton Hill. Clifton Parish Church.' 5.
'Good Friday in Bristol.' 10.
'Harvest Thanksgiving at St. Barnabas.' 5.
'Richard Savage; or, in front of St. Peter's Hospital. Burial Register, A. D. 1743, Richard Savage, the Poet.' 7n.
'Arno's Vale Cemetery.'
'The Monument at Duchess' Woods, on the Anniversary of Lady Elizabeth's Death.'
'The Churchyard Gate, at Abbot's Leigh.'
'In Memoriam John Chiddidy.'
'The Nightingale in Nightingale Valley.' 5.
'Rumour of War, June, 1876. Kingsweston.' 5.
'Old Clevedon Churchyard, with Steep and Flat Holmes in the Distance.'
'Gobin Combe.' 13.
'Old Age coming on; or, at Tintern Abbey.' 2 and n.

(1915)
'A Trumpet Call.' 4-7.
'To the Heroes of Mons August 23rd.' 7, 35.
'The Battle of the Bight August 28th.' 21.
'The Sorrow of the Northern Sea September 22nd.' 12.
'To the Men of H. M. S. "Hawke" October 17th.' 1.
'In Memoriam Major M. P. Buckle, D. S. O. October 27th.' 5.
'Loss of H. M. S. "Bulwark" Sheerness, November 26th.' 11.
'At a Soldier's Grave.'
'To a City Bereaved.' 4.
'War and Love.' 7.
'To America.' 5.
'Honour to the Dead.' 13.
'A Lover's Lament.' 20.
'In Memoriam 2nd Lieutenant G. B. F. Monk, Royal Warwicks Near La Bassée, December 18th.' 27, endnote.
'Easter Day 1915.' 9.
'At Wordsworth's Grave.' 6.

(1894)
'A Return to Egypt.' 7.
'The First Call to Prayer (in the Citadel Courtyard, Cairo, at Sunset).' 9.
'Aisha's Tears (outside the city walls).' 19, 49, endnote.
'Deserted by the Caravan.' 12, 18, 33.
'Mena House.' 32.
'The Pyramid of Men-kau-ra.' 14, 46, endnote.
'Morning mist on the Great Pyramid.' 36.
'The Dream of Thothmes IV.' 6n.
'Before the Statue of Chephren (Gîzeh Museum).’ 12.
'Siste viator, ora pro nobis!' 37, endnote.
'In the Fields of Mit-rahîneh.' 6.
'Lifting the colossal statue of Rameses II (near Mit-rahîneh).’ 12, endnote.
'At the tomb of Thi (Sakkara).’ 107.
'At Joseph's Tomb (Sakkara).’ 3, 9, 21.
'Ahmed the carpenter.' 1.
'At the tomb of Ameni Amenemhât (Beni Hasan).’ endnote.
'The Dream-city of Khuenâten (at Tel El-Amarna).’ 19, 24.
'At Abydos.' endnote.
'In a King's Tomb (Biban el Mûluk).’ 4, 12n, 14n.
'Quails and the vocal Memnon (Thebes).’ 5n.
'At Philae (A Prophecy).’ 43n.

(1877b)
'The Miners' Rescue.' 61-2, 158, 248.

(1909)
'The Keswick Old Folks' Dinner.' 11.
'At Ruskin's Grave On His Birthday, 8th February, 1900.' 7.

(1890)
'A Welcome to Stanley.'
'Sister Rose Gertrude.' 23.
'The Ballad of the "Cleopatra".' 109, 135, endnote.
'Father Damien.' 15, 75.
'The Village Carpenter.' 51.
'Daniel Periton. A Ballad of the Conemaugh Flood.' 23.
'Life Beyond Death.'
'A Gallant Quarryman.' 2.

(1906)
'The Choir Invisible.' 7.
'Cecil Rhodes.' 5.
'The Crowning of the King August 9th, 1902.' 3.
'St. George's Day, 1904.' 7.
'At Bishop Bardsley's Grave.' 5.

(1882)
'The Anniversary of Charles Tennyson Turner's Death, 25th April.' 8.
'From Fox How.' 11.
'Blelham Tarn.' 1.
'Death the Befriender. A Ballad of the People's Palace.' 13, 74.
'Brathay Churchyard.' 6.
'The Miser's Funeral.' 9.
'Wordsworth's Tomb.'
'The Churchyard.'
'War notes in Rydal Vale.' 14.
'Easter Eve.' 8-11.
'Hawkshead Church.' 10.
'The Grave of "Old Rose".'
'The Crusader's Tomb, Furness Abbey.'
'The Runic Cross in Gosforth Churchyard.'
'At The Church Gate, Oberhofen.' 4.

(1899)
'At Arth-Goldau.' 13.
'In Thun Churchyard at Service-Time.' 9.
'Going to Nettleship's Grave From Argentière to Chamounix, by Night.' 7.
'To R. L. Nettleship in Chamounix Churchyard.'

(1887)
'Dedicatorily to my Mother.' 8.
'Cornwall.' 6.
'Old Clevedon Churchyard.'
'At Tintern Abbey.' 2.
'The Tower on the Hoad, Ulverston.' 8.
'The Druid Stone near Milbeck, Seascale.' 1.
'The Preacher's Seaside Lesson.' 10.
'The Old Wreck at Seascale.' 3.
'Tomb of Thomas de Cottingham, Obit 1300. Saint Bees.'
'The Forester's Tomb, Saint Bees.' 1.
'On the Links, Saint Andrews.' 8, 14.
'A Nameless Grave at Marske.' 14.
'Beneath Huntcliff.' 14.
'The Saltburn Viaduct.' 3.
'At Skelton Old Church.' 2.
'Hinderwell.' 14.
'The Bell Buoy at the Harbour Mouth, Whitby.' 2.
'The Jet Worker.' 4.
'Drowned by the upsetting of the Life-boat, October 6, 1841. A Hero's Grave in Whitby Churchyard.' 4.
'Lilla Cross.' 2.
'The Wanderer's Tomb on the Filey Heights.' 8.
'Sea Sympathy.' 8.

(1893)
'Tennyson. Obit, Aldworth, October 6th, 1892.'
'Clevedon.'
'"I have Opened the Book." At Aldworth, October 5th, 1892.'
'The Poet’s Death-Chamber.'
'The Laureate Dead.'
'Tennyson’s Home-Going.'
'Leaving Aldworth.'
'The Two Poets.'
'Christmas without the Laureate.'
'To the Memory of Lady Jane Franklin.’
'Father Damien.'
'At Livingstone’s Funeral.' 8, endnote.
'At Hughenden.' 13.
'Lord Carnarvon.' 4.
'At Keble’s Grave. 1792-1866.' headnote.
'John Richard Green. 1837-1883.' headnote.
'Dean Stanley. Buried in Westminster Abbey, July 17th, 1881.’
'At Bishop Goodwin’s Grave. The Day after the Funeral. November 29th, 1892.’
'Dante Gabriel Rossetti.' endnote.
'Matthew Arnold.' 14.
'Robert Browning. Browning is dead at Venice! dark and slow.'
'Robert Browning. From Rivo Alto’s silent palace hall.'
'A Cry from Florence.’ 14.
'The Centenary of Mozart.’
'Auguste Guyard.’ 13.
'The Poet’s “Lilian.” In Memory of S. E. at Shawell.’
'Last of the Dorothys that Rydal knew.' endnote.
'Good-bye, Old Friend, Good-bye!’ 10, endnote.
'Robert Graves, the Village Weaver.’
'J. D. Sedding.’ 14.
'In Brathay Churchyard.’ 1, 12.
'Hymn Sung at the Grave of A. F., Brathay Churchyard, February 26th, 1884.’

James RHODES 1841-1923.

(1913)
'The City of the Five Gates.’ 228.

(1904)
'Concerning Brother Humble and Brother Peaceable.’ 23.

(1907)
'Out of the Silence.’ 229.

(1870)
'A Farewell.’ 6.
'L’ Envoi.’ 3.

(1893)
'An Easter Carol.’ 13, 26, 39.
'In Memoriam Frederick III., German Emperor. 1888.’ 12.
'C. G. Gordon.’ 2.
'E. H.’
'B. S. D.’
'After the Funeral.’ 3.
'A Legend of St. Peter.’ 30.
'Time.’ 3.

(1875)
'Timoleon: A Dramatic Poem.’ Act I.i.269; Act II.i.216, 355.

(1915)
'Coronation Ode.’ 38.
'Privates of the Line.’ 8.
'By the Graves of the Veldt.’
James Logie ROBERTSON [Hugh Haliburton] 1846-1922.

(1900)
'Hughie Refuses to Emigrate.' 30.
'Hughie at the Smiddy — A Dramatic Idyll.' Part II: 81.
'The Mountain Maid.' 46.

(1889)
'Sunday.' 19.
'Echoes.' 15.

(1891)
'To William Dunbar.' 30.
'The Boast of Man.' 12.
'Trying the Yacht. A Poem in Sonnets.' 102.
'A Sister's Requiem.' 28.

(1881)
'Orellana A Poem.' Book I: 554.
'Parting and Meeting.' 15.
'A great man dies, or whom the world calls great.' 10.

(1882)
'Nil nisi mendacia!' 14.
'Song of the Blades of Grass.' 41.
'In the Churchyard at Christiana.' 14.
'An Evening Hour in Orwell Acre.' 1, 61, 69.

(1917)
'Petition to the Dell.' 65.
'The Doom of Prussia.' 7.
'Memorial Sonnet to Willie.' headnote.

(1878)
'In Imitation of "The 'Name Unknown," By Campbell — After Klopstock.' 13.
'Death.' 13.
'In the Shadows.' 42.
'Michael Bruce: A Poem in Sonnets.' 64, 78.
'On the Decadence of the Scots language, Manners, and Customs.' 293.

Agnes Mary Frances ROBINSON [after Darmesteter, after Duclaux] 1857-1944.

(1902)
'Streulings.' p.12.
'Pallor.' p.13.
'What good is there, Ah me, what good in Love?' p.14.
'O Love, O Love, come over the sea, come there.' p.15.
'When I am dead and I am quite forgot.' p.16.
'Ah, Love, I cannot die, I cannot go.' p.18.
'Elysium.' p.24.
'Thanksgiving for Flowers.' p.79.
'The Dead Friend.' pp.104-5.
'Writing History.' p.121.
'Foreward to Songs of the Inner Life: Ideas and Images. (To J. D.)' p.131.
'Beauty.' p.138.
'The Valley.' p.142.
'Etruscan Tombs.' pp.147-9.
'Under the Trees.' p.156.
'Zeno.' p.179.
'A Jonquil in the Pisan Campo Santo.' p.181.
'The Gospel according to St. Peter.' p.187.
'Helen in the Wood.' pp.195-6.
'Loss.' p.200.
'The Garden of Sinope.' pp.206, 209, 211.
'The Widow of Haiderabad.' p.229.
'The Brothers.' pp.252, 253.
'The Dead Mother.' p.301.

James Rennell RODD [1st Baron Rennell] 1858-1941.

(1901)
'Pumwani.' 38.
'Thobal.' 4.
'Tennyson.' 8.
'Abou Hamed.' 12, 24, 35, 44.

(1886a)
'Feda: A Story.' I: 30; IV: 695; V: 743, 760, 792; VIII: 1199, 1202; XII: 1543.
'Albano.' 27, 31.
'Prague.' 45, 84.
'Richard Wagner.' 16, 31.
'Victor Hugo.' 70, 76.
'At Worst.' 70.
'Credo.' 23, 41, 85.
'The Hermit's Tale.' 173.
'Petrarch: A Monologue.' 37, 47.

(1880)
'Raleigh.' 8 and n, 146, 252, 268.

(1886b)
' "Ah! Wild Swans!" ' 14.
'From the Roadside.' 3.
'In Nôtre Dame de -----.' 80-3.
'The Song of the Dead Child.' 5, 10.
'St. Catharine of Egypt.' 62, 66.
'A Last Word.' 3.
'The Lonely Bay.' 37.
'St. Catharine of Egypt.' 42ff.

(1906)
'From the Hill of Gardens.' 16.
'The Sea-King's Grave.' 3, 8, 67.
' "Une heure viendra qui tout paiera".' 1.
'Actea.' 12.
'After Heine.' 4.
'At Tiber Mouth.' 11.

(1888)
'Dante's Grave.' 2, 14, 43, 65.
'The Wanderer's Song.' 2.
'Christmas Eve. A German Study.' 20, 24.
'To Florence. For the unveiling of the new Façade, May, 1887.' 30.
'In Excelsis.' 40.
'Misolonghi.' 53.
'Thermopylae.' 20.
'The Passing of Alaric.' 52.
'Tanagra.' 18.
'Spring in the Campagna.' 16.
'Ninfa.' 60.
'Frank Rhodes: A Memory.' 95.
'Zalongos the last fight of Suli.' 118.

(1940)
'Fresh Woods and Pastures New.' 58.


(1897)
'Deirdre.' Part III: 31, 45-6.

(1909)
'The Grave of Rury.' 9-10, 24, endnote.
'Ballade of the “Cheshire Cheese” in Fleet Street.' 22n.


(1926)
'The Memory of Earth.' 19.
'On behalf of some Irishmen not followers of tradition.' 10.
'On the Waters.' 41.
'Apocalyptic.' 17.
'Resurrection.' 4.

(1934)
'Comfort.' 5-6.

Alice SARGANT 1858-19?

(1898)
'Donald Campbell.' p.18.
'Anne Lisbeth.' p.23.
'Maggie Ross.' p.25.
'Lady Helen.' p.27.
'The Fords o’ Callum.' pp.29-30.
'Jessie o’ Ardrossan.' p.31.
'Grizel Cochrane’s Ride.' p.35.
'The Weird o’ Earl Ronald.' p.42.


(1884a)
'Sospitra.' 328, 507.
'Gaspara Stampa.' II: 274-6; IV: 453.
'Christ before the scourging. (Siena)’ 10.
'The Shadowed Souls.' 14.
'Sleeppy Hollow. (In Memoriam: Ralph Waldo Emerson)’ headnote, 32.
'In the Old Protestant Cemetery at Florence. (Easter, 1883)’ 37-8.
'A Record. (A Fragment.)’ 53, 195.
'The Circle of Ulloa.’ 5.
'In the Antarctic: At daybreak, before a storm.’ 24.
(1884b)
‘Euphrenia Or The Test of Love A Poem.’ Canto 1: 403, 512; Canto 2: 958, 1193.
‘Birchington Revisited. (D. G. R.)’

([1897])
‘In the Shadow.’ 16.
‘The Moon-Song of Cathal.’ 5.
‘War-Chant of the Islesmen.’ 3.

(1882)
‘The swollen river.’ 8.
‘The Tides of Venice.’ 41.
‘Possibilities.’ 2.
‘Dream Land.’ 11, 19.

(1910)
‘The Rune of the Four Winds.’ 28.
‘The Rune of Age.’ 10.
‘The Prayer of Woman.’ 7.
‘The Rune of the Passion of Woman.’ 20.
‘Deirdrê is Dead ...’ 14.
‘The Last Night of Artân the Culdee.’ 6.
‘The Valley of White Poppies.’ 3.
‘Remembrance.’ 3.
‘In the Night.’ 13.
‘On a redbreast singing at the grave of Plato (in the Grove of Academe).’
‘The Last Fay.’ 7.
‘When there is peace.’ 4.

(1889)
‘The Son of Allan.’ 65.
‘Mad Madge O’Cree.’ 55.

(1909)
‘Robert Browning.’ 106.
‘Dionysis in India (Opening Fragment of a Lyrical Drama).’ 38.
‘Aftermath.’ 7.
‘Spanish Roses.’ 30.

(1891)
‘A Dream at Ardea. (Maremma)’ 87.
‘The Fallen Goddess (On a Statue of Venus, found near Anzio (Antium) on the Latin Coast, and
now in a Church as the Madonna of the Seven Sorrows).’ 218.

Dora SIGERSON [Mrs. Clement Shorter] 1866-1918.

(1899)
‘ “Tie me within thee blind!” ’ 104, 108.

(1907)
‘The Dean of Santiago.’ 91.
‘The Fetch.’ 52, 61, 95, 102.
The Fairy Thorn-tree.' 28-30, 34, 93-5, 120.
'The Dead Wife.' 17, 27, 57.
'The Deer-stone A Legend of Glendalough.' 149-50.
'The Kine of my Father.' 9, 20.
'The Leper's Betrothed.' 20.
'Last Eve.' 20.
'Eclipse.' 6, 12, 18.
'A Cry in the World.' 32.
'A Fairy Prince.' 16.
'The Beggar-Man.' 5.
'Vale.' 8.
'Cupid Slain.' 1.
'An Imperfect Revolution.' 11, 22.
'What will you give?' 24.
'The Suicide's Grave.' 50, 56, 65.
'An Eastern God.' 14.
'Nature's Way.' 12.
'In Any Garden.' 20, 31.

(1916)
'Patriotism.' 10.
'Dark is the tomb.' 1, 15.
'The Bard of Brefney.' 27.

(1913)
'The Sister.' 15.
'The Wanderers.' 19.

(1921)
'The Good Lord Gave.' 4, 36-7.
'The Six Sorrows.' 82.
'Haunted.' 24.

(1918)
'The Human touch.' 36.
'If you should pass.' 1.
'Loves me? loves me not?' 18-9, 27.
'The Comforters.' 9.

(1919)
'The Choice.' 20.
'The Prisoner.' 19.
'The Hill-side Men.' 19.

(1910)
'The Troubadour.' 208.
'The Calling Motherland.' 54, 58.
'The Star [In Memory of Patrick Pearse].'
'The Pauper.' 59, 79.

(1893)
'Daisies.' 20.
'Weary.' 1, 9.
'Gray Eyes.' 3.

George SIGERSON 1839-1925.

(1927)
'The Bonnie Brig O' Malezan.' 4.
'In the City.' 32.
'The Exile's Return.' 65.
'The Silent Abbey.' 1, 6, 20.
George Augustus SIMCOX 1841-1905.

(1869)
‘Metteilill.’ 86.
‘Forget-me-nots.’ 17.
‘Castle Joyousguard.’ 67.
‘At Hennacliff.’ 49.
‘Amabel.’ 491.
‘Si descendero in Infernum Ades.’ 165, 188.
‘To Aristocrats.’ 14.
‘Et ego in arcadia ful.’ 35.

(1867)
‘Prometheus Unbound.’ 643.

George R. SIMS 1847-1922.

(1903)
‘In a Cellar in Soho.’ pp.26, 27, 28, 30.
‘In the Shipka Pass.’ p.45.
‘Billy’s Rose.’ p.46.
‘During her Majesty’s Pleasure.’ p.60.
‘The Last Letter.’ pp.74, 76.
‘Polly.’ p.80.
‘A Fellow Feeling.’ p.100.
‘Fallen by the Way.’ pp.136, 139.
‘Sir Rupert’s Wife.’ p.166.
‘Forgotten.’ p.223.
‘A Bunch of Primroses.’ p.249.
‘In the Harbour.’ pp.295, 296, 301, 302.

(1888)

Joseph SKIPSEY 1832-1903.

(1892)
‘The Seen and the Unseen.’ 7.
‘The Question.’ 19.
‘Balo.’ 16.

Douglas Brooke Wheelton SLADEN 1856-1933.

(1883)
‘Gone Home.’ 74.
‘Fallen Asleep. (To Some Orphans)’ 24.

(1888)
‘Written for the Tercentenary of the Spanish Armada.’ 111, 154.
Robert Louis STEVENSON 1850-1894.

(1882)
‘Waterloo.’ 96.
‘Frithjof and Ingebjorg.’ 610.
‘Sappho. (A Dream)’ 66, 384.
‘Ravenna.’ 25, 42, 103.
‘The Sting of Death.’ 2, 8.
‘The Last of the Britons, or the Legend of Dunmail Raise.’ 98, 121, 166, 185, 200, 265.
‘The Last of the Vikings.’ 144, 283.
‘The Sculptor. (Written when a child)’ 40, 43, 51.
‘Epilogue.’ 44.

(1885a)
‘Cornwall.’ 10.
‘To a young Australian Lady E. M. S.’ 2.
‘Rialobran, the Son of Cunoval.’ 14.
‘At Plymouth.’ 12.
‘At Windsor, New South Wales, in Winter.’ 15.
‘Ballad of a Graveyard.’ 1, 9, 17.
‘Themistocles to the peace party at Athens, before Salamis.’ 2.
‘Bob. [Written on an Infant's grave in the Torquay Cemetery]’
‘Cathedrals.’ 22.
‘Exeter Cathedral.’ 11.
‘Oxford, the Grand Undoer.’ 32.

(1890)
‘Lester the Loyalist.’ 17.

(1885b)
‘A Poetry of Exiles.’ 4, 10.

(1884)

Elinor SWEETMAN.

(1893)
'Sonnet. Hic Jacet.' p.15.
'Sonnet. Two Winds.' p.20.
'Sir Bion.' pp.23, 25-6.
'Dethroned.' p.30.
'My Knight, my Dream, my Apple-Tree.' pp.32-3.
'Beside the Sea.' p.36.
'Song. My love and I went maying when the bloom was on the thorn.' p.42.
'New Year Bells.' pp.44-5.
'The Silent Knight.' pp.54-7, 68, 70, 82, 98.

Algernon Charles SWINBURNE 1837-1909.

(1925-27)
'Queen Yseult.' Canto 2: 254; Canto 6: 34.
'Ballad. It was when cocks began to crow.' 44.
'The Queen's Tragedy.' 162, 235.
'A Lay of Lilies.' 63.
'Dies Irae.' 9.
'Ode to Mazzini.' 188, 281, 305, 328.
'The Ride from Milan.' 24.
'Lord Soulis.' 122.
'In the Twilight.' 74.
'The Centenary of Shelley.' 12.
'Recollections to William Bell.' 36-8.
'Memorial Ode on the Death of Leconte de Lisle.' 1, 38, 41.
'Sonnet. Ah, face and hands and body beautiful.' 9.

(1905)
'Laus Veneris.' 184, 255.
'The Triumph of Time.' 87, 213-14, 218, 220, 270-1.
'Anactoria.' 157.
'Ilicet.' 34, 98, 141.
'A Lamentation. Who hath known the ways of time.' 87.
'To Victor Hugo.' 95.
'Dolores (Notre-Dame des Sept Douleurs).' 434.
'At Eleusis.' 215.
'The Masque of Queen Bersabe A Miracle-Play.' 283.
'The Two Dreams.' 425, 441.
'The King's Daughter.' 53.
'After Death.' 4, 8-10.
'The Year of Love.' 19.
'Dedication 1865.' 93.
'Dedication to Joseph Mazzini.' 16.
'Prelude. Between the green bud and the red.' 60.
'A Watch in the Night.' 15, 28, 95.
'Super Flumina Babylonis.' 73, 78-80.
'The Halt before Rome.' 159, 270.
'Mentana: First Anniversary.' 38, 42, 54, 60.
'Blessed among woman. To the Signora Cairoli.' 148.
'The Litany of Nations.' 60.
'Before a Crucifix.' 65, 73, 79.
'Tenebrae.' 33, 91.
'Hymn of Man (During the Session in Rome of the Œcumenical Council).' 58, 83, 180.
'The Pilgrims.' 60.
'Quia multum amavit.' 84.
'Christmas Antiphones.' 81.
'Mater triumphalis.' 111.
'A Marching song.' 66, 70.
'Cor Cordium.' 6.
'Tiresias.' Part I: 136, 139, 198; Part II: 6, 43, 55, 88, 109.
'On the Downs.' 3, 96.
'An Appeal.' 67, 84.
'Perinde ac Cadaver.' 98.
'Epilogue. Between the wave-ridge and the strand.' 220.
'A Song of Italy.' 159, 186-8, 226, 262, 460, 468, 527, 676, 825.
'Ode on the Proclamation of the French Republic September 4th, 1870.' 38, 96, 104, 270-2.
'Intercession.' 3.
'Mentana: Second Anniversary.' 6.
'The Last Oracle (A. D. 361).\" 20.
'A Forsaken Garden.' 7, 54, 67.
'Relics.' 41.
'Ave Atque Vale In Memory of Charles Baudelaire.' 17, 210, 193.
'Memorial Verses on the Death of Théophile Gautier.' 55, 180.
'Epicoed. Life may give for love to death.' 34.
'Ex-Voto.' 14, 113.
'Choriambics.' 4.
'Winter in Northumberland.' 209.
'The Commonwealth.' 120.
'In Memory of John William Inchbold.' 83.
'A Lyke-wake Song.' 10.
'A Jacobite's Exile 1746.' 84.
'Thulassius.' 91, 162.
'On the Cliffs.' 165, 223.
'Birthday Ode for the Anniversary Festival of Victor Hugo, February 26, 1880.' 26, 62, 300.
'Tristram of Lyonesse.' 45, 761, 1045, 1551, 1556, 1561, 1606, 1710, 1856, 2021, 3002, 3202, 3668, 3943, 4434, 4438, 4445-7, 4468, 4475.
'The Weary Wedding.' 153.
'The Tale of Balen.' I: 94; III: 331, 335; IV: 729; V: 1086; VI: 1331; VII: 2202-4, 2227, 2266.
'Atalanta in Calydon A Tragedy.' 1642, 2142.
'Erechtheus A Tragedy.' 261, 354, 389, 520-22, 1048, 1244, 1373.
'Song for the Centenary of Walter Savage Landor Born January 30th, 1775 Died September 17th, 1864.' 145, 248, 434-7.
'Evening on the Broads.' 22, 64.
'By the North Sea.' 78, 93, 106-9, 133, 192, 263, 324, 455-7, 466, 471, 475.
'Tristan und Isolde.' 8.
'A Baby's Death.' 68.
'On an Old Roundel Translated by D. G. Rossetti from the French of Villon.' 6.
'aperotov evoV.' 1.
'Athenos: An Ode.' 4, 202, 225.
'After Sunset.' 1, 12.
'Lines on the Death of Edward John Trelawny.' 30, 36.
'Seven years old.' 12.
'What is death?' 3.
'John Ford.' 6.
'John Webster.' 12.
'The Many I.' 9.
'Sunrise.' 3.
'Recollections.' III: 30.
'Last words of a seventh-rate poet.' 169, 187.
'Nephelidiam.' 20.
'The Cliffside Path.' 2.
'A New-Year Ode.' 52, 72, 211-13.
'A Ballad of Sark.' 14, 24.
'A Ballad of Appeal.' 29.
'Pelagius.' 37.
'The stainless soul that smiled through glorious eyes.' 10.
'On the Bicentenary of Corneille celebrated under the presidency of Victor Hugo.' 9.
'In Sepulcretis.' 7-9, 45-6, 56.
'On the Death of Richard Doyle.' 10.
'A Word for the Country.' 84.
'A Word for the Nation.' 10, 30.
'Astrophel after reading Sir Philip Sidney's Arcadia in the Garden of an old English manor house.' 99.

'Sunset and Moonrise.' 1, 7.

'The Ballad of Melicertes In Memory of Théodore de Banville.' 21.


'The Ballad of Dead Men's Bay.' 55, 98.

'The Altar of Righteousness.' 94, 244.

'The Twilight of the Lords.' 1.

'A Reminiscence.' 2.

'A Word for the Navy.' 48, 78.

'Burns: An Ode.' 40.

'The Question.' 75-6.

'An Evening at Vichy Written on the news of the death of Lord Leighton.' 13.

'At a Dog's Grave.' 25.

'Prologue to Doctor Faustus.' 47.

'Prologue to the Broken Heart.' 34.

'The Afterglow of Shakespeare.' 55.

'Carmen SYLVA' [Elizabeth, Queen of Romania].

(1904)
'To the Memory of Queen Victoria.' p.2.

'In the Rushing Wind.' p.17.

'The Gnat.' p.25.

'In the Dark.' p.42.

'Roused.' p.62.

'When joy is dead.' pp.68-70.

Laurence Alma TADEMA 1865-1940.

(1897)
'The Unbeloved.' p.4.

'Misprision.' p.13.

'In the Wood.' p.59.

'Cor Cordium. [August 4, 1892]' p.69.

'Ignorance.' p.73.

Rose Haig THOMAS.

(1897)
'Nature.' p.3.

'An Autumn Rose.' p.66.

'Lost.' p.72.

'Life.' p.80.

(1902)

'An Extravaganza.' p.39.

'A Meteorite.' p.44.

'The Bay of Gascony.' pp.65, 67.
Francis THOMPSON 1859-1907.

(1917)
'TFragment of an Ode to Coventry Patmore.' 8.
'Written at the time of the Spanish-American War.' 7.

(1913)
'Part the Second. And now, thou elder nursling of the nest.' 658, 756.
'Proemion.' 39, 62, 71.
'To the Dead Cardinal of Westminster (Henry Edward Manning: Died January 1892).' 70.
'A Corymbus for Autumn.' 101.
'An Echo of Victor Hugo.' 16.
'Messages.' 5.
'Past thinking of Solomon.' 8.
'The House of Sorrows.' 50.
'Orient Ode.' 8.
'From the night of forebeing an ode after Easter.' 81.
'Assumpta Maria.' 70.
'Ad Castitatem.' 61.
'An Anthem of Earth.' 63, 374, 401.
'The Nineteenth Century.' 40, 102.
'Cecil Rhodes. Died March 26, 1902.' 71, 87.
'To a Child.' 13.
'Non pax-expectatio.' 7.
'To the Sinking Sun.' 12.
'To Monica: after nine years.' 42.

(1928)
'Dirge of Douglas.' 33.


(1895)
'To Joseph and Alice Barnes.' 67.
'Vane's Story.' 204, 588, 786, 800, 87-59, 1049, 1070, 1207, 1246.
'Weddah and Om-El-Bonain.' Part I: 112, 151, 163, 205-7; Part II: 69, 119, 130, 192; Part III: 37, 86, 171; Part IV: 176, 211, 216, 219, 252.
'Two Lovers.' 57, 101.
'To our Ladies of Death.' 104, 152, 175.
'To H. A. B. on my forty-seventh birthday.' 5.
'Sunday at Hampstead. (An Idle Idyll by a very humble member of the great and noble London mob)' 80.
'The Naked Goddess.' 99.
'Philosophy.' 45.
'L'Ancien Régime, or, the Good Old Rule.' 83, 89.
'E. B. B.' 7, 24.
'Polycrates on Waterloo Bridge.' 32.
'Night.' 12.
'Virtue and Vice.' 10.
'Prologue to the Pilgrimage to Saint Nicotine of the Holy Herb.' 15, 45, 67.
'Supplement to the Inferno I — Relating to the Apotheosis of a Noble Universal Genius.' 115n.
'A Voice from the Nile.' 161.
'Insomnia.' 36, 212, 271.
'The Poet and his Muse (February 1882).' 54, 63, 84, 103, 140.
'A Stranger.' 19, 44.
'Despotism tempered by Dynamite.' 29.
‘Shelley.’ 208, 269.
‘The Dead Year (1860).’ 35, 43, 75, 193, 233, 260, 318, 336.
‘The Deliverer.’ 11, 92.
‘Tasso to Leonora from his Dungeon; in Misery and Distraction.’ 129.
‘An Old Dream.’ 9, 60, 106.
‘Mater Tenebrarum.’ 23, 27.
‘Arch Archery.’ 16.
‘A Requiem.’ 6, 12, 18.

John TODHUNTER 1839-1916.

(1879)
‘Alcestis: A Dramatic Poem.’ Act II.i.166, 225, 231; Act III.i.16, 81, 107, ii.15, iii.52.

(1888)
‘The Banshee.’ 19.
‘The Doom of the Children of Lir.’ Duam 7: 64-6, 71, 79, 84.
‘The Coffin-ship.’ 38.
‘The Lamentation for the Three Sons of Turann which Turann, their Father, made over their Grave.’ 3, 223, 228.
‘The Lament of Aideen for Oscar.’ headnote, 17.
‘Eileen’s Farewell.’ 11.
‘Havelock the Gull.’ Part 2: 49.
‘To Hope.’ 12.

(1881)
‘Folksong at Sunset.’ 14.
‘Forest Mystery.’ 36.
‘A Dream of Judgment.’ 11.
‘Song. Chill November’s sullen breath.’ 12.

(1918)
‘A Fenian’s Return.’ 51.
‘Voices.’ 20.
‘Fairy Gold (A ballad of Forty-eight).’ 20.
‘Memories.’ 40.
‘The Death of Conlaoch.’ 331.

(1876)
‘May Sunshine.’ 143.
‘Chorale.’ 2, 18.
‘A Song of Remorse.’ 18.
‘A Song of Secrets.’ II: 144-5.
‘A Moonlight Sonata.’ 133.

(1905)
‘Dvorák’s “Dumky” Trio.’ 41.
(1896)
'The Doom of the Children of Lir.' Duan 5: 46; Duan 7: 64-6, 71, 79, 84.
'The Fate of the Sons of Usna.' Duan 1: 61n, 154, 197; Duan 4: 257; Duan 7: 353; Duan 8: 127, 107-8, 270, 286, 359, 363; Duan 9: 28, 50, 103-4, 108.

Henry Duff TRAILL 1842-1900.

(1882)
'The Fun of it.' 23.
'Ave Cæsar! Mortui te Salutant.' 6.
'The Age of Despair.' 19, 35.
'The Ants' Nest.' 242.

(1890)
'Fancy in Nubibus.' 31.
'The Arbitration on the Baltic.' 68.

Frederic Herbert TRENCH 1865-1923.

(1924)
'Deirdre Wedded.' headnote, 329, 337, 350, 408, 541.
'The Queen of Gothland.' 48.
'Apollo and the Seaman.' 483.
'Night under Monte Rosa. Ode from Italy in time of War.' 164.
'Song of the Larks at Dawn.' 77.
'Bitter Serenade Venice, 15--.' 29.
'Milo Lines to a certain nation, written during the Battle of Verdun.' 34.
'Battle of the Marne.' 72.
'Stanzas to Tolstoi in his Old Age.' 55.
'An Ode to Beauty.' 136.
'Fraternity Lines written at Assouan on the Nile.' 7.
'O Birds of the Air.' 9.


(1899)
'Maiden Widowhood.' p.22.
'An Epitaph. Great sorrow, great delight, his portioned lot.' p.48.
'A. H. Hallam. Died 1835 [sic].' pp.52-3.
'Glory Departed.' p.67.
'Twenty-First Birthday. Her pale hands folded across her breast.' p.68
'Twenty-First Birthday. Bitter, oh! bitter, the deadly draught.' p.69.
'Robert Browning's Death.' pp.70-74.
'Words to a Melody.' p.105.
'Alice.' pp.112-13.
'John Nicholson.' p.121.

Katharine TYNAN [Hinkson] 1861-1931.

(1891)
'To Rose in Heaven. Rose Kavanagh.' 53.
'The Charity of the Countess Kathleen.' 39.
'In White Garments.' 3.
'The Dead Mermaiden. (For a Picture) 89.
'Two in Heaven.' 18.
'The Sad Mother.' 14.
'Planting Bulbs.' 20.
(1894)
'The Resurrection: A Miracle-Play.' Scene 1: 6, 26, 60; Scene II: 11.
'The Wood-Dove.' 16.
'An Island Fisherman.' 17.
'The Widowed House (F. W., Obiit, August 9, 1893).' 4.
'Ivy of Ireland (Charles Stewart Parnell. Obiit., October 6, 1891). ' 9, 17-20.

(1922)
'The Call.' 19.

(1908a)
'Introit: An Echo.' 6.
'To the Beloved.' 14.

(1915)
'Joining the Colours (West Kents, Dublin, August 1914). ' 10.
'A Girl's Song.' 3.
'The Heroes.' 17.
'Resurrection.' 13, 19, 25.

(1918)
'A Holy Week Song, 1918.' 17.
'Recompense (For Lord Kilhacken). ' 4.
'The Promise.' 4.

(1916a)
'The Vision.' 28, 36.
'Lament. To the Immortal Tenth (Irish) Division.' 17.

(1905)
'The Dead Child.' 21-3, 30.
'The Mother.' 21.
'The Child's Grave.' 1, 15.
'The Ghost.' 21.
'The Epitaph.' 1.

(1908b)
'The Mountains.' 28, 32.
'The Philosopher.' 4.
'After Communion.' 22.

(1917)
'The Tryst. Lest that His love should nod asleep.' 9.
'The Pasch.' 19.
'Caldra. (On a Tyrone hillside)' 24.

(1909)
'The Newly Dead.' 14.
'Winter.' 10.
'A Tryst. I kept our tryst alone.' 3, 11, 15, 19.
'Endings.' 17.

(1916b)
'Easter.' 14.

(1885)
'Waiting.' 112, endnote.
'Love's Watchfulness.' 9.
'Love at Easter.' 16.
'The Flight of the Wild Geese.' 57.
'The Dreamers.' 87.

(1911)
'Good Friday.' 7.
'Alleluia!' 11.
'The Little Ghost.' 6.

(1901)
'The Faithful Lover.' 17.
'The Legend of St. Austin and the Child.' 40.

(1907)
'St. Patrick's Death.' 3.

(1887)
'A Child's Day.' 40.
'The Story of Aibhric.' 120, 175.
'The Dead Mother.' 16-18, 56.
'Birth to Burial.' 19.
'The Irish Hills.' 47.
'Cor dulce.' 42.
'A Winter Landscape.' 3.

(1927)
'A Song of February.' 22.
'Passiontide Communion.' 5.

(1898)
'Easter.' 14.
'Chanticleer.' 31-2.
'The Gardener.' 43.

Margaret VELEY 1843-1887.

(1888)
'A Marriage of Shadows.' pp.23, 28.
'A Shadow on the Dial.' pp.31, 42.
'The Unknown Land.' pp.82, 85.
'Game of Piquet.' p.91.
'First or Last?' pp.96, 97.
'Mother and Child.' p.126.
'A Closed Book.' p.132.
'One of the Multitude.' pp.142-9.

Arthur Edward WAITE 1857-1942.

(1904)
'How it falls by the Sea.' 6.
'The Work of our hands.' 20.
'Hauntings.' 12.
'Dreams of Death.' 56.
'Gabriel.' 60.
'Of Faith and Vision.' 29.
'How I also sang Mass.' 79.
'Manifestation.' 8.
'Suspirium.' 2.
'Ministries of Grace.' 44.
'Aufer a nobis.' 2.

(1894)
'Theme Sickness.' 64.
'The Pessimist.' 65.
'Vixi.' 14, 66.
'The Prison House.' 40.
'The Man who knew not sorrow.' 111.
'The Rape of the Rose.' 35.
'The Poet's Auzhanasia.' 94.
'The Light of the Amethyst.' Part I: 344; Part II: 205, 272, 312; Part III: 28, 194, 315, 352; Part IV: 288.
'The Pilgrim of Eternity' (Shelley). 26, 133, 1001, 1176, 1301.
'A Glimpse.' 7.
'The Everlasting Child.' 11.
'The Master of the Spell.' 1.
'The Holy Quest.' 64.
'Mors Ianua vitae.' 46.
'At the Looking-glass.' 45.
'An Autochthon.' 4.
'The Inquisitive Prince.' 99, 119.
'Dreamland.' 118, 153.
'The Land of Nod.' 10, 59, 164.
'The Conquerors of Heaven.' 46, 87.
'Jericho Rebuilt.' 130.
'Within a Church.' 90, 104.
'The Two Worlds.' 14.
'Bene vixit qui bene latuit.' 40.
'Bulldog and Wolf.' 38.
'Quo deinde ruis?' 38.
'Waiting.' 23.
'“Ship, ahoy!”' 46.
'The Donkey.' 15.
'A Glimpse.' 8.
'Urbs orbis.' 36.
'Knights of Knowledge.' 41.
'Scandal.' 43.
'Christmas Eve — A Legend of the Christ.' 100.
'The Cry of Labour.' 4.
'Pax Britannica.' 20.
'How I won the Victoria Cross.' 111, 263.
'Rosa Rosarum.' 107.
'The Devil's Workshop.' 44.
'Donna Juanna.' 212.
'The Triumph of Evil.' 18, 626, 671.
'Life.' 8.
'To the S. P. C. K.' 3.

(1886)
'The Cry of the Woman-child.' 156.

(1899)
'Prelude.' 31.
'Jeanne d'Arc.' 23.
'To Maude.' 42.
'The Everlasting Boy.' 16.
'Thrice-born.' 23.
'Circe.' 40.
'Roses and Rue.' 28.
'An Egyptian Boy.' 25.
'My Lost Child.' 60.
'God defend the right.'
'Invicta.' 94-7.
'The Charge of the 21st Lancers.' 12.
'Boot and Saddle. A True Incident in the Matabele Campaign.' 34.
'The Long Right Hand.' 24.
'The Flag of England.' 1.
'The Thunder Ram.' 5.
'Our Pioneers.' 18.
'Written in Red.' 48.
'To the Premier. Est Modus in Rebus.' 42.
'Russian Peace.' 47, 57-8.
'In honorem V. R. I. 20 June, 1897.' 125.
'A Modern Jubilate.' 19.
'Parents at School.' 40.
'Irony of Things.' 20, 32.
'The Skeletons' Dance.' 25, 219, 261.
'The Blue Hours.' 48.
'Breaking New Ground.' 72.
'Orpheus.' 24, 69.
'The Making of Man.' 16.
'The Children of the Chilterns.' 68.
'In a Churchyard.' 25, 45.
'A Solitary Sea.' 59.
'Man that is born of Woman.' 18, 24.
'The Last Woman.' 34, 46, 59, 75.
'Somewhere.' 8.
'Pre-existence.' 17.
'In Mohammed's Coffin.' 36.
'Mimosa Pudica (Sensitive Plant).’ 3.
'Elegy. Unhonoured thou by men but all my own.' 9.
'A Symposium of Poets.' 53.
'Beneath a sky of Gramary.' 16.
'Thanatos.' 19.
'Eternal Nothing.' 39.
'No Laurels.' 23.
'The Friend of Man.' 3.
'The Midnight Tryst.' 13, 18, 44.
'In My Grave.' 48, 64.
'Pharos.' 16.
'Hoeing.' 43.
'Secret of an Egyptian Tomb.' 11.
'“Dog's Ears”.' 222.
'Poesy.' 24.
'Is the wind blowing?' 33.
'To my Alma Mater.' 9.
'Laloo.' 35.
'The Dead March of the Living.' 89-90.
'The Battle of Life.' 20, 70.
'Hunchback and Angel Wings.' 35.
'In a Circle.' 16.
'Roaring Bill.' 48.

((1917))
'The Eternal Passion.' 29.
'The Mist of Morning.' 18.
'The Miraculous Armies.' 13, 22.
'The Old moon in the young moon's arms.' 28.
'Saint Edith (Miss Cavell).’ 12-15.
'Patience, a Red Cross nurse.' 8.

(1897)
'White Wings — A Theophany.' 41.
'The Coming of the White Soul.' 25.
'The Making of the White Soul.' 2.
'Naked Nature.' 173.
'The Architekton.' 391.
'A Dirty Night.' 36.
'The Living Dead.' 64.
'The Yellow Leaf.' 42.
'The Harvest.' 16.
'The River of Tears.' 139.
'The Dark Angel.' 8, 28.
'The Pilgrim.' 34.
'The Palace of Praise. III.' 30.
'Rehoboth.' 44.
'The Ruling Passion.' 20, 30.
'Our lost Lady of Honour.' 55.
'The Circle of Life.' 53, 105.
'Life and Death.' 27.
'The New World.' 63.
'The Spirit of the Moor.' 62.
'The Crimson Cross.' 15-16, 78, 86, 114, 152.
'The Cross. The Measure of Sin.' 34.
'"Where is he?" A Christophany.' 24, 144, 207, 219.
'Over the Red Leaves.' 30.
'Son of God — Son of Man.' 79.
'The Sky Pilot.' 67.
'The God Nurse.' 20.
'Judas Iscariot.' 64.
'Ripening.' 49.
'The Love of God.' 39.
'Spectacula mundi. IV.' 187-90.
'Baby Buttercup.' 232.
'A Good Report.' 10, 47.
'Beautiful Foe.' 41.
'Eden Flowers.' 15.
'Hell. Memory.' 8.
'The Prisoner of Eternity.' 182, 205.
'The Book of Blessing.' 53.
'The Dead God.' 18.
'Credo quia impossibile.' 100.
'"Wilt thou have this woman?"' 46.
'Sweet and Seven.' 1252, 1344, 1408.
'Yasmeena — my Indian Fate.' 20, 23.
'Deaf Dave.' 2, 14, 26, 38.
'The Corpse" (Joe)." 9, 15.
'The Shadow" (Shadrach)." 32.
'Mad Jane.' 35.
'Vindicatio vitae meæ.' 50, 190.

(1904)
'January 3 Grace and the thorn.' 24.
'January 7 A Magnificat.' 6.
'January 16 The way of the Cross.' 12.
'January 19 The Sinner's Place.' 14.
'January 30 Vicarious Suffering.' 27.
'February 5 Crucified Ones.' 18.
'February 8 Rod and Staff.' 6.
'February 12 Cross-bearers.' 14.
'February 21 Self-punished.' 11.
'February 23 Breaking bread.' 5.
'February 25 The Joy of the Cross.' 23.
'March 4 The Two Offers.' 28.
'March 7 Nulla crux, o quanta crux.' 19.
'March 11 Less than nothing.' 8.
'March 14 Nail prints.' 27.
March 23 For Christ's sake.' 24.
March 26 I did sin.' 19.
March 30 Love is dead.' 12.
April 1 The Breaker.' 10.
April 3 Thanksgiving.' 23.
April 5 Thanks-building.' 23.
April 7 Aaron's Rod.' 13.
April 23 Royal Service.' 18.
April 25 Communion of Saints.' 3.
April 28 Christ the Outcast.' 12.
May 6 Love and Death.' 8.
May 15 A Dead God.' 3.
May 20 The Solitude of God.' 12.
May 24 God's Strange Work.' 24.
June 5 Thou art the man.' 16.
June 12 The Knowledge that is power.' 6.
June 19 Sin and its Sentence.' 12.
June 21 Almsgiving.' 10.
June 24 At the End.' 19.
July 1 Testimony of Nature.' 5.
July 6 Love and Doubt.' 7, 16.
July 15 Obedient to Death.' 14.
July 17 Narrow Places.' 28-30.
July 20 For me.' 3.
July 23 All for Christ.' 19.
July 28 Through a Glass darkly.' 24.
August 1 I prayed.' 14.
August 2 The Cross of patience.' 13.
August 6 Receiving Christ.' 22.
August 10 Christ the Seeker.' 25.
August 18 Sin.' 21.
August 23 Gospel of the Worm.' 17.
August 28 The winepress.' 13.
August 30 All Grace.' 25.
September 22 The Over Plan.' 18.
September 24 Est Deus in rebus.' 25.
September 26 Deep unto deep.' 18.
October 1 Bruises and balm.' 32.
October 8 The Covenant.' 17.
October 12 The Secret Saviour.' 12.
October 24 Purity.' 21.
October 27 Holy Force.' 21.
October 31 From Calvary.' 8.
November 1 The Martyr's Blood.' 16.
November 12 Out of the Grave.' 24.
November 14 The Love Light.' 3.
November 15 An Angel.' 13.
November 18 My terra firma.' 24.
November 22 At the grave of Lazarus.' 2.
December 1 Marah and Siloam.' 23.
December 14 Grace of Simplicity.' 23.
December 22 In the Shadow of Christ.' 10-12.
December 30 Who goes home?' 4.

	(1916)
'Resurrection Ground.' 6, 20.
'My Lover.' 14.
'New Year's Day.' 19.

(1890)
'Baptized by fire.' 168.
'My Creed. — my heart and I.' 19.
'Publicans and Sinners.' 3, 80.
'The Shaping of the Shroud.' 28.
'Stolen Waters.' 47.
'The Russian Moloch.' 8, 71.
'By the Cross.' 86.
'A Woman's Breast.' 47.
'Social Democrat to Nihilist.' 26.
'A Witch.' 18.
'No — Yes.' 18.
'A Personage in Politics.' 40.
'The Curse of no Labour.' 40.
'A Page from the Devil's Diary.' Part I: 103.
'Proteus in Westminster Abbey.' 37.
'A Statesman of 1882.' Act II: 112.
'The Story of A St—k (Tellurium).’ 111.
'Killed by Conscience.' 69.
'Married or Marred.' Part I: 238; Part II: 36, 632, 826, 903, 995, 1537, 1541; Part III: 52, 236, 326, 396, 416, 524, 640, 709, 731-2, 806.
'The Church Clock.' 59.
'The Tree of Death.' 132, 155.
'Our Mother.' 50.
"Though he slay me",' 36.
'The Book.' 41.
'The Shadow.' 80.
'Childless.' 96, 112.
"Faint yet pursuing".
'Enchanted Walls.' 8.
'Between the Bars.' 40.
'One is not.' 40.
'The burden of Beauty.' 13.
'My Master.' 14.
'The Tree of Death.' 8, 13.
'The Seal of Sorrow.' 14.
'The Treasure of the Tomb.' 5, 14.
'Amaranth.' 14.
'The Tragedy of Life.' 14.
'The Victory of the Grave.' 2, 14.
'At his Feet.' 7.
'From Glory to glory.' 6.
'More cruel than the grave.' 1, 11.
'The Nameless Dead.' 1.
'Lacrimæ Dei.' 7, 34-5.
'Sanguis Cordis.' 32.
'Sops for Cerberus.' 46.
'The Last Revelation.' 31.
'Cheap and nasty.' 3.
'The Blue Hours.' 44.
'The Man-wo.' 41.
'The Sierra Leone of Politics.' 4.
'Financial Fooling.' 4.

(1888)
'The Divine Commission.' 48.
'God's Man.' 10.
'The White Cross.' 53.
'Between the Banks.' 135.
'On the Threshold.' 195.
'The Baby Innocents.' 44.
'Only a Dove.' 20.
'The Cry of the Woman-child.' 156.
'Digging their graves.' 8, 48.
'Blighted Buds.' 27.
'The Golden Gate.' 48.
'A Cup of Water.' 106.
'A Crust of Bread.' 25.
'Thy poor brother.' 61.
'The Shaping of the Shroud.' 28.
'The Sacrifice.' 60, 132.
'The Children's Prayer.' 48.
'A Leap in the Dark.' 7.
'Over the Threshold.' 48, 167, 288, 328.
'Light and shade — a contrast.' 48.
'At our door.' 36.
'The White Slave.' 71.
'The Lost Jewel.' 48.
'Queens of Hell.' 36.
'Aside.' 8.
'The Faded Flowers.' 30.
'Trap.' 47.
'On the edge of the knife.' 88, 147-8.
'Within the walls.' 24, 40.
'Wonder.' 26.
'Progress?' 46, 76.
'The Angel in the Stone.' 43.


(1860)
'Hero and Leander.' 29.
'The Castle.' 17.
'Rizpah.' 8.
'Night.' 14.
'Croesus and Solon.' 109.
'The Phantom Bark.' 14.
'Ariadne.' 272.
'The King's Monument.' 8.
'The Veteran's Return.' 38.
'The Spirits of Air.' 16.
'A Lady Asleep.' 31.
'Regret.' 3, 7, 20, 24.
'Murtzuphlus.' 71.
'Mahomet the Conqueror.' 24.

(1903)
'Minos.' 73.
'A wisp of epic.' 219.
'The Old Warrior.' 60.
'The Nymph and the Hunter.' 68.
'Separated Fortunes.' 24, 25.
'The Cardinal's Lament.' 31, 41, 55, 98, 123.
'Medea: A Tragedy of Jealousy.' 60, 63, 266.
'The Two Old Kings A Sketch after Kaulbach.' 61, 78, 100.
'Ode to the Sun.' 45.
'At the Council.' 76.
'Anchises.' 11, 39, 89.
'A Woodland Grave.' 17, 60.
'Phaethon (A Fragment).' 59, 140, 207.
'The Death of Phaethon.' 277.
'On a Portrait of Sir John Suckling.' headnote, 12.
'Circe.' 56, 64, 125.
'Hellas and Rome.' 13, 176.
'A Song of Dust.' 15, 57.
'Anthea's Garland.' 16.
The Study of a Spider.' 5.
'Jael.' 111, 137, 225.
'Zeus.' 127.
'A Leave-taking.' 1.
'He may who can.' 13.
'Ophelia.' 25, 48.
'The Defeat of Glory.' 18, 64.
'Ode to Fortune.' 35, 79.
'Orpheus in Hades.' 133.
'Amaranth.' 11, 132.
'A Song of Dust.'
'The Tomb: An Allegory.' 2, 9.
'A Churchyard Yew.' 7, 25.
'The Tragedy of Childhood.' 4, 39.
'A Lament.' 11.
'Orpheus in Thrace.' 74, 141.
'Napoleon the Great.' 140.
'A Parting.' 14, 28.
'The End of a Delusion.' 18.
'The Invitation.' 84.
'The Dirge of Day.' 55, 70.
'In Sicily.' 121.
'What should a man desire?' A Chorus.' 24.
'A Dirge.' 7.
'L'Envoi.' 2.
'A Mother's Dirge.'
'The Wedding.' 16.
'All-Hallow-e'en.' 5.
'The Sale at the Farm.' 18, 59, 162.
'Machiavel in Minimis.' 243.
'A heathen to his idol in time of peace.' 65.
'The Strange Parable.' 106.
'In Arcadia.' 114.
'An Expostulation.' 42, 121, 129.
'Philoctetes a Metrical Drama.' 676.
'Orestes A Metrical Drama.' 66, 87, 212, 261, 431, 455, 786, 2022, 2092.
'A Hymn to Astarte.' 122, 202, 281.
'The Churchyard on the Sands.' 53, 92.
'A Madrigal Love gives all away.' 46.
'A Pastoral (Venetian School).' 12.
'Hodge prologizes at his public.' 9, 25.
'An Evening by the Fire.' 24.

(1864)
'The Apotheosis of a Town Hero.' 49.
'James and Mary.' 344.
'The Old Crusader.' 39.

(1862)
'The Lament of Phaethon's Sisters.' 4.
'The Dialogue of Life.' 38, 70.

(1873)
'A Middle-class Tragedy.' 16.
'A Farewell.' 32.
'In Sicily.' 102.
'Nemesis.' 58.

(1865)
'The Seaman's Children.' 619.
Sir Thomas Herbert WARREN 1853-1930.

(1898)
'By Severn Sea.' 28.
'To Alfred Lord Tennyson.' 50.

William WATSON 1858-1935.

(1884)
'On seeing the tomb of infant brothers twin-born.' 1.

(1921)
'To America concerning Ireland.' 10.

(1894)
'To H. D. Traill.' 66.

(1925)
'To One in His Grave.'

(1936)
'Christmas Day.' 10.
'The Slain.' 4.
'On the Author's Seventy-sixth Birthday.' 2.
'The Master Rhetorician.' 1.
'The Churchyard in the Wold.' 3.
'The Husbandman of Heaven.' headnote.
'At a Burial.'
'To Aubrey de Vere.' 1.
'To a Son of Wales.' 14.
'On a Statue of Liberty.' 2.
'The Tomb of a Pharaoh.'
'A Child's Hair.' 40.
'The Muse in Exile.' 31.
'The Cathedral Music.' 10.
'Midnight.' 8.
'The False Summer.' 4.
'The Dream of a Man A Fantasy.' 90, 120.
'The Great Misgiving.' 19.
'The Tomb of Burns.'
'Retrogression.' 61.
'Disclosure.' 4.
'The Terrors of Truth.' 13.
'The Hope of the World.' 89.
'The Unknown God.' 20.
'Lacrimae Musarum.' 12.
'In Laleham Churchyard.' headnote, 22.
'Wordsworth's Grave.' headnote, 180.
'Lakeland once more.' 18.
'Ode in the day of Transition.' 27, 34.
'The Man who saw.' 67.
'Retribution.' 8.

(1897)
'How long?' 1, 3.
'Repudiated responsibility.' 14.
Theodore WATTS-DUNTON 1832-1914.

(1906)
'The Coming of Love Rhona Boswell's Story. An Idyl of the Open Air.' Part I: 249.
'Christmas at the Mermaid.' 722.
'A Grave by the Sea.' 3.
'The Omnipotence of Love.' I: 17-20, 33.
'Prayer to the Winds. On planting at the head of FitzGerald's grave two rose-trees whose ancestors had scattered their petals over the tomb of Omar Khayyam.' epigraph, 3.
'What the silent voices said. A sonnet sequence.' V: 66.
'Christina Rossetti. The Two Christmas.' 10.
'To a Sleeper at Rome.' 8.
'In a Graveyard. Oliver Madox Brown, November 12, 1874.' 12.

((1907))
'The Burial in the Granite Caves.'
'The Haunted Matoppos.' 11.

Cornelius WEBB 1790?-1850?

(1832)
'The Weaver's Wife.' 39.
'The Fallen for Freedom.' 4, 36, 50.
'The Old Love.' 49, 55.
'The Broken Heart.' 64, 84, 156.
'Summer Morning.' 66.
'Farewell of a Pilgrim Father to England.' 4-7.
'The Paladin's Bridal.' 168, 204, 266, 340.
'Invocation to Sleep.' 239.
'July.' 7.
'The Same [The Storm].' 11.
'Death of Summer.' 1.
'London in November.' 5.
'Invocation.' 10.

(1820)
'Sickness.' 11, 14.
'Dermody's Grave.' 13.
'The Dying Minstrel.' 84, 96, 156.

(1821)
'Invocation to Sleep.' 138.

Augusta WEBSTER 1837-1894.

(1881)
'Sister Annunciate.' I. An Anniversary: pp.44, 46, 78; II. Abbess Ursula's Lecture: pp.98, 100.
'Sister Viator.' p.8.
'The Oldest Inhabitant.' pp.17, 21.
'Her Memories.' pp.51, 52.
'A Coarse Morning.' p.65.
'Yu-pe-ya's Dirge for Tse-ky.' p.67.
'Where Home Was.' p.110.
'The Graveyard.' p.144.

(1886)
'Sister Annunciate.' I. An Anniversary: pp.44, 46, 78; II. Abbess Ursula's Lecture: pp.98, 100.
'The Snow Waste.' p.117.
'With the Dead.' pp.135, 138, 143-4, 148.
'By the Looking-Glass.' p.155.
'Too Late.' p.163.
(1895)
'Ow weary hearts! Poor mothers then look back!' p.23.
'That some day Death who has us all for jest.' p.29.

(1893)
'Medea in Athens.' p.13.
'Faded.' pp.66, 69.
'A Soul in Prison.' pp.72, 78.
'In an Almshouse.' p.108.
'The Manuscript of Saint Alexius.' pp.178, 188.

(1867)
'Lady Boycott.' p.16.
'Anno Domini 33. II. Judas.' pp.51-2.
'Anno Domini 33. III. Pilate.' p.59.
'Anno Domini 33. IV. The Walk to Emmaus.' pp.68, 69.
'The Old Year Out and the New Year In.' pp.75, 76.
'Two Maidens.' p.89.
'The Heiress's Wooer.' p.95.
'Dead Amy.' p.96.
'The Hidden Wound.' p.100.
'Passing Away.' p.103.
'A Wedding.' [p.113.]
'To and Fro.' p.121.
'Perjurer.' p.132.
'Fairies' Chatter.' pp.167, 169.
'Lota.' Ill, pp.274, 287.

Oscar Fingall O'Flaherty WILLS WILDE 1854-1900.

(1909)
'Ravenna.' II: 56; III: 69, 80, 102; VI: 264.
'Ave Imperatrix.' 85, 111.
'Sonnet on the Massacre of the Christians in Bulgaria.' 12.
'The Garden of Eros.' 26, 86.
'The Grave of Keats.' 6.
'Ballade de Marguerite.' 46.
'The Dole of the King's Daughter.' 27-8.
'Amor Intellectualis.' 14.
'The Grave of Shelley.' 11.
'Phèdre To Sarah Bernhardt.' 8.
'Panthea.' 90, 137.
'Apologia.' 12.
'Humanitad.' 117, 172, 263, 291, 367.
'Glukupikros erws.' 49.
'Orhnwidia.' 66.
'The Sphinx.' 51.
'The Ballad of Reading Gaol.' I: 86; III: 234, 246; IV: 451-2, 524; VI: 108.

James Chapman WOODS fl. 1879-1931.

(1879)
'Fame.' 18, 28.
'Fate.' 22.
'A Cairn.' 8.
'Alain Chartier.' 24.
'A New Year's Eve.' 58.
'Early Old.' 41.
'Death's Secret.' 5.
'Phantoms.' 4, 16.
'Night.' 2.
'Apologia.' 28.
'The birth of a River.' 58, 60.
'On a Fly-Leaf.' 6.

(1931)
'A Pageant of Poets From Landor to Swinburne.' 316, 362.
'Do we believe?' 5.
'Disillusions.' 2.

Margaret Louisa WOODS 1856-1945.

(1914)
'The Builders. A Nocturne in Westminster Abbey August 17, 1902.' pp.7-16.
'Under the Lamp.' p.20.
'The Church Tower.' p. 36, pp.57-9.
'The May Morning and the Old Man.' p.66.
'Oxford Bells.' p.80.
'On the Death of an Infant.' pp.92-5.
'To the Forgotten Dead.' p.105.
'Young Windebank.' p.106.
'The Ballad of King Hjörward's Death.' pp.110-11.
'The Changeling.' p.120.
'The Lost Comrades.' p.132.
"Again I saw another Angel" p.136.
'A Last Walk Together.' p.143.
'Nocturne.' p.170.
'A Woman's Apology.' p.171.
'Song. I know thee, O thou wailing wind!' p.188.
'Wild Justice.' Scene I. 'The Ballad of the Mother.' pp.196-7.

(1896)
'This is the place.' p.22.

Elizabeth WORDSWORTH 1840-1932.

(1881)
'Coxwold, near Thirsk.' pp.19-20.
'Outside a Cathedral Town.' p.36.
'A Cornish Enthusiast.' p.39.
"'Morning Sleep"," p.81.
'Death and Joy.' p.97.
'In Memoriam John Bowling Mozley.' p.100.
'A Grave strewn with Crocuses.' p.101.
'Frozen Out.' p.103.

(1890)
'St. Christopher.' p.33.
'St. Cecilia.' p.53 and n.
'In the Cloister of San Zeno, Verona.' pp.62, 64 and n.
'In the Churchyard of Over Denton, Cumberland (The Grave of the Prototype of Meg Merrilies).'' pp.76-9.
'Christmas Eve at Bemerton, 1885.' p.91.
'Sea-Gulls at Riseholme.' p.94.
Three Months after a Funeral." pp.98-100.
'Madame Etiquette.' p.133.
'Daisies.' p.142.
'Death.' p.148.
'Life.' p.149.

\[ \textbf{Theodore WRATISLAW} \ 1871-1933. \]

(1893)
'Inscription.' 3.
'Odour.' 4.
'A Mood.' 17.

(1892)
'Easter Song.' 13-15.
'Barcarolle.' 11.
'A Parting in May.' 35.
'Bird or Woman?' 8.
'Utterly Dead.' 2.
'The Singer's Tomb.'
'The End of Autumn.' 16.
'Hymn to Night.' 8.
'After Death.'

(1896)
'Swimming Song.' 40.
APPENDIX 2: ACCOUNT OF TROPES AND POEM TYPES IN WHICH GRAVES APPEAR IN ENGLISH POETRY 1800-1900.

DESCRIPTION OF CATEGORIES.

Part I: Elegiac poems written on the death of an individual.

1. Private and personal.

a. By an adult child for a parent.

In poems mourning the death of a parent or parent-figure, the survivor often uses the grave-site to continue the relationship in imagination, or to compensate for inadequacies in the relation as it was, while at the same time asserting a degree of autonomy. In ‘A Last Adieu,’ James Hogg commemorates his mother largely in terms of her influence on his own character and poetic vocation. The iconography of the grave is not neutral because the child might very well be responsible for the parent’s burial arrangements; the grave of Hogg’s mother has flowers but no tombstone, so she will be remembered ‘long as the name of thy darling shall last’ (43). There are many more poems written to the memory of mothers than of fathers. J. R. Planché’s ‘On the Death of Mrs. ---’ contrasts the recent, gradual death of his father with the sudden death of an unnamed mother-figure. Here the grave is shocking because it contrasts cruelly with the speaker’s last memory of the woman’s radiance and health. All that remains is ‘Her image in her offspring’ (20) and the name on the ‘flat grey stone which covered her’ (4).

b. By a parent for a child.¹

The death of a child is one of the most tragic losses that an adult can suffer, and it often challenges the parent’s religious convictions. Writing of such loss is difficult, as shown by Henry Alford’s ‘De Profundis. (1852),’ where the speaker tries to record the deaths of his sons Clement and Ambrose, but makes a rhetorical gesture of being too overwhelmed to complete the poem, which ends ‘Weep to-day, and write to-morrow’ (51). In the majority of cases, poets seek to transcend the child’s grave, so painful to contemplate, by imagining their reunion in the afterlife. However, the grave also has a terrible fascination since it provides one material connection with the dead. In Richard Wilton’s ‘On a Wall-flower from Gethsemane. To be planted near my Infant’s Grave,’ the dead child is metaphorised as a blossom, and the flower associated with Christ’s Passion shows that the child is safely ‘transplanted’ to Heaven. For a Christian, Heaven is the spiritual home, but as Amelia Opie suggests in ‘The Parents’ Chaunt of Thanksgiving on the death of one of two only children, with whom they had just returned from their deceased mother’s house in the North of England, to their home in the West,’ the earthly home also plays an important part in the parent’s ability to accept the death.

c. Spouses.

Poems explicitly about the grave of a dead spouse (rather than lover) are relatively uncommon. However there are poems which touch on the grave, such as Coventry Patmore’s

¹See I, pp.70-115, 121-4, 126-8.
'Departure' in *The Unknown Eros*, an influence on Thomas Hardy's *Poems of 1912-13*. The most common motif is that of spiritual re-union, meditated upon by Thomas Park in 'On Viewing the Graves of James and Sarah Easton. In *Fairlight* Church-yard, *Sussex* (1797).¹ Reviewing shared memories is also important, as in John Critchley Prince's 'At my Wife's Grave Side,' where contemplation of the simple grass-covered grave prompts a survey of the couple's misfortunes which ends with a prayer for consolation. Edward Quillinan wrote several poems about the death of his wife Dora (Wordsworth's beloved daughter), but his loss is perhaps most poignantly suggested by painful allusions to the grave in poems on other subjects, such as 'Clouds' ('o'er her grave their shadows pass' [5]) and 'To Angus Fletcher' ('The Cross, the Lamb that watches o'er her grave' [10]).

d. Siblings and other relations.

The keynote of these poems is identification and similarity, something they share with the more numerous genre of poems written for figurative brothers and sisters. The manner in which the dead person is commemorated is likely to be self-reflexively revealing. Wordsworth's 'To the Daisy. Sweet Flower! belike one day to have' and 'I only looked for pain and grief' use a wild-flower motif to make an imaginative connection with the poet's dead brother John, so that any site where the flower grows has a grave-like memorial significance to the poet.² Where more than one family member is commemorated, the emphasis falls on maintaining family unity and identity.³ In John De Jean Frazer's 'To the Memory of a Young Artist, Only Brother of the Author' (1851), the grave appears both as part of a personal rhetoric of mourning, and as a metaphor for frustrated artistic and political aspiration. In the series Hardwick Drummond Rawnsley wrote on the death of his sister Alice in 1884, she is described as innocent and saintly,

¹Southey described his reaction to the death of his first wife Edith on 16 November 1837 as 'I feel ... as one of the Siamese twins would do if the other had died, and he had survived the separation' (Southey 1850, v.VI, p.349).

²Compare *Leaves of Grass*, 6, for Whitman's account that the grass is 'the beautiful uncut hair of graves':

Tenderly will I use you curling grass,
It may be you transpire from the breasts of young men,
It may be if I had known them I would have loved them;
It may be you are from old people and from women, or from offspring taken soon out of their mothers' laps,
And here you are the mothers' laps.

This grass is very dark to be from the white heads of old mothers,
Darker than the colorless beards of old men,
Dark to come from under the faint red roofs of mouths.

... They are alive and well somewhere;
The smallest sprout shows there is really no death,
And if there was it led forward life, and does not wait at the end to arrest it,
And ceas'd the moment life appeared. (Whitman 1982, pp.31-2)

³The Wordsworth family plot at St. Oswald's, Grasmere, is a good example: '[T]he churchyard [was] a plain enclosure of the olden time, ... in which lay the remains of his wife's sister, his nephew, and his beloved daughter. Here, having desired the sexton to measure out the ground for his own and Mrs. Wordsworth's grave, he bade him measure out the space of a third grave for [Hartley Coleridge], immediately beyond. "When I have lifted up my eyes from my daughter's grave," he exclaimed, "he was standing there!"' (Knight 1889, v.III, pp.482-3).
an idealised Christian woman as much as a relative. In ‘Hymn sung at the Grave of A. F., Brathay Churchyard, February 26th, 1884,’ Alice’s worth transcends family love - ‘Golden hopes are buried here’ (13), but ‘her grave, when we depart, / Will be found in every heart’ (18). In the sonnet ‘Retrospection,’ Ebenezer Elliott’s speaker compares the pathos of adult disillusion to ‘th’inscription, trite and true, / That lingers on our little sister’s grave’ (9-10).

e. Friends.

Tennyson’s *In Memoriam* is the century’s most striking poetic achievement in commemoration of a dead friend, and presents a type of bereavement which prompts openly emotional responses. Poems on friends who die prematurely tend to be concerned with justifying the loss or making the grave more acceptable. John Wilson’s ‘The Voice of Departed Friendship’ records a consolatory speech supposedly made ‘In the churchyard / Where now he sleeps’ (8-9) by a sick friend immediately before death, affirming his faith and willingness to die. The death of the elderly is usually treated as a welcome release, as in Amelia Opie’s ‘Lines on the Death of an Aged Friend,’ or William Glen’s ‘Monody on the Death of an Old Friend.’ Southey’s sonnet ‘What though no sculptured monument proclaim’ and ‘The Dead Friend’ also present death as friendly, by dissociating the souls of Albert and Edmund from the sites where their bodies are buried. On the other hand, in ‘Written in the Church-Yard at Malvern,’ Mary Tighe’s speaker actually wishes her ‘Poor, lost, lamented friend’ (10) was buried in this beautiful place, to reconcile her to the loss.

Inevitably, religious sceptics protest more against the death of loved ones. Robert Buchanan’s ‘A Poem to David,’ which (like Matthew Arnold’s *Thyris*) is also a tribute from one poet to another, protests with an almost erotic passion against David Gray’s early death from consumption, and intimately imagines consciousness in the grave, where immortal brains gleam communicatively to one another. The speaker’s only consolation is future reunion, seen as a physical embrace, and confirmed by ‘Poet’s Prologue. To David in Heaven,’ Buchanan’s return to the theme thirty years later. Lost companionship and conversation are the qualities most lamented in these poems, as in John Payne’s ‘To Max Eberstadt in Willesden Cemetery,’ which ends ‘How many a part of this sad heart and brain / Of mine is buried in thy grave with thee!’ (13-14).

f. Pets and animals.

Although an animal’s grave is occasionally a humorous subject, as in William Barnes’s ‘Dobbin Dead’ or R. E. Egerton-Warburton’s ‘Inscription on a garden seat formed from the bones of an old racer,’ it is more often treated with a sincere emotion barely distinguishable from that felt for humans.¹ Swinburne’s ‘At A Dog’s Grave’ is typical in arguing for the equal commemoration with humans of ‘friends born lower in life, though pure of sin’ (8). Dogs are the pets most often elegised, and are depicted as loyal, loving companions and members of the

¹In *Three Men in a Boat*, ch.8, Jerome K. Jerome observes that ‘The late Duchess of York, who lived at Oatlands, was very fond of dogs, and kept an immense number. She had a special graveyard made, in which to bury them when they died, and there they lie, about fifty of them, with a tombstone over each, and an epitaph inscribed thereon’ (Jerome 1994, p.77).
family. Unlike human loved ones, the pet does not leave the family at death, and is usually buried in the garden. In ‘Tribute to the Memory of the same dog [Music],’ Wordsworth observes that an oak stands as a monument to Music, so that ‘they to whom thy virtues made thee dear / Shall find thee through all changes of the year’ (7-8). In Philip Gilbert Hamerton’s ‘My Old Dog’s Grave,’ the grave is made close to the speaker’s garden seat, so that the dog still ‘slumbers at my feet, / As she has done before’ (2-3), while in Matthew Arnold’s late poems ‘Geist’s Grave,’ ‘Kaiser Dead’ and ‘Poor Matthias,’ elegies for a beloved dachshund, collie and canary poignantly touch on the Arnolds’ more severe bereavement of three sons. See also Hardy’s ‘The Roman Gravemounds,’ which are meaningless compared to a lonely man’s grief for ‘my little white cat [who] was my only friend’ (18).

2. Public.

a. Royalty.

Public elegies for monarchs and members of the royal family are usually remarkable only for the ingenuity with which the poet seeks to avoid and transcend the grave itself; otherwise the poems tend to be of excessive length (under the misapprehension that bulk entails dignity), rhetorical gestures are conventional and awkward, the vocabulary restricted and repetitive, and the poet’s pose grovelling. The death of a national figurehead creates a sense of insecurity about national identity, so the elegist is responsible for showing that the monarchy is immortal. George III, George IV and William IV were discredited and ambivalent figures, which added to the difficulty of making a credible public elegy. This divided loyalty was especially apparent on Princess Charlotte’s death. She was seen as a victim of her husband George IV’s abuse, and her death became an occasion for pathos, as in Henry Boyd’s ‘Death of the Queen Dowager,’ and for social protest, as in Caroline Bowles’s ‘Stanzas Written on the Day succeeding that of the Princess Charlotte’s Death.’

1Compare the epitaph of Simonidēs (556-467 B.C.) on ‘A Hound’:
Although beneath this grave-mound thy white bones now are lying,
Surely, my huntress Lycas, the wild things dread thee still.
The memory of thy worth tall Pêlion keeps undying,
And the looming peak of Ossa, and Cithaeron’s lonely hill.
Translated by F. L. Lucas (Higham and Bowra 1838, p.241).

2Contrast Hardy’s ‘Ah, are you digging on my grave?’ in which a dead speaker finds that her little dog is the only one paying attention to her grave - but that he is only burying a bone, and has forgotten her too.

3The anxieties which a royal death and burial can prompt have been graphically demonstrated recently by reactions to the death of Diana, Princess of Wales, in a Paris car-crash. The question of where to bury the Princess after the state funeral in Westminster Abbey was unusually complex. The Spencer family initially intended to deposit the body in the family vault in the parish church at Althorp, but this would have presented a very real security risk, and they made the almost unprecedented decision to bury her in a specially consecrated plot on an island in a lake on the family estate. The burial of Jean-Jacques Rousseau at Ermenonville is the only other well-known island burial of this kind.
b. Statesmen and politicians.

There is a clear divergence between representations of specific public figures and of statesmen in the abstract. Individuals, except for occasional satire such as that prompted by Castlereagh's suicide, are celebrated as great men who made sacrifices for the nation, and whose greatness of soul will outlast their bodies; statesmen in general are presented as vain and materialistic, doomed to obscurity in unvisited graves. In M. G. Lewis's 'Lines Written on Returning from the Funeral of the Right Hon. C. J. Fox, Friday, October 10, 1806,' personifications of History, Peace and Freedom mourn over the politician's grave. Alfred Domett's conceit, 'At Jefferson's Tomb. Monticello, 1834,' is unusual in ironising Jefferson's political credo: freedom is belied by his imprisonment in death, while his grave mockingly exemplifies the truth of equality.

c. Churchmen.

Responses to the deaths of religious figures tend to be split between satire and hagiography. On one hand ministers were implicated in the expense of funerals, bad burial-practice and hypocrisy, while on the other their spiritual function gave a predominance to the favourite motif of transcendence. In general Catholic burial is most criticised for its materialistic presentation (as in Browning's 'The Bishop Orders His Tomb at St. Praxed's Church' - although compare J. E. Millais's painting of a nun digging a simple grave, 'The Vale of Rest' [1858]), and the burial-practice of dissenting groups such as Methodists and Quakers is often approved for its simplicity. The graves of clerics are usually presented as sites of pilgrimage, places to contemplate virtue and philanthropy, and to seek spiritual improvement. Poets tend to concentrate on humility either of character or of the grave. The majority of these poems consciously record men who will be unknown outside their communities, as in Wordsworth's 'Epitaph in the Chapel-Yard of Langdale, Westmoreland' for Owen Lloyd; however the presentation of well-known churchmen such as Dean Stanley, Cardinal Newman or Cardinal Manning (see H. E. H. King's 'Bayswater') is as one would expect closer to that of politicians and public figures.

d. People of achievement.

Typically individuals who made a significant contribution to society, through the arts or more practical vocations such as medicine, science and engineering, are remembered in terms of the achievements which will live after them. In 'Mozart's Grave,' Alfred Austin minimises the importance of the actual grave, a 'monumental nothingness' (24) compared to the influence of Mozart's music. Where the tomb is given prominence, it is represented in the terms of that achievement. Compare women famous for particular acts of heroism, such as Grace Darling, Florence Nightingale and Edith Cavell, whose courageous personalities and actions are seen as transcending their graves.
e. Military graves: national heroes and anti-heroes.

(i) Napoleon.

For British poets, Napoleon's grave was a fascinating and still potentially threatening site, often used to demonstrate the fall of overweening ambition (as in Bryan Waller Procter's 'A Conqueror's Account of Himself' or Bernard Barton's 'A Relique of Napoleon'), but also to voice concerns about continuing French expansion. This attraction partly stemmed from the grave's rich symbolism and its remote location on the island of St. Helena where Napoleon had been held prisoner. Interest was renewed after the French campaign to have the Emperor's remains repatriated finally succeeded in 1840, when he was disinterred, transported and deposited in the Invalides with elaborate state ceremony (see H. F. Lyte's 'Napoleon's Grave'), and again when he was finally buried under an austere sarcophagus beneath the dome there in 1861.

(ii) Wellington.

Tennyson's 'Ode on the Death of the Duke of Wellington' was the most distinguished of a deluge of effusive and ambitious tributes prompted by the Iron Duke's death in 1852, and as with Tennyson's own death forty years later, the elegists examined every detail of the dead man's career, manner of death, the state ceremonial, and the implications for the nation. The arrival of Wellington's coffin at the grave in St. Paul's Cathedral is a key narrative point in many poems, but the grave is usually transcended by an apotheosis or affirmation of the Duke's spiritual union with Nelson, also laid in the St. Paul's crypt (see Robert Montgomery's 'Wellington: or, the Hero's Funeral,' Alfred Theobald's 'Monody on the Death of the late Duke of Wellington' and Sebastian Evans's 'Sonnets on the Death of the Duke of Wellington'). Tennyson's poem was a model for emulation and imitation, although James Reid Brown for one, in the Preface to his 'Ode on the Death of Field Marshal the Duke of Wellington,' was quick to state that his own poem was written before the publication of the Laureate's.

(iii) Heroes who sacrifice their lives to their country.

War-heroes are usually commemorated in reference to the achievements of a particular battle. Presenting the poem as an epitaphal inscription or grave-site contemplation justifies a review of the hero's career, a list of successful battles, his sacrifices and manner of death; in Southey's poem commemorating Sir William Myers' death, the motif of the sacred grave begins and ends the poem. Typically the soldier's grave is humble and unostentatious, and the elegist's praise appears as a compensation for this uncertain commemoration (see George Croly's 'On the Grave of Major Schill'). In G. D. Campbell's 'Inhlobane, Zululand (On the Death of Hon. Ronald Campbell in the Zulu War, March 29, 1879),' the ancient landscape is made to bear witness to the incomparable nobility of the hero's death. See 6.d below for poems on the battlefield graves of unknown (if not unsung) heroes, such as Hardy's 'Drummer Hodge.'

(iv) The commemoration of national events.

During his Laureate career Robert Southey was one of the chief exponents of this type of poem, producing a whole series on the Peninsula Wars, and the elaborate 'The Poet's
307

Pilgrimage to Waterloo.’ In ‘Inkerman’ Arabella Shore describes the defence of Inkerman Ridge in bloody detail, including the losses of veterans and ‘gentle, happy soldier youth[s]’ (35); Shore tries to recuperate the losses by celebrating the cooperation of British and French troops, which is symbolised by their burial ‘heart by heart’ (41). Historic battles are also commemorated using grave imagery, as in Francis Turner Palgrave’s ‘After Chalgrove Fight. June 18: 1643.’

3. Poets.

The motifs and rhetorical gestures employed in poems written on the occasion of a poet’s death are reasonably consistent, including metaphors of organic growth, speech, song and inscription (and their end), the immortality of poetry and the poet’s status in the canon. However the specific characteristics of an individual’s personality, works, death and burial-place decisively influence the way in which these elements are treated. These poems have a strong literary critical impulse, since the manner of the poet’s tribute comments obliquely on his sincerity and his own relation to the continuing tradition.

a. The poet’s unlucky fate and wish for immortality.

The poet’s preoccupation with being remembered after he is dead is frequently explored in meditations on the grave of a specific or representative poet. The poet is seen as doomed to a short, unhappy life and obscurity in death, and aftercoming poets clearly have a vested interest in opposing (as well as perpetuating) this myth. In ‘Churchill’s Grave, A Fact Literally Rendered,’ Byron’s speaker questions a sexton as to why visitors come to this obscure grave. Only when given money does the sexton say that Churchill was a writer, and Byron reads this as an ironic reflection on ‘Obscurity and Fame, — / The Glory and the Nothing of a Name.’ See also Thomas Moore’s ‘Lines on the Death of Sh*r*d*n,’ where the speaker complains that R. B. Sheridan was neglected in life then given a pointlessly lavish funeral, while Henry Kirke White’s ‘On the Death of Dermody the Poet’ is a heartfelt lament on one victim-poet by another. The forgotten grave in Browning’s ‘Earth’s Immortalities’ belongs not to a specific poet, but all poets, while ‘The Poet’s Grave’ lamented and celebrated by A. W. E. O’Shaughnessy is ‘In a lonely spot,’ almost entirely choked by weeds symbolising worldly neglect.

1See Letitia Landon’s ‘The Unknown Grave’:

There sleepeth one who left his heart
Behind him in his song;
Breathing of that diviner part
Which must to heaven belong.
The language of those spirit chords,
But to the poet known,
Youth, love, and hope yet use his words,
They seem to be his own:
And yet he has not left a name.
The poet died without his fame. (Landon 1839, p.225, 11-20)

Thomas Dermody and Thomas Hood lived in penury but were extravagantly celebrated after their deaths. See Eliza Cook, ‘ “Poor Hood” ’ (Cook 1870, p.576). A subscription was raised for an extravagant monument to Hood in Kensal Green; the epitaph ‘He sang ‘The Song of the Shirt’ is still legible, but the bronze bust and decorations have been stolen.

Tributes to ancient and canonical poets bear clear resemblances to tributes to contemporary poets on their deaths; however the grave can never match the immortal achievement of their works, and time has often obscured the site of the body. The great poet's works may have transcended his mortality, but the aftercoming poet still seeks guidance and inspiration at the grave-site. In the case of Homer, the poet's identity and (therefore) grave-site is uncertain, freeing the tribute-poet to imagine the circumstances of Homer's death. William Sotheby's meditation actually takes place inside Virgil's tomb, but as all physical traces of the classical poet are absent, he supplies the lack by envisaging the pastoral landscape of Virgil's poetry. James Rennell Rodd's poem about Dante's grave concentrates on the poet's exile from Florence continuing after death, while Domett's tribute to Milton begins with the poet's obscure grave at Cripplegate. While the influence of these canonical poets is often acknowledged, poems dedicated solely to such homage are relatively rare, because the tribute-poet is always going to come off second best.

c. Early-dying Romantics: Keats, Shelley and Byron.

John Keats (d. 24 February 1821, buried in the Protestant Cemetery, Rome).¹

Keats's death from consumption in Rome continued the traditional mythology of premature death exemplified by Thomas Chatterton's, but initially it also had a detrimental effect on the critical standing of his poetry. This image of youth and weakness was confirmed by Adonais, and Shelley's death and burial in the same place led to a post-mortem association between the poets which misrepresents their actual relation. The picturesque setting of Keats's grave in Rome also had a significant influence on poems commemorating him, and helped to make it one of the most popular literary sites for real and poetic pilgrimage.

Percy Bysshe Shelley (d. 8 July 1822, buried in the Protestant Cemetery, Rome).²

Shelley's death by drowning, and to a lesser degree the cremation of his body, combined with the link with Keats and the burial of his ashes in the Protestant Cemetery, helped to make Shelley an unusually rich commemorative subject. Where Keats was seen as a boyish victim, Shelley's death appeared comparatively heroic and pathetic, and corresponded with his energetic idealism.

George Gordon Noel Byron, Lord Byron (d. 19 April 1824, buried in Hucknall-Torkard Church, Nottingham).

Although Byron died of sickness rather than war-wounds, his involvement with the cause of Greek independence meant he was often commemorated more as a military hero or freedom-fighter than as a poet (see Charles Tennyson's 'On the Death of Lord Byron,' which says that 'He died ... / Where buried freedom quits her grave' [4-5]). While poets commemorating Byron often

¹ See I, pp.116-59.
sought to emulate his grand manner, they can also appear defensive, as if anxious about the poet’s respectability (as in William Maginn’s ‘Lament for Lord Byron,’ or John Nicholson’s ‘Elegy on the Death of Lord Byron’). Mary Howitt’s ‘A Poet’s Thoughts at the Interment of Lord Byron’ is an unusually detailed account of the burial itself. Despite a few establishment concessions to the popular grief which followed Byron’s death, these did not reach as far as a state funeral or grave in Westminster Abbey. Many people were dissatisfied with Byron’s relatively obscure grave in a rural church, and there was an intermittent campaign to have his remains or a memorial located in Poets’ Corner. In Hardy’s late poem ‘A Refusal,’ the Dean disdains campaigners and imagines with horror the prospect of other atheistic poets such as Shelley or Swinburne gaining entry; not until 1969 was the present modest floor plaque in Byron’s memory laid in Poets’ Corner.

d. Scots: Burns, Scott and Campbell.

Robert Burns (d. 21 July 1796, buried in St. Michael’s churchyard, Dumfries).

Burns’s funeral was a great event in Dumfries, and his grave attracted pilgrims from early on (see Wordsworth’s several poems on the subject and Keats’s ‘Sonnet on Visiting the Tomb of Burns’). The phenomenal interest in the poet fuelled concerns that the simple stone Burns’s widow could afford was inadequate, so in 1815 the remains were disinterred and transferred to a large and ostentatious mausoleum close by. As the success of the Burns Clubs suggests, the poet was revered with a near-religious zeal, and accounts of the re-opening of the grave in 1815 (and in 1834 and 1857, on the deaths of Burns’s widow and last son) present the body as a sacred relic. Every Scottish city and town coveted a link with the native bard, which partly accounts for the mass of Burnsiana (see William Watt’s ‘Stanzas on reading in the Glasgow Herald the account of laying the foundation stone of a monument In Memory of Robert Burns’).

Walter Scott (d. 21 September 1832, buried in the ruins of Dryburgh Abbey, near Melrose).

As Hawthorne noted ‘The effect of [Scott] being buried here is, to make the whole of Dryburgh Abbey his monument’ (Hawthorne 1941, p.340). In ‘To the Memory of Sir Walter Scott,’ James Drummond Burns evokes a mood of chivalry and picturesque Scottishness to show that ‘Thy spirit lives among us yet’ (29), while Charles Swain sees a visionary procession of Scott’s characters joining the funeral procession, proving that Scott is ‘imperishable’ (‘Dryburgh Abbey’).\(^1\) Scott’s picturesque grave is one of the heritage sites visited by John Walker Ord in England: A Historical Poem (1834, p.209, lines 4905-13) while in ‘The Funeral Day of Sir Walter Scott’ Felicia Hemans is most concerned with writerly issues of speech and silence, and offers a dirge in the metre of ‘The Lady of the Lake.’

\(^1\)In J. M. Barrie’s prose tribute to George Meredith, Neither Dorking nor the Abbey, Meredith’s ‘children’ (the characters in his novels) line up outside the house to welcome their master’s immortal spirit, which emerges after the burial of his cremated remains in Dorking Cemetery (Barrie 1909, pp.8-13).
Thomas Campbell (d. 15 June 1844, buried in Poets’ Corner, Westminster Abbey).

Campbell was the only Romantic-period poet to be buried in the Abbey, and while there seems no particular reason for this, it did help to recuperate the site. Campbell died in Boulogne and his body was shipped back for a state funeral, during which his support for Polish independence was symbolically acknowledged by the scattering of earth from the burial-mound of Kosciusko. Two of Campbell's friends wrote commemorative poems which describe his funeral and champion the poet's immortal influence; in 'Campbell's Funeral,' Horatio [Horace] Smith even imagines the 'monumental effigies / Of elder poets' (29-30) peering down eagerly into the poet's grave.

e. Women: Hemans, Landon, Barrett Browning and Christina Rossetti.²

Commemorating women poets is difficult because their status appears so uncertain. There is a tendency to see the woman poet as doomed to an early death or a frustrated life; for instance in Robert Buchanan's 'On a Young Poetess's Grave,' the sickly girl poet is given 'the Book of Being' to read, but her vision is blurred and she does no more than leave a flower between the leaves of the book before dying. One is hardly placated by Buchanan's suggestion that 'the Book wherein she read not / Is the sweeter for the Flower' (19-20).

Mary Tighe (d. 24 March 1810, buried in Inistioge churchyard, Woodstock, Co. Kilkenny, Ireland).

Mary Tighe's poem Psyche, or the Legend of Love was published after her death from consumption, and frequently reprinted through the century. Flaxman's funerary monument and Hemans's poems set at Tighe's grave contributed to her pathetic image. Felicia Hemans finds consolation at Mary Tighe's grave by imagining the poet's true fulfilment in heaven, but this undervalues the poetry which has brought the pilgrim-poet to the grave in the first place.

Felicia Hemans (d. 16 May 1835, buried in the crypt of St. Anne’s Church, Dawson Street, Dublin).³

Although Felicia Hemans died in relatively unfamiliar surroundings away from her family, the resignation she displayed made her death appear gentle. She was commemorated by women poets who had been encouraged by the success and relative respectability of her poetic career. Letitia Landon's poems 'Felicia Hemans' and 'Stanzas on the Death of Mrs. Hemans' celebrate the poet's achievement, but also reveal much of Landon's own anxiety about feminine identity and publicity. Elizabeth Barrett Browning disputes Landon's idea of the woman poet in 'Felicia Hemans To L. E. L., referring to her monody on the poetess.'

¹ See 'The Pleasures of Hope' I, 382 (Campbell 1907, p.2).
Letitia Landon (‘L. E. L.’: d. 15 October 1838, buried under the parade ground, Cape Coast Castle, West Africa).

Landon’s sudden, scandalous death by a drugs overdose, and her quick burial in an alien environment seemed to confirm the mythology that women poets died young and unhappily. In ‘L. E. L.’s Last Question,’ Elizabeth Barrett Browning saw the poet’s grave as another sign of lack of fulfilment - the palm-trees she had fantasised about in childhood only cast ‘their shadow on her sepulchre’ (49). When Christina Rossetti considered the poet’s fate in ‘L. E. L.,’ she suggested that the only solution for the poet ‘Whose heart was breaking for a little love,’ was the total love given by God to the faithful.

Elizabeth Barrett Browning (d. 29 July 1861, buried in the Protestant Cemetery, Florence).¹

Elizabeth Barrett Browning’s preoccupation with Italian themes made her burial in Florence appear appropriate, although James Thomson suggested that Italy’s lack of political freedom conflicted with the poet’s ideals. In ‘At Her Grave’ Alfred Austin reverted to a model of the woman poet as victim which is hardly appropriate. Frederic Leighton’s impressive if slightly ugly monument (a sarcophagus raised on stumpy columns) includes relief carvings of a female figure representing poetry, and three differently decorated harps symbolising the various forms of poetry Barrett Browning excelled in. The Florence grave came under scrutiny again when Robert Browning died in 1889, but it remained undisturbed. Commemorative poets often consider Barrett Browning alongside other poets (such as Keats, Shelley or D. G. Rossetti).

Christina Rossetti (d. 29 December 1894, buried in Highgate Cemetery).

Although Christina Rossetti is now one of the most widely read Victorian women poets, her death was not marked by many commemorative poems, and those which exist tend to concentrate on her spirituality and her brother Gabriel (see Theodore Watts-Dunton’s poems below). Swinburne recorded her passing in ‘A New Year’s Eve,’ and this severe, wintry context for Christina’s death contributed to the quietness of its reception; the outpouring which had followed Tennyson’s death in 1892 seemed to have been exhausted or at least curtailed the writing of such commemorative poems. In Michael Field’s ‘To Christina Rossetti,’ the only tomb is the life of self-restriction in which Rossetti ‘buried thy enchanting self’ (10).

¹See I, pp.190-6, 214.


Robert Southey (d. 21 March 1843, buried in St. Kentigern’s churchyard, Crosthwaite, Keswick).

Southey was commemorated by close friends such as Walter Savage Landor (‘It was a dream [ah! what is not a dream?]’), personal acquaintances such as Edward Quillinan (‘Funeral of Robert Southey’), and admirers concerned with his public role as Laureate. Landor’s poem is a dream-vision where he is reunited with his friend Southey and the spirit of his own dead son. Quillinan gives an account of the rain-soaked funeral (to which he accompanied Wordsworth),
and reflects on the irrelevance of the Laureateship to Southey. John Critchley Prince in ‘On the Death of Robert Southey, Late Poet Laureate,’ considers the specific grave-site (and the ponderous tomb criticised by Hawthorne), and places Southey's death in the context of other recent deaths such as Wilkie the painter and the Scottish poet Allan Davenport. The poem ends by asking Wordsworth, ‘brother of the buried bard’ to ‘awake thine ancient lyre / To one last mournful melody, and mine / Shall shrink to silence at thy loftier song!’ Details such as the distressing nature of Southey's decline, and antagonism between his family and second wife Caroline Bowles are repressed in these tributes.

William Wordsworth (d. 23 April 1850, buried in St. Oswald's churchyard, Grasmere).

Wordsworth's grave in the rustic Grasmere landscape associated with much of his poetry often figures prominently in poems commemorating his death. Wordsworth's fusion of nature and Christianity was viewed as a stable creed which transcended his death, mere literary fame and the question of who would follow him as Laureate.

Alfred Tennyson (d. 6 October 1892, buried in Poets’ Corner, Westminster Abbey).

In sharp contrast to the scarcity of references to the Laureateship in poems for Wordsworth, Tennyson is lamented as the perfect Laureate, the incomparable and irreplaceable embodiment of the bard (see F. W. Bourdillon's 'Tennyson [Westminster Abbey, October 12th, 1892]' and William Watson's 'Lacrimae Musarum'). An extraordinary number and variety of poems were written on all aspects of Tennyson's dying, lying-in-state, funeral and its aftermath, and Hardwick Drummond Rawnsley wrote a group which headed a whole volume of memorial verses (Tennyson and Other Memorial Poems 1893). The ceremonial details were a significant aspect of the rituals of public mourning, but poets were also preoccupied with a motif of silence and the difficulty of following Tennyson.

g. Victorians: D. G. Rossetti, FitzGerald, Arnold and Browning.

D. G. Rossetti (d. 9 April 1882, buried in All Saints’ churchyard, Birchington, Thanet, Kent).

Rossetti was only fifty-four when he died and was buried in the quiet sea-side town of Birchington near Margate. It has not been made clear why Rossetti was not buried with his

---

1 Compare Wordsworth’s ‘Extempore Effusion Upon the Death of James Hogg,’ which also commemorates the recent deaths of Scott, Coleridge, Lamb, Crabbe and Hemans, and Katharine Tynan’s 'A Sad Year. 1882,' which records the deaths of Longfellow, Denis Florence MacCarthy and D. G. Rossetti.

2 See I, pp.175-89.

3 See I, pp.203-17.

mother and Elizabeth Siddal in the famous family plot in Highgate, although financial reasons have been suggested. His death was commemorated by friends and associates, who focused particularly on his Easter Sunday death, the pathetic figure of the blind poet Philip Bourke Marston at the funeral (see Theodore Watts-Dunton's sonnets 'A Grave by the Sea' and Eugene Lee-Hamilton's 'In Memoriam'), and the pretty grave-site with its view over the sea. Most of these tributes are in sonnet form (such as Marston's 'In Memory of D. G. Rossetti' and William Sharp's 'To D. G. Rossetti'), and substantial claims are made for Rossetti as a master of the sonnet (see 'What the Sonnet Is,' Lee-Hamilton 1894, p.87). The intricate celtic cross over the grave was also the work of a friend, Ford Madox Brown. Christina Rossetti wrote 'Birchington Churchyard. April 1882,' and revisited the grave on the second anniversary of the death (see 'One Sea-Side Grave. Spring 1884'). Edmund Gosse, Lionel Pigot Johnson, Hardwick Rawnsley and William Sharp also wrote tributes.

**Edward FitzGerald (d. 14 June 1883, buried in Boulge churchyard, near Woodbridge, Suffolk).**

FitzGerald was buried against his wishes in the churchyard near his family estate, but was at least laid in a separate grave from the grotesque FitzGerald mausoleum. Admirers of FitzGerald's popular translation of the *Rubaiyat* substantiated links with Omar Khayyam by planting at Boulge two cuttings of a rose which grew over the ancient Persian poet's grave. Commemorative poems focused on this union of two cultures (see Theodore Watts-Dunton's 'Prayer to the Winds On Planting at the Head of FitzGerald’s Grave Two Rose-Trees whose Ancestors had Scattered their Petals over the Tomb of Omar Khayyam').

**Matthew Arnold (d. 15 April 1888, buried in All Saints’ churchyard, Laleham, Middlesex).**

Arnold was buried in the vault where three of his children had been laid. Arnold had divided his time between the family home in the Lake District and his own home at Laleham, and the similarities between the two landscapes, with their rivers running close by, is a theme in poems commemorating him. Although the churchyard at Laleham is suburban rather than rural, Hardwick Drummond Rawnsley, William Watson and Lionel Pigot Johnson all locate their poems there. Watson suggests that this controlled nature perfectly expresses Arnold's genius, while Johnson links Arnold with Gray and the scenery of the 'Elegy.'

**Robert Browning (d. 12 December 1889, buried in Poets’ Corner, Westminster Abbey).**

Like Byron, Arthur Hallam and Thomas Campbell, Robert Browning was shipped back from Europe for burial in English soil. This extended the funerary rituals across two continents, so that commemorative poems tend to prioritise the ceremonial above the dead person's career. Several of these poems picture a spiritual reunion of the poet with Elizabeth Barrett Browning.

---

Part II: Literary genres and tropes.


a. Graveyard meditation in the manner of Gray’s ‘Elegy.’

Many poems are set in churchyards, but there are a significant number of examples modelled on or which allude clearly to Gray’s ‘Elegy.’ While some of these are pure parody, others locate a speaker in a churchyard for the purpose of metaphysical speculation, and exaggerate the self-reflexive motif suggested by the ‘Epitaph.’ See also A. C. Benson’s ‘In Eton Churchyard,’ James Logie Robertson’s ‘An Evening Hour in Orwell Acre,’ and more explicitly religious examples such as John Bethune’s ‘Hymns of the Church-Yard-I,’ Richard Mant’s ‘A Country Churchyard’ or Lady Emmeline Stuart-Wortley’s ‘The Campo Santo, at Naples.’

b. Hymn to melancholy, adapting the vocabulary and site of the grave.

The imagery of this group is inspired by churchyards and burial-vaults, but is relatively little concerned with the material site. Instead of positively choosing a particular grave, the speaker gloomily describes the hopelessness of living and his desire for death. Hymns to melancholy are most common in the early period, where the anguished speaker laments troubles such as the loss of youth, love or genius; however the genre survives in poems such as Robert Bridges’s ‘Elegy Among the Tombs’ or Dora Sigerson’s ‘Weary.’

c. Death the leveller.

The democratic nature of death, which comes to all and makes no distinction between old and young, rich and poor or men and women, is an important motif in all genres. Poets often dramatise the vanity of earthly ambition by contrasting ostentatious graves with humble or unmarked ones, and satirising the presumption of the rich and worldly (see Wordsworth’s ‘A Place of Burial in the South of Scotland’). People who were powerful in life lie quietly ‘Without the power to crush the feeble worms’ (John Clare’s ‘The Parish,’ lines 1964-51), while money and gold are viewed as obstacles to a good death.

d. Children playing in the graveyard.

The motif of children playing above the graves of the community, perhaps over the relics of their own relations, is a favourite Romantic motif, and one which survives in children’s religious stories such as O. F. Walton’s Little Dot. The child is celebrated for his innocence and for not fearing death (as in Henry Ellison’s ‘A Churchyardsporting Child’), but is also made an example of, since sooner or later he will die too. The child is often contrasted with an elderly figure close to death, or the moral is pointed out by a more thoughtful elder. In John Clare’s ‘May’ the speaker watches children playing ball and ‘leaping grave stones leaning hights / Uncheckt wi melancholy sights’ (23-4) but he anticipates the time when another generation of boys will play heedlessly above them. This motif contrasts with the figure of the uncannily wise child, such as little Nell, who understands or welcomes death. For a later response to the motif,
see Edith Nesbit’s ‘Children’s Playgrounds in the City,’ or Hardy’s ‘The Children and Sir Nameless,’ in which the young descendents of children ejected from Sir Nameless’s park centuries before, unknowingly take their revenge on the lord’s effigy.

e. The Sexton.

Representations of sextons fall into two distinct categories. Traditionally they are drunken, avaricious, hard-hearted and morally corrupt, as in Wordsworth’s ‘To a Sexton’ or William Watt’s ‘The Beadle and the Sexton.’ The idea of a human being earning his living from the deaths of his fellow men was often given an ironic or satirical twist (as in Dickens’s ghost tale ‘The Story of the Goblins who stole a Sexton’). In Thomas Dermody’s ‘Epitaph. On the Sexton who rung his own knell,’ the sexton is killed by the churchbell falling on him, while in Hardy’s ‘The Sexton at Longpuddle,’ the sexton complacently reflects that he will never be short of work (forgetting that he too is mortal). However under Romantic influence this negative stereotype was given a sentimental revision and sextons were transformed into careworn solitaries, garrulous story-tellers (see Samuel Taylor Coleridge’s ‘The Three Graves. A Fragment of a Sexton’s Tale’) or mourners. William Allingham’s ‘The Old Sexton’ shows the man dying quietly up in the bell-tower, while in Charles Swain’s ‘The Sexton,’ the white-haired ‘man of many graves’ (5) weeps uncontrollably as he digs the grave of his own son.

f. Meditation on a relic of the deceased.

Relics which represent the absent body include locks of hair, letters, garments, pictures, leaves and flowers. Where the dead person was a loved one, the meditation usually concentrates on the process of memory, but where they were a public or historical figure, the fall of greatness is the more likely subject. In ‘On a Leaf from the Tomb of Virgil,’ the leaf helps the speaker to imagine the grave, but it also leads Felicia Hemans to moralise that the leaf will be replaced while the poet cannot. Related to this motif are meditations addressed to more literal mortality symbols, such as George Darley’s ‘To a Cypress Tree,’ or the lyrics addressed to the yew in In Memoriam (II and XXXIX).

g. Christian devotional poems.

While many poems have a religious overtone, specifically devotional verses are likely to have a restricted abstract vocabulary, be derived from scripture, and take the form of a miniaturised sermon in metre. These meditations on biblical texts aim to elucidate the allegorical or contemporary meaning of familiar motifs such as ‘O grave, where is thy sting, death where thy victory,’ and to counter irreligious influence. Bernard Barton’s ‘Quickened, but helpless,’ derived from the raising of Lazarus (John. 11:44), compares this physical resurrection with the ascent from disbelief to faith, and ends with a prayer that God’s word release those whose ‘grave-clothes cling around us.’ See also Elizabeth Charles’s ‘The Crypt,’ Charlotte Elliott’s ‘She goeth unto the grave to weep there’, and Frederick William Orde Ward’s ‘November 12. Out of the Grave.’

1See I, pp.141n, 148, 156, 176 for organic mementoes picked from graves.
5. The grave as a function of narrative.

a. Ballad: allegorical or moral metrical tale.

In these story-poems continuing the balladic tradition revived by poems such as Wordsworth’s ‘Michael’ or ‘The Two Brothers,’ the grave serves as a point of origination and / or destination for a tale which usually moralises on life, death and salvation. Characters tend to be designed to make a point about morality, so that as in the associated genre of sentimental prose (e.g., Irving’s Sketch Book), typical figures are pathetic children, the young and beautiful, tragic lovers, sextons, parsons or the last representative of a family. In Letitia Landon’s ‘A Village Tale,’ the narrator apparently sees a weary young widower with a small child seated by a well-tended grave, but this tableau gives the impetus for the true story that the dead woman jilted the speaker and married another who then deserted her. In this interesting anticipation of Hardyian irony, the young woman’s premature death appears as a punishment for her disloyalty, although the chance of redemption is suggested by the lover’s care for the orphaned child. See also the melodramatic climax of Caroline Bowles’s Ellen Fitzarthur: A Metrical Tale in Five Cantos, the death-bed scene in Hartley Coleridge’s ‘Leonard and Susan’ (546ff.), and R. C. Dallas’s ‘Amabel: Or, the Cornish Lovers,’ in which the unrequited lover is a carver of tombstones.

b. Gothic-influenced dramatic poem, ‘tragedy’ or tale.

Sensational gothic subjects and imagery can be found in many types of poem, particularly in the early nineteenth century, when the circumstances of real-life burial sometimes approached the extremity of gothic. Typically these subjects are presented in long poems inspired by drama and Gothic fiction; the grave scene in Hamlet and the tomb scenes in Romeo and Juliet clearly influence the morbid scene-settings common in gothic. Standard elements include conflicts between good and evil, romantic settings such as monasteries, ruins, castles and crypts, blighted love-affairs, fatal misunderstandings, the eroticism of death, murders and supernatural happenings. In James Hogg’s ‘The Pilgrims of the Sun’ (Parts III and IV) a visionary guide leads a young woman to her future burial-place, where she sees a monk disturbing the corpses. The shock seems to kill her, but justice is done to the thieving monk, who goes mad when the woman revives as he tries to cut off her ringed fingers. Several scenes in Thomas Lovell Beddoes’s ‘The Bride’s Tragedy’ are set by the grave of a parricide and suicide, while the murderer Hesperus is killed by poisoned flowers picked from the grave of his bride (and victim) Floribel. Compare Philip James Bailey’s Festus, M. G. Lewis’s ‘The Troubadour: or, Lady Alice’s Bower. A Provençal Tale,’ and the climax of his ‘The Isle of Devils’ and J. H. Merivale’s ‘The Dead Men of Pest.’

c. Re-telling of national and classical legends.

These stories, the secular equivalent of biblical epics such as Edwin Atherstone’s ‘The Fall of Nineveh’ or ‘Israel in Egypt,’ have different functions depending on whether the author’s purpose is religious or to revive national stories. Epics on the fall of Rome or the eruption of Vesuvius which buried Herculaneum refer literally and metaphorically to the grave, and suggest
that pagan civilizations come to tragic ends. Celtic legends are more likely to be retold as part of the nineteenth-century recuperation of regional culture or the pre-Raphaelite influence, as in Aubrey De Vere's 'The Dirge of Desmond,' Samuel Ferguson's 'The Burial of King Cormac' and the climax of 'Deirdre,' Charles Mackay's 'The Burial March of King Duncan' or Alexander Smith's 'Torquil and Oona.'

6. Graves in hostile or extreme landscapes.

a. Sea.

The figure of the sea as a last resting-place has a strong grip on the nineteenth-century imagination. Where conventional burial locates the body in a protected site, sea-burial leaves the body exposed to an uncertain fate in an unstable element. If burial at sea is the perfect end for a sailor, in most cases it distresses the bereaved because there is no memorial site. Accidents at sea, such as the sinking of a ship (see Edmund Gosse's 'The Loss of the "Eurydice"' and Stephen Phillips's 'The Titanic'), are regarded with particular anguish. In 'The Untombed Mariners,' James Hyslop re-writes Coleridge's 'Rime of the Ancient Mariner,' and pictures a lost ship with its starved crew as 'A corpse on the black, black sea' (36).

However, precisely because a sea-grave was so feared, great efforts were made to reassure people that their loved ones would be resurrected from the oceans (see Charles Bucke's 'Ode Written while sailing, in a Tempest, up the Bristol Channel' and John Keble's 'Forms of Prayer to be used at Sea'). The speaker of Felicia Hemans's 'The Treasures of the Deep' asserts that 'Earth shall reclaim her precious things from thee! — / Restore the dead, the dead, thou sea!' (35-6). Frederic, Lord Leighton's large painting 'And the Sea Gave Up the Dead Which Were in It' (first exhibited in 1892, now in the Tate Gallery), shows shrouded figures sitting up in floating coffins and the reawaking dead rising out of the waves with their eyes turned skywards. Sea-burial later undergoes a degree of recuperation because like cremation it reduces the body to its elements - see Kipling's 'The "Mary Gloster"' and later the Phlebas motif in The Waste Land.

Churchyards beside the sea are also sites of concern because of the unusual proportion of people dying unnatural deaths interred there, whether drowned strangers or local fishermen (see R. S. Hawker's 'The Figure-Head of the Caledonia at her Captain's Grave'), and because water-erosion might expose the graves.

---

1This concern is as ancient as poetry; many nineteenth-century poems echo Greek epitaphs or revisit stories such as the tragic drownings of Hero and Leander. See 'A Tomb by the Sea' by Archias (fl. A.D. 120):

I'm dead, and yet must thole the sleepless surge. [thole, suffer]
When billows threw me battered on the sands,
By spouting reefs I found, beside the verge
Of mine old foe, a grave at strangers' hands;
But still among the dead I am distressed
To hear the boom and thunder of the sea:
Not even Hades couches me to rest;
Alone of ghosts I cannot lie at ease.

Translated by Sir William Marris (Higham and Bowra 1938, p.640).
b. Desert.

The desert grave is usually associated with military campaigns, or is a pathetic motif in a larger treatment of exotic or eastern themes. Like burial at sea, desert graves are not stable, and in several poems the corpse is seemingly rejected by the sand, uncovered by winds and becomes vulnerable to predators.

c. Mountain or frozen waste.

Graves in extreme temperatures or landscapes are linked with military endeavour (as in Joseph Cottle's 'The Warrior's Grave on Snowden') but also with exploration and imperial expansion. As in many paintings by Caspar David Friedrich, a grave-marker or cairn appears more dramatic in stark and unpeopled scenery. In George Croly's 'On the Grave of Major Schill, buried on the Glacis of Stralsund,' a stranger assumes that only an outcast or criminal could be buried in such a marginal place, but a German soldier proudly celebrates the grave as true to the spirit of the hero. Burial in geographically high places gives the grave an elevated status, allowing a mountain to be read as a monument, as shown by the unusual mountain/city grave in Browning's 'A Grammarian's Funeral.' Unlike the sea and desert grave, these snowy and freezing extremes help to preserve the body.

d. Battlefield graves.

While every period includes poetic celebrations of fighting and dying for one's country (such as C. M. Doughty's 'The Soldier's Grave' and David Macbeth Moir's poem of the same title), later nineteenth-century records of heroic sacrifice are more often tempered with an awareness of the effects of war on the survivors and bereaved. Traditionally the soldier's grave is in an alien or marginal place, away from family and homeland. Sydney Dobell's 'A Hero's Grave' is a particularly interesting examination of a father's feeling of being cheated not only by death, but by his son's heroic status. Poems of the Napoleonic wars tended to emphasise the tragic loss of individual leaders, but by the time of the Crimean conflict the focus had turned to ordinary soldiers (see Dobell's 'The Common Grave' and R. C. Trench's 'Sonnet. Together lay them in one common grave,' also below, Eugene Lee-Hamilton's 'Field Grave').

7. Pathetic meditations on the graves of marginal social figures.

Ironically, social outcasts are popular subjects for poetry, particularly when they come in contact with the ultimate marginalising force of death. Marginal figures make attractive subjects for grave-poetry because burial-places retain a geography of social hierarchy and division. For instance, in the third section of Richard Monckton Milnes's 'Meditative Fragments, On Venice,' the speaker walks out onto a narrow spit of land between the Lido and the open sea. He is surprised to find himself treading on graves, and imagines they could only belong to 'pirates or ... mariners.' In fact it is a Jewish Cemetery, and Milnes concludes that 'Apart, severely

---

1See also Whitman's accounts of the Civil War dead in Specimen Days, particularly 'The Million Dead, Too, Summ'd Up' (Whitman 1982, pp.776-8).
separate, / On the verge of the outer sea, / Their home of Death is desolate / As their Life’s home could be’ (160-3). In addition to the categories suggested below, other marginal figures include the elderly (see John Leyden’s ‘On an Old Man Dying Friendless’) and the insane (see Aubrey De Vere’s ‘Dolores. [Scene in a Madhouse]’).

a. Exiles and emigrants.

The grave is synonymous with home-coming and rest, so to die and be buried away from home and family is regarded as sad or even tragic. The degree of pathos depends on how far the exile had adapted to the new country: emigration to America suggested promise as well as struggle and dislocation. Bernard Barton’s ‘Stanzas to the Memory of Dr. John Leyden’ contrasts the Scottish scenery of Leyden’s childhood with the strange and exotic landscape of unchristian Java where he died. However, because Leyden was a poet as well as a traveller, his death could be romanticised as that of a ‘banished minstrel’ who will not be forgotten. The subject of W. R. Spencer’s ‘The Emigrant’s Grave’ was an exile from revolutionary France who had been shown charity by a small English rural community. See also Cecil Frances Humphreys’s ‘Dying Among the Pines,’ Bryan Waller Procter’s sonnet ‘On a Stranger’s Grave near Venice’ and A. A. Watts’s ‘On the Death of a Young Friend, of Fever, at Laguira.’

b. The poor.

The rhetorical gestures made at a poor person’s grave are unusually uniform, although there is a clear distinction between those who die in institutions and those who manage to retain their own homes. These poems also cross over into explicit social criticism and employ the motif of death the leveller discussed above. John Critchley Prince’s ‘The Pauper’s Grave’ is set in the workhouse (a ‘living tomb’), where a fellow ‘slave’ digs the dead man’s grave, while unfeeling staff ‘render to earth the insulted clay.’ The man is buried cut off from a family ruined by poverty, and the speaker calls for vengeance and improvement. The poor man who remains independent has a more dignified end; he may have no overt memorial, and the grave may be the first real rest he has known, but material poverty is traditionally associated with spiritual wealth, and so he may be fondly remembered in his class and community (see Louisa Shore’s ‘A Requiem. On reading some verses about a poor woman seen carrying the coffin of her infant in her arms to the burial’).

1 However, see Holmes 1896, pp.155-61 for the special character of Jewish burial-grounds in London.

2 Compare Felicia Hemans’s ‘Burial of an Emigrant’s Child in the Forests,’ where an English mother burying her child in the American wilderness recalls the ‘near household grave’ of an earlier dead child:

   And I could watch the sunshine, through all hours,
   Loving and clinging to the grassy spot;
   And I could dress its greensward with fresh flowers —
   Familiar, meadow flowers. O’er thee,
   The primrose will not blossom! (Hemans 1839, v.VII, p.157, 40-4)

3 The negative connotations of a ‘pauper’s funeral’ partly derive from the implication that the family cannot or will not pay for a dignified ritual. Even in 1997 a husband’s decision to leave his wife to a pauper burial was front page news (Daily Telegraph, 24 September).
c. Criminals.

Poems specifically about a criminal’s grave are relatively rare, but graves of wrongdoers and murderers often appear in metrical tales and gothic studies, where they are associated with sinister and neglected corners of the churchyard. However even the felon may repent and be redeemed, and we are warned against the hubris of judging others.\(^1\)

d. Victims.

Verses about the victims of crimes are more common on sensational broadsheets and in newspapers than in published volumes, but, as John Clare’s ‘Lines written while viewing some remains of an human body in Lolham Lane’ suggests, victims of violent crimes share the marginal social position of the murderer. In ‘Dirge for Jessie MacPherson’ Janet Hamilton acutely distinguishes between the eager curiosity people show about a sensational event, and their aversion to the victim, and extends this into a broader criticism of the justice system; Jessie is a victim twice over. Compare Hamilton’s ‘On Seeing the Dead Body of a Man,’ where a drowned drunk is seen as getting his just deserts.

e. Black slaves.

The graves of black people and slaves are often written about, although political protest against slave-owning tends to come a close second to self-consciousness about the exoticism of the topic.\(^2\) The same motifs are used as for the graves of the workhouse poor, but with the added contrast of darkness of skin with innocence of soul. In death as in life the slave is defined in terms of what he lacks, being deprived of his home country, liberty and family (see Thomas Dibdin’s ‘On a Dead Negro’). In C. I. M. Dibdin’s ‘Negro Slave,’ the dead slave is also a suicide, and he is found dead in the street; only by charity is a grave found for him. Caroline Wadsworth’s ‘The Slave’s Funeral’ is unusual in showing the other slaves at the grave-side, and suggesting that they are not free even to display emotion.

f. The nameless and lonely.

This large group includes strangers who are never identified or claimed, and graves where there is no marker or the inscription has disappeared. The absence of identity makes such graves particularly pathetic, and allows the poet to fill the gap with speculation. In ‘The Nameless Dead,’ Frederick William Orde Ward reads these anonymous graves as signs of humility, concluding that ‘there are royal souls without a name’ (12). In Susan K. Phillips’s

\(^1\)This tension between punishment and forgiveness has been reflected in recent years by divisions between parish and parochial councils as to whether Fred West (who committed suicide in prison) could be buried in the West family grave in Much Marcle village churchyard in January 1995; the West relatives decided to cremate the body and disperse the ashes secretly, relieving local fears that the grave might become a site of macabre pilgrimage.

The ornate Victorian-revival funeral of the gangster Ronnie Kray at Chingford Mount Cemetery in March 1995 also provoked very mixed popular responses.

\(^2\)However in *Uncle Tom’s Cabin*, ch.41 the young George Shelby swears an oath over Tom’s grave that he will dedicate himself to eradicating slavery in America. The narrator observes: ‘There is no monument to mark the last resting-place of our friend. He needs none! His Lord knows where he lies, and will raise him up, immortal, to appear with him when he shall appear in his glory’ (Stowe 1986, p.593).
‘Nameless Graves,’ the speaker imagines the mourners of the anonymous drowned people who lie in the local seaside churchyard. She sees them pining to know where their loved one lies, and understands how difficult it must be to trust that wherever they are ‘The loved and lost are lying to wait the call of God.’ See also Dora Greenwell’s ‘The Silent Grave-stone,’ which describes the speaker’s frustration at one enigmatic grave ‘Amid the land of homes, an alien.’ The stone defeats her attempt to imagine a past for the mysterious ‘Hugo,’ and she can only conclude that at least he will find a ‘lasting home’ in heaven.

g. Suicides.

Poems on the graves of suicides are generally sympathetic, since the speaker imagines only extreme and desperate straits could have driven someone to the sin of self-murder; particularly in the early period, anxiety that the suicide is damned contributes to this pity. In ‘Lines on the Grave of a Suicide,’ Thomas Campbell describes the dead man as ‘Unknown, unhonoured ... friendless’ (2), and this isolation continues after death, since local fishermen fear to meet the man’s restless ghost where the body was ‘By strangers left upon a lonely shore.’ As Stuart-Wortley advises for the criminal, Campbell suggests that ‘He who thy being gave shall judge of thee alone.’ William Sotheby is similarly compassionate towards the ‘Sad daughter of distress’ who is the subject of ‘Sonnet. The Suicide.’ See also Amy Levy’s ‘A Cross-Road Epitaph,’ and Dora Sigerson’s supernatural tale ‘The Fetch.’

8. The material grave as a central subject.

a. Epitaphs and inscriptions.

Actual epitaphs written for inscription on tombstones are often printed in volumes of poetry; many personal or commissioned tributes to private individuals take this form (a famous example is Wordsworth’s epitaph for Southey’s monument in St. Kentigern’s Church, ‘Ye vales and hills’). However, many more poems imitate, allude to or parody the epitaphal form. Sir John Bowring’s ‘Siste, viator!’ adapts the ancient epitaphal tag for a meditation on the transience of all earthly things and the necessity of looking to God for security,\(^1\) while Samuel Ireland’s ‘Epitaph inscribed by Fame upon the Tomb of Genius’ claims genius as the only human power which can overcome death. In ‘Drowned by the Upsetting of the Life-Boat, October 6, 1841. A Hero’s Grave in Whitby Churchyard,’ Rawnsley belatedly writes the epitaph of a ‘master mariner.’ Most real or imitated epitaphs are brief, and the compact sonnet form is very popular, but some fictional epitaphs are improbably long, and draw attention to their fictive character (as in Wordsworth’s ‘A Poet’s Epitaph’).

b. Grave-choosing: lyric speakers anticipate and describe their own graves.

Although these lyrics bear a significant relation to poems modelled on Gray’s ‘Elegy,’ or other verses set in the churchyard, they differ in presenting the speaker’s ideal imagined burial-

\(^1\)‘Pause, traveller!’ Compare the opening of Hardy’s ‘The Levelled Graveyard,’ ‘O Passenger, pray list ...’.”
scene, usually a rustic churchyard. The trope also necessitates imagining one's own death. In John Anster's 'Sonnet. If I might choose, where my tired limbs shall lie,' the speaker chooses a little mound marked by a patriotic oak 'in some cheerful village-cemetery.' The sensuous aspect of the scene is emphasised, and a beautiful woman plants flowers around the grave. In 'Lines, Written in a Glen, near Valle-Crucis Abbey, Denbighshire,' Charles Bucke chooses a more sublime mountainous landscape with no conventional consecration, but also imagines a specific female mourner, which turns the poem into an unusual love lyric. In Thomas Davis's 'My Grave' the Irish nationalist poet chooses a natural grave 'on an Irish green hill-side' (19), but also asks that 'Be my epitaph writ on my country's mind, / "He served his country, and loved his kind".' See also Clare's sonnet 'Memory' and Darley's 'Soliloquy among the Tombs. Written in Beddington Churchyard.'

c. Ancient Tombs.

Alien forms of early burial and commemoration such as the Egyptian pyramids, mummies, embalming, cinerary urns and barrows appealed to Victorians interested in antiquarianism. In poems these relics tend to be used as a moral reflection on the passing of time, and whether individuals or civilisations can last. The survival of ancient remains seemed particularly miraculous when cemeteries could be filled in twenty years and many nineteenth-century tombstones were illegible after fifty. See Victor Plarr's 'Ad Cinerarium,' Martin F. Tupper's 'On a Bulbous Root, which blossomed, after having lain for ages in the hand of an Egyptian mummy,' and Frederick William Orde Ward's 'Secret of an Egyptian Tomb,' where the mummy's survival of its civilization seems to defy nature. However in Eugene Lee-Hamilton's 'Mimma Bella' XXVII, the beautiful and seemingly perfectly preserved Etruscan body turns to dust on contact with the air.

These poems bear a clear relation to the legal last will and testament, a document not necessarily more powerful than a poem. The Marquis de Sade's will contained strict instructions for his 'woodland burial' (now seen as the future of sustainable burial): 'The ditch once covered over, above it acorns shall be strewn, in order that the spot become green again, and the copse grown back thick over it, the traces of my grave may disappear from the face of the earth as I trust the memory of me shall fade out of the minds of all men save nevertheless for those few who in their goodness have loved me until the last and of whom I carry away a sweet remembrance with me to the grave' (Sade 1991, p.157). When he died in 1814 Sade had his economical funeral, but was buried in the Charenton cemetery, proving the impossibility of post-mortem control of the grave.

Choosing a country churchyard grave continued to be a poetic theme even when the majority were buried in cemeteries. See 'Lines written in Blacklands Church Yard' by 'R. B.:'

Bury me here — in your quiet church yard,
Bury me here — near the grand old tree,
Bury me where the squirrels play,
Bury me near the hum of the bee.

... Bury me free from city noise,
Bury me free from pomp or parade,
Bury me 'neath the caw of the rook
Where the friendly robin his nest has made. (R. B. 1871, 1-4, 9-12)
d. Nineteenth-century burial practice: country and city churchyards, grave-robbing, cemeteries and cremation.¹

While the country churchyard is celebrated as a timeless burial-place where universal truths about life, faith and morality are symbolised, many poems reveal the more specific context of their graves, or explicitly address contemporary burial-issues. In 'Earl Hacon's Tomb' A. C. Benson critiques the Victorian enthusiasm for archeology, when an ancient tomb is carelessly torn open, and the bones 'cast in the charnel-pit,' therefore making the ancient Earl's cairn quite meaningless. In 'The Bishop Orders His Tomb at Saint Praxed's Church,' Browning satirises both corruption in the Renaissance-period Catholic church, and the gothic revival tomb monuments inspired by Pugin. Robert Buchanan's 'Songs of Corruption' ends with a negative catalogue of the comforts and consolations lacking in the Victorian death-ritual, while in Hardy's 'In the Cemetery' children are packed in a common grave 'like sprats in a tin,' only to be displaced under cover of darkness by the laying of a sewer pipe.

For some poets burial-practices in other countries present favourable comparisons: in 'Cemetery of the Smolensko Church,' Letitia Landon warmly celebrates a Russian custom of spending one day in the year with the dead, thinking of loved ones and picnicking with friends and family, while in 'In the Churchyard at Christiania' James Logie Robertson approves the lack of morbidity in Scandinavian burial-custom.² Several other poetic types, such as grave-choosing lyrics or contemporary responses to Gray's 'Elegy,' examine contemporary burial. In Robert Story's 'My William,' the speaker mourns the death of his son in London, wishing that he could have been buried 'in the distant, rural, green churchyard / Near which a child he played' (15-16). Nevertheless, the speaker still rejects funeral pomp: 'No hireling Mute, I said, should stand / In mimicry of woe' (9-10).

e. Speaking from the grave.

This is one of the most striking techniques because it makes the silent body in the grave articulate, and demonstrates the poet's persistent fantasy that consciousness continues after death. In some cases the voice explicitly belongs to a ghost (as in Hardy's "I rose up as my custom is"), and could be linked with more ambitious dream-visions where the spirits of the dead are raised to tell their stories (as in Thomas Cooper's 'The Purgatory of Suicides. A Prison-Rhyme' and William James Linton's 'Voices of the Dead'). However the startling effect is usually made by a living voice coming from the dead body. This motif is most often used in the late-century period, and Hardy is its most characteristic exponent (see 'The Levelled Churchyard,' 'Friends Beyond,' 'The To-Be-Forgotten,' 'Channel Firing' and 'Ah, Are You Digging on my Grave?'). The motif is often linked with love affairs, as if only the power of love could make such communication possible. In Nora Hopper's 'The Dead Lovers (All Souls' Eve, November 1),' a young man who died of a fever greets his drowned lover Margaret in the grave, although it is their souls which are reunited. See also Wilfred Scawen Blunt's 'Song. — Come with the Summer Leaves' and John Davidson's 'Holiday.'

¹See I, pp.24-69.
²Compare Holmes 1896, pp.153-70 on 'The Burial-Places of Foreigners in London.'

a. Women.

Women appear as mothers, friends and spouses in many poetic genres, but the death of a young, beautiful woman is a separate theme with its own sentimental conventions. The woman’s attractiveness and vitality contrast pathetically with the ravages of decomposition in the grave, while her innocence is ironised by physical corruption (or, in Browning’s ‘Gold Hair,’ by the posthumous revelation that the girl had hoarded money in her alluring hair). Details of feminine beauty such as lips, complexion, hair and breasts are often focused on, as in Christina Rossetti’s poem ‘Death.’ The speaker of the poem is often in love with the woman, and may wish to protect the unconscious corpse (as in Hardy’s ‘Rain on a Grave’) or stay at the grave (as in Robert Tannahill’s ‘Lone Silent Grave’); however like a child’s death, a woman’s death can be recuperated on the basis of sorrows she will not have to experience (as in James Rhoades’s ‘E. H.’). See also George Barlow’s ‘At a Grave. A young world’s laughter rang at summer’s word,’ Robert Leighton’s ‘At the Grave of Margaret,’ Katharine Tynan’s ‘The Newly Dead’ and William Watson’s ‘A Hurried Funeral.’ Compare the conventional figure of the female mourner, the archetype of all bereaved people, who so often appeared on funerary monuments with her head bowed or embracing an urn (see James Montgomery’s ‘The Widow’). See also above, 5.a, p.316 on gothic graves.

b. The buried body as an erotic subject.

Related to the above is the more explicit representation of the dead body as the object of erotic love. It is most common for a male speaker to lament over the grave of his female lover, as in Sir Alexander Boswell’s ‘Braes of Ochtertyre — Song,’ where the desperate lover struggles with his anguish at his lover’s grave (also their trysting-place), only able to imagine peace by joining her (compare Francis Coutts-Nevill’s ‘Beside a Grave’). This scenario is most famously played out in Wuthering Heights, ch.29, where Heathcliff opens Cathy’s coffin as Linton’s grave is being dug, sees her preserved body, and knocks out one side of her coffin in preparation for their physical reunion at his own burial. Similarly in J. E. Barlas’s ‘Yes thou must die: I can but borrow thee,’ love and death fuse together so that ‘the grave is the one marriage-bed’ (10), while in Hardy’s ‘The Monument-Maker,’ a dead woman’s ghost returns to scorn the mason’s memorial tribute. The motif was adopted by women poets in the late nineteenth century (see Emily Hickey’s ‘Too Late,’ and Edith Nesbit’s tender poems ‘After Death’ and ‘A Parting,’ which play on the parallel between the grave and the marital bed).

---

1Browning makes an interesting revision of this figure in Sordello, where Sordello is drawn repeatedly to a font supported by mourning caryatides; it is later revealed that the font covers the grave of Sordello’s mother.

2Compare ‘There is no Loving after Death’ by Asclēpiadēs (fl. 290 B.C):
   Why hoard your maidenhood? There’ll not be found
   A lad to love you, girl, under the ground.
   Love’s joys are for the quick; but when we’re dead
   It’s dust and ashes, girl, will go to bed.
   Translated by R. A. Furness (Higham and Bowra 1938, p.526).
10. Figurative graves.

a. The burial of days, years and emotions.

These poems focus on the conceit of the death and burial of an abstract quantity or emotion, such as time, the past, love, faith or hope. There was a recognised genre of occasional poem, most common in keepsakes, periodicals and newspapers, which dirged the ‘death’ of one year, while celebrating the birth of the next, as in Alexander Anderson’s ‘The Burial of the Old Year.’ Lamentations staged over the grave of love are most common in the period 1870-1900, although the trope is more fleetingly visited in the earlier periods. By imagining emotions laid to rest in a grave (as in John Payne’s ‘Matutinal’ on the burial of sorrow) poets could also resurrect them, as Andrew Lang does to disturbing effect in ‘Love the Vampire,’ and Philip Bourke Marston does in the paired poems ‘At Love’s Grave’ and ‘Love’s Resurrection Song.’ This secularisation of the resurrection motif is symptomatic of the decline of institutional religion in the late period.

b. As a trope of public protest: social justice.

Such poems usually take the form of morality tales, where victims of social wrong are given a chance to speak for themselves, or the tragedy of their oppressed lives is played out for our instruction. This group has strong connections with the poems on marginal and criminal figures. The oppressed are described as the living dead, and so the grave often appears as an abstract metaphor for their fate, an image for the places where they live (prisons, poorhouses, tenements, slums). In Charles Mackay’s ‘The Phantoms of St. Sepulchre,’ a condemned man in Newgate Gaol reports a dream set in St. Sepulchre’s churchyard, which lay next to the prison and where many prisoners were interred. The spirits of the dead tell their stories, which show them as victims of circumstance or of miscarried justice. Walter Thornbury’s ‘Baucis and Philemon. (A Legend of an English Workhouse)’ is a narrative expansion of the trope of the pauper’s grave. An elderly couple forced into the workhouse are divided for the first time since marriage, and are said to die of broken hearts. They are also disunited in the grave, buried in ‘the damp churchyard’s coldest, dreariest place,’ but at least nature sanctifies them if humankind will not.¹

c. As a trope of public protest: Irish Famine and nationalist rhetoric.

The imagery of death and resurrection plays a strong part in nineteenth-century didactic Irish nationalist poetry. Ireland is imaged as a dead or buried woman who must be revivied and raised for the country to regain its identity. Leaders who betray the cause are accused of spiritual death, as in Jane Francesca Elgee’s ‘A Lament’ (addressed to Daniel O’Connell) or ‘The Faithless Shepherds,’ where the Dublin Castle authorities are seen as complicit in the Famine of 1846-9, getting rich ‘like weeds in the churchyard fed / By the vapours of death below.’

¹Compare Hardy’s ‘The Curate’s Kindness. A Workhouse Irony’ where the speaker looks forward to being separated from his wife in the ward, only to find that a curate has persuaded the authorities to make an exception for a couple ‘forty years wed.’
d. Grave and harvest imagery.

This topos derives from the biblical passage traditionally used in burying the dead: 'So also is the resurrection of the dead. It is sown in corruption; it is raised in incorruption: It is sown in dishonour: it is raised in glory: it is sown in weakness; it is raised in power: It is sown a natural body; it is raised a spiritual body' (1 Cor. 15:42-3). While Death is the Grim Reaper, Christ is the harvester of souls, and the churchyard is 'God's acre.' These metaphors are frequently found in nineteenth-century responses to ancient seasonal tropes, where human mortality harmonises with or conflicts ironically with annual cycles of decay and renewal in nature. The most common use of this imagery is in botanical symbols of mourning, such as violets, lilies, ivy, laurel and other evergreens; however the Romantic emphasis on natural graves also prioritised humble or wild flowers such as daisies, or grasses.

In a century where land-use and ownership was increasingly disputed, this Christian image of burying bodies (the souls of which would bloom in heaven) was often adapted to political ends. Nature's renewal in spring, and the Christian renewal symbolised by Easter was ironically contrasted with human decline and suffering. Chartist poets saw the Sower as a heroic proto-socialist icon, the worker who would fight rather than suffer the metaphorical death of an exploited labourer (see Ernest C. Jones's 'A Song for May'). Irish nationalist poets blamed the severity of the Famine on sales of Irish grain to England when the Irish people were starving, and deployed an image of agricultural landscape being replaced by mass graves (see Elgee's 'The Famine Year' [also titled 'The Stricken Land'], Denis Florence MacCarthy's 'A Mystery,' and Thomas D'Arcy McGee's 'The Living and the Dead' [The Nation, June 5, 1847]).

e. Graves as prisons and prisons as graves.

Graves are metaphorised as dungeons, cells and vaults, and this association is often used in poems influenced by gothic, so that the living are trapped in vaults with the dead. Death is sometimes referred to as liberating the soul from the body, or as Dora Sigerson says in 'The Prisoner' (about a pine tree exiled from its native clime), 'freedom is but death' (24). Captivity is punishment, and can be symbolically continued even after death, by burial within the prison compound (as in Wilde's 'The Ballad of Reading Gaol'). At the climax of Byron's 'The Prisoner of Chillon,' the prisoner is actually buried under the floor of his dungeon: 'His empty chain above it leant, / Such Murder's fitting monument!' Prisons and graves are closely associated in political rhetoric, and this imagery was used by poets involved in the Chartist and Irish nationalist movements (see Ebenezer Elliott's 'Preston Mills'). Compare Chartist rhetoric associating factories with graves, as in Ernest C. Jones's 'The Factory Town' [The Labourer 1847, Vol I.], where nature (representing instinct and sense) warns 'Weavers! 'Tis your shrouds you're weaving, / Labourers! 'Tis your graves you ope.'
11. Comic graves.

a. The grave as a humorous subject.

The grave has often been the subject of broadly comic and even farcical representations, as in the famous grave-scene in *Hamlet*. Such humour usually depends on an incongruous opposition of life and death, where the living become obsessed with death (as in Thomas Hood's 'Death in the Kitchen') or the dead continue to behave like the living. In Samuel Bamford's dialect poem 'Tim Bobbin's Grave,' an old man wakes up in his grave long enough to quench his thirst by drinking 'a gallon of brown ale at a pull,' while Norman Gale's elegy for a cricketer, 'Five Years After,' presents the man's death and grave in cricketing terms. A few techniques used in sincere and moving elegies, such as the dead speaking from the grave, or presenting the poem as an epitaph, are lampooned. In Arthur Munby's 'Post Mortem' an unhappily married couple continue their arguments in a double grave, until the corpse of their eldest son (a suicide) is deposited on top of them. James Hogg's 'Epitaph on a Living Character' is a variation on the theme of death as the leveller. A wildly eclectic tomb carved with pagan symbols suggesting that the grave encloses a rich elderly man and his pretty young wife, is inscribed with an epitaph warning against ignoring one's duty to God: 'when to the tomb they your carcase deliver, / For good or for evil ye're settled for ever!' (35-6).

b. Satirical graves.

Typical satirical treatments of the grave expose the hypocrisy of dead individuals or of people with a professional relation to death, such as sextons (see above 4.e, p.315), parsons and undertakers. William Watt's 'An Elegy On the Death of the Kilbride Beadle, Charles Mair' covers usual topics for elegy, such as a person's career, character, grave and family, without conforming to the rule of speaking well of the dead. We are told of Mair's heartless dealings with people in his care, burying the poor 'in heaps the putrid mools / On ilka side,' we know that he liked joking and drinking, had a hump and supplemented his income with sheep-stealing. The poem ends with an epitaph which says Mair's soul left his body 'As steam sublimely soars frae toddy.' See also T. W. H. Crosland's 'From the Chimney Corner,' where a dead parson is sermonized by one of the worms in his churchyard.
ANTHOLOGY.

Part I: Elegiac poems written on the death of an individual.

1. Private and personal.

a. By an adult child for a parent.

Robert ANDERSON (1820), v.ii, p.6.

"Stanzas on Visiting a Mother's Grave."¹

"View the tomb with sculpture splendid,
View the sod with briars bound;
There the farce of finery's ended, —
All are equal under ground:
Wise men, weak ones, poor, and wealthy,
Tenant unremitting graves;
Haughty, humble, sick, and healthy,
Britain's sons and Afric's slaves!"

G. A. Stevens.

I, to the Church-yard went to see
The spot where my poor Mother's laid,
When quick the tears gush'd from my eye; —
I hung my head like one afraid;
And thought of all the anxious days,
And restless nights for me she bore;
A puny thing, ill worth her care,
Then did I sigh, and weep the more.

'Twas sorrow's luxury to see
The sod that wrapp'd a parent's clay,
And on that narrow spot of earth,
O, I could weep the hours away!
I tore a nettle from her tomb!
Why should a rank weed flourish there?
O'er one who virtue made her guide,
Pale prey to sickness, want, and care.

Oft do I mark the humble shed,
Where blythe was spent life's op'ning day;
And oft, at eve, I trace the fields
Where she would fondly with me stray;
And oft I seek the place of graves.
Where one I water with a tear;
And still her spirit seems to say,
Prepare in time to rest thee here!

¹A strain of egotism is surely allowable, when the most tender emotions of the heart are forced into action, by a visit to the tomb of an affectionate parent. Then, and only then, the dearest scenes of life are recalled to imagination — scenes that occurred long ere sorrow had occasioned us to suspect the wily deeds of man: delighted with the retrospective glance, we proudly exclaim, such things were, but never must return!

Adjoining St. Mary's Cathedral, Carlisle, in the north west corner, behind every one, are interred many of my ancestors and relatives. No sculptured tale of truth or falsehood marks the place; for alas! they had to struggle against poverty, and toil their day of life "unknowing and unknown."

These simple stanzas were written after an absence of many years from my native place, and can only be acceptable to such readers as cherish the remembrance of a mother's solicitude.
And oft I think of that sad hour,
When she was to the dust consign'd;
Soon eager beat my guileless heart
To seek the world, to know mankind:
The world I saw, mankind I loved,
And heedless sail'd down pleasure's stream:
Now, busy mem'ry loud proclaims,
Life's morning's all a fe'rish dream!

Near to that little mound of earth,
Fain would I rest my wearied head,
For I'm a joyless pilgrim here,
And none would seek my narrow bed.
Reflection wounds me in the past;
To-morrow brings not hope to me;
O, sainted form! O, parent blest!
Would I had bow'd to earth with thee!

I think of eve's long wish'd-for hours,
When joyous home from school I flew;
And with affection's dearest kiss,
My arms around her neck I threw.
Tho' luxury our board ne'er grac'd,
'Midst poverty content was giv'n,
And all that wealth or wisdom boast,
Are nought without this boon of Heav'n!

Still could I find a haven of rest
On her pure bosom, fondly lov'd;
And all hope's wanton dreams of bliss,
Were, with a smile, by her approv'd:
Her lessons led to virtue's path;
Her num'rous sorrows were made mine;
And ever present is her look,
When now I welcome life's decline.

Long ere ten times I'd seen blythe spring
Spread o'er the earth her fost'ring dews,
Cold were the lips I weeping kiss'd,
And I was told heart-rending news.
Whate'er my fate, whate'er my care,
While in this frame life's pulse shall beat,
All worldly ills I'll patient bear,
And fondly hope with her to meet.

William Cox BENNETT (1862), pp.43-4.

'By a Grave in Lee Churchyard.'

Father — father, here I linger;
Years have passed since last I came,
Thus to trace, with faltering finger,
On this stone, your vanished name;
That dear name, what dear lips told it
Once — that name, now named by none
But by those, how few! who hold it
Dear as I, your lonely son.

Father, father, I am yearning
That long-vanished form to see,
That face that is but returning
Dim, as in a dream, to me;
Few the years that dear face blessed me
Ere it awed my childish sight,
Father, no more to caress me.
From its coffin, calm and white.

Then but as a child I wept you,
Deeply as a child's heart can
In its love my child's heart kept you,
But no more than now I'm man;
Not as much; O early-pined-for,
Father, o'er whose grave I bow,
See, with tears, these eyes are blind for
Those dear eyes that see me now.

Yes, while here your dust is sleeping,
O dear soul these lips would kiss,
You are in some new world keeping
Watch o'er those you loved in this;
Still my evil thoughts controlling,
Joying in my earthly joy,
I have felt you, grief consoling,
Warning — strengthening me, your boy.

O from empty space before me,
Father dear, that you might start,
Might now bend that dear face o'er me
And look love into my heart!
But not to these eyes while living
Shall that blessed lost look come;
No more words to mine are giving
Those dear lips, for ever dumb.

Shall I not hereafter know you,
O my father, yet again?
Yes, to these eyes death shall show you,
When I leave life's joy and pain;
With the bliss of those long parted,
O how cherished, O how sweet,
Is the thought that then, glad-hearted,
Father, father, we shall meet!

b. By a parent for a child.

Henrietta TINDAL (1850), pp.126-8.

‘“Is it well with the child?” and she answered “It is well”.'

These words are inscribed on the monument of a child named Leslie, in Torquay Churchyard.

Is it well with thee, lovely child?
The sun is on the sea,
The wild birds in the yellow gorse
Are singing merrily;
Their freshness on the morning air
The early violets fling;
Why, with all nature, dost not thou
Come forth to meet the spring?

Is it well with thee thus to lie
In loneliness and gloom?
The fragile butterfly hath burst
From out her silken tomb;
The honey-bee goes gaily forth  
Among the fields and bowers;  
Oh! why alone dost lag behind,  
Thou brightest of spring flowers?

Is it well with thee to exchange  
Affection’s warmest ties  
For the cold marble that enshrouds  
Thee from all mortal eyes?  
Is it well with thee thus to lie  
Apart from all thy race?  
No friend who look’d on thee in life  
Weeps o’er thy resting-place!

It is well with thee, little one!  
No transient gleam can bring  
Thee, from thy trance of blessedness,  
To greet an earthly spring!  
To bud again, sweet human flower!  
To bloom — to fade — to die!  
To faint beneath the heat and cold,  
Like bee or butterfly!

It is well with thee! All thy life,  
Like fairy-land, was gay;  
Of earth’s bright things thou never saw’st  
The fading and decay;  
No trembling ever marr’d thy hope;  
Thou didst not love with fear;  
Holy and happy memories  
Do float around thy bier!

It is well with thee! Though in death  
Thus sever’d from thy race,  
A sister-band of seraphim  
Shall bear thee to thy place,  
Amid the white-robed round the throne,  
In deathless songs to tell  
Of mercies past and present joys.  
Oh, little one, ‘tis well!


‘In Memoriam R. M. Obiit Nov. XXI. MDCCCXC. Aetat. VII.’

Under the flowers he loved my flower lies,  
Pansy, and primrose pale, and violet,  
And in my heart the season’s sweetness died,  
And all my joy is faded to regret.

My garden, mine, is his new-planted grave,  
Beneath the elm where birds, new-mated, sing,  
Whose green-tipped branches in the west-wind wave,  
And make their glad obeisance to the spring.

Tell me not spring is fair and fraught with hope,  
Bid me not go seek solace at her hands!  
Spring is my autumn, my year’s downward slope,  
And he is living where the tell elm stands.

My only spring, my only hope is this —  
Soon, soon to follow where my treasure is.
'He sleeps. 1805.'

Oft as I wander round the spot,
To Sorrow sacred made,
Beneath whose consecrated turf,
My Richardson is laid;
My bleeding heart again recalls
Past hours of heart-felt bliss,
Whilst mem'ry only serves to make
My sorrows flow afresh!

But soft! methinks I hear a voice
Descending from above
Which cries, 'my chast'ning hand I lay
On those I dearly love;
To try their faith, their love to me,
I bid their joys decrease,
But all who on my word rely,
In me find perfect peace.'

My God! I hear thine awful voice.
And dare no more repine.
Humbled beneath thy mighty arm,
I own the stroke divine!
I'll strive to overcome this grief;
Assist me with thy grace,
And let me in affliction's hour,
Possess my soul in peace!

For ah! why should this wayward heart
In fruitless sorrow mourn,
Since pain and sorrow are the lot,
Of all of woman born;
My Richardson from every woe
Has found a sweet release,
And in the mansions of the tomb,
He sleeps, and is at peace!

No more can Envy's secret sting
Its pois'nous canker spread,
Malice and Calumny no more
Their baneful venom shed,
Vain are their efforts now to wound,
Their idle rage may cease,
For safe within the silent tomb,
He sleeps, and is at peace!

But chief, no more the tyrant Sin,
Can e'er his soul enslave,
The captive's loosen'd from his chains,
Through Jesu's pow'r to save;
His warfare now is at an end,
And all his conflicts cease,
For ever freed, he now enjoys,
Uninterrupted peace!

But, when th' Archangel's voice is heard,
Resounding through the skies,
(That voice which cleaves the pond'rous tombs,
And bids the dead arise)
The graves obedient hear the call,
Their prisoners release,
And all who sleep in Jesus now,
Shall reign with him in peace.

May I, at that tremendous hour,
With holy joy awake,
And, with the ransom'd of the Lord,
In endless bliss partake;
My Richardson I then shall join,
Where pain and parting cease,
And spend a sweet eternity,
In harmony and peace.

d. Siblings and other relations.

John MOULTRIE (1876), v.1, pp. 1-6.

'My Brother's Grave.'

Beneath the chancel's hallow'd stone,
Exposed to every rustic tread,
To few, save rustic mourners, known,
My brother, is thy lowly bed.
Few words, upon the rough stone graven,
Thy name — thy birth — thy youth declare
Thy innocence — thy hopes of Heaven —
In simplest phrase recorded there.
No 'scutcheons shine, no banners wave,
In mockery, o'er my brother's grave.

The place is silent — rarely sound
Is heard those ancient walls around;
Nor mirthful voice of friends that meet
Discoursing in the public street,
Nor hum of business dull and loud,
Nor murmur of the passing crowd,
Nor soldier's drum, nor trumpet's swell
From neighbouring fort or citadel, —
No sound of human toil or strife
To death's lone dwelling speaks of life;
Nor breaks the silence, still and deep,
Where thou, beneath thy burial stone,
Art laid "in that unstartled sleep
The living eye hath never known."
The lonely sexton's footstep falls
In dismal echoes on the walls,
As, slowly pacing through the aisle,
He sweeps the unholy dust away,
And cobwebs, which must not defile
Those windows on the Sabbath day;
And, passing through the central nave,
Treads lightly on my brother's grave.

But when the sweet-toned Sabbath chime,
Pouring its music on the breeze,
Proclaims the well-known holy time
Of prayer, and thanks, and bended knees;
When rustic crowds devoutly meet,
And lips and hearts to God are given,
And souls enjoy oblivion sweet
Of earthly ills, in thoughts of Heaven;
What voice of calm and solemn tone
Is heard above thy burial stone?
What form, in priestly meek array,
Beside the altar kneels to pray?
What holy hands are lifted up
To bless the sacramental cup?
Full well I know that reverend form,
And if a voice could reach the dead,
Those tones would reach thee, though the worm,
My brother, makes thy heart his bed;
That Sire, who thy existence gave,
Now stands beside thy lowly grave.

It is not long since thou wert wont
Within these sacred walls to kneel;
This altar, that baptismal font,
These stones which now thy dust conceal,
The sweet tones of the Sabbath bell,
Were holiest objects to thy soul;
On these thy spirit loved to dwell,
Untainted by the world's control.
My brother, those were happy days,
When thou and I were children yet;
How fondly memory still surveys
Those scenes the heart can ne'er forget!

My soul was then, as thine is now,
Unstain'd by sin, unstung by pain;
Peace smiled on each unclouded brow —
Mine ne'er will be so calm again.
How blithely then we hail'd the ray
Which usher'd in the Sabbath day!
How lightly then our footsteps trod
Yon pathway to the house of God!
For souls, in which no dark offence
Hath sullied childhood's innocence,
Best meet the pure and hallow'd shrine,
Which guiltier bosoms own divine.
I feel not now as then I felt,
The sunshine of my heart is o'er;
The spirit now is changed which dwelt
Within me, in the days before.
But thou wert snatch'd, my brother, hence,
In all thy guileless innocence;
One Sabbath saw thee bend the knee
In reverential piety —
For childish faults forgiveness crave —
The next beam'd brightly on thy grave.
The crowd, of which thou late wert one,
Now throng'd across thy burial stone;
Rude footsteps trampled on the spot
Where thou lay'st mould'ring and forgot;
And some few gentler bosoms wept
In silence, where my brother slept.

I stood not by thy feverish bed,
I look'd not on thy glazing eye,
Nor gently lull'd thy aching head,
Nor view'd thy dying agony:
I felt not what my parents felt,
The doubt — the terror — the distress —
Nor vainly for my brother knelt —
My soul was spared that wretchedness,
One sentence told me, in a breath,
My brother's illness — and his death!

And days of mourning glided by,
And brought me back my gaiety;
For soon in childhood's wayward heart
Doth crush'd affection cease to smart.
Again I join'd the sportive crowd
Of boyish playmates, wild and loud;
I learnt to view with careless eye
My sable garb of misery;
No more I wept my brother's lot,
His image was almost forgot;
And ev'ry deeper shade of pain
Had vanish'd from my soul again.

The well-known morn I used to greet
With boyhood's joy at length was beaming,
And thoughts of home and raptures sweet,
In every eye but mine, were gleaming;
But I, amidst that youthful band
Of beating hearts and beaming eyes,
Nor smiled nor spoke at joy's command,
I loved my home, but trembled now
To view my father's alter'd brow;
I fear'd to meet my mother's eye.
And hear her voice of agony;
I fear'd to view my native spot,
Where he who loved it — now was not.
The pleasures of my home were fled —
My brother slumber'd with the dead.

I drew near to my father's gate —
No smiling faces met me now —
I enter'd — all was desolate —
Grief sat upon my mother's brow:
I heard her as she kiss'd me, sigh,
A tear stood in my father's eye;
My little brothers round me press'd,
In gay unthinking childhood bless'd.
Long, long that hour has pass'd, but when
Shall I forget its mournful scene?

The Sabbath came — with mournful pace
I sought my brother's burial place —
That shrine, which when I last had view'd,
In vigour by my side he stood.
I gazed around with fearful eye —
All things reposed in sanctity.
I reach'd the chancel — nought was changed —
The altar decently arranged —
The pure white cloth above the shrine —
The consecrated bread and wine —
All was the same — I found no trace
Of sorrow in that holy place.
One hurried glance I downward gave —
My foot was on my brother's grave!
And years have pass'd and thou art now
Forgotten in thy silent tomb;
And cheerful is my mother's brow,
My father's eye has lost its gloom;
And years have pass'd, and death has laid
Another victim by thy side;
With thee he roams, an infant shade,
But not more pure than thou he died.
Blest are ye both! your ashes rest
Beside the spot ye loved the best;
And that dear home, which saw your birth,
O'erlooks you in your bed of earth.
But who can tell what blissful shore
Your angel spirits wander o'er?
And who can tell what raptures high
Now bless your immortality?

My boyish days are nearly gone,
My breast is not unsullied now;
And worldly cares and woes will soon
Cut their deep furrows on my brow —
And life will take a darker hue
From ills my brother never knew.
And I have made me bosom friends,
And loved and link'd my heart with others;
But who with mine his spirit blends,
As mine was blended with my brother's?
When years of rapture glided by,
The spring of life's unclouded weather,
Our souls were knit, and thou and I,
My brother, grew in love together.
The chain is broke which bound us then —
When shall I find its like again?

1816.

Charles TENNYSON (1864), pp.23-4.

'An Incident in a Church.'

As one whose eyes, by gleam of waters caught,
Should find them strewn with pansies, so to me
It chanced that morning, as I bowed the knee,
Soliciting th' approach of hallowed thought;
I dreamed not that so dear a tomb was nigh;
My sidelong glance the lucid marble drew,
And, turning round about enquiringly,
I found it letter'd with the names I knew;
Three precious names I knew, and lov'd withal,
Yea, knew and lov'd, albeit too briefly known —
Louisa, Henry, and the boy just grown
To boyhood's prime, as each receiv'd the call;
And, over all, carv'd in the same white stone,
The symbol of the holiest death of all.

To the Survivors.
Henceforth to you this monument shall be
A bright and constant presence: evermore
Your thoughts of death must pass by this white door,
Till ye yourselves shall meet Eternity;
This vestal tablet written o'er with love,
From morn to eve your inner eye shall read,
And even in midnight darkness ye shall prove
What heavenward hopes its snowy gleam can feed;
Yes, ever in your hearts' clear depths shall lie
This fair tomb-shadow, when no ripple moved;
And, when fresh rous'd to earthly sympathy,
Come floating softly o'er your living loves:
While I, not robbing you, may keep my share
Of that pure light which stole across my prayer.

e. Friends.

Richard Alfred MILLIKEN (1823), pp.24-30.

'Elegy on a Friend.'

If unharmonious flow these humble strains;
If to the Critic eye their faults appear;
Lo! here the Muse in no feigned grief complains,
'Tis wounded Friendship pours the genuine tear. —

For she from pompous phrase disgusted turns
Her sorrowing song courts not the public ear;
Refrain'd to silent Solitude, she mourns
Where none but Echo may her wailing hear.

Let Pride, insulting to the titled dead,
O'er their frail dust the trophied marble raise;
In vain the monumental honour's paid,
If Infamy belie the Sculptor's praise. —

What tho' for him no Grecian columns rear
Their forms august to catch admiring eyes,
The Spring shall spread its choicest verdure there,
And earliest flowrets ope their tenderest dyes. —

There hush'd the winds their softest breath shall blow,
There shall the woodlark chant the live-long day;
No noxious plant shall there polluted grow,
Where sacred Virtue sanctifies the clay. —

Ye gentle nymphs who Taio's banks adorn,
Attend with sighs a hapless stranger's grave;
Nor pass, ye youths, the lowly sod in scorn;
For know, that pity dignifies the brave. —

His was the breast that throb'd at mis'ry's call,
His was the hand that wiped the wretch's tear,
That eager stretch'd to stay a Brother's fall
Or dissipate the writhings of despair. —

On him the milder virtues beam'd serene,
His honest heart forbade a vicious thought;
Oft too, to glisten in his eye was seen,
The sympathetic dew from sorrow caught. —

When the bright day it's transient course hath run,
And all the beauties of the forest fly;

1Mr. John Simcocks who died in Lisbon whither he went by the advice of his Physicians. —
Look, from the western hills the setting sun
Leaves a long track of glory in the sky. —

So sinks the good man to the silent tomb,
But that his fame shall find a longer date;
The wreath that virtue twines shall ever bloom,
The sun that gilds his name shall never set. —

Norman GALE (1914), pp.51-2.

'A Funeral.'

We carried you one sullen winter day
Along a road of no return for you,
No coming back for you, O friend.
We bore the body, for the soul, men say,
Unviewed, had sped into the angels’ view
And left the world to circle to its end.
We bore you on our shoulders though the wind
Came o’er the hedges with a cry that made
Us tremble in the mire — still we bore
You safe into the little church, and prayed
In tears.

Ah, wise in action and in words, most wise,
We may not gaze into your earnest eyes
And in their noble steadfastness admire
Pure heart, clean mind, and flame of sacred fire
To burn up evil and attain the skies!
For in a searching wind we, tearful, bore
You safe into the church — our spirits sore
To think that we should walk with you no more;
And when the priest read comfort from his book,
How cold it was to us who might not look
Upon your face!

And then anew in tenderness we raised
Your body up and placed it near the grave;
But God our strength and Christ our hope be praised
That we shall gaze on you as Mary gazed
On the Redeemer when He rose to save!
Slowly, as falls a tear that slowly starts
From some great agony, the coffin sank,
But all your heart was treasured in our hearts;
And when the Sexton from the earthen bank
Dropt clods upon you, tears fell warm and fast,
For though your eyes were closed and low your head,
It was as if you lived — and we were dead!

Whether along the lane or by the field
We all sobbed homeward, hard it is to tell!
A blackbird in the coppice close-concealed
Piped out of tune to grief within our breasts
And jarred against the unseen bell that pealed —
A late lark’s song still wavered overhead,
Not beautiful, O Friend, for you were dead —
Not lovely, Friend of friends, for you were dead.
'H. W. *February 13, 1900.*'

**Friend,** when we left you yesterday at rest,  
The clay above, on either side a stone,  
He had not shared your wisdom at its best,  
Who said: "'tis hard to leave our dead alone."

You are not lonely: the mysterious earth  
In unfriendly bondage holds you fast,  
Who knew the secrets of her life and birth,  
And all the long upheavals of her past.

Through winter nights to come, if we should weep  
To think you lie forsaken; overhead  
Clear groups of stars — each star a friend — will keep  
Familiar vigil at your silent bed.

In spring, the roots and flowers you understood  
And loved, as strong men love some frailer thing,  
Shall closer creep to you in solitude,  
As children round a widowed father cling.

And lowlier things whose life you loved to see;  
The patient snail; the worm within the clod;  
You will not scorn these things for company,  
Who read in all their ways the law of God.

---

**f. Pets and animals.**


‘On the Grave of a Faithful Dog. 1854.’

**Three** trees which stand apart upon  
A sunny slope of meadow ground,  
A shadow from the heat at noon, —  
And, underneath, a grassy mound.

A little silent, grassy mound: —  
And is this all is left of thee,  
Whose feet would o'er the meadow bound,  
So full of eager life and glee?

Of "thee!" And may I say e'en this  
Of what so wholly passed away?  
Or can such trust and tenderness  
Be crushed entirely into clay?

The voice whose welcomes were so glad,  
Feet pattering like summer showers,  
The dark eyes which would look so sad  
If gathering tears were dimming ours;

Those wistful, dark, inquiring eyes,  
So fond and watchful, deep and true,  
That made the thought so often rise —  
*What* looks those crystal waters through?
Didst thou not watch for hours our track,
And for the absent seem to pine?
And when the well-known voice came back,
What ecstasy could equal thine?

Is it all lost in nothingness,
Such gladness, love, and hope, and trust,
Such busy thought our thought to guess,
All trampled into common dust?

Save memories round our hearts that twine,
Has all for ever passed away,
Like the dear home once thine and mine,
The home now silent as thy clay?

Or is there something yet to come,
From all our science still concealed,
About the patient creatures dumb
A secret yet to be revealed?

A happy secret yet behind,
Yet for the mute creation stored,
Which suffers though it never sinned,
And loves and hopes without reward?

1854.

2. Public.

a. Royalty.

Menella Bute SMEDLEY (1868a), pp.99-100.

‘On the Death of Prince Albert.’

**Out** of a tomb the world's hope went of old,
While angels shone around, Force shrank away,
And weeping Love, eternally consoled,
Went back to labour in the light of day;
And still about our graves our hopes are rife;
Thence the remembrance of a noble life
Starts like a resurrection. Seal and crown
Are set on honour there. We trust the dead;
But living hands tear their own banners down,
And leave us kingless, sighing to be led.
And oft, when living tongues but mourn or rave,
Unanswerable accents from the grave
Utter decrees of patience. Let us hear
Those accents now. Softer they could not be,
Calming both grief and joy; for both are near,
And in this placid lake of memory
Both gaze, and grow more pure by what they see,
And, not forgetting, to their toils depart,
Each with a gathered flower upon the heart.
Well may those weeping eyes which once have seen
A perfect thought fulfil itself in deeds,
Dwell only on the days that might have been,
And watch the form, more bright as it recedes.
She asks no painter’s skill; the sun may strike
His sternest image, let it but be like.
Nothing was there to soften or to hide,
And nothing to regret, save that he died.
No gain can match the glory of her loss;
It lights the future, where she walks alone,
Not pausing, not afraid to bear her cross,
Borne by a thousand hands, yet still her own.

George BARLOW (1902-14), v.XI, p.89.

‘To the Memory of a Great Queen. III.’

Here, where the spirit of Kingsley loved the air
Of keen wild wintry England, where the rose
In soft delight of sun and shadow grows,
Veiled to the base, to loftiest angels bare,
A golden passion or a white-winged prayer,
The perfect love of woman proudly goes
Serene along the starry road she knows,
Past night’s dim empires, kingdoms of despair.
We, we of all men, of all lands, have seen
What hope the high Victorian epoch gave,
What of strange greeting from beyond the grave,
What living mandate from a vanished Queen
Who, while our island paths she gently trod,
Looked on the face and held the hand of God.

b. Statesmen and politicians.

Henry ELLISON ([1875]), p.300.

‘Fox and Pitt lie almost side by side, near to Chatham, in Westminster Abbey.’

If aught may make, that Man can do or be,
Immortal, and embalm this dust of ours,
And make a handful worth more than the dowers
Of thrones and Empires, such dust here we see.
Their almost mingles; and thought of the three,
At once, the grasp of Wonder overpowers.
These Cyclops of the Brain, who shape the Hours,
Instant and at red-heat, as past they flee!
O hallowed Pile! how precious is the dust
Consigned to thee, as to some old-world Saint
Faith antique might her relics rare entrust.
O England! kneel thou here, and be not faint
Of heart, but lift thine eye from grave to bust
Of these, who put on thee divine constraint!


‘On the Death of Sir Robert Peel.’

‘Strange that on the bloodless field of Statesmanship death should come with
the suddenness, the violence, and the anguish of War!’

Times, July 3, 1850.

War spares her favourite children. Heroes greet
The gentler day of bloodless victories:
The hundred fights are won, the warrior feet
Tread in the laurell'd paths of golden ease.
But fate had stored a lightning stroke for thee,
   The dark and violent death that waits on strife;
E'en when thou seem'dst from touch of harm most free,
   Set in the calm maturity of life.

We cannot all repress the heart's lament:
   We need the guiding accents of the sage:
Too soon he purchased his enfranchisement:
   He should have gone down to the grave in age.

We weep the blow that brought him that release:
   Want's long endurant cry his aidance claims:
He should have gone down to the grave in peace:
   So had his end been equall'd with his aims.

Alas! for high anticipated deeds:
   High present glories: recollections high:
For censure, that misunderstanding breeds:
   For plans, that fail'd of full maturity!

Alas! for death that came with pain, with haste,
   Shorn of the pomp and circumstance of strife!
   — Yet glory round the dying Great is cast:
   Their sunset takes a lustre from their life.

Not all that clad the Brave and Wise in glory
   Is hid within the darkness where they lie.
   — Thou art incorporate with England's story,
   Entreasured in a nation's memory.

Katharine TYNAN (1894), pp.80-2.

'O'er many an Irish castle great and hoary,
   The Irish ivy clings,
That now shall creep about your ruined glory,
   Greater than kings.

And over Round Towers that forget their building,
   The Irish ivy trails;
And o'er grey fanes that catch the sun's last gilding,
   See the last sails.

And o'er our precious graves, of love undying,
   Stealing, it whispers soft,
And wraps the patient dead when night is sighing,
   And storms are up aloft.

And so because you were our Tower, our Castle,
   Tall in the landscape grey,
Though all the lights are out, and over wassail,
   And night usurps the day.

And since — our sorrow! — in the grave you're sleeping,
   The ivy you shall have,
Wrapping your towering height in tender keeping,
   Kissing your grave.

The birds shall build, shall build their pleasant places
   Under its leaves,
From whence shall wing their songs to tell your praises
   By many eaves.
Like Cashel, or like Muckross, famed in story,
Your name shall arch the sky
Against the sunset and the sunrise glory,
So mournful and so high.

All your sad splendour shall the ivy cover
With dew and rain-drops wet,
And ever greener as the years go over,
Closer and greener yet.

c. Churchmen.


'Epitaph, on the Rev. Wm. Wood.'

Stranger, approach; with reverence behold
The hallow'd spot where Wood's remains are laid;
Whose heart was form'd in Virtue's purest mould;
Whose life Religion's heavenly power display'd.

Short was the warning which his Master gave,
One Sabbath heard him Heaven's high bliss declare,
The next beheld him in the silent grave,
For ever free'd from sorrow, pain, and care!

Here shall his children oft their footsteps bend,
And o'er his ashes shed the filial tear;
And here shall oft resort the faithful friend,
Who knew his worth and holds his memory dear.

Here too, on each returning Sabbath day,
With pensive mien his mourning flock shall come,
And musing o'er his virtues, duly pay
Affection's tribute on their pastor's tomb.

d. People of achievement.

Alfred HAYES (1911), p.34.

'Pasteur's Grave.'

No cypress-shadowed churchyard, nor the gloom
Of haunted cloisters, doth immortalise
The dust of him, whose patience proved more wise
To save, than Death to slay. The busy loom
Glancing with silk, the teeming herd, the bloom
Of purpling vineyards, and the grateful eyes
Of souls reprieved at Death's most dread assize,
Shall make eternal gladness round his tomb.

Not 'mid the dead should he be laid asleep
Who wageth still with Death triumphant strife,
Who sowed the good that centuries shall reap,
And took its terror from the healer's knife;
Defender of the living, he shall keep
His slumber in the armoury of life.
e. Military graves: national heroes and anti-heroes.

(i) Napoleon.

John Walker ORD (1841), pp.221-3.

‘Napoleon.’¹

What solemn sight is here
These warriors all around —
The torches burning clear
Athwart that hallowed mound?
'Tis proud Napoleon's grave
By St Helena's shore —
And, hark the rolling wave
Its awful requiem pour!

The midnight blasts have stirr'd
The willow's drooping leaf,
But sadder far, are heard
The tones of bitter grief.
The clouds are dark and still
Along the troubled sky;
But blacker shadows fill
Each warrior's streaming eye.

Where sleeps the mighty king?
The haughty conqueror, where? —
Alas! the raven wing
Of death is floating there!
What recks your labour here,
Why mourn the mouldering clay —
The grave-damps track his bier,
The grave-worms seek their prey!

Behold — behold him now —
The same majestic face —
The same monarchical brow —
Death's cold and lingering trace!
Behold, 'tis he who brake
The Imperial gates of Rome —
Who made the Austrian quake —
Behold, behold his tomb!

His battles all are past,
His conquests all are o'er —
And triumph's trumpet-blast
Shall sound his fame no more.
Then, wherefore, would you bear
The sleeper from his rest —
The Gallic eagle tear
That slumbers on his breast?

Say, can this idle dust
O'er Jena march again —
Or wield ambition's lust
On Austerlitz' red plain?
The lightning eye is cold

¹The ceremony of disentombing the corpse of Napoleon Buonaparte commenced at midnight, and was not concluded till the morning. The soldier proceeded by torchlight; and the scene is described as having been peculiarly impressive and mournful.
That glanced o'er Egypt's sand, —
That arm no more shall wield
The falchion and the brand.

The star upon his crest,
Is lustreless and dim;
The sword that won the West,
Shall never flash for him:
Then shield him from your view,
And close the mouldering bier —
Go, think of Waterloo,
And why he slumbers here!

He would have swept the world
With Gaul's triumphant host —
But lo, your Champion hurl'd
From conquest to the dust:
Even thus Sesostris fell,
Even Alexander so —
And Rome's great annals tell
Of glory sunk as low.

And thou, Imperial France,
Behold thy hero's tomb;
Through history's pages glance,
And mark Ambition's doom:
A mightier King than this,
Shall mark thee from the sky;
Whose lightnings never miss,
His vengeance always nigh!

Then ye, whose game is war,
Your pastime, strife and blood,
Around your fallen star
In solemn sadness brood:
Behold Ambition laid.
The mighty with the low —
Your Conqueror dismayed,
And Death the victor now!

Richard Monckton MILNES (1876), v.1, pp.271-3.

'The Funeral of Napoleon.'

All nature is stiff in the chill of the air,
The sun looks around with a smile of despair;
'Tis a day of delusion, of glitter and gloom,
As brilliant as glory, as cold as the tomb.

The pageant is passing — the multitude sways —
Awaiting, pursuing, the line with its gaze,
With the tramp of battalion, the tremor of drums,
And the grave exultation of trumpets he comes.

It passes! what passes? He comes! who is He?
Is it Joy too profound to be uttered in glee?
Oh, no! it is Death, the Dethroner of old,
Now folded in purple and girded with gold!

It is Death, who enjoys the magnificent car,
It is Death, whom the warriors have brought from afar,
It is Death, to whom thousands have knelt on the shore,  
And sainted the bark and the treasure it bore.

What other than He, in his terrible calm,  
Could mingle for myriads the bitter and balm,  
Could hush into silence this ocean of men,  
And bid the wild passion be still in its den?

What other than He could have placed side by side  
The chief and the humblest, that serving him died,  
Could the blood of the past to the mourner atone,  
And let all bless the name that has orphaned their own?

From the shades of the olive, the palm, and the pine,  
From the banks of the Moskwa, the Nile, and the Rhine,  
From the sands and the glaciers, in armament dim,  
Come they who have perished for France and for Him.

Rejoice, ye sad Mothers, whose desolate years  
Have been traced in the desert of earth by their tears,  
The Children for whom ye have hearts that still burn,  
In this triumph of Death — it is they that return.

And Ye in whose breast dwell the images true  
Of parents that loved Him still better than you,  
No longer lament o'er a cenotaph urn,  
In this triumph of Death — it is they that return.

From legion to legion the watchword is sped —  
"Long life to the Emperor — life to the dead!"  
The prayer is accomplished — his ashes remain  
'Mid the people he loved, on the banks of the Seine.

In dominions of Thought that no traitor can reach,  
Through the kingdoms of Fancy, the regions of Speech,  
O'er the world of Emotions, Napoleon shall reign  
'Mid the people he loved, on the banks of the Seine.

Paris, December, 1840.

(ii) Wellington.

Eliza OGILVY (1856), pp.205-6.

'Wellington's Funeral.'

When one we love departeth  
We hide him out of sight,  
The lips we kissed are ghastly,  
The eyes we watched affright.
We haste the coffin's hammering,  
We haste the sexton's spade,  
We cannot eat, nor drink, nor sleep,  
Till all in dust be laid.

But when he we loved departed,  
Our nation's long-lived pride,  
We bade them keep his body  
In the chamber where he died.
We set his bravest soldiers  
On guard around their chief,
We called the world to witness
Our homage and our grief.

We showed him in his coffin
Scarce calmer than in life,
Vanquished at last our victor
By him who ends all strife.
We pointed to the sword-arm
So rigid there that lay,
We said, “This never was struck down
Till death took up the fray.”

When a corse is left unburied
The carrion vultures meet,
Far clouds of birds obscenest
Darken the sun's high seat,
Foul creatures in their eyries
Sniff up the quick decay:
The banquet of the eagles
Is dreadful to survey.

But this corse was left unburied
To gather from afar
The wisest heads in council,
The boldest hearts in war,
The grandest dirge of music,
The poet's loftiest lay:
The meeting of earth's mourners
Was glorious to survey.

I fain had seen that army
Of veterans by the bier,
Each haloed with his own renown
In war's dun atmosphere.
I fain had seen those squadrons
Of youths before the car,
Vowed to preserve their leader's fame,
To track his guiding star.

I fain had heard the trumpets
Peal farewell o'er his tomb,
What time the solemn priest recalled
The universal doom.
I fain had seen a nation
Stand weeping by that grave
Saying, “This man was good as great,
As true as he was brave.

“Our leader, our ensample!
Whom have we left, like thee?
We must abase our measurement
And shorten our degree.
Our mast must be of poplar,
Our bow of willow frail,
For the pine is withered on the height,
The yew tree in the vale.

“'Twas thus I sat and pondered
On that November morn,
Beyond my sight those armies,
Mine ear that trump and horn.
I only saw the beeches
Nodding their naked boughs,
I only saw the hoary rime
Whitening the mossy knowes.

"But the living trees and mosses
Through all their wintry frost,
Spake better cheer than pageantries
For him whom we had lost;
They said, "See God reneweth
The leaves and flowers that fall,
Is the soul that helpeth a nation's need
Not worthier than them all?"

(iii) Heroes who sacrifice their lives to their country.

Mary Russell MITFORD (1811b), pp.91-3.

'To the Memory of Sir John Moore.'

Who has not felt exulting rapture's glow
For England's triumph o'er her haughty foe?
Who has not wept for England's gallant train,
That fought and died for Liberty and Spain?
Of every aid, of hope itself bereft,
Their firmness and their valor only left,
Let yon ensanguined plain their triumph tell;
Too dearly purchas'd — for their leader fell!

In vict'ry's arms thus Abercrombie died!
Thus Nelson bled, our sorrow and our pride;
Still Britain mourns stem fate's relentless doom,
And 'twines the hero's laurels round his tomb.

Lamented chieftain! thy well-skill'd command
From sure destruction sav'd thy faithful band;
'Twas thine with them each painful toil to share,
'Twas thine alone the mental pangs to bear,
When warring elements against thee rose,
Before thee doubtful friends — behind thee foes;
And when at length Corunna's towers appear'd,
And English vessels their proud ensigns rear'd,
'Twas thine to see thy bold pursuers fly —
Nobly to conquer — undismay'd to die.
Thy parting words to filial duty given;
And thy last thought to England and to Heaven,
No tawdry scutcheons hang around thy tomb:
No venal mourners wave the sable plume;
No statues rise to mark the sacred spot,
Nor pealing organ swells the solemn note;
A hurried grave thy soldiers' hands prepare,
Thy soldiers' hands the mournful burthen bear;
The vaulted sky, to earth's extremest verge,
Thy canopy; the cannon's roar thy dirge.
Affection's sorrows dew thy lowly bier,
And weeping valor sanctifies the tear.

Robert SOUTHEY (1839), v.iii, pp.146-7.

'To the Memory of Sir William Myers.'

Spaniard or Portugueze! tread reverently
Upon a soldier's grave; no common heart
Lies mingled with the clod beneath thy feet.
To honours and to ample wealth was Myers
In England born; but leaving friends beloved,
And all allurements of that happy land,
His ardent spirit to the field of war
Impell'd him. Fair was his career. He faced
The perils of that memorable day,
When through the iron shower and fiery storm
Of death, the dauntless host of Britain made
Their landing at Aboukir; then not less
Illustrated, than when great Nelson's hand,
As if insulted Heaven with its own wrath
Had arm'd him, smote the miscreant Frenchmen's fleet,
And with its wreck wide-floating many a league
Strew'd the rejoicing shores. What then his youth
Held forth of promise, amply was confirm'd
When Wellesley, upon Talavera's plain,
On the mock monarch won his coronet:
There when the trophies of the field were reap'd
Was he for gallant bearing eminent
When all did bravely. But his valour's orb
Shone brightest at its setting. On the field
Of Albuhera he the fusileers
Led to regain the heights, and promised them
A glorious day; a glorious day was given;
The heights were gain'd, the victory was achieved,
And Myers received from death his deathless crown.
Here to Valverde was he borne, and here
His faithful men amid this olive grove,
The olive emblem here of endless peace.
Laid him to rest. Spaniard or Portugueze,
In your good cause the British soldier fell;
Tread reverently upon his honour'd grave.\footnote{A memorial to Myers was erected by public subscription in St. Paul's Cathedral. A classical portrait bust of the hero is supported and defended by figures of Britannia and Hercules; below is inscribed a testimonial from Wellington to the twenty-seven year old's distinction and promise. See Rheims 1977, ch.18, figure 3.}

Edward MOXON (1830-35), v.ii, p.23.

'Sonnet. Written in Pere La Chaise [sic], on the Spot where Marshal Ney is Buried.'

What! neither flower nor cypress on thy grave,
While all around a hallowed garden blooms;
And Piety low bends among the tombs,
Watering with tears the earth she could not save?
But not so sleeps the "bravest of the brave;"
The Hero of a hundred battles; gory
Though be the shroud he lies in, yet nor wave,
Nor storm, nor time, can e'er efface the story
Of his high deeds. Be satisfied, great shade!
No epitaph thou need'st, or marble heap:
Thee Chivalry her gallant son hath made;
And History of thee much store will reap.
What need of monument, or tomb array'd,
When ev'n the stranger comes o'er thee to weep?
(iv) The commemoration of national events.


‘The Heroes of Waterloo.’

**Weep** for the heroes who nobly have perish'd,
Whilst planting the olive of freedom on earth;
Long shall their names, by their countrymen cherish'd,
Ennoble the island that gave them their birth.
History, painting their triumph in story,
Checks for awhile her victorious strain,
And pensively turns to encircle in glory
The heroes who fell upon Waterloo's plain.

Yet mourn not for them! for in future tradition
Their fame shall exist as our tutelar star;
To instil, by example, the noble ambition
Of falling, like them, in a glorious war.
Posterity long shall remember with pleasure
They perish'd for freedom, nor perish'd in vain;
And minstrels shall choose for their favourite measure
The tale of the battle on Waterloo's plain.

Surviving affection must ever lament them,
Mothers and wives for their treasures must mourn;
Had they but lived, oh! how sweet to present them
The wreaths that must now deck their funeral urn.
Though tears may be seen in the bright eye of beauty,
One consolation must ever remain —
Undaunted they trod in the pathway of duty,
Which led them to glory on Waterloo's plain.

James Rennell RODD (1901), pp.128- 33.

‘Pumwani.’

**Comrades** mine of Blanche and Swallow scattered now a hundred ways,
Such a march we made together, once in torrid August days!

Up the mangrove creeks we laboured, where the crooked roots divide,
Clutching fast the shoaling mud-banks and encroaching on the tide;
Gaunt and hideous rose the baobabs with their bloated stems and bare,
And their gray arms stretching naked to the rank and steamy air;

There we slept beneath the mangoes on forsaken village sites,
And drank in the cool refreshment of the wind-swept tropic nights,

Till at last the word was forward! and a noiseless camp awoke,
And the line fell into order ere the blush of morning broke.

Faint our track wound through the clearings, with their rank grass shoulder high,
Right and left the dense black forest walling in a tropic sky;
Where the gum-vine binds the branches and the fiercely fecund soil
Bars the way to human ingress, tightens tangles into coil.

The thorn palm took fantastic shapes and drooped a withered skirt,
The vultures rose into the blue to give the woods alert.
Each followed close on his fellow's steps in the single serpent file, —
Like the gray baboons at the forest edge, — and the line reached half a mile.

The black marsh water splashed our knees, the ooze sucked down our boots,
The slimy mud-fish wriggled off and hid in the tangled roots.

And every man held back his breath of all three hundred men,
For the dropping shots gave warning we were near the robber den.

Then a bugle broke the stillness of that forest edged with eyes,
Then a wild uproar of drumming and a thunder to the skies;

Tongues of flame and battle rattle, puffs of smoke along the green,
Silent pauses in the volleys, and the foe we fought unseen:

Yet our little line drew closer, creeping on by slow degrees,
While the rockets like winged dragons ploughed a fire track through the trees.

And the minutes passed like hours, and the burning sun beat down,
Till ere noon drank up the shadows we were in the rebel town.

Once again the heart beat lightly and a sense of triumph grew,
For the fort was well defended and great gaps were in our few.

Swiftly fell the tropic evening, and, while camp fires flickered red,
Softly we drew off on one side and we gathered up our dead; —

By a lantern's feeble flicker read the words with which we trust
This our brother to God's keeping, this his body to the dust.

Dug a trench for you to lie in, you whose home was on the wave,
You, the white man with the dark men, your bedfellows in the grave,

White and black both dead for England, with the grass mats round your heads,—
As we turned and left them lying in their solitary beds.

So world over sleep the English, eyes of friends will never look
Through that gloom of Afric forest where we buried stoker Cook.

Only gray baboons will chatter in the branches where you lie,
And the quick hyena scamper through the tangle silently;

Yet such meed of due remembrance I would yield you as I may,
Since you gave your life for England — have her greatest more to say?

Since last night we slept together, 'twixt the grasses and the star,
And to-night you sleep for ever by the bitter chance of war.

But the camp was quick with laughter, for the blood was beating high, —
Laugh out! — life is for the living, for the dead at most a sigh.

And the men whose hearts are boys' hearts set the lanterns in a ring,
And the battle dawn's reaction made the peace of evening sing.

So the old sea-songs came rolling till the chorus shook the trees,
And the tropic stars looked wondering at the men from over seas.

Then the hand-shake and the silence, and brief sleep for those who may.
Let to-morrow take its chances, we have lived our lives to-day.

*East Africa, 1893.*
3. Poets.

a. The poet's unlucky fate and wish for immortality.

Cornelius WEBB (1820), p.18.

'Dermody's Grave.'

Tread with the soft, slow step of reverence
Above these still apartments of the dead;
Not that the echo of our heaviest tread
Would break Death's slumber. Here Intemperance
Lies dumbly, soberly; th' unreined madness
He revelled and delighted in is spent
And fallen into this melancholy sadness;
The glibsome tongue, whose speech was merriment,
And wit, and poetry, and knowledge, moulders
In the dark hollow of the fleshless jaws;
The ear that drank the poison of Applause
Is deaf, though Fame's voice speaks to it — Beholders
Of this young grave, it doth become ye sigh
For one who lived so madly — died so miserably!


'Homer.'

L.
Blind seem'd the stranger, and around his brows
The snow-white hair waved thin as winds went by;
The burden almost of a century's woes
Had bowed his head, and marred his majesty.
They near'd the cottage, and the shepherd rose
And looked upon him with a pitying eye,
Scanning his faded form, then with a low
And gentle voice asked, "Stranger, who art thou?"

LI.
"Then am I quite forgot!" with feeble cry
The stranger answered, "Then I am forgot!
That voice was speaking to my memory,
And now I hear it!" — Still he answered not
"O take me by the hand before I die!
Methinks we parted on this very spot,
And I have come to ask a little room
Within my native island for my tomb.

LII.
"O misery! I cannot see thy face,
And thou like me art old, and haply blind;
I am thy brother!" with a piteous gaze
The old man look'd, as if he thought to find
In those worn features some remember'd trace,
Then fell upon his neck — "Within my mind
There is an image, yet I scarce can see
Wherein that image doth resemble thee!
"O! 'tis a long, long time since we have met,
And thou, my brother, thou art changed indeed;
Thy face is as a stranger's face, and yet
My heart is shaking in me like a reed!
It asks me how I ever could forget
A voice like thine; alas! I feel it bleed
With a strange double wound of love and pain,
To see thee thus, yet see thee once again!

"Thou speakest not!" — He raised his head; there hung
Upon his lips a smile, as o'er a grave
Hangs one deserted blossom; on his tongue
Some accents falter'd, but they died, and gave
No utterance, his heart was all unstrung —
His mind was wandering darkly in its cave.
They led him from the damp and chilly air,
They brought him to the hut, and placed him there.

They took a lute and touch'd it to his ear,
They sang an ancient, now forgotten, lay,
To rouse him from his trance. A single tear,
Forced by the memory of another day,
Stole down his cheek; the aged man drew near.
And whisper'd, but the whisper pass'd away
Unnoticed and unheard — he spoke again,
And took one hand — it fell — 'twas all in vain!

The string was snapt across, the harp had shed
Unto the wandering winds its latest tone;
The lamp was broken, and the light was dead,
The fuel of his life was spent and gone;
Unto the heaven of heavens the soul had fled,
And left the mansion empty and alone!
They laid him underneath the poplar trees,
When the lone moonbeam slept upon the seas.

There in a humble grave he lies unknown,
Pass'd daily over by the shepherd's tread.
The wild-flowers wave around; one simple stone,
Long since moss-buried, is above his head!
And many a little mound through Greece is shown
Where legends fable that his dust is laid.
What doth it matter where the casket lies,
When the great jewel sparkles in our eyes?

There is a moral in my tale — Behold!
The children and the men, they were the same:
One was a beggar, poor, and blind, and old,
A wretched wanderer — Homer was his name!
Ask you the other's? More than I have told
Lives not his memory on the lips of fame.
Ye to whom life, and youth, and hope are new,
Come near and pause, — which choose you of the two?
'Written in Virgil's Tomb.'

Not in fond dream of fancy, Bard divine!
I bring this laurel branch, that wav'd aloof,
Sweeping the sunbeam from thy funeral roof;
But — as a votary at the Delphic shrine,
Hid from the world in this sepulchral gloom,
I wreathe th' unfading leaf, and wind around thy tomb.

Thy tomb! how void! how wildly desolate!
In this neglected spot no urn remains,
No relic that a trace of thee retains:
Thee, whose bold song could world's unseen create,
And to the shadowy forms of Fancy gave
Life and perpetual youth, that ne'er shall know the grave.

But tho' thy urn repose no longer here,
Be mine to muse on thy funereal mould,
And with thy spirit high communion hold:
And 'mid the scenes that tran'sd thy youthful year,
Invoke the local Genius of the cave,
And the sweet sylvan muse that haunts her Virgil's grave.

Beneath yon rock, with gadding flow'rs o'erhung,
The Pastoral Muse to thee her reed-pipe gave,
And by the gushing fount, in grot and cave,
Taught thee each note that leads her choir along: —
Pan leap'd exultant from meridian sleep,
And Nymphs that haunt the cliff rush'd, giddy, down the steep.

Anon, a deeper sound: it shook the wreath
That, by fair Egle's wily finger bound,
Enchain'd Silenus, stretch'd in sleep profound:
It told how Nature heav'd the strife beneath,
When Night and Chaos, in primeval birth,
Fled from the sun's new beam that rob'd with flow'rs the earth.

But when thy lip held dalliance with the reed,
Or, silencing the rude Ascrean strain,
Taught how the golden harvest glads the plain,
Forms all unwonted to the shepherd's weed,
In awful vision pass'd before thy sight,
Beneath th' o'ershadowing veil that dimm'd their wondrous light.

While round thee, flaming with idolatry,
Rose images of gods, who, thron'd above,
Pledg'd nectar from the Hebe cup of Jove;
While thro' the air wing'd Zephyrs wanton'd by,
And a coy Sea-nymph, floating on the main,
Hung o'er the charmed wave to hear a Syren's strain:

And every fount, green hill, and cave enshrin'd
A guardian pow'r, and round their votive fane
Fauns, and fleet Dryads, and light Oread train,
Toss'd in wild trance their tresses on the wind;
And Iris, on her sun-built arch aloof,
Drew from Light's sever'd rays her many-colour'd woof:

Thou, in yon orbs that wheel in living flame,
In all that wing the air, or range the earth,
Or heave the sea with multitude of birth,
One unseen Godhead hail'dst, in all the same,
One in each change, who made and moves the whole,
One, the unmade, unmov'd, the universal soul.

Then through thy vision gleam'd celestial fire,
And from a wing that wav'd in light, a ray
Fell on the darkness that on Nature lay,
And chas'd the Pastoral Muse, and all her choir,
While thy bold breathing from her reed-pipe drew
Notes of a higher strain than Pan or Sylvan knew.

The shaggy Satyr to his wood retir'd:
And, hark! a sound as of a Hebrew song,
Seem'd on thy strain its echo to prolong:
Isaiah's breath the shepherd's reed inspir'd,
When the Cumean Maid's prophetic rhyme
Glanc'd on the unborn age, and rent the veil of Time.

Then from the sev'n-crown'd hills a voice uprose,
A voice that, preluding the Roman fame,
Bad thee in verse build up "th' eternal name."
The pipe, that idly play'd with pastoral woes,
Fell from the lip whose breath the war-notes blew,
As Rome in all her pomp burst on thy ravish'd view:

All that Evander to his guest disclos'd,
When lowing herds along the Forum stray'd,
All that the hero on his shield survey'd,
When on its orb Rome's fame and fate repos'd,
And all that peopled the Elysian plain
When age on age swept by, and hail'd th' Augustan reign.

James Rennell RODD (1888), pp.4-7.

‘Dante’s Grave.’

There is an awe, I know not whence or why,
About the graves where sleep the mighty dead,
There is an instinct guides our feet to track
The path they travelled; these have led me here.
This is Ravenna, in the midnight hour
Of windless silence, the blank windows stare
Like eyes that time has blinded through the night
From ruins and half-ruins, and my step
Startles the haunted echoes. It is here!
Vast in the shadows, San Francesco looms
Against the quick Italian stars, one lamp
Confirms the cloister's gloom, a willow tree
Droops to a grill of iron, and within
Dark cypress clusters: this is Dante's grave!

Far from the Tuscan mountains and the vale
Loved with a patriot's passion, here he died,
Unpardoned, unforgiving, unsubdued.
Oh great sad constant soul that stood for God
In a wild world of discord, though you climbed
Steep stairs of alien palaces, and knew
How salt the bread of exiles, failing friends
And misconceived ideals, — where are they
Who sat in the high places! Time has made
Thy scorn their only monument, and dimmed
Each lesser lustre round thy lonely star!
Not all unrecompensed on earth! For thine
The faith which ventures the ideal love,
The crown which envy cannot clutch, the faith
Which feels how vainly venomed arrows strike
The flawless armour of a pure intent;
And the ideal love leaned down from heaven
To win thee from false idols, and reveal
Tier after tier to the last murky deep
The doom that passes pardon, urged thee mount
Hard ridge by ridge the penitential hill,
Through the terrestrial Eden, to attain
The mysteries of the rose of Paradise.

Oh stern of tenure to thy purpose high!
Oh, hard to love, compelling to revere!
For all the wanderings of thy exile feet
Be earth's remorse our reverence and our hope!

For hope is child of wisdom, and despair
The bastard of half-knowledge. O'er this grave
The soft quick stars have climbed and set again,
The rose he loved has flushed the morning east,
The snows along the back of Apennine
Have blanched and thawed through five long hundred years,
And man has marched not vainly the steep road
Proclaimed by priests and poets. Soon, aye now,
We almost need thy grisly hell no more!
We have outgrown the visionary doom
That waits on sin's hereafter, Love not Fear
Urges our progress up the purging hill,
Where man must answer for his fellow man:
And new ideals have set heaven so high
We miss thy clearer vision, nor complain!
Our years are dim with struggle, as were thine,
But lit with gleams of promise, where at times
The herald watchers on the heights discern
Far peaks of that first Eden which is spread
Nearest the confines of the light of God.

Ah, lonely city of the marshy mead,
Left lonelier by the ever-ebbing sea,
Keep thou thy guest and guard his sacred sleep:
The poet's refuge, be the poet's grave!
Well rests he here, dead reed of deathless song,
Where silence feeds on echoes of mute names,
Shrouded in memories, famous and forlorn!

Ravenna.

John Critchley PRINCE (1880), v.1, pp.204-6.

‘Stanzas Suggested at the Grave of Shakespeare.’

Once mortal here, but now Immortal One,
Thou great and glorious favourite of Fame,
Thoughtful I stand upon thy grave alone,
Tranced by the mighty magic of thy name;
Filled with a slender portion of thy flame,
Hither, a pilgrim, I have proudly sped,
To linger for a brief but happy space
About the genius-hallowed resting-place
Of England's honoured Dead.
King of the poet's fair, ideal land!
Thou of my country's stars the brightest, best!
I scarce believe me that I waking stand
Where thy far-worshipped relics calmly rest;
But yet this stone, these graven words, attest
That he whose voice hath charmed me, slumbers near;
And truly I rejoice that I am come,
A lonely wanderer from my northern home,
To pay my homage here.

When I was yet a simple-hearted boy,
I heard men whisper of thy wondrous powers;
And it became with me a cherished joy
To ponder o'er thy page in after hours, —
To bathe my spirit in the genial showers
Of splendour shaken from thy meteor pen;
To fly with thee on Fancy's vagrant wings,
Beyond the reach, the stain of earthly things,
And earthly-minded men.

I've laughed and mused, I've talked and wept with thee,
Drank with the kindling essence of thy lore,
Until my inmost heart hath seemed to be
With every happier feeling gushing o'er;
And thoughts which slumbered in my soul before
Have sprung to blessed being fast and bright;
And visions wild, tumultuous, and strange,
With constant beauty and with constant change,
Have thrilled me with delight.

Thy worldly wisdom hath great lessons taught;
Thy playful wit hath cleared the brow of care;
Thy stormy grief hath many a wonder wrought;
Thy joy hath conquered e'en the fiend Despair;
Thy power hath laid the hidden secrets bare
Of every human passion, good or ill,
And mingled thousands in thy presence placed,
Who feel by thy gigantic arm embraced,
Are creatures of thy will.

Some look for glory in the fields of strife,
The fools and followers of unholy war,
And some get foremost in the march of life,
Because self-chained to Mammon's golden car;
But thou art higher, greater, nobler far
Than all who seek such false and vain renown;
Thy name shall brighten on from age to age,
But theirs shall keep no place on Memory's page,
For Time will tread them down.

Thou shouldst be sleeping on that lonely isle
Where banished Prospero was wizard king;
Where sweet Miranda gently did beguile
Her father's sorrows, like some holy thing;
There, through the sunny hours should Ariel
Melodious requiems above thy tomb;
And troops of midnight fays should gather round,
To brush the dews from off the moonlit ground,
And scatter buds of bloom.

No gaudy temple, reared by mortal might,
Should rise around that sacred dust of thine;
No arch, save that which God hath filled with light,
With suns that burn, and stars that coldly shine.
The simple sod should be thine only shrine;
And proud green trees which whisper as they wave —
But argosies from every land should sweep
Athwart the silvery bosom of the deep,
With pilgrims to thy grave.

I leave thee to thy slumbers; I must go
Back to the struggles of my adverse lot,
To feel the nameless agonies that flow
From a cold world which understands me not.
Greater than I may linger on this spot,
Of many a language, and of many a shore;
Some other bard of loftier mind may raise
A song more sweet, more lasting, in thy praise, —
But none can love thee more!

Alfred DOMETT (1877), p.127-9, opening 38 lines (of 270), where the obscure grave is the spur for a versified examination of Milton's biography and works, ending with the apotheosis of the poet's soul.

'Cripplegate.'

I.

'And Milton's grave, which is it?
Pew-opener say! —
'Twas to Cripplegate Church a visit
We paid one day.
But 'Indeed I scarce can tell,' she said; 'somewhere I know
Beneath that row of pews; quite, hidden, though;
Five paces from the pillar there
It might be found, no doubt, with care;
But the place you cannot see.'
— Strange that this should be!

II.

O cold neglect how hateful!
We murmured then;
Is posterity thus grateful
To greatest men!
And is this the fine exchange Earth's mightiest are to share
For that old-fashioned dream of Life elsewhere! —
Nay! Milton fills, supreme, alone,
The Poet-patriot's shrine and throne,
With renown each year increased;
— Something this at least!

III.

Think how — O glorious notion!
Our English tongue
Is an earthquake wave of ocean,
A tide yet young
That will girdle the round world with richest human speech;
And hundreds of her noblest millions teach
This Milton's name to love and bless! —
Aye truly! and great happiness
Will a fame so full and fair
Give the bones down there! —
IV.

But had he not while living
A grand career
We may call without misgiving
Full guerdon here?

What! with Cromwell's mighty sword to match his mighty pen!
To life aloft in ringing Europe's ken,
To lightning-rampired heights of Mind
The cause of Freedom — all mankind!
Then with loftiest bards before
Fiery-winged to soar! —

Robert MONTGOMERY (1854), pp.622-3.

'The Tomb of Gray.' (1836)

The poetry of dreams that spot surrounds
Where Genius ponder'd; when oblivion's pall
In mocking darkness on the tomb of kings
Descendeth, memories bright and deep pervade
The quiet scene where once a Bard has been.
For him the laurel deathless! when the wreath
Dyed by the blood of Victory's crowning hand
Withers to nothing on the warrior's brow,
How many a foot, where pensive Gray hath roved,
Will love to linger! 'Tis the spell of mind
Which consecrates the ground a Poet trod;
With living thoughts the air is eloquent,
And fine impressions of his favour'd muse;
While Inspiration, like a god of song,
Wakes the deep echoes of his deathless lyre.

In the calm glory of declining eve
'Twas mine to wander where the tomb of Gray
In green seclusion stands. Around me smiled
A Landscape, veil'd with sunlight's pallid robe
Of beauty, over tree and landscape drawn.
On such, (by contemplation's dream enticed
Like Isaac, oft at eventide to muse)
The Bard had gazed; and drew from Nature's heart
How many a touch of grace, and tone of song!
While Eton, with her turrets grey, her towers
Antique, in azure distance frown'd; Or round him, in their rich confusion, throng'd
The sounds that wait on sunset's balmy hour: —
The lay of birds; the sheep-bell's lowly chime;
The chirping insect in the grass conceal'd;
The bough made vocal by the exciting breeze;
Or shout of home-returning shepherd boy,
And city-hum, — all charm'd his dreaming ear.

But, lo, the churchyard! Mark those "rugged elms,
That "yew-tree shade," yon "ivy-mantled tower," And thread the path where heaves the "mouldering heap;"
Then, Stranger! thou art soulless earth indeed,
If the lone Bard beside thee does not stand
Form'd into life by Fancy's moulding spell!
'Twas here he mused; here Poetry and Thought,
And Silence, their enamour'd Sister, came;
And Taste and Truth their kindred magic lent,
And proud Attempt, and pure Conception rose,
While Melody each chord of mind attuned;
Till soft Religion, like an Angel, smiled,
And bade his genius make the grave sublime.

Sweet Bard! whose mild and meditative lays,
Or lyric numbers, warm with classic fire,
Heal the torn mind, or thrill young Memory's heart
With deathless pleasure, Time hath not despoi'd
Thy crown poetic of one glorious leaf:
Yet many, since thine eyes in death were veil'd,
Have grasp'd the laurel; harps of witching tone,
And thrilling strains of more impassion'd swell,
Round the rich world of Poesy have flung
Enchantment, — yet thy page is precious still.
And wherefore? 'Tis because the moral heaven
Remains unsullied by thy words, and dreams:
And hence, amid the Babel-voice of song,
In such pre-eminence to thy calm powers
Accorded. Thus, when lays corruptly-sweet,
The flash and fire of o'er-excited verse
And mock intensity, have ceased to charm,
Back to thy page, by purity inspired,
The Heart returns; and finds a magic there
Of thoughts which bloom beyond the earth's decay:
And hence, when Stars of more ambitious light
Shine dimly through the hazy depths of Time,
Bard of the Soul! for ever wilt thou reign
An Orb of beauty in the heaven of song.

Whittington, near Oswestry, Shropshire.

c. Early-dying Romantics: Keats, Shelley and Byron.

John Keats (d. 24 February 1821, buried in the Protestant Cemetery, Rome).

W. G. HOLE (1907), pp.13-17.

'Keats's Grave.'

Here lies one whose name was writ in water.

Ah, here it is at last! How still and deep
The hush within these walls! How slowly creep
The hours that grow to days, the days to years,
The hours that pass unmarked! Here nothing stirs,
Or breathes, or falls on stillness.

Did they well
Who gave to stone to keep those words that fell
From your despairing lips when hope had flown?
Harsh grace to close the feast! Must such alone
Sum up at last the joy your spirit snatched,
When through the door of dreams, for you unlatched,
You passed unchallenged? Was it nought to live
Possessed at times by joy men could not give,
Nor their neglect take from you? O for grief
That finds in utterance such as yours relief!
For tears that glistening in the skies of song
Take on such rainbow splendour!

They were wrong;
They but o'erheard the sad, self-pitying cry
Of youth that knows that life has put him by,
And that the perfect thing his soul conceived
For the world's wonderment must, unachieved,
Now come to nothing.
Would that yours had been
To sleep at last where English grass is green
Beneath an English sky! This is not home;
You had no part in, sang no song of Rome,
Yours was that spirit of the world's romance
Rome drove before it ever. Bacchic dance
And satyr revelry grew hushed and still
Before the legions' tramp; from fount and rill
The nymphs were scared away, and came no more
To soothe by sombre pool and pebbled shore
Their soft complaining waters.

But I bring,
Faded, alas, from night-long journeying,
From far-off English land and walled-in hush,
Wild roses, white and maiden-like-a-blush,
And their imperial sisters passion-red
Yet virginally regnant; violets bred
Where late the primrose drooped; a daisy, too,
Hiding among them all for love of you;
Cowslips and clover-balls, and last, with breath
Of opiate balm, red poppies, lest in death
Grief still should vex you, on your grave I lay
From that dear land, how far, how far away!
Where still some love you, hear you speaking still,
And see you in the moonlight climb the hill,
The spectre of a song, and pass from view
Deliciously awaited.

Not a few
There are amongst us now whose dreams you shape;
To whom from leaden days you give escape
Through ports of furtive joy; who play their parts
In life conformably while in their hearts
They store the words you whispered making free
New realms of rich resort. Still more there be
Who blind as yet to beauty grow aware
At times of secret craving for some share
In that you held so dear. And these! Ah! these
In exquisite conversion will appease
At last their starving souls.

But yonder lies
Shelley who watched the east with shining eyes
For dawn that still delays. He heard the voice
Of Freedom's battle like to angry seas
Raging at midnight, and, maybe, finds ease
Beside the wreck of empire. You were strange
To those wild skies he soared in boding change;
Yours was a world of dream, unlike to his,
Still haunted by the old divinities.
Therein was that dark vale where Saturn wake
To realmless days, unsceptred by the stroke
Of direful change. There, too, the nightingale
Sang, in the moon-charmed glade, of lips grown pale
Ere yet the cup of youth has been half-drained;
Of steadfast Ruth, her hands with labour stained,
Weeping amidst the corn — we know it all,
The few who love you still.

You did not fall
Climbing too daringly, nor drop the lead
In black uncharted deeps and miss o'erhead
The kindly stars, although you loved the ways
Untrodden by the world, and golden days
Of dream in whispering forests, and to walk
With laureate privilege, listening to the talk
Of high Olympian strangers!
   O pale youth,
Interpreter of beauty and to truth
So close a neighbour, thou wilt never die,
Though of thee somewhat in the grave may lie —
Dull tribute paid to Death! The hills and streams
Are dearer to us for thy dreams,
And through them shall our own be not in vain,
Though Greece be now thrice dead, and hideous pain
Wizen the face of life.
   But I must hence.
The shadows deepen and a troubling sense
Of night that is not rest steals through the air,
And the long murmur of an old despair
Comes up from the Campagna. Me the stir
Of life awaits, but you, heedful here,
Anticipating nought, have ceased to be,
Save in men's memories. Then what to thee
Is any voice, any, e'en though Dian wan
Should call once more to her Endymion?
   So, then, I leave you. Now the gate is shut;
There lies the road to Rome — a chariot-rut
Surely is that flushed by the mid-day shower,
And blood-red in the sunset; wall and tower
Lock down upon me coldly; in the air
Is sense of empire gone, of satraps bare
About their monarch's bier who being dead,
His greatness comes to end, their own is sped;
While in the purple vast of sky, afar
O'er Alba Longa, flames the evening star.

Percy Bysshe Shelley (d. 8 July 1822, buried in the Protestant Cemetery, Rome).

Alfred Austin (1872), pp. 15-20.

'At Shelley's Grave.'

Beneath this marble, mute of praise,
   Is hushed the heart of One
Who, whilst it beat, had eagle's gaze
   To stare upon the sun.
Equal in flight
   To any height,
He lies where they that crawl but come,
Sleeping most sound, — Cor Cordium.

---

'The inscription on Shelley's grave, and the history of Cor Cordium, are too well known to need any explanation here. When I first visited that sacred spot, the words were well nigh illegible, and not a flower smiled above the neglected tomb. With some hesitation, but unable to resist a natural impulse, I took upon myself a sweet, but, I fear, too sacred charge, and empowered the custode of the cemetery to cleanse the stone of obliterating moss, and to lavish upon the grave every floral care, consistent with simplicity, till I should once more visit Rome.

Returning in the autumn of 1865, I found that a female relative of the poet had recently been to the cemetery, and had kindly condoned my intrusion. Since that time, till at least the spring of 1870, when I last paid a pilgrimage thither, everything that affection and reverence can do to mark the holy ground has been done.

The reader will perceive from the date attached to the poem that French troops then occupied the Eternal City, and their favourite locality for drum and trumpet practising was the neighbourhood of the Protestant Cemetery.'
No rippling notes announcing spring,
No bloom-evoking breeze,
No fleecy clouds that earnest bring
Of summer on the seas,
Avail to wake
The heart whose ache
Was to be tender overmuch
To Nature's every tone and touch.

The insolence of stranger drum,
Vexing the broad blue air,
To smite a nation's clamour dumb,
Or spur a rash despair,
Which once had wrung
That prophet tongue
To challenge force or cheer the slave,
Rolls unrebuked around his grave.

The cruel clarion's senseless bray,
The lamb's half-human bleat,
Patter of shower on sward or spray,
Or clang of mailed feet,
Are weak alike
To stir or strike
The once swift voice that now is dumb
To war's reveil, cicala's hum.

Oh wake, dead heart! come back! indeed
Come back! Thy thunderous brow
And levin shafts the world did need
Never so much as now.
The chain, the rack,
The hopes kept back
By those whom serfs are forced to trust.
Might well reanimate thy dust.

Nay, Poet, rest thou quiet there,
'Neath sunshine, wind, and rain;
At least if thou canst scarce repair.
Thou dost not share our pain.
It is enough
That cold rebuff
And calumny of knave and dunce
Did vex thy tender spirit once.

Where was the marvel, though thy corse
Submitted to the pyre,
Thy heart of hearts should foil the force
Of the sea-wind-blown fire?
It was but just
That what was dust
Should own the cradle whence it came —
But when did flame e'er feed on flame?

Or rather say the sacred torch,
The while it did illume
Thy heart, did also so far scorch,
Was nought left to consume?
That ardent zeal
For human weal
Had searched and parched it o'er and o'er,
Till, lava like, 'twould burn no more.
I snatch the banner from thy grave,  
I wave the torch on high;  
'Spite smiling tyrant, crouching slave,  
The Cause shall never die!  
Sceptre and cowl  
May smile or scowl,  
Serfs hug the chains they half deserve —  
Right cannot miss, howe'er it swerve!

Alas! you failed, who were so strong:  
Shall I succeed, so weak?  
Life grows still shorter, art more long;  
You sang — I scarce can speak.  
Promethean fire  
Within your lyre  
Made manly words with music mate,  
Whilst I am scarce articulate.

He sang too early to be heard;  
The world is drowsy still;  
And only those whose sleep is stirred  
By lines that streak the hill,  
Or the first notes  
Of matin throats,  
Have heard his strain 'mid hush of night,  
And known it harbinger of Light.

But when the Day shall come whose dawn  
He early did forbode,  
When men by Knowledge shall be drawn,  
Not driven by the goad,  
This spot apart,  
Where sleeps his heart,  
Deaf to all clamour, wrong, or rage,  
Shall be their choicest pilgrimage.

Rome, April 1863.

Bessie Rayner PARKES (1863), p.185.

'Two Graves.'

Percy Bysshe Shelley, drowned July 8, 1822.  
Mary Wollstonecraft Shelley, died Feb. 1, 1851.  
In death they are not divided.

Two graves within one year I saw,  
Where sleep, a thousand miles apart,  
Husband and wife, whose living law  
Was to know one soul, one heart.

He sleeps beneath the Roman fosse  
And violets, like his verse divine;  
She, where the tenderest snowdrop blows,  
Amidst the heather and the pine.

And yet we hope they are not here,  
But where the heavenly lilies bloom,  
And amaranth, to the angels dear,  
Mocks our pale buds which deck the tomb.
There no dark cypress grows nor pine,
Where they, the husband and the wife,
Their long-dissevered lives entwine,
And dwell beneath the Tree of Life!

George Gordon Noel Byron, Lord Byron (d. 19 April 1824, buried in Hucknall-Torkard Church, Nottingham).

Elizabeth Barrett BROWNING (1897), p.52.

‘Stanzas on the Death of Lord Byron.’

"----- lege pasin apwleto
—— Bion.

"----- I am not now
That which I have been."
—— Childe Harold.

He was, and is not! Graecia’s trembling shore,
Sighing through all her palmy groves, shall tell
That Harold’s pilgrimage at last is o’er —
Mute the impassioned tongue, and tuneful shell,
That erst was wont in noblest strains to swell —
Hush’d the proud shouts that rode Ægæa’s wave!
For lo! the great Deliv’rer breathes farewell!
Gives to the world his mem’ry and a grave —
Expiring in the land he only lived to save!

Mourn, Hellas, mourn! and o’er thy widow’d brow,
For aye, the cypress wreath of sorrow twine;
And in thy new-form’d beauty, desolate, throw
The fresh-cull’d flowers on his sepulchral shrine.
Yes! let that heart whose fervour was all thine,
In consecrated urn lamented be!
That generous heart where genius thrill’d divine,
Hath spent its last most glorious throb for thee —
Then sank amid the storm that made thy children free!

Britannia’s Poet! Græcia’s hero, sleeps!
And Freedom, bending o’er the breathless clay,
Lifts up her voice, and in her anguish weeps!
For us, a night hath clouded o’er our day,
And hush’d the lips that breath’d our fairest lay.
Alas! and must the British lyre resound
A requiem, while the spirit wings away
Of him who on its strings such music found,
And taught its startling chords to give so sweet a sound!

The theme grows sadder — but my soul shall find
A language in these tears! No more — no more!
Soon, ‘midst the shriekings of the tossing wind,
The ‘dark blue depths’ he sang of, shall have bore
Our all of Byron to his native shore!
His grave is thick with voices — to the ear
Murm’ring an awful tale of greatness o’er;
But Memory strives with Death, and lingering near,
Shall consecrate the dust of Harold’s lonely bier!
d. Scots: Burns, Scott and Campbell.

Robert Burns (d. 21 July 1796, buried in St. Michael’s churchyard, Dumfries).

Robert NICOLL (1842), pp.165-6.

‘The Grave of Burns.’

By a kirkyard-yett I stood, while many enter’d in,

Men bow’d wi’ toil an’ age — wi’ haffets auld an’ thin;
An’ lither’s in their prime, wi’ a bearin’ proud an’ hie;
An’ maidens, pure an’ bonnie as the daisies o’ the lea;
An’ matrons wrinkled auld, wi’ lyart heads an’ gray;
An’ bairns, like things o’er fair for Death to wede away.

I stood beside the yett, while onward still they went, —
The laird frae out his ha’, an’ the shepherd frae the bent:
It seem’d a type o’ men, an’ o’ the grave’s domain;
But these were livin’ a’, an’ could straight come forth again.
An’ of the bedrail auld, wi’ meikle courtesie,
I speer’d what it might mean? an’ he bade me look an’ see.

On the trodden path that led to the house of worshipping,
Or before its open doors, there stood nae livin’ thing;
But awa’ amang the tombs, ilk comer quickly pass’d,
An’ upon ae lowly grave ilk seekin’ e’e was cast.
There were sabbin’ bosoms there, and proud yet soften’d eyes,
An’ a whisper breathed around, “There the loved and honour’d lies.”

There was ne’er a murmur there — the deep-drawn breath was hush’d, —

And o’er the maiden’s cheek the tears o’ feelin’ gush’d;
An’ the bonnie infant face was lifted as in prayer;
An’ manhood’s cheek was flush’d wi’ the thoughts that movin’ were:
I stood beside the grave, and I gazed upon the stone,
And the name of “Robert Burns” was engraven thereupon.

Walter Scott (d. 21 September 1832, buried in the ruins of Dryburgh Abbey, near Melrose).

William SOTHEBY (1834), pp.xxxviii-xlII.

‘On the Death of Sir Walter Scott.’

Proem.

I who erewhile with Hope’s delightful strain
To Italy’s bright sun and syren bay,
O’er the blue splendour of the midland main,
Accompanied the Minstrel on his way,
And preluded his glories yet to come,
The golden close of Fame’s unclouded day. —
Ah! dire reverse! now breathe the funeral lay,
And strew these fading flowers on Scott’s untimely tomb.

Mourn Abbotsford!
Mourn Thou! far famed retreat!
Where, picturing on the Tweed th’embattled crest,
The great Magician raised his Gothic seat!
Thou roof! whose hospitable rest
Welcomed the stranger guest, —
And Thou armorial Hall!
Where the Bard, communing with chiefs of yore,
Hung their proud weapons on his storied wall:
Ye haunts! where once in happier hour
Th' Enchanter led me to his secret bow'r,
Receive my farewell word!
Ne'er may the Sun behold an alien Lord
Scott's sacred hearth profane!
But, evermore, a Scott there hold th'ancestral reign!

Harp of the North! — Death's ruthless stroke,
Thy chord that witch'd the world has broke,
And thou in Dryburgh's hallow'd gloom
Liest silent on the Minstrel's tomb;
Thy chord is broke, but ne'er shall die,
The echo of his minstrelsy,
Drawn by the magic of his rhyme,
Wild, romantic, bold, sublime,
Not Caledonia's sons alone,
The race of her poetic zone,
But in far Dryburgh's still retreat
The pilgrims of the world shall meet:

And tell of Him whose gifted lay
Held o'er the heart resistless sway;
Of Him, the painter of the mind,
Of Him, whose portrait of mankind,
The lights, the shades, the mingled strife,
Each hue of many-colour'd life,
In bold similitude display'd
The living man that Nature made.

Scott, thou didst trance in deep delight
The summer day and winter night,
Yet, Bard! thy harp had higher pow'r
Than witcheries of the passing hour —
Its tone could, like a Seraph's lyre,
Draw from the breast each base desire;
Could rouse the passions, yet control;
Could soothe, yet elevate the soul;
And to the world's tired slave impart
The freshness of thy feeling heart.

Yet though thy lay had power to bind,
In chain of sympathy, mankind,
And on the universe imprest
Each image glowing in thy breast;

While o'er the world the spell was thrown
Scotland! his heart was thine alone. —
To thee the patriot passion given,
Thy rocks, thy lakes, his earthly heaven.
E'en when Italia's treacherous gale
Lured to the Syren bay his sail,
While round him breathed from every bower
The fragrance of the orange flower,
"Land of the mountain and the flood,"
Thy image still before him stood;
And when life's sunshine was o'er cast,
Ne'er from his dream that vision past. —

His prayer was heard — to view once more,
While Death yet paused, his haunts of yore,
Where Tweed his course romantic leads
Mid Abbotsford's delightful meads;
Or where the woods he planted spread
Their grateful shadow o'er his head. —

His prayer was heard — he sunk to rest
Beneath that roof where life was blest, —
Sunk in their arms whose ceaseless care
Watch'd o'er a Father's silver hair,
While his last look on them reposed,
And Death in peace his eyelid closed. —

He rests in peace; but Scotland! thou
Low bent in sorrow o'er his brow, —
Thou realm! that glories in his birth,
Now, o'er him, in his native earth
Raise in proud Dryburgh's hallow'd aisle
The Northern Bard's sepulchral pile. —

Yet not the sculptor's utmost art
That to the rock can life impart.
But Scott's imperishable page
Shall spread his name from age to age.
What needs it — where his relics lie —
The pomp of idle eulogy?
One word shall consecrate the stone.
Immortal Scott, thy name, alone!

W. S.  Fair Mead Lodge, Epping Forest, 7 Nov. 1832.

Thomas Campbell (d. 15 June 1844, buried in Poets' Corner, Westminster Abbey).


'The Interment of Thomas Campbell. July, 1844.'

See, what eager throngs are pouring inwards from the busy street!
Lo, the Abbey's hush is broken with the stir of many feet!
Hark! St. Margaret's bell is tolling, but it is no common clay,
To that dull and rueful anthem, shall be laid in dust to-day!
In yon Minster's hallow'd corner, where the bards and sages rest,
Is a silent chamber waiting to receive another guest.
There is sadness in the heavens, and a veil against the sun;
Who shall mourn so well as Nature, when a poet's course is run?
Let us in and join the gazers, meek of heart and bare of brow,
For the shadows of the mighty dead are hovering o'er us now!
Souls that kept their trust immortal, dwelling from the herd apart,
Souls that wrote their noble being deep into a nation's heart;
Names, that on great England's forehead are the jewels of her pride,
Brother Scot, be proud, a brother soon shall slumber by their side!
Ay, thy cheek is flushing redly, tears are crowding to thine eyes,
And thy heart, like mine, is rushing back where Scotland's mountains rise;
Thou, like me, hast seen another grave would suit our poet well,
Greenly braided by the breckan, in a lonely Highland dell,
Looking on the solemn waters of a mighty inland sea,
In the shadow of a mountain, where the lonely eagles be;
Thou hast seen the kindly heather blown around his simple bed;
Heard the loch and torrent mingle dirges for the poet dead;
Brother, thou hast seen him lying, as it is thy hope to lie,
Looking from the soil of Scotland up into a Scottish sky;
It may be such grave were better, better rain and dew should fall,
Tears of hopeful love to freshen Nature's ever verdant pall,
Better that the sun should kindle on his grave in golden smiles,
Better, than in palsied glimmer stray along these sculptured aisles;
Better aftentimes should find him, — to his rest in homage bound,
Lying in the land that bore him, with its glories piled around!
Such, at least, must be the fancy that in such a time must start,
For we love our country dearly, — in each burning Scottish heart;
Yet a rest so great, so noble, as awaits the minstrel here,
'Mong the best of England's children, can be no unworthy bier.

Hark! A rush of feet! They bear him, him, the singer, to his tomb;
Yonder what of him is mortal rests beneath yon sable plume. 
Tears along mine eyes are rushing, but the proudest tears they be, 
Which on manly eyes may gather, — tears 'twere never shame to see; 
Tears that water lofty purpose; tears of welcome to the fame 
Of the bard that hath ennobled Scotland's dear and noble name. 
Sadder, sadder let the anthem yearn aloft on wailing strain, 
Not for him, for he is happy, but for us and all our pain! 
Louder, louder let the organ like a seraph anthem roll, 
Hymning to its home of glory our departed brother's soul!
He has laid him down to slumber, to awake to nobler trust, 
Give his frame to kindred ashes, earth to earth, and dust to dust!
Hark! A louder thunder answers, deepening inwards to the skies! 
Heaven's majestic diapason, pealing on from east to west, 
Never grander music anthem'd poet to his home of rest!

e. Women: Hemans, Landon, Barrett Browning and Christina Rossetti.

Mary Tighe (d. 24 March 1810, buried in inistioge churchyard, Woodstock, Co. Kilkenny, Ireland).

Felicia HEMANS (1839), v.ill., pp.223-5.

'The Grave of a Poetess.'

"Ne me plaignez pas — si vous saviez
Combien de peines ce tombeau m'a épargnées!"

stood beside thy lowly grave; 
Spring odours breathed around, 
And music, in the river wave, 
Pass'd with a lulling sound. 

All happy things that love the sun, 
In the bright air glanced by, 
And a glad murmur seem'd to run 
Through the soft azure sky. 

Fresh leaves were on the ivy bough 
That fringed the ruins near; 
Young voices were abroad, but thou 
Their sweetness couldst not hear.

1 The monument is a recumbent female figure derived from John Flaxman's Psyche (designed for Samuel Rogers). A model can be found in the Flaxman Room, University College London. See Whinney and Gunnis 1967, p.49 and Plate 23a.
2See also Hemans's 'Written after Visiting a Tomb near Woodstock, in the County of Kilkenny,' composed after going to Mary Tighe's grave, where a butterfly again gives the speaker an idea of higher things.
And mournful grew my heart for thee,
Thou in whose woman's mind
The ray that brightens earth and sea,
The light of song was shrined.

Mournful, that thou wert slumbering low,
With a dread curtain drawn
Between thee and the golden glow
Of this world's vernal dawn.

Parted from all the song and bloom
Thou wouldst have loved so well,
To thee the sunshine round thy tomb
Was but a broken spell.

The bird, the insect on the wing,
In their bright reckless play,
Might feel the flush and life of spring —
And thou wert pass'd away.

But then, e'en then, a nobler thought
O'er my vain sadness came;
Th' immortal spirit woke, and wrought
Within my thrilling frame.

Surely on lovelier things, I said,
Than all that round our pathway shed
Odours and hues below.

The bird, the insect on the wing,
In their bright reckless play,
Might feel the flush and life of spring —
And thou wert pass'd away.

Here a vain love to passing flowers
Thou gav'st — but where thou art,
The sway is not with changeful hours,
There love and death must part.

Thou hast left sorrow in thy song,
A voice not loud but deep!
The glorious bowers of earth among —
How often didst thou weep?

Where couldst thou fix on mortal ground
Thy tender thoughts and high?
Now peace the woman's heart hath found,
And joy the poet's eye.

Felicia Hemans (d. 16 May 1835, buried in the crypt of St. Anne's Church, Dawson Street, Dublin).

Ann HAWKSHAW (1842), pp.iii-iv.

'Introductory Stanzas.'

Where are the strains like solemn music stealing,
Which erst from Cambria's ancient vallies came?
Where is the heart that shrined all holy feeling?
Remains there only now of her a name?^1 Is the lyre broken and the music o'er? Oh! sweeter never woke the echoes of our shore.

And could she not bequeath her gift of song, — Treasure far richer than the Indian mine? Could not those mountain winds the strain prolong, Which sweep o'er heights where freedom built her shrine, Or sigh o'er many an elder minstrel's tomb? Free winds that never fanned a conqueror's plume!

It may not be — on the dead soldier's breast They lay the sword and lance, and they have borne Her lyre in sadness to her place of rest, And for its silence wherefore should we mourn? For there are few would listen to the strain Were she to wake that lyre's deep chords again.

This is no time for song: there is a strife For wealth or for existence all around; And all the sweet amenities of life, And all the gentle harmonies of sound, Die like the flowers upon a beaten path, Or music midst the noise of toil and wrath.

Oh! to awake once more the love of song, The love of nature, and of holier things Than crowd the visions of the busy throng: Alas! the dust is on the angel's wings, And those who woke the lyre in days gone by Wake it no more, or touch it with a sigh.

Bard of the lakes, is there not yet a tone^2 Slumbering within that silent harp of thine, Is there no forest glade, no mossy stone, No quiet lake, nor old forgotten shrine, Left unrecorded and unsung by thee? Oh breathe one parting strain of thy pure minstrelsy.

Letitia Elizabeth Landon (d. 15 October 1838, buried under the parade ground, Cape Coast Castle, West Africa).

Edward Henry BICKERSTETH (1848), pp.45-6.

'Elegy to L. E. L.'

Scarce had the wind, which rocked thine ocean bed, Borne thee, oh! Landon, to a far-off strand: Ere tears are falling o'er the minstrel dead, And sounds of woe are wafted o'er the land.

Queen of the tuneful lyre! — those tears are thine — Long will thy fatherland thy mem'ry keep; The laurel which thy minstrel lute did twine, Wreathed with the cypress, o'er thy tomb will weep.

Ahh! 'tis thy legacy — thou ne'er mayst wake Its silvery strings to charm thy list'ning throng;

---

^1 Mrs. Hemans.
^2 Wordsworth.
Hushed is the heart which could such music make,
Shivered the chords, and silent is the song.

Thou wast too full of passion — and the shell,
Worn by the spirit, all too frail and weak;
The parting hour was as thy funeral knell,
Thou could'st not bear another home to seek.

To leave thy hearthstone, and thine early friends;
To burst the bonds which nature flings around
Sweet friendship's footsteps, and to life still lends
A hallowing charm, wherewith our hearts are bound.

Alas! to lose thee thus! to hear no more
Th' enchanting echo of thine haunting song;
To know that, resting on a foreign shore;
To stranger hands thine obsequies belong.

Ah! who will honour thine abandoned urn!
Will one fond hand strew roses o'er thy bier?
In vain, bright flowers await thy loved return;
In vain, we weep for one, alas! so dear.

Bright is the sun, with rays of burning light,
The stars with silver radiance gild the sky;
Still, as of yore, the silent queen of night
Sheds a pale lustre from her throne on high.

All — all endure, but where is now our boast?
The poet of all hearts — our pride is dead;
Wake — wake, sweet music o'er that far off coast;
Fling — fling sweet garlands o'er her lowly head.

Elizabeth Barrett Browning (d. 29 July 1861, buried in the Protestant Cemetery, Florence).

William SHARP (1884a), pp.58-62.

'The light wind scarcely breathes between
The close-set cypress boughs, nor stirs
To varying shades the ilex-green;
A blackbird calls, a song-thrush whirs
Through leafy dusk till somewhere near
Again its sweet wild song swells clear: —

But otherwise no sound to break
The hallowed peace that broods where lies
The dust of her\(^1\) for whose sweet sake
Firenze and its ardent skies
To all who love her sweet song-lore
Are dear and sacred evermore.

The river that she loved flows nigh,
Slow washing to the Pisan sea —
Behind, where solemn hills slope high
The Vallombrosan torrents flee
'Mid crags and pines — and yonder way
Morello and Fiesole.

---

\(^1\)E. B. B., obit 1861.
The Tuscan spring is warm and bright  
As when she loved to watch the sun  
Turn olive-leaves to slips of light,  
As fair the flowers where children run  
And laugh amidst their childish pranks  
Upon grey-green Mugnone's banks:

But quiet the urgent heart, the brain  
That wrought with ceaseless love and care  
Sweet songs compact of joy and pain,  
Dreams from a soul that knew no air  
Of common earth — now where songs are  
The breath of souls she dwells afar.

And as I think of her my heart  
Turns back to last year's Easter-tide,¹  
Remembering with a sudden smart;  
I see again the cliffs beside  
The broad blue sea, in crescent bent  
Half round the windy breast of Kent —

I see the little graveyard lie,  
The tombs encrusted with sea-salt;  
Above, I hear the larks sing high  
Within the cloud-flecked azure-vault —  
And surely that sound from the deep  
Must soothe those sleeping their long sleep.

He too has rest, and knows no more  
Of joy or pain: and as the sea  
Is secret, so for evermore  
His voice is hushed. The mystery  
Of song! But no, afar he sings,  
Afar he knows diviner springs,

Afar he feels the mystic change  
That veiled death wrought, — or here again  
His new-framed soul doth upward range  
Preparing for a nobler strain:  
The joy of Death! that leaves us here  
To live anew, or to some sphere

Beyond the earth and mortal woes  
Watts spirits to some stellar bliss!  
Ev'n as a flower from winter's throes  
Is born to feel Spring's breathless kiss,  
So is he filled with joy who here  
Wept oft to find life barren, drear.

Christina Rossetti (d. 29 December 1894, buried in Highgate Cemetery).


¹D. G. R., obit Easter, 1882.
From lands she loved to think on — seems to trail
Love's holy radiance from the very Grail
O'er those white flowers before they sink below.

Is that a spirit or bird whose sudden song
from yonder sunlit tree beside the grave
Recalls a robin's warble, sweet yet strong,
Upon a lawn beloved of wind and wave —
Recalls her "Christmas Robin," ruddy, brave,
Winning the crumbs she throws where blackbirds throng?

II.
In Christmastide of heaven does she recall
Those happy days with Gabriel by the sea,
Who gathered round him those he loved, when she
"Must coax the birds to join the festival,"
And said, "The sea-sweet winds are musical
With carols from the billows singing free
Around the groynes, and every shrub and tree
Seems conscious of the Channel's rise and fall"?

The coffin lowers, and I can see her now —
See the loved kindred standing by her side,
As once I saw them 'neath our Christmas bough —
And her, that dearer one, who sanctified
With halo of mother's love our Christmas-tide —
And Gabriel too — with peace upon his brow.


Robert Southey (d. 21 March 1843, buried in St. Kentigern's churchyard, Crosthwaite, Keswick).


'Southey's Grave.'

There never beam'd a brighter day
On ancient Skiddaw's glorious height,
Sweet Keswick water never lay
Wrapp'd in a flood of purer light,
When, woo'd by the delicious power
That rules the haunted mountain-land,
We roam'd, one golden summer hour,
By that wild lake's enchanted strand.

"And where does Southey sleep?" we said.
The peasant boy made answer none,
But toward that old white church he led,
And o'er its wall of guardian stone,
A bright and lonely burial ground,
Between the mountain and the wave, —
The boy stood by one low green mound
And answered: "This is Southey's grave!"

Things are there to the inward eye
That mingle in as sweet accord
As hues that on the mountains lie,
Or notes in one wild measure pour'd;
And sure that grave at Skiddaw's feet,
The waving grass, the chequer'd skies,
Calm Nature's lover! seem'd most meet
With thy soul's dream to harmonise.

What though no clustering arches fair
Around thy sculptured marble rise,
Nor lingering sunbeam thither bear
The storied window's gorgeous dyes;
Nor stream of choral chanting sweet,
Borne down the minster's mighty aisle,
With ocean-swell of organ, meet
Beside thy monumental pile?

Thou sleepest in a statelier fane,
High heaven's blue arch is o'er thee bent,
And winds and waves a sweeter strain
Make round thy mountain monument;
And sunbeams, when departing night
Rolls back the mists from Gowdar's crest,
Break through their clouds in rosy light,
To lie along thy quiet breast.

Yes! many a shrine our feet have sought,
Where pillar'd aisle and fretted nave
Told man, the richly blest, had brought
Some portion back to Him who gave;
And thoughts of rapturous awe we knew,
But sweeter none than when we stay'd
By that green grave where daisies grew,
In Nature's own cathedral laid.

**William Wordsworth (d. 23 April 1850, buried in St. Oswald's churchyard, Grasmere).**

Eliza FLETCHER (1875), pp.284-5.

'Thoughts on leaving Grasmere Churchyard, April 27, 1850, after the Funeral of
William Wordsworth.'

We saw him laid within the quiet grave,
Near to the yew he planted. 'Twas a day
Of most rare brightness, and the little birds
Sang no sad requiem o'er the hallowed spot:
'Twas as they welcomed him to his last home.
All nature glowed instinct with tender love
For him, her fervent worshipper, no more
To chant her praises 'mid her mountain wilds,
Her streams and valleys, "vocal thro' his song."
There lives not one whose pilgrimage on earth
Has been more blest, by God's especial grace,
In stirring Heaven-ward thoughts in fellow-men.
His was no narrow creed; he loved mankind
Because God's law is love; and many hearts
In loneliness and grief have felt his power
Work like a charm within them, lifting high
Their thoughts from earthly aims and sordid cares
To life's great purpose for the world to come.
Sweet was the privilege of those who shared
His daily converse, marked his blameless course,
And learned the true philosophy of life
Under his teaching, simple, but sublime.
Peace to his honoured memory; peace to those
Who cherish fervently within their souls
The beautiful realities he taught.
'Wordsworth.'

**We** will not sorrow for the glorious dead,—
Death is The Life to glory's hallow'd sons!
Above this body, in its prison-bed,
Soar the free spirits of those blessed ones,
Waiting in hope, on heavenly manna fed:
To such rich feast in beauteous raiment led,
Why should we wail for him, as those who wept
Some Lycidas or Bion of old time,
Mourning as dead the soul that only slept?
No! rather let the paean rise sublime
For nature's poet-priest from nature's voice, —
Let sea and sky be glad, and field and fen,
And pastoral vale, and thunder-riven glen,
And dewy Rydal in her bard rejoice!

**Alfred Lord Tennyson (d. 6 October 1892, buried in Poets' Corner, Westminster Abbey).**


‘Midnight: 5-6 October, 1892.’

*The laurel greener from the brow*
*Of him who uttered nothing base.*

**Midnight!** and feebly comes his breath
Whose breath was ever fraught with song.
The life that was so whole and strong
Treads hard upon the heels of Death.

And all the Land he loved so well,
The Land to which his golden tongue
Gave forth such songs as no man sung,
Is listening for the passing bell.

An hour and half an hour are past:
Hush! can we hear his breathing yet?
Nay, Death and he have clasped and met,
The mellow voice is mute at last.

And through our lands in every clime,
Where'er his English speech is heard,
A thousand wires have flashed the word
That he has passed beyond our time.

The wreath that Wordsworth left so green
He leaves all bright with magic flowers;
They fall on his dead head in showers
And kiss the lips where song has been.

O Laurel, greener from the head
Of him who uttered nothing base,
Hang thou forever in thy place
Above the great old poet's head!

For he whose soul, both young and old,
Was ever minted into verse
Bequeaths his country nothing worse
Than mintage of the purest gold.

So be it thine, O Laurel Crown,
Fitly to mark the resting-place
Of him the last of all his race;
For who so bold to take thee down?

Hardwick Drummond RAWNSLEY (1893), p.29.

'Tennyson's Home-Going. October 11th, 1892.'

Bear him by quiet wood and silent down,
And let the first gold leafage on him fall,
His leaf of Life fell golden. Let the pall
Be strewn with English roses, and the crown
Of gold and laurel on his bier be shown.
For now the laurel fades beyond recall
The rose of song lies shattered; in the hall
Of Heaven, he wears that wreath he made his own.

Yes! bear him from the fair fields of his love
To that old abbey of the Faithful King;
The roaring streets, that felt thro' all their roar
His psalm of peace, shall never wake him more;
And leave him there where Chaucer's heart shall move
For joy to greet the brother whom ye bring.

g. Victorians: D. G. Rossetti, FitzGerald, Arnold and Browning.

D. G. Rossetti (d. 9 April 1882, buried in All Saints' churchyard, Birchington, Thanet, Kent).


‘At the Grave of Dante Gabriel Rossetti.'

April 9th, 1883.'

Here of a truth the world's extremes are met:
Amid the grey — the moss-grown tombs of those
Who led long lives obscure till came the close
When, their calm days being done, their suns were set —
Here stands a grave, all monumentless yet,
Wrapt like the others in a deep repose;
But while yon wakeful ocean ebbs and flows
It is a grave the world shall not forget —

This grave on which meek violets grow and thyme,
Summer's fair heralds; and a stranger now
Pauses to see a poet's resting-place,
But one of those who will in many a clime
On each return of this sad day avow
Fond love's regret that ne'er they saw his face.

1Rossetti died at Birchington-on-Sea, Kent, on the 9th of April, 1882.
Edward FitzGerald (d. 14 June 1883, buried in Boulge churchyard, near Woodbridge, Suffolk).

Edmund Gosse (1893a) [single page].

‘Inscription for the rose-tree brought by Mr. W. Simpson from Omar's tomb in Naishápûr, and planted to-day on the grave of Edward FitzGerald, at Boulge.’

Reign here, triumphant Rose from Omar's grave,
Borne by a fakir o'er the Persian wave;
Reign with fresh pride, since here a heart is sleeping
That double glory to your Master gave.

Hither let many a pilgrim step be bent
To greet the Rose re-risen in banishment;
Here richer crimsons may its cup be keeping
Than brimmed it ere from Naishápûr it went.

October 7th, 1893.

Matthew Arnold (d. 15 April 1888, buried in All Saints' churchyard, Laleham, Middlesex).

Lionel Pigot Johnson (1915), pp.16-17.

‘Laleham.’

To Arthur Galton

Only one voice could sing aright
His brother poet, lost in night:
His voice, who lies not far away,
The pure and perfect voice of Gray.
The sleep of humble men he sang,
For whom the tolling church bells rang
Over their silent fields and vales,
Whence no rude sound their calm assails.
He knew their melancholy rest,
And peaceful sleep, on earth's kind breast;
Their patient lives, their common doom,
The beauty of their simple tomb.
One thing he left unsung: how some,
To share those village slumbers, come:
Whose voices filled the world with joy,
Who made high thoughts their one employ.
Ah, loving hearts! Too great to prize
Things whereon most men set their eyes:
The applauding crowd; the golden lure
Of wealth, insatiate and unsure;
A life of noise! a restless death:
The sanctities of life's last breath
Profaned with ritual pride and state;
Last pageant of the little great!
But these, to whom all crowns of song,
And all immortal praise, belong,
Turn from each garish sight and sound,
To lay them down in humble ground:
Choosing that still, enchanted sleep
To be, where kindly natures keep:
In sound of pleasant water rills,
In shadows of the solemn hills.
Earth's heart, earth's hidden way, they knew:
Now on their grave light falls her dew.
The music of her soul was theirs:
They sleep beneath her sweetest airs.

Beside the broad, gray Thames one lies,
With whom a spring of beauty dies:
Among the willows, the pure wind
Calls all his wistful song to mind;
And, as the calm, strong river flows,
With it his mightier music goes;
But those winds cool, those waters lave,
The country of his chosen grave.
Go past the cottage flowers, and see,
Where Arnold held it good to be!
Half church, half cottage, comely stands
An holy house, from Norman hands:
By rustic Time well taught to wear
Some lowly, meditative air:
Long ages of a pastoral race
Have softened sternness into grace;
And many a touch of simpler use
From Norman strength hath set it loose.
Here, under old, red-fruited yews,
And summer suns, and autumn dews,
With his lost children at his side,
Sleeps Arnold: Still those waters glide,
Those winds blow softly down their breast:
But he, who loved them, is at rest.

1889.

Robert Browning (d. 12 December 1889, buried in Poets' Corner, Westminster Abbey).


'Browning's Funeral.'

I. Venice, December 15th, 1889.¹

Now "past they glide," and bear the flower-wreathed bier
Across the soundless waters, cold and grey,
Ere Night falls, sable-vestured and austere,
And Day dies in one roseate flush away,
While they who follow, tearful, in the train
See wonted sights with unfamiliar eyes; —
Like dreams, amid the fevered sleep of pain,
Rich domes and frescoed palaces arise.
Yet haply, mixed with sorrow, dawns the thought
How fit such obsequies for him whose pen
Hath given a wondrous poem,² passion-fraught, —
Breathing of love and Venice, — unto men:
And so hath added to her deathless glory
A shining scroll of pure and ageless story.

¹The body of Robert Browning was conveyed to a gondola which had the figure of an angel at the prow and a lion at the stern, and was covered with flowers. The relations and friends followed in gondolas across the lagoon, in the light of the setting sun to the cemetery.

²See Browning's poem, entitled "In a Gondola."
II. *Westminster Abbey, December 31st, 1889.*

Croft's solemn music swells; then comes at last
The dim procession through the panelled choir;
And in the cloistral gloom, so still and vast,
Many who loved him listen. Higher and higher
Rise Purcell's dirge-like tones, Grief's very soul,
Yet soon "He giveth His beloved Sleep"
Brings to our anguished hearts relief, control,
Memories of stately Florence, and the deep
Love-sacrament which bound him to his spouse
Changeless through changeful years. And now in heaven
They meet in bliss — meet to renew their vows
Beyond the soil ing touch of earthly leaven.
While England, as 'tis right, in sacred trust
Keeps through the centuries his hallowed dust.

---

1 The music of Croft and Purcell was used "as the body was brought into Church, and for the processional parts of the burial service. This was followed by a 'meditation,' composed for the service by Dr. Bridge, the words from Elizabeth Barrett Browning's 'He giveth His beloved Sleep.'"
Part 2: Literary genres and tropes.


a. Graveyard meditation in the manner of Gray's 'Elegy.'

David GRAY (1874), pp.111-19.

'The "Auld Aisle"— a Burying-Ground.'

This is my last and farewell place on earth,
In this unlevel square of soft green-sward.
I love it well. Beneath no trailing vine,
No prairie grass, no moaning yew tree's shade,
Within no hollow hard sarcophagus,
No barred tomb, I hope / e'er shall lie;
But, happed with daisy-mingled grass, where oft,
On Sabbath eve, when everything is still,
And every little glen within itself
Is heard to chaunt its masses o'er the sun,
Already shrouded with his blood-stained robes.
Some mindful ones will drop a ready tear
To nurture a white daisy, and will breathe
A gushing prayer of sighs to him below.
I shall not feel their footsteps over me;
I shall not hear their long-known voices speak;
For I'll be dead. Oh! dead! and yet why weep?
Oh! earthly hearts are weak to think of death!
And 'tis a cutting thought to see our hopes
All shivered like a bunch of autumn leaves,
And sunset games, and love—delightful love—
All buried in a grave. Yet it must come.

The wreck of centuries is buried here;
The very monuments are hoar with age;
The empty tower that sentinels them all
Wails when the gusts wild wander o'er the earth,
And creaks the rusty gate with careless Time.
Methinks I see the silent funeral
Wend slowly up this hill with soulless load.
Backward swings sullen the disused gate,
And quiet, with measured steps, they enter here,
To where the red clay gapes. How mournfully
Are the last rites paid to a fleshly frame!
Behold the old man with the sunken eyes
And broken heart. This was his eldest-born.
A black-eyed boy he was, and in his youth
He was his joy and hope. And oft he gazed
Into his laughing face, and dreamed of times
When in his youthful strength he would him shield,
And help him to the stone before the door
In summer time, when streamlets murmured clear.
So he grew up, but scorned the homely ways
Of the grey place of his nativity.
He saw the sun rise from behind the hills,
His well-thumbed book firm clasped in his young hand.
He saw it sink within the breezy glen,
And all the birds shrink from its burning face
To shade in nests, his book firm clasped in hand.
But most he pondered over nature's book—
The bubbled rill and the green-bladed corn,
The lowly wild-flowers and the leafy trees
Alive with music. His father wondered strange,
And prouder grew of his bold quiet son,
Who spoke without restraint or lovely eye
Unto God's minister. And he would tell
At other fire-sides of his wondrous ways,
The oft-trimmed lamp when others were indrawn;
Nor did he check the working of the mind
And wearing of the flesh. He knew no harm,
So time grew older still, and he went off,
With paler face and heavier looks, to where
The sons of learning prosecute their toils.

But here he pined like a transplanted flower
Borne from its native soil. No grass was here,
Where he might lie, and watch the mighty clouds
All floating in the blue. No lark was here,
In love with angels, but the place was lone
And dark and cold. No milkmaid's song was here.
Hushed when he passed upon the mountain side,
And anxious eye that gazed till he was gone.
And 'mid the throng of battling human kind,
No simple eye nor homely hand sought his,
Or voice, with homely accents, spoke relief.
All was unknown, unheeded, but his books,
Which were his very self, his only friend.

And rich he was in lore, and strong in hope,
But heaven was panting for an inmate more:
In heaven his place was vacant; as at home.
And time grew older still, and he came home
To see his father, but he ne'er went back.
His body could not hold his restless soul,
That longed, with eagle strength, to pierce the clouds,
And so it burst this yielding bond on earth,
Already, by a lengthened struggle, weak.
His father saw him die. He never left
His bedside; but with eyes that seemed as glazed,
For ever staring at the sharpened face,
He stood and stood and wept not. In that time
His son saw heaven and chided all delay.
And 'mid the throng of battling human kind.
That blest his dying breath. He seized the clay,
And clutched it desperately unto his breast.
The arms fell down, nor gave returning press.
And that crush broke the doting father's heart.
This is the grave beside that white gravestone:
Hold back the nettles while I read its lay:

Epitaph.

Beneath me lies the rotting faded mask
Of a young mind that studied heaven well;
Ne'er in the sun of pleasure did he bask,
But loved hope's shadow and fair virtue's dell.
He died while on the road to yonder sky,
And every one that wanders careless here,
Tread soft, and hark! Is not time hurrying by?
Begone and pray; the Day of Judgment's near!

I have seen children playing in this place,
Have heard the voice of psalms sound plaintive here,
And sighs commingle with these strains of love,
For memory is dewy with salt tears.

Yet some lie here unknown to all. They came
Parentless, and they died and buried were
By careless hands, that threw the wormy clods
All hastily upon the coffin lid
And then went home. Perhaps some empty chair,
Like to a last year's nest, still waits for them.
Perhaps a nightly prayer still ascends
Among the breathings of a family home,
To hasten their return. Let us away
And gather stones and place them at their heads.

Could all the tales that wait around the graves,
Like volumes of wet sighs, be garnered up:
How hollow would each swelling heap resound.

Here one who died in mirth, and while the laugh,
The merry laugh of joy did paint his face,
Death frowned, and smote the smiling victim dead.

Here one who wept to see the flushing sun
Glide reddening from his window bars, and set
To rise again, and dry the silent dew
From his damp grave.

Here one who lingered long,
And every morn the fields missed knots of flowers
Borne to his bedside. And his eyes grew wild
When the sun's withering gaze stared in upon them,
And he would press them to his fluttering heart,
And face the mighty orb, defiant-like,
As if to hurl it from the empty sky,
For daring thus to blight his darling flowers.
Poor fellow, he was mad.

May God forbid
That clownish foot should crush the gentle clay,
Or break the daisy stalks or primrose buds,
That bloom beside the low white marble stone
In yon lone spot.

b. Hymn to melancholy, adapting the vocabulary and site of the grave.

Thomas DERMOYDE (1807), pp.154-5.

‘Farewell to Joy.’

Bright smiles the orient with celestial red,
The fleecy clouds their golden skirts display,
Thick phalanx’d trees enclothe the mountain head,
And groves luxuriant wanton in the ray.
Ah me! can those for mis’ries dire repay,
And call the brilliant scenes for ever fled?
Can the bright orient’s rosy smile impart
The balm of hope, or dews of comfort shed?
Can trees thick- phalanx’d, groves luxuriant, dart
Contentment’s glowing beam, and close my bleeding heart?
Still shall I load with sighs the sobbing gale,
Still murmur to the rivulet's solemn flow,
Tell the dull ear of night my piteous tale,
And bid still ev'ning weep upon my woe.
My myrtle-plants, alas! are with'ring low,
My roseate wreaths no more fresh sweets exhale;
Sorrow, and blank despair, have marr'd their bloom:
My laurels droop in harsh oblivion's vale.
Ah! never shall they rise but on my tomb:
Ah! never, but in heav'n, disperse their bland perfume.

Come, Sadness, then, and thy companion, Care,
And all the fiends that crowd the couch of Death:
Let the black cypress crown my unkimpt hair,
With deadly hemlock twined, the sweetest wreath.
Let nought but savage woes around me breathe,
Nought but the death-watch greet my sullen ear:
For I pre-eminence of grief may claim.
Oft shall fond memory pour the heart-drawn tear;
While woe congenial pauses on my fame,
And dumb Despair points out my long-lamented name.

Where the romantic cliff, like Ruin's throne,
Hangs o'er the dashing surge with awful steep;
Where unseen spirits heave the dismal groan,
And distant elves are often heard to weep;
Where shiv'ring corpses leave their haunted sleep,
Seen by the moon's affrighted eye alone;
There let me moulder with the mould'ring ground.
For brother-bards, and tuneful souls, long gone.
Shall glad with melody the wilds around;
And fairies mark my grave, with mountain-garlands crown'd.

c. Death the leveller.

Alfred BUNN (1819), pp.62-6.

'Ambition.'

A fair green valley call'd young Edgar lord,
Earth, air, and sea, supplied his festal board.
Madeira's grape, and Lusitania's vine,
Pour'd large libations of their richest wine;
An hundred oxen graz'd on fertile meads,
Abundant corn-fields fed his gallant steeds;
A famous breed, well train'd for hunt and race,
Swift in the course, and matchless in the chase:
His garden, fill'd with ev'ry lovely flower,
Form'd one luxuriant and blooming bower,
Where Zephyrs wafted to the azure sky
Odours more sweet than gales from Araby.
The fabled golden fruit could scarcely vie
With his, of yellow, red, and purple dye;
The streaky apple, and the mellow pear,
The velvet plum, and melting peach, were there.
When tir'd of rural sports and exercise,
The pages of the learned and the wise,
Select and chosen by the hand of taste,
Supplied a pure, delightful, mental feast.
Nor was this all—embosom'd in a wood,
Beside a rippling brook, a Cottage stood.
Whose fairy hands adom'd that lovely spot?
Whose magic fingers rear'd that pebbly grot?
Who twin'd the bower, and who form'd the grove?
A blue-ey'd maiden, worthy of his love.
Oh many a noble Lord, and wealthy Swain,
Had vow'd and sigh'd, and sigh'd and vow'd, in vain.
Unpractis'd in coquetish female arts,
She found no pleasure in entrapping hearts;
Far from the busy world she liv'd retir'd,
Nor ever felt a wish to be admir'd;
Her Edgar's love, and that delightful scene,
Form'd all the happiness of Jacqueline.

Yet bless'd beyond his peers, supremely blest,
Ambition robb'd young Edgar's heart of rest;
His large possessions fail'd to give him ease,
His fiery soul disdain'd all thoughts of peace;
He long'd to have his name enroll'd on high,
And lead whole armies on to victory.
His mind was warp'd by glory's idle dream,
War fill'd his thoughts, and conquest was his theme;
He would not listen to the bitter sighs,
Or heed the tears that fell from those blue eyes;
Saw with indifference her alter'd mien.
'Gainst all domestic joys his breast was steel'd—
He burn'd for conquests in the bloody field;
And active fancy oft pourtray'd his name
The first and highest in the list of fame!
He saw the beaten foe in haste retreat;
Beheld ten thousand prostrate at his feet;
Heard the loud shout ascending to the sky.
Which proudly link'd his name with victory!
A quenchless thirst for glory fill'd his brain;
Mad for renown, he left his native plain;
Ungrateful for the blessings it had given,
Quitted an angel sent to him from Heaven.

Oh! who shall paint the anguish, deep and keen,
Which wrung the gentle heart of Jacqueline!
Like a pale flowret blighted by the wind,
Her beauty faded, and her health declin'd:
The Rose her hand had planted round her tomb,
Sheds all its richest sweets, and wastes its bloom;
The Honeysuckle, wild and careless, strays,
Untrimm'd, uncultur'd, blossoms, and decays;
Her garden shares the general distress,
And seems a sad, and cheerless wilderness.
Where restless sprites, who love the moon's pale light,
Lament and wander thro' the livelong night;
E'en the blue sky no longer smiles serene,
But mourns in darkest clouds for Jacqueline!

And how far'd Edgar? Did his ardent soul,
Which scorn'd to bend to Cupid's soft controul,
Surmount all danger, ev'ry toil defy,
And bear away the palm of victory?
No! tho' his heart was firm, his courage high,
And valour sparkled in his eagle eye;
Tho' strong his sword, his daring spirit brave,
He found an early, and ignoble grave!
A fell disease, which sprung from hardships dire,
Stole thro' his veins, and set his blood on fire:
Stretch'd on a lowly couch, and left to die,
Without a single friend to close his eye,
Distracting fancy sang a mournful strain,
And dwell on pleasures past, and present pain;
Pointed to laurel wreaths he must not share,
And bade his hopeless, trembling soul despair!
Told what he was, and what he might have been,
In his paternal home, with Jacqueline;
And till he drew his last convulsive breath,
Augmented all the bitterness of death!
No heartstruck mourners crowded to his bier,
No lov'd companions shed the tender tear;
No costly tomb by grateful nations rear'd
O'er his obscure, untimely grave, appear'd;
No proud inscriptions met the stranger's gaze,
No swelling epitaphs rehearse'd his praise;
His corse, confounded with the vulgar herd
Of peasants, clowns, and soldiers, was interr'd!
The narrow spot wherein his bones repos'd;
No splendid orator his glories rung—
He died unknown, unchronicled, unsung!


'The Two Monuments.'¹

"Oh! bless'd are they who live and die like 'him,'
Loved with such love, and with such sorrow mourn'd!"

Wordsworth.

Banners hung drooping from on high
In a dim cathedral's nave,
Making a gorgeous canopy
O'er a noble, noble grave!

And a marble warrior's form beneath,
With helm and crest array'd,
As on his battle-bed of death,
Lay in their crimson shade.

Triumph yet linger'd in his eye,
Ere by the dark night seal'd,
And his head was pillow'd haughtily
On standard and on shield.

And shadowing that proud trophy pile
With the glory of his wing,
An eagle sat;—yet seem'd the while
Panting through heaven to spring.

He sat upon a shiver'd lance,
There by the sculptor bound;
But in the light of his lifted glance
Was that which scorn'd the ground.

¹Suggested by a passage in Captain Sherer's "Notes and Reflections during a Ramble in Germany."
And a burning flood of gem-like hues
From a storied window pour'd,
There fell, there centred, to suffuse
The conqueror and his sword.

A flood of hues; but one rich dye
O'er all supremely spread,
With a purple robe of royalty
Mantling the mighty dead.

Meet was that robe for him whose name
Was a trumpet note in war,
His pathway still the march of fame,
His eye the battle star.
But faintly, tenderly was thrown,
From the colour'd light, one ray,
Where a low and pale memorial stone
By the couch of glory lay.

Few were the fond words chisell'd there,
Mourning for parted worth;
But the very heart of love and prayer
Had given their sweetness forth.

They spoke of one whose life had been
As a hidden streamlet's course,
Bearing on health and joy unseen,
From its clear mountain-source:

Whose young pure memory, lying deep
'Midst rock, and wood, and hill,
Dwelt in the homes where poor men sleep,¹
A soft light meek and still:

Whose gentle voice, too early call'd
Unto Music's land away,
Had won for God the earth's enthrall'd,
By words of silvery sway.

These were his victories—yet enroll'd
In no high song of fame,
The pastor of the mountain-fold
Left but to heaven his name.

To heaven and to the peasant's hearth,
A blessed household sound—
And finding lowly love on earth,
Enough, enough, he found!

Bright and more bright before me gleam'd
That sainted image still;
Till one sweet moonlight memory seem'd
The regal fane to fill.

Oh! how my silent spirit turn'd
From those proud trophies nigh!
How my full heart within me burn'd
Like Him to live and die!

¹'Love had seen in huts where poor men lie.' Wordsworth.
'On a Gravebrinksporting Child.'

1. 
Seest thou yon Child, all life and joy, at play
Upon that dark grave's brink? how heedlessly
He sports, unknowing what it is to die!
No fretting thoughts of what he is, or may
Become, annoy his heart, yet in his way
Fate's manymeshéd net is spread, and nigh
His young feet wander carelessly, as fly
Young birds into the Fowler's toils: thus aye,
The grave and cradle touch; mark how he plays
With that grim, fleshless scul, as tho' it were
Nought but a toy, no moral strange might bear
To his young thought, and his small finger strays
Along the eyeless socket where stern Care
And Time, have quenched in dust the once bright rays;
The Beam of Laughter, Love, perhaps Despair,
Dweit where the worm, vie Tenant! holds their Place!

2. 
Strange Contrast 'twixt the grave and life; the first
And last of all, that man may be or know,
Till Death has lifted from the Future's Brow
The awful veil! until! he learn the worst,
Or best, that unreached Bourne may bring, and burst,
As from his Mother's womb, so from this low
Dim, ignorant present, and immortal grow!
The child sports on the brink, his balance lost,
The crumbling earth falls in, and there he lies!
E'en so! a little while, a few years run,
And ring their changes in his heart and eyes,
A few brief tears, a few false smiles quickflown,
The birthday, mariage, deathbell, and all's done!
And then above his grave some child shall play likewise!

3. 
And there they are together, those two strange,
Wild mysteries of Life and Death! so wide
Apart, and yet so near, that Fancy's Range
Scarc e dares to grasp what one brief moment's stride
Can overstep, more easily than might
A babe a wheelru! see them, side by side,
One coming whence we know not, Heavenslight
Spent and relit by unseen power, within
This frail Claylamp, changedim'd and soiled by sin!
The other leading whither we know not,
A narrow Gateway, yet where none need strain,
Not e'en Napoleon, the "Great," through which
All, all must pass; kings, beggars, poor, and rich,
Bare as they came, whose Toll is death's brief pain!
Haply returning to the selfsame spot,
From whence we came, thus both ends meet again!

4. 
Strange world of Contrasts, where opposed things,
That seem the most removed, are frequent thrown
In closest contact, and the change from one
To other, is as quick, as tho' the wings
Of some wild dream had brought them. Thus Time rings
His mighty changes, moving sternly on
While, to his music, Joy and Sorrow run
Their mazy Rounds quick varying, as he flings
His changeful notes; and Life and Death hardy
Cross hands unconsciously: thus the same day,
The beggar doffs his rags of misery,
And the rich fool aside his pomp must lay;
The grave, while marriagebells are ringing nigh,
Is dug, and the two Trains oft jostle on the way!

5.
Strange world! where oft, our glad smiles turn to tears,
Ere they have flown the lip, as tho' they were
Cameleonwise, one essence, and like air,
Changed shape and hue each moment! Thus our fears
And hopes reciprocate, thus stern Time wears
The fretted heart, till its pulse 'neath despair
To agony is quickened—from past years
Rise spectres, whose glance we can scarcely bear;
Or fresh griefs open up each early wound,
Ere they have time to close! alas! our life,
Twixt what we are and would be; while around
We seek the flowers from which Joy fills his hive,
Withered they fall, and nought but thorns are found!

6.
Be wise, and pluck lifesflowers ere they fade,
Thy youth's bright flowers, while the Heavendew,
Time's first unsullied drops, the Leaves still strew,
And with them weave a garland, which, when made
Place on the altar of thy God, instead
Of leaving them to wither, till each hue
Of freshness fades—be wise! life's plant no new,
Or sweeter can produce, till thou art dead,
And from the dust thy gooddeeds blossom bright
Unto eternal Spring; give not thy years,
Thy fruitful years of youth unto the blight
Of sinful revelry; but once it bears,
And its firstfruits are holy in God's sight!
Once lost, Time sends instead of dew, but barren tears.

e. The Sexton.


' The Old Sexton. ' 

A solitary 'mid the tombs,
By morning shine and evening glooms
He delveth, as he had the dooms
Of all men in his hands:
Grim worker among mould and stones—
Dealer in skulls and hollow bones—
Warden of shadowy lands!

Long years of toil have o'er him thrown
Their wearying load, and bent him down,
And he is wrinkled, lean, and brown,
And feebly draws his breath:
Yet here in his lonely cemet'ry,
He moils along contentedly,  
The gardener of Death.

To-day he tolls a dismal knell—  
The fleeting soul's sad passing bell;  
To-morrow, to the vale doth tell  
A wedding or a birth;  
And now, upon its last chill bed,  
He lays in peace the wanderer's head,  
And drops the rattling earth.

But deem not that his heart should be  
Devoid of warm humanity,  
In long familiarity  
With sorrow waxing old;  
Uncannily he earns his bread,  
And lives near neighbour to the dead;  
Yet he hath not grown cold.

There is a love-kept mound where blow  
Bright daisies, and the lily's snow  
Hinteth at purity. Below  
Do his beloved sleep;  
And often at the set of sun,  
When all his ghostly work is done,  
He goeth there to weep.

And on the grass before him—lo!  
His children running to and fro,  
Once more he looks on that dear brow,  
Made fairer by Heaven's seal;  
And as the happy dream grows dim,  
He wishes that his master grim  
Would come and make it real.

It may not be. With Time, he goes  
A shadow through that place of woes  
World-worn, and fain to have repose  
Yet murmuring not at fate,  
It seems to him on life's dark edge  
At once a joy and privilege  
To trim that grave, and wait.

f. Meditation on a relic of the deceased.

Bernard BARTON (1824), pp.231-6.

'A Relique of Napoleon, or Verses on a Leaf Gathered from his Grave.'

Is this, departed scourge of earth!  
A Relique worthy Thee?  
In many it would waken mirth,  
Its littleness to see;  
While some — that in my peaceful eyes  
Such relic should be deem'd a prize,  
Would more offended be; —  
And chide the feeling that would save  
One leaf that flutter'd o'er thy grave.

But to a Poet's thoughtful view  
This frail memorial teems  
With feelings, fancies, tender, true,
Worth all ambition's dreams;
Nor could a homily express
More on the empty nothingness
Of conquest's wildest schemes,
Than this poor wither'd leaf displays
To meditation's thoughtful gaze.

Those who regard with dazzled eye
Thy comet-like career,
May pass this slight memento by
With cold, contemptuous sneer;
And think a pyramid's proud height,
To awe, and overwhelm the sight,
Should be emblazon'd here,
In whose enduring, giant frame,
Fancy might typify thy Fame.

Ill-judging Men! Thy reliques found
A tomb by Nature plann'd,
And frowning rocks, that hem them round,
Their guardians seem to stand:
Oft, when those cliffs emerge to sight,
Crested with clouds, or tipt with light,
The seaman's outstretch'd hand
Shall show, uprising from the wave,
The lonely isle which is thy grave!

What could Ambition's self desire
To tell its votary's lot?
Where would its wildest dreams aspire,
If this content them not?
Imagination can supply
No cenotaph to heart, or eye,
Like that rock-girdled spot,
Which saw thy sun go down in gloom;
Which was thy prison — is thy tomb!

Had but thy fame (for fame was thine)
Been truly good and great,
No monument could Art assign
With such an one to mate:
Those who most idolize thy name
Could scarcely wish for thee to claim
Sublimer funeral state,
Or mausoleum more august
To tell thy death, and guard thy dust.

For me, though through thy stormy day
I reverenc'd not thy power,
And mourn'd to see thee cast away
A monarch's noblest dower;
Yet often have I turn'd awhile
To thee on thy far distant isle,
In Fortune's adverse hour; —
Nor would I willingly deface
This relique of thy resting-place.

'Tis all I wish it: — just enough
To waken thoughts of thee,
Which need not dread a Slave's rebuff,
Much less offend The Free
Let those thy eulogies invent
Who to the living tyrant bent
A selfish, servile knee: —
And they who feel not for the dead
May triumph o'er thy narrow bed.

Rather would I, in thoughtful frame,
O'er this poor relique bend,
Which seems to say, "Of earthly fame
Behold the fruitless end:
Alike the monarch and the slave,
The fool and wise, the base and brave,
To silent dust descend: —
I sprang up from a buried Chief,
And am, like him, a wither'd leaf.

"Time was, when o'er his crownless head
My beauty lov'd to bow,
Green as the victor-wreaths that shed
Theirs round his living brow;
Glorious and dazzling as they seem'd,
While fickle sunshine round them gleam'd,
They are — what I am now!
The leaf that withers not is known
Upon 'The Tree of Life' alone!"

Mary Montgomerie LAMB (1872), pp.14-16.

'A Lock of Hair.'

How small a thing is this! and yet how great,
How puissant with its tearful memories!
'Tis a remembrance of that Sleeping One,
And echoes back the music of a voice
Which has these many years been hush'd to us!

We said that she should ever live to us:
We laid her in her grave, and silently
Each mourner made a vow that years might pass,
That friends might die, and new ones fill their place,
Yet she should dwell with us; of ev'ry heart
That lov'd her when in life, she should, in death,
Become the silent occupant, and this,
Looking into her grave, we each one swore!

So time pass'd on, and with each year the wound
(At first seemingly so incurable,
And bleeding fresh with ev'ry fresh allusion
To the sad past), heal'd slowly, unawares.
The place was changed, old memories crept out,
Then fairer, newer ones, all furtively
Slunk in their place.

With friends it was the same;
Their fresh and many faces half confus'd us.
That sweet pale face grew paler and more pale
As years pass'd on, dimmer and yet more dim;
We thought of her, 'tis true, but not as we
Had thought of her before. She seem'd a form
Like to an angel, beautiful and fair,
But indistinct. She was a shadowy thing,
Full of angelic beauty! but her face
(That dear, dear face we kiss'd in days of yore),
Which one amongst us now remembers it?
I cannot speak for others, but by me,
Oh! Absent One! thou art remember’d!
Thy silent voice, in shadowy dreams,
Has held communion with my spirit!
Upon my lips thy dear unutter’d name
Has often linger’d. I have often
Thought o’er its music, and ten thousand times
Spelt o’er its sweetness silently; but when
I find thy shadow growing dim again
(Lest it should fade from out of memory,
Leaving no faintest trace behind, whereby
To know thee, if again in higher realms
We chance should meet), I gaze from time to time
Upon this lock of thy dear dark brown hair
As I am gazing now, and then, Oh! C---
I see thee once again; I know thee then;
I hear thy voice once more, it teaches me
What is the worth of Life. I see the world
In all its smallness. Then I long, dear C---
For that uncertain time, when with my burden
I may rest by thy side, and be, like thee,
Only remember’d by the few who loved me!

Mary Elizabeth COLERIDGE (1908), pp.124-6.

'Veary was I of toil and strife.'

Weary was I of toil and strife
And weary of drawing breath;
And still, whatever I did for Life
It went the way to death.
It went adown the dusty road,
Whence there is no recall;
None may bear another's load,
For the load is borne by all.

"Some of the souls escape and fly,
Tho' the grave to us be dumb,
They do not know what it is to die,
For they make the world-to-come.

"And see, of the death of the body of man
Is made the wholesome earth,
The sun will shine and the wind will fan
And flowers be brought to birth.

"There's many a bough that greenlier swings
Where he hath measured his span,
But, tell me, where is the flower that springs
From the death of the soul of man?"

Then was I ware of a little child,
With eyes that I could not see;
For all they were so gentle and mild,
They shook the heart in me.

As he stood beneath the tree of thorn,
Under the dazzling blue,
He was all the men that ever were born,
And all the women too.
The roses twined around his feet,
The birds about him sang,
And all the beasts of the field to greet
Their lord and master sprang.

Of the rotten souls to earth that fell
Is made this awful flower;
And he rules the living, straight from hell,
With the very devil's power.

Frederick William Orde WARD ([1916]), p.8.

'Resurrection Ground.'

God reigneth yet on earth, and Christ hath risen
And rises every day in my sick-room.
He sweeps it bright and clean with loving broom;
The dust no longer soils my sanctuary prison,
He purgeth it of darkness and of doom.
The grave-clothes, fear's wild fancy on me wound,
Are radiance of the resurrection ground.

Faith is the other side of blank misgiving,
Hope casts out terror with its cosmic sweep
That probes the mysteries of the height and deep;
I catch the horizon of a larger living.
Beyond the boundaries of Time's little sleep.
Each perished thought of good I deemed had gone
Emergeth now once more, and lights me on.

There is no death, no sickness, nothing passes
Except corruption and mere earth-born ill,
The sun and moon as evermore stand still;
Yea, at Love's footsteps all our creeds and classes
Meet in the marriage of the Holy Will.
The tomb is not a tomb but refuge found,
There is no place not resurrection ground.

5. The grave as a function of narrative.
a. Ballad: allegorical or moral metrical tale.


'That's What We Are.'

Careful and troubled about many things —
Alas! that it should be so with us still,
As in the days of Martha — I went forth,
Harassed and heartsick, with hot, aching brow,
Thought-fevered — haply to escape myself.

Beauteous that bright May morning — all about,
Sweet influences of earth, and air, and sky,
Harmoniously accordant. I alone —
The troubled spirit that had driven me forth —
In dissonance with that fair frame of things,
So blissfully serene. God had not yet
Let fall the weight of chastening, that makes dumb
The murmuring lip and stills the rebel heart,
Ending all earthly interests; and I called,
O heaven! that incomplete experience — Grief.
It would not do. The momentary sense
Of soft refreshing coolness passed away,
Back came the troublous thoughts, and all in vain
I strove with the tormentors: all in vain
Applied me with forced interest to peruse
Fair Nature's outspread volume: all in vain
Looked up admiring at the dappled clouds
And depths cerulean. Even as I gazed,
The film, the earthly film, obscured my vision,
And in a lower region, sore perplexed,
Again I wandered, and again shook off,
With vexed impatience, the besetting cares,
And set me straight to gather, as I walked,
A field-flower nosegay. Plentiful the choice;
And in few moments, of all hues I held
A glowing handful. In few moments more
Where were they? Dropping as I went along
Unheeded on my path; and I was gone —
Wandering far off, in maze of thought perplexed.

Despairingly I sought the social scene —
Sound — motion — action — interchange of words,
Scarcely of mind — rare privilege!

We talked —
Oh! how we talked — discussed and solved all questions —
Religion, morals, manners, politics,
Physics and metaphysics, books and authors,
Fashion and dress, our neighbours and ourselves;
And ever as the senseless changes rang,
And I helped ring them, in my secret soul
Grew weariness, disgust, and self-contempt;
And, more disturbed in spirit, I resumed.
More cynically sad, my homeward way.

It led me through the Churchyard, and methought
There entering, as I let the iron gate
Swing to behind me, that the change was good, —
The unquiet living for the quiet dead.
And at that moment, from the old church-tower
A knell resounded — "Man to his long home
Drew near" — "The mourners went about the streets;"
And there, few paces onward, to the right,
Close by the pathway, lay an open grave —
Not of the humbler sort, shaped newly out,
Narrow and deep, in the dark mould; when filled
To be roofed over by the living sod,
And left for all adornment (and so best)
To Nature's reverential hand.

The tomb
Made ready there for a new habitant
Was that of an old family: I knew it —
A very ancient altar-tomb, where Time
With his rough fretwork mocked the sculptor's art,
Feebly elaborate; heraldic shield
And mortuary emblems half effaced;
Deep sunken at one end, of many names
Graven with suitable inscription, each
Upon the shelving slab and sides, scarce now
Might any but an antiquarian eye
Make out a letter. Five-and-fifty years
The door of that dark dwelling had shut in
The last admitted sleeper. She, 'twas said,
Died of a broken heart — a widowed mother
Following her only child, by violent death
Cut off untimely — and the whisper went,
By his own hand. The tomb was ancient then,
When they two were interred; and they the first
For whom, within the memory of man,
It had been opened; and their names filled up —
With sharp-cut newness mocking the old stone —
The last remaining space. And so it seemed
The gathering was complete; the appointed number
Laid in the sleeping chamber, and sealed up
Inviolate, till the great reckoning day.
The few remaining of the name dispersed,
The family fortunes dwindled, till at last
They sank into decay, and out of sight,
And out of memory; till an aged man,
Passed by some parish very far away,
To die in ours — his legal settlement —
Claimed kindred with the long-forgotten race,
Its sole survivor, and in right thereof —
Of that affinity — to moulder with them
In the old family grave.

"A natural wish,"
Said the authorities; and "sure enough
He was of the old stock — the last descendant;
And it would cost no more to bury him
Under the old cracked tombstone, with its scutcheons,
Than in the common ground." So graciously
The boon was granted, and he died content.
And now the pauper's funeral had set forth,
And the bell tolled — not many strokes nor long —
Pauper's allowance; — he was coming home.
But while the train was yet a good way off —
The workhouse burial train — I  stopt to look
Upon the scene before me; and methought —
Oh! that some gifted painter could behold
And give duration to that living picture.
So rich in moral and pictorial beauty.
If seen arightly by the spiritual eye,
As with the bodily organ!

The old tomb,
With its quaint tracery, gilded here and there
With sunlight glancing through the o'erarching lime,
Far flinging its cool shadow, flickering light;
Our grey-haired sexton, with his hard grey face —
A living tombstone — resting on his mattock
By the low portal; and just over right,
His back against the lime-tree, his thin hands
Locked in each other, hanging down before him
As with their own dead weight, a tall slim youth,
With hollow hectic cheek, and pale parched lip,
And labouring breath, and eye upon the ground
Fast rooted, as if taking measurement
Betime for his own grave. I  stopt a moment.
Contemplating those thinkers — Youth and Age
Marked for the sickle, as it seemed, the unripe
To be first gathered. Stepping forward, then,
Down to the house of death, with vague expectance
I sent a curious, not unshrinking gaze.
There lay the burning head and broken heart
Long, long at rest; and many a thing beside
That had been life — warm, sentient, busy life! —
Had hungered, thirsted, laughed, wept, hoped, and feared,
Hated and loved, enjoyed and agonised,
Where of all this was all I looked to see? —
The mass of crumbling coffins, some belike
Flattened and shapeless? Even in this damp vault
With more completeness could the old Destroyer
Have done his darkling work? Yet lo! I looked
Into a small square chamber, swept and clean,
Except that on one side, against the wall,
Lay a few fragments of dark rotten wood,
And a small heap of fine, rich, reddish earth
Was piled up in a corner.

"How is this?"
In stupid wonderment I asked myself,
And dull of apprehension. Turning then
To the old Sexton — "Tell me, friend," I said,
"Here should be many coffins — where are they?"

He raised his eyes to mine with a strange look
And strangely meaning smile; and I repeated —
For not a word he spoke — my witless question.

Then with a deep distinctness he made answer,
Distinct and slow, looking to where I pointed,
Thence full into my face, and what he said
Thrilled through my very heart — "That's what we are!"

So I was answered. Sermons upon Death
I had heard many: Lectures by the score
Upon Life's vanities; but never words
Of mortal preacher to my heart struck home
With such convicting sense and suddenness,
As the plain-spoken homily, so brief,
Of that unlettered man.

"That's what we are!"
Repeating after him, I murmured low,
In meek acknowledgment, and bowed the head
Profoundly reverential. A deep calm
Came over me, and to the inward eye
Vivid perception. Set against each other
I saw weighed out the things of Time and Sense,
And of Eternity; and oh! how light
Looked in that truthful hour the earthly scale!
And oh! what strength, when from the penal doom
Nature recoiled, in His remembered words —
"I am the Resurrection and the Life!"

And other words of that Divinest Speaker —
Words to all mourners of all time addressed —
Seemed spoken to me as I went along
In prayerful thought, slow musing on my way —
"Believe in me. Let not your hearts be troubled."
And sure I could have promised in that hour,
But that I knew myself how fallible,
That never more should cross or care of life
Disquiet or distress me. So I came,
Chastened in spirit, to my home again,  
Composed and comforted, and crossed the threshold  
That day "a wiser, not a sadder," woman.


'A Hertfordshire Legend.'

There is a quiet churchyard, green and lone,  
Within the bounds of Hertford's pleasant shire,  
Bedeck'd with many a quaintly sculptured stone,  
Marking the grave of yeoman, lord or squire;  
But more than all one tomb arrests the eye, —  
A mouldering tomb, engraved on which you trace  
The name of one whose rank on earth was high, —  
A dame of noble race.

And yet the tomb shews scanty marks of care  
To guard it from the grasp of swift decay,  
Not such as tombs of nobles mostly bear,  
Preserved while generations pass away.  
The crumbling stone has never been repair'd,  
The worn inscription ne'er rechisell'd o'er;  
It seems a place accurst, which none have dared  
To reverence or restore.

But what doth most amaze the passer-by  
Is that from out the space which doth imprison  
The mortal dust, — their branches broad and high  
Each mixt with each, — ten leafy trees have risen;  
Seven ash-stems their projecting arms shoot forth  
Across the southern wall of that strange tomb,  
Three broad-leaf'd planes, umbrageous, o'er the north  
Diffuse funereal gloom.

In these embosom'd and by these embraced  
The tomb almost is from the soil upborne,  
While the stout branches, stoutly interlaced,  
Disjointing part from part; — where once hath stood.  
To guard the spot, an iron palisade.  
Rent bars, imbedded in the tough ash wood,  
Attest the havock made.

You might suppose that Nature, for some sin  
Wrought in the flesh by her now buried there,  
Refused her that last resting-place, within  
Her mother-bosom, which the meanest share;  
Whence from the soil, at one prolific birth,  
Those trees, joint offspring of her womb's unrest,  
Emerged, to thrust and jostle out of earth  
That loath'd, intrusive guest.

The story runs (a story which hath found  
Belief through nigh two centuries of time,)  
That she whose bones now moulder in that ground  
Was one whose soul was all infect with crime;  
The godless daughter of her house, she held  
Through life a wilful and rebellious way,
By no coercion to be tamed or quell'd,
Of laws which men obey.

A bold, bad woman, — one who scorn'd to shroud
Her wickedness, beneath a thin disguise
Of outward seemings, from the observant crowd,
Or cheat with specious shows the good and wise.
No creed her lips profess'd; she never knelt
Before the altar of the Christian's God,
Nor feign'd a fear her soul had never felt
Of His rebuke or rod.

But unbelieving, scoff'd at things unseen,
Content all bliss hereafter to forgo,
So she might rule and revel like a Queen
In the brief fulness of this world below;
To all her passions gave full range and scope,
Oppress'd and plunder'd, unrestrain'd in lust,
Swoln with ambition, reckless of all hope
When dust should turn to dust.

So pass'd her threescore years of life away,
And now the end of all was plainly near;
Stretch'd on her dying bed at last she lay,
Contemptuous still of hope, devoid of fear;
Relations, friends, the pastor of the fold
Vainly of all persuasion tried the force,
To wake, within that nature fierce and bold,
One pang of true remorse.

"Nay," she made answer, "I have lived my life
Like one above all bonds which bind the weak;
With priestcraft's vile impostures still at strife,
Nor will I now a late acceptance seek
From powers (if such there be) so long defied;
Let those who will, a final judgment dread, —
Be it mine to sleep for ever side by side
With the unreturning dead.

"To me, be death an everlasting sleep;
Of soul and sense annihilation blank;
Whate'er I am let earth for ever keep,
O'ergrown by weeds and mosses green and rank.
Or if (which I believe not) there should be
A resurrection, let my grave a sign
Bring forth — a cluster'd growth of tree with tree,
Around my tomb to twine."

She died, — they bore her body to the grave,
And o'er it raised the tomb which still is there;
But lo! the sign! green leaves above it wave,
And whisper sadly to the summer air;
(For heaven and earth her wild defiance heard) —
Ten twisted stems, forth darting from the soil,
Embrace the tomb wherein she lies interr'd,
As with a serpent's coil.

'Twere no irreverent fancy to suppose
(What fond poetic fables feign'd of yore)
That those strong trunks and clustering boughs enclose
The spirit housed in fleshly frame no more;
That in those sighs, which seem to load the gale,
When through the leaves the midnight winds complain,
Is heard the bitter and despairing wail
   Of that lost soul in pain.

Meanwhile the rustics hold the place accurst,
   Still o'er all hearts it breathes a spectral gloom,
Scarce soften'd by the buds which o'er it burst, —
   Bright types of life emerging from the tomb;
Not reverence claim'd for old patrician race,
   Not all the tenderness to woman due
Can bless the grave of one to Heaven's high grace
   And nature's voice untrue.

Alas! but what, if God-dethroning thought
   (That charter'd troubler of this latter day)
From court to cot should silently have wrought,
   By slow approaches, its insidious way?
What, if the hope, religiously enshrined
   As yet within the soul of almost all,
Like some strong fortress sapp'd and undermined,
   Should topple o'er and fall?

What if the creed, bequeath'd to son from sire,
   Like some unholy thing, aside be thrown?
What if yon church, from chancel floor to spire,
   Be shatter'd and disjointed, stone from stone?
And men no more before Christ's altar pray,
   But seek that tomb, which now in fear they shun,
Their godless homage of applause to pay
   To that audacious one?

"She was, in sooth, a herald of the light
   Which now enlightens every soul of man;
She fought and conquer'd, in her single might,
   Time-rooted error, ere our strife began.
Blest be the boughs which cluster o'er her grave,
   Fresh emblems of the vigorous faith which lay
Deep in that heart so noble, free and brave," —
   Thus haply men may say.

But then o'er England, in its breadth and length,
   The plague of social sickness will have spread;
The Queen of nations will be shorn of strength,
   The life of life in her great heart be dead;
And through the trembling cities of the land
   Her guardian angel's voice, in loud lament,
Proclaim that now from her sin-palsied hand
   The sceptre shall be rent.

Must this be so — or may the plague be stay'd?
   O ye who guard the sacred shrines of truth;
O ye who train, in academic shade,
   The mind and spirit of our English youth;
And ye who, bound by ministerial vows,
   Dispense, in plenteous streams, the living word, —
 Arrest — avert — while yet the time allows —
   The curse which brings the sword!
b. Gothic-influenced dramatic poem, ‘tragedy’ or tale.

Joanna BAILLIE (1851), pp.372-3.

Henriquez : A Tragedy, in Five Acts.
Act III, Scene III.

The burying vault of the castle, with monuments of the dead; and near the front of the stage, a newly covered grave, seen by the light of a lamp placed on a neighbouring tomb, the stage being otherwise dark. A solemn requiem for the dead is heard at a distance, sounding from above. As it draws to a close, Henriquez appears at the further end of the vault with a light in his hand, which he holds out from him, as if in search of some object, and, seeing the grave, casts the light from his hand, and rushes towards it.

Hen.
(after gazing some time on the grave).
And here thou liest with all thy noble parts,
Thy lofty, liberal soul, and goodly form,
And heart of love so thorough and so true!
This is thy rest, the meed and recompense
Thy generous worth hath from thy friend received!
Thy friend! O savage heart and cruel hand!
Fell, hateful, faithless, cowardly, and base!
Of every baleful thing, by heaven cast off,
Most cursed and miserable! —
O that ere this the dust had cover'd me
Like a crush'd snake, whose sting is yet unsheath'd!
Would in the bloody trench some sabred Moor
Had lanced this hold of life — this latent seat
Of cruelty! or rather that some dart,
Shot erring in our days of boyish sport,
Had pierced its core! Then by my early grave
He had shed over me a brother's tears;
He had sate there and wept and mourn'd for me,
When from all human hearts but his alone
All thoughts of me had been extinguished. Juan!
My Juan, dear, dear friend! Juan de Torva!
Thy name is on my lips, as it was wont;
Thine image in my heart like stirring life;
Thy form upon my fancy like that form
Which bless'd my happy days. How he would look,
When with his outspread arms, as he return'd
After some absence! — Oh, it tortures me!
Let any image cross my mind but this!
No, no! not this! — Sable, sepulchral gloom!
Embody to my sight some terrible thing,
And I will brave it.

(Pausing and looking round.)
It doth! it doth! there's form and motion in it.
Advance, thou awful shade, whate'er thou art!
Those threat'ning gestures say thou art not Juan.

(Rubbing his eyes.)
It was but fancy. — No; the soul to Him
Who is the Soul of souls ascended hath,
Dust to its dust return'd. There is nought here
But silent rest that can be rous'd no more.
Beneath this mould, some few spans deep he lies.
So near me, though conceal'd! — Curs'd as I am,
The cords of love e'en through this earth have power,
Like a strong charm, to draw me to him still.

(Casting himself upon the grave.)
Burst, guilty heart! rend every nerve of life,
And be resolved to senseless clay like this,
So to enlap his dearer clay for ever.

Enter Carlos.

Car.

(looking round him.)
He is not here: nought see I through the gloom
Save the cold marble of those tombs which, touch'd
With the wan light of yon sepulchral lamp,
Show their scroll'd ends to the uncertain sight,
Like shrouded bodies rising from the earth.

(Going towards the grave.)
Ha! something stirring on the new raised earth!
It is Henriquez, wrapped in frantic sorrow.

(Advancing to him.)
Henriquez! hearst thou not, noble Henriquez?
Nay, nay! rise from the earth: such frantic grief
Doth not become a man, and least of all
A man whose firm endurance of misfortune
Has hitherto so graced his noble worth.
Giv'st thou no answer but these heavy groans?
Thou canst not from the tomb recall the dead,
But rouse thy spirit to revenge his death.

Hen.

(raising his head).
What saidst thou?

Car.

Quit this dismal bed of death,
And rouse thee to revenge thy murder'd friend.

Hen.

He is revenged; heav'n deals with guilt so monstrous:
The hand of man is nothing.

Car.

Ay, but the hand of man shall add its mite.

(Taking hold of his hand to raise him.)
Up from the earth! I've found the murderer.

Hen.

(springing up fiercely, and seizing him by the throat.)
Layst thou thy hand on me?
What is or is not,
The God of heaven doth know, and He alone.
Darest thou with mortal breath bestow that name,
To the dishonour of a noble house,
On one of ancient princely lineage born?

Car.

Let go thy frenzied grasp! Should brave Castilians
Thus grapple hand to hand, like angry boys?
Fit time and place shall justify my words,
If they indeed offend. — Our watch hath seiz’d
In hiding near the castle, most suspiciously,
A youth who hath to Mencia’s love pretended,
Whose hand, we cannot doubt, hath done the deed;
But if he be of such high lineage born,
’Tis more than he hath claim’d or we will credit.
Why drop your arms thus listless by your side;
Your eyes upon the ground? Will you not go
And see the prisoner, and hear him question’d?

Hen.
Ay, ay, this is required: I’ll go with thee;
I comprehend thee now.

Car.
And yet thou mov’st not:
Does any sudden pain arrest thy steps?

Hen.
I am benumb’d and faint. — I’ll follow thee.

[Exeunt.

c. Re-telling of national and classical legends.

Samuel LOVER (1858), pp.20-1.

‘MacCarthy’s Grave. A Legend of Killarney.’

The breeze was fresh, the morn was fair,
The stag had left his dewy lair,
To cheering horn and baying tongue
Killarney’s echoes sweetly rung.
With sweeping oar and bending mast,
The eager chase was following fast,
When one light skiff a maiden steer’d
Beneath the deep wave disappeared;
While shouts of terror wildly ring,
A boatman brave, with gallant spring
And dauntless arm, the lady bore —
But he who saved — was seen no more!

Where weeping birches wildly wave,
There boatmen show their brother’s grave;
And while they tell the name he bore,
Suspended hangs the lifted oar;
The silent drops thus idly shed,
Seem like tears to gallant Ned;
And while gently gliding by,
The tale is told with moistened eye.
No ripple on the slumb’ring lake
Unhallowed oar doth ever make;
All undisturb’d the placid wave
Flows gently o’er Macarthy’s grave.
'The King's Sleep.'

'BURY me deep,' said the king,
'Deep in the mountain's womb;
For I am weary of strife.
Hollow me out a tomb,
So that the golden sun
Pierce not the blackness dun
Where I shall lie and sleep;
Lest haply the light should bring
Again the stirring of life,
Or ever the time be come
To waken. Bury me deep.

'Let not the silver moon
Search out the graven stone
That lieth above my head,
In the tomb where I sleep alone,
Nor any ray of a star
Come in the night to unbar
The gates of my prison-sleep.
I shall awake too soon
From the quiet sleep of the dead,
When the trumps of the Lord are blown.
If you love me, bury me deep.

'I feel in my heart of hearts
There cometh a time for me,
Far in the future's gloom,
When there no more may be
Rest for my weary head,
When over my stony bed
The wind of the Lord shall sweep
And scatter the tomb in parts
And the voice of the angel of doom
Shall thrill through and waken me
Out of my stirless sleep.

'For a king that has been a king,
That has loved the people he swayed,
Has bound not his brows in vain
With the gold and the jewelled braid;
Has held not in his right hand
The symbol that rules the land,
The sceptre of God for nought.
He may not escape the thing
He compassed: in death again
His sleep is troubled and weighed
By wraiths of the deeds he wrought.

'And if he has evil done,
There may he lie and rest
Under the storied stone,
Slumber, uneasy, opprest
By the ghosts of his evil deeds,
Till Death with his pallid steeds
Have smitten the world with doom:
And the moon and the stars and the sun
Will leave him to sleep alone,
Fearing to shine on him, lest
The wicked arise from the tomb!
'But if the ruler be wise,
    Have wrought for his people's good
Sadly and like a god;
Whenever the plague-mists brood
Over the kingless land,
When fire and famine and brand
Are loose and the people weep,
They cry to the king to rise;
And under the down-pressed sod,
He hears their pitiful cries
And stirs in his dreamful sleep.

'And the sun and the stars and the moon
Look down through the creviced tomb
And rend with their arrows of light
The sepulchre's friendly gloom,
Stirring the life again
In pulse and muscle and vein;
And the winds, that murmur and sweep
Over his resting-place, croon
And wail in his ear: "The night
Is past and the day is come;
O king, arise from thy sleep!"

The sleeper murmurs and sighs, —
Rest is so short and sweet,
Life is so long and sad, —
And he throws off his winding-sheet:
The gates of the tomb unclove
And out in the world he goes,
Weary and careful, to reap
The harvest, or hero-wise
To garner the good, and the bad
To burn, ere the Ruler shall mete
Him yet a portion of sleep.

'Great is the Master of Life
And I bow my head to His will!
When He needs me, the Lord will call
And I shall arise and fill
The span of duty once more.
But now I am weary and sore
With travail and need of sleep;
And I fear lest the clangour and strife
Upon me again should fall,
Ere sleep shall have healed my ill.
I pray you, bury me deep!'
The good king's corpse on the bier.  
They perfumed his funeral glooms  
With lily and amaranth blooms,  
In a silence sweet and deep;  
They piled up the rocks on high  
And there, with a smile on his face,  
In doubt and sadness and fear,  
They left the monarch to sleep.

Onward the centuries rolled  
And the king slept safely and sound  
In the heart of the faithful earth,  
In the still death-slumbers bound:  
And the sun and the moon and the stars  
Looked wistfully down on the bars  
Of the sepulchre quiet and deep,  
Where he lay, while the world grew old  
And death succeeded to birth,  
And heard not an earthly sound  
And saw not a sight in his sleep.

And it came to pass that the Wind  
Spake once and said to the Sun:  
"O giver of summer-life!  
Is not the time fordone  
And the measure of God fulfilled,  
Wherein He, the Lord, hath willed  
The king should arise from sleep?  
I go in the night and I find  
The folk are weary of strife,  
And joyless is every one  
And many an eye doth weep!"

But the Sun said, shaking his hair,  
His glorious tresses of gold:  
"Brother, the grave is deep;  
And the rocks so closely do fold  
The king, that we may not win  
A place where to enter in  
And trouble his slumber deep."  
And the Wind said: "Where I fare,  
The rays of the sun can creep,  
Through the thin worm-holes in the mould,  
And rouse the king from his sleep!"

Then the Moon and the Stars and the Sun  
Arose and shone on the grave,  
And it was as the Wind had said:  
Yea, up from the vaulted cave  
The worms had crept in the night  
And opened a way for the light  
And the winds of the air to creep.  
And they entered, one by one;  
Yea, down to the house of the dead,  
Through cranny and rock they clave,  
To wake the king from his sleep.

And the king turned round in his dream,  
As he felt the terrible rays  
Creeping down through the mould  
In the track of the false worms' ways;  
And he quaked as the light drew near  
And he called to the earth for fear,
To aid him his rest to keep;
For the time he had slept did seem
But an hour, nor the wheels of gold
Had circled the span of days
When he should arise from sleep.

But the mother all-faithful heard
The dreaming call of the king,
And she seized on the wandering rays
And of each one she made a thing
Of jewelries, such as grow
In the dim earth-caves below,
From the light kept long and deep;
For she loved the man and she feared
Lest the fateful glitter and blaze
Of the light too early should bring
The dead from his goodly sleep.

She moulded pearls of the moon
And diamonds of the sun;
Rubies and sapphires she made
Of the star-rays, every one.
There was never an one might escape
Some luminous jewel-shape
Of all the rays that did creep
Down through the earth, too soon
To rend the sepulchre's shade;
But she seized on them all, and none
Might trouble the dead man's sleep.

Then did she mould him a crown
Of silver and cymophane
And in it the gems she set,
For a sign that never again,
Till God should beckon to him,
On the silence quiet and dim
Of the sepulchre low and deep
Should the rays of the stars look down
To trouble his rest. And yet
The centuries wax and wane
And the king is still in his sleep.

6. Graves in hostile or extreme landscapes.

a. Sea.

Louisa Stuart COSTELLO (1819), pp.57-8.

‘To the Sea.’

Oh wide expanse, so awful and sublime!
I gaze with rapt and melancholy eye,
As 'midst the silent gloom of lonely eve,
I mark thy billows slowly rolling by.

That swelling wave, which wet my ling'ring feet,
Has haply pass'd o'er many a woeful scene —
Has wash'd, perhaps, the dismal wreck'd remains
Of some tall bark that grac'd thy surface green!
Has heedless pass'd where desp'rate shrieks arose,
   Where sinking beings stretch'd their hands in vain;
Or stopp'd its course awhile, and swelling high,
   Dash'd o'er their forms, and onward rush'd again!

Beneath its dreadful force perhaps there fell
   The only hope of friends, far — far away!
There, with them sunk, beneath its direful swell
   The last sad glimpse of fleeting pleasure's ray.

One tender form is present to my view,
   Which vainly struggles 'midst the rushing tide,
Then fades from sight, where waves on waves pursue,
   And bids the deep the dismal story hide!

Could not a mother's and a sister's sighs
   Join with the wind, and waft thee to the shore?
Could not a helpless, orphan, brother's cries
   Melt the hard fates, and thou return once more!

No! thou art lost — nor those sad rites allow'd
   To weep beside thy flow'r-r-strewn, mournful, grave,
For where the billows sweep with moaning loud,
   Thy bones are whit'ning low in Ocean's cave!

Tho' stormy sea, thou bidd'st these thoughts arise,
   Yet will I linger by thy rocky side:
Whilst to his wat'ry bier my fancy flies,
   And views his tomb, altho' on earth deny'd!

John WILSON (1858), pp.310-12.

'Lines Written in a Burial-Ground on the Northern Coast of the Highlands.'
And yon green spot of sunny rest
Is waiting for its destined guest.

I see no little kirk — no bell
On Sabbath tinkleth through this dell.
How beautiful those graves and fair,
That, lying round the house of prayer,
Sleep in the shadow of its grace!
But death has chosen this rueful place
For his own undivided reign!
And nothing tells that e'er again
The sleepers will forsake their bed —
Now, and for everlasting dead,
For Hope with Memory seems fled!

Wild-screaming Bird! unto the sea
Winging thy flight reluctantly,
Slow-floating o'er these grassy tombs
So ghost-like, with thy snow-white plumes,
At once from thy wild shriek I know
What means this place so steeped in woe!
Here, they who perished on the deep
Enjoy at last unrocking sleep,
For Ocean, from his wrathful breast,
Flung them into this haven of rest,
Where shroudless, coffinless they lie, —
'Tis the shipwrecked seaman's cemetery.

Here seamen old, with grizzled locks,
Shipwrecked before on desert rocks,
And by some wandering vessel taken
From sorrows that seem God-forsaken,
Home-bound, here have met the blast
That wrecked them on Death's shore at last!
Old friendless men, who had no tears
To shed, nor any place for fears
In hearts by misery fortified, —
And, without terror, sternly died.
Here, many a creature, moving bright
And glorious in full manhood's might,
Who dared with an untroubled eye
The tempest brooding in the sky,
And loved to hear that music rave,
And danced above the mountain-wave,
Hath quaked on this terrific strand, —
All flung like sea-weeds to the land;
A whole crew lying side by side,
Death-dashed at once in all their pride.
And here, the bright-haired, fair-faced boy,
Who took with him all earthly joy
From one who weeps both night and day,
Escaped at last the cruel deep,
In all his beauty lies asleep;
While she would yield all hopes of grace
For one kiss of his pale, cold face!
O I could wail in lonely fear,
For many a woeful ghost sits here,
All weeping with their fixed eyes!
And what a dismal sound of sighs
Is mingling with the gentle roar
Of small waves breaking on the shore;
While ocean seems to sport and play.
In mockery of its wretched prey!
And lo! a white-winged vessel sails
In sunshine, gathering all the gales
Fast-freshening from yon isle of pines,
That o'er the clear sea waves and shines.
I turn me to the ghostly crowd,
All smeared with dust, without a shroud,
And silent every blue-swollen lip!
Then gazing on the sunny ship,
And listening to the gladsome cheers
Of all her thoughtless mariners,
I seem to hear in every breath
The hollow under-tones of Death,
Who, all unheard by those who sing,
Keeps tune with low wild murmurings,
And points with his lean bony hand
To the pale ghosts sitting on this strand.
Then dives beneath the rushing prow,
Till on some moonless night of woe
He drives her shivering from the steep
Down — down a thousand fathoms deep.

Eliza COOK (1870), p.86.

'The Sailor's Grave.'

Our bark was out — far, far from land,
When the fairest of our gallant band
Grew sadly pale, and waned away
Like the twilight of an autumn day.
We watched him through long hours of pain;
But our cares were lost, our hopes were vain.
Death brought for him no coward alarm;
For he smiled as he died on a messmate's arm.

He had no costly winding-sheet,
But we placed a round shot at his feet;
And he slept in his hammock as safe and sound
As a king in his lawn shroud, marble-bound.
We proudly decked his funeral vest
With the English flag about his breast;
We gave him that as the badge of the brave,
And then he was fit for his sailor's grave.

Our voices broke — our hearts turned weak —
Hot tears were seen on the brownest cheek —
And a quiver played on the lips of pride,
As we lowered him down the ship's dark side.
A plunge — a splash — and our task was o'er;
The billows rolled as they rolled before;
But many a rude prayer hallowed the wave
That closed above the sailor's grave.


'On the Loss of the Rothsay Castle Steam-Boat, 1831.'

Unknown — unclaimed — tossed as with other weeds
To silent Earth — and what heart feels or heeds?
And yet, perchance, these torn chill ashes were
To kindred bosoms exquisitely dear;
Perchance! Ah! surely — never yet on Earth
Lived one unloved, uncherished from his birth!
No! this pale dust hath once most precious been,
In eyes that viewed not life's last phrenzied scene,
When the fierce rushing night brought dread and death,
Stifling the latest prayer, and latest breath.
Now, the cold Sea to the cold Earth returns
These reliques wan — o'er which no fond one mourns!
The stranger on their stranger lineaments,
Casts a sad gaze, and momently laments;
Then with a sorrowing mien he turns away,
With hurrying steps to leave the unshrouded clay.
Yet, stranger! turn again! hast thou ne'er known
What 'tis to love a something all thine own?
Give to these hapless ones a few meek tears,
Lost in the beauty of their golden years;
Look on these pale fair forms — these broken flowers —
Once bright as rose-buds, in Spring's vernal hours;
Adopt these desolate orphans of the grave —
Bear them afar from the dull moaning wave;
Gather with kind and reverential hands
Their sacred ashes from the tide-worn sands;
Consign them to some calm unstormy tomb,
Where broods a tender and a tearful gloom —
Where breathes no tempest-gust to shake their rest,
But south-winds sweep the green sward's flowerling breast:
Oh! how unlike their death-bed — yon mad sea —
Where all was awe and conquering agony!
Where silent stood a doomed and destined throng —
The bold, the timorous — and the weak and strong —
Ev'n as a sculptured groupe of Death — to await
The last stern signal from the hand of Fate —
Without the shadow of one hope — without
Even the chill comfort of one lingering doubt;
Yet if high Love and heavenly Faith were there,
Thou wert expelled — wert exiled — thence. Despair!
If, conscious of the Almighty Presence, still
They humbly yielded to the Almighty Will —
And bowed them meekly to the impending ill,
And on that anchor and that rock reposed,
Which still, to the eye that seeks them, are disclosed;
Then the worst bitterness of the opening grave
Was taken from the black and boiling wave!
If that same Love that tamed the storms of old —
The Love Almighty — breathed where thunders rolled,
Oh! how the tempests in their hearts were stillled,
Though Heaven and Earth with those wild terrors thrilled;
Softer than warblings of the mother dove,
Pierced through their souls the whisperings of that love;
The shock of the Element — the roar of Seas —
Were weak and powerless when compared with these!
And surely, Gentlest Sufferers — in your woe —
That consolation's might 'twas yours to know;
Yes! we may hope — ye fair and beauteous dead —
Deep blessings o'er your fearful doom were shed;
And that 'twas given to ye, when doomed to part —
To die — soul linked to soul — and heart to heart
With your beloved ones — blessed even thus to share
That hour's unmeasurable Hope and Fear!
b. Desert.

Felicia HEMANS (1839), v.VI, pp.242-4.

'The Burial in the Desert.'

"How weeps yon gallant band
O'er him their valour could not save!
For the bayonet is red with gore,
And he, the beautiful and brave,
Now sleeps in Egypt's sand."  

Wilson.

In the shadow of the pyramid
Our brother's grave we made,
When the battle-day was done,
And the desert's parting sun
A field of death survey'd.

The blood-red sky above us
Was darkening into night,
And the Arab watching silently
Our sad and hurried rite.

The voice of Egypt's river
Came hollow and profound,
And one lone palm-tree, where we stood,
Rock'd with a shivery sound:

While the shadow of the Pyramid
Hung o'er the grave we made,
When the battle-day was done,
And the desert's parting sun
A field of death survey'd.

The fathers of our brother
Were borne to knightly tombs,
With torch-light and with anthem-note,
And many waving plumes:
But he, the last and noblest
Of that high Norman race,
With a few brief words of soldier-love
Was gather'd to his place;

In the shadow of the Pyramid,
Where his youthful form we laid,
When the battle-day was done,
And the desert's parting sun
A field of death survey'd.

But let him, let him slumber
By the old Egyptian wave!
It is well with those who bear their fame
Unsullied to the grave!

When brightest names are breathed on,
When loftiest fall so fast,
We would not call our brother back
On dark days to be cast, —

From the shadow of the Pyramid,
Where his noble heart we laid,
When the battle-day was done,
And the desert's parting sun
A field of death survey'd.

c. Mountain or frozen waste.


'The Grave at Spitzbergen.'

Above, the vast eternal snows,
The glaciers' rosy peaks,
Touch'd with pale tints of blue and rose
When the short sunbeam breaks.

Below, the land-lock'd quiet bay,
The black rocks stretching far,
And the great ice-floes out at sea
That beat against the bar.

No sound along the wide snow plains,
No echo in the deep,
But Nature evermore remains
Wrapp'd in a breathless sleep.

No blade of grass waves in the air
Along the ghastly hill —
Caught by the marvellous silence there
The very streams stand still.

Never to fall, each frozen river
Hangs on the sheer descent,
Like wishes unfulfill'd for ever,
Or words that find no vent.

Only at times, from some ice rock,
A glacier breaks away,
And startles, with a thunder-shock,
The mountain and the bay.

O frozen cliffs! O motionless snows!
We glide into the creek,
And question of your grim repose,
The lips that will not speak.

In your cold beauty, vast and drear,
Ye lie so still and grand;
But no heart-stirrings meet us here —
Unsympathizing strand!

No sound in all this sparkling waste,
No voice in Heaven above, —
To some strange region have we pass'd,
Beyond the reach of love?

---

1"Half imbedded in the black moss at his feet, there lay a grey deal coffin, falling to pieces with age; the lid was gone, blown off probably by the wind, and within were stretched the bleaching bones of a human skeleton. A rude cross at the head of the grave still stood partially upright, and a half-obliterated Dutch inscription preserved a record of the dead man's name and age, Van der Shelling, Comman. Jacob Moor, ob. 2 June, 1758, æt. 44."
Ah, no! some link there needs must be
Where Christian foot has trod,
Of the great chain of sympathy
'Twixt man and man, and God.

And, lo! there lie a dead man's bones,
Uncover'd, where we tread,
An open coffin 'mid the stones,
A rude cross at his head.

The wild white cliffs — the vast still main —
The patch of scant black moss;
But still the form to rise again,
And still the letter'd cross.

And he whom tender Christian hands
Laid on this barbarous coast,
Who knoweth from what happier lands,
Or by what fortune tost?

Whether 'mid Amsterdam's brown piles
His stone-prest grave should be,
Where washes round her many isles
The azure Zuyder Zee;

Or by some vast cathedral wall
His fathers laid them down,
Where chimes are rung and shadows fall,
In an old Flemish town;

Or whether, 'neath some village turt,
Where children come to weep,
And lighter treads the unletter'd serf,
He should have gone to sleep,

To drone of bees and summer gnats,
In some great linden-tree,
Where the old Rhine, through fertile flats,
Goes sobbing to the sea.

What matters — though these frozen stones
Their burden could not bear,
But gave again his coffin'd bones
Into the freezing air;

Though here, to snows and storms exposed,
They bleach'd a hundred years,
Never by human hand composed,
Nor wet with human tears;

Though only the shy rein-deer made
In the black moss a trace,
Or the white bears came out and play'd
In sunshine by the place;

Still, silent, from the blacken'd heath,
Rose that eternal sign,
Memorial of a human death,
And of a love divine.

Still, type of triumph and of woe,
Symbol of hope and shame,
It told the everlasting snow
That single Christian name.

Sleep on, poor wanderer of the main,
Who cam'est here to die,
No mother's hand to soothe thy pain,
No wife to close thine eye.

Sleep well in thy vast sepulchre,
Far from our cares and fears,
The great white hills that never stir
Have watch'd thee round for years.

The skies have lit thee with their sheen,
Or wrapp'd in leaden gloom;
The glaciers' splinter'd peaks have been
The pillars of thy tomb.

Green be their graves who came of old
From Holland o'er the main,
And left the simple cross that told
Where Christian dust has lain.

Green be their graves beyond the sea,
Who witness'd in this place
The resurrection Mystery,
And our dear Saviour's grace;

Who taught us, at this solemn tryst
On the bleak North see shore,
That the redeeming love of Christ
Is with us evermore.

d. Battlefield graves.


‘An Incident in the Austrian Camp.’

The bloody fight had been fought out,
The French the day had won,
Had put the Austrian to rout
At point of sword and gun;
As victors in the dreadful strife,
They scoured the battle-plain,
Hoping to save some wounded life,
Hid in the trampled grain.

An Austrian lad lay on the ground,
A gunshot in his side;
The blood was welling from the wound,
A warm and crimson tide.
They would have borne him to the tent,
But, with pale lips compressed,
He faintly said he was content,
Prayed to be left at rest.

And — "Others need your aid," he said,
"For me, — it matters not, —
This place — shall be — my dying bed;
Pass on, — I'd be forgot;
'Tis idle, — idle, — all too late.
By all you hold most dear,
Leave me, — oh, leave me to my fate,
And let my grave be here!"

But up there rose before his eyes
A vision sweet and fair
Of home, of kindred, and the ties
To guard which brought him there,
The father and the mother dear,
The loved ones far away,
And then there fell the natural tear,
He tried, but could not stay.

Sadly and slow they passed him by,
And left him 'mongst the slain,
But loth to let the brave boy die,
They sought him soon again.
He smiled, and said, — "You cannot save," —
— He spake with failing breath, —
"O foes, — be friends, — dig here my grave," —
And then fell back in death.

They raised his body from the ground,
And there they saw beneath,
The Austrian flag about him wound,
Yielded to none but Death.
The regiment's colours he had sworn
No foe should take from him;
So when they led the hope forlorn,
He wrapp'd them round each limb.

Better to die than break his word,
Betray his solemn trust, —
Far better perish by the sword,
And dying bite the dust,
Than let his country's flag be ta'en
And flaunted by the foe;
That were upon his faith a stain,
A great, — a supreme woe.

Life was not worth the priceless cost
Of honour or of fame;
Nay, what were life with honour lost
But one great blank of shame?
They dug him there a soldier's grave,
They laid him where he fell,
— Gave honour due unto the brave, —
Was it not right and well?

Could he have worn a better shroud
Than the flag for which he died,
Stained with the crimson stream that flowed
From out his shattered side?
He had been faithful unto death,
True to the oath he swore,
Had guarded to his latest breath
The colours that he bore.
'A Hero's Grave.'

O'er our evening fire the smoke is like a pall,
And funeral banners hang about the arches of the hall,
In the gable end I see a catafalque aloof,
And night is drawn up like a curtain to the girders of the roof.
Thou knowest why we silent sit, and why our eyes are dim,
Sing us such proud sorrow as we may hear for him.
Reach me the old harp that hangs between the flags he won,
I will sing what once I heard beside the grave of such a son.

My son, my son,
A father's eyes are looking on thy grave,
Dry eyes that look on this green mound and see
The low weed blossom and the long grass wave,
Without a single tear to them or thee,
My son, my son.

Why should I weep? The grass is grass, the weeds
Are weeds. The emmet hath done thus ere now.
I tear a leaf; the green blood that it bleeds
Is cold. What have I here? Where, where, art thou,
My son, my son?

On which tall trembler shall the old man lean?
Which chill leaf shall lap o'er him when he lies
On that bed where in visions I have seen
Thy filial love? or, when thy father dies,
Tissue a fingered thorn to close his childless eyes?

Aye, where art thou? Men tell me of a fame
Walking the wondering nations; and they say,
When thro' the shouting people thy great name
Goes like a chief upon a battle-day,
They shake the heavens with glory. Well-away!

As some poor hound that thro' thronged street and square
Pursues his loved lost lord, and fond and fast
Seeks what he feels to be but feels not where,
Tracks the dear feet to some closed door at last,
And lies him down and lornest looks doth cast,

So I, thro' all the long tumultuous days,
Tracing thy footstep on the human sands,
O'er the signed deserts and the vocal ways
Pursue thee, faithful, thro' the echoing lands,
Wearing a wandering staff with trembling hands:

Thro' echoing lands that ring with victory,
And answer for the living with the dead,
And give me marble when I ask for bread,
And give me glory when I ask for thee —
It was not glory I nursed on my knee.

And now, one stride behind thee, and too late,
Yet true to all that reason cannot kill,
I stand before the inexorable gate
And see thy latest footstep on the sill,
And know thou canst not come, but watch and wait thee still.
'Old man!' — Ah, darest thou? yet thy look is kind,
Didst thou, too, love him? 'Thou grey-headed sire
Seest thou this path which from that grave doth wind
Far thro' those western uplands higher and higher,
Till, like a thread, it burns in the great fire

'Of sunset? The wild sea and desert meet
Eastward by yon unnavigable strand,
Then wherefore hath the flow of human feet
Left this dry runnel of memorial sand
Meandering thro' the summer of the land?

'See where the long immeasurable snake,
Between dim hall and hamlet, tower and shed,
Mountain and mountain, precipice and lake,
Lies forth unfinished to this final head,
This green dead mound of the unfading dead!

Do they then come to weep thee? Do they kiss
Thy relics? Art thou then as wholly gone
As some old buried saint? My son, my son,
Ah, could I mourn thee so! Such tears were bliss!
'Old man, they do not mourn who weep at graves like this.'

'They do not mourn? What! hath the insolent foe
Found out my child's last bed? Who, who, are they
That come and go about him? I cry, 'Who?'
I am his father — I; — I cry 'Who?' 'Aye,
Gray trembler, I will tell thee who are they.

'The slave who, having grown up strong and stark
To the set season, feels at length he wears
Bonds that will break, and thro' the slavish dark
Shines with the light of liberated years,
And still in chains do weep a freeman's tears.

'The patriot, while the unebbed force that hurled
His tyrant throbs within his bursting veins,
And, on the ruins of a hundred reigns,
That ancient heaven of brass, so long unfurled,
Falls with a crash of fame that fills the world,
And thro' the clangor lo the unwonted strains
Of peace, and, in the new sweet heavens upcurled,
The sudden incense of a thousand plains.

'Youth whom some mighty flash from heaven hath turned
In his dark highway, and who runs forth, shod
With flame, into the wilderness untrod,
And as he runs his heart of flint is burned,
And in that glass he sees the face of God,
And falls upon his knees — and morn is all abroad.

'Age who hath heard amid his cloistered ground
The cheer of youth, and steps from echoing aisles,
And at a sight the great blood with a bound
Melts his brow's winter, which the free sun smiles
To jewels, and he stands a young man crowned
With glittering years among a young world shouting round.

'Girls that do blush and tremble with delight
On the St. John's eve of their maidenhood;
When the unsummered woman in her blood
Gloves through the Parian maid, and at the sight
The flushing virgin weeps and feels herself too bright.

'He who first feels the world-old destiny,
The shaft of gold that strikes the poet still,
And slowly in its victim melts away,
Who knows his wounds will heal but when they kill,
And drop by vital drop doth bleed his golden ill.

'All whom the everpassing mysteries
Have rapt above the region of our race,
And, blinded by the glory and the grace,
Break from the ecstatic sphere — as he who dies
In darkness, and in heaven's own light doth rise,
Dazed with the untried glory of the place
Looks up and sees some well-remembered face,
And thro' the invulnerable angels flies
To that dear human breast and hides his dazzled eyes.

'All who, like the sun-ripened seed that springs
And bourgeons in the sun, do hold profound
An antenatal stature, which the round
Of the dull continent flesh hath cribbed and wound
Into this kerneled man; but having found
Such soil as grew them, burst in blossomings
Not native here, or, from the hallowed ground,
Tower their slow height, and spread, like sheltering wings,
Those boughs wherein the bird of omen sings
High as the palms of heaven, while to the sound
Lo kingdoms jocund in the sacred bound
Till the world's summer fills her moon, and brings
The final fruit which is the feast and fate of kings.

'And dares thou mourn? Thy bones are left behind,
But where art thou, Anchises? Dost thou see
Him who once bare the slow paternity,
Foot-burnt o'er stony Troy? So, thou, reclined
Goest thro' the falling years. Here, here where we
Two stand, lies deep the flesh thou hast so pined
To clasp, and shalt clasp never. Verily,
Love and the worm are often of one mind!
God save them from election! Pity thee?
True he lifts not thy load, but he hath signed
And at his beck a nation rose up free;
Thy wounds his living love may never bind,
But at the dead man's touch posterity
Is healed. To thee, thou poor, and halt, and blind,
He is a staff no more: but times to be
Lean on his monumental memory
As the moon on a mountain. Thou shalt find
A silent home, a cheerless hearth: but he
Shall be a fire which the enkindling wind,
Blowing for ever from eternity,
Fans till its universal blaze hath shined
The yule of thankful ages. Pity thee?
A son is lost to thine infirmity;
Poor fool, what then? A son thou hast resigned
To give a father to the virtues of mankind.'

'The Field Grave.'

_Scarcely_ have died on the ear the cannons' last lingering echoes,
Boo upon boom in the plain; Fancy still hears them recur.
O'er, but just o'er is the war, and Germany's children, victorious,
Homeward are wending their way, leaving their dead to their fate.
Smouldering still are the fires that War and Rebellion have lighted;
France from her numberless wounds bleeds unassisted and weeps.
Ruin and wreck all around; and I, a stranger unnoticed,
Sit by these nameless mounds, earliest of mourners, and muse;
"Here are three Frenchmen interred, and here two Prussians are lying;"
This is their epitaph brief, telling the simplest of tales;
See, on a small wooden cross the words are inserted in pencil,
Almost effaced by the rain, soon they will quite disappear.
Bitterest epitaph this, that asks for no tribute, and tells not
Upto their mothers the place where they are now to be sought.
Fate, thou art ever ironical! Wherefore this mockery cruel?
Couldst thou not bury apart those who in life had been foes?
 Barely a month has elapsed since these men felt the bitterest hatred;
Now they approach and they touch; almost each other they kiss.
Lone are the fields at this hour, and only a white-headed peasant
Stops to look on this grave, common to friend and to foe.
Something the ear cannot catch, he mutters as onwards he passes;
Is it a prayer for the one, or for the other a curse?
Rather the latter I fear. But I, who am foeman of neither,
Ere I depart from the ground, fain would do honour to both.
Both did their duty and fell, and both are now equally nameless;
Mourners at home they may have, and hearts that are sinking with anguish;
Here by the place where they lie, only a stranger can sit,
None that in life they had known. And so, if the stranger should happen
Somewhat a poet to be, let him their Elegy write.

Thomas HARDY (1930), p.83.

'Drummer Hodge.'

_They_ throw in Drummer Hodge, to rest
Uncoffined — just as found:
His landmark is a kopje-crest
That breaks the veldt around;
And foreign constellations west
Each night above his mound.

Young Hodge the Drummer never knew —
Fresh from his Wessex home —
The meaning of the broad Karoo,
The Bush, the dusty loam,
And why uprose to nightly view
Strange stars amid the gloam.

Yet portion of that unknown plain
Will Hodge for ever be;
His homely Northern breast and brain
Grow to some Southern tree,
And strange-eyed constellations reign
His stars eternally.
7. Pathetic meditations on the graves of marginal social figures.

a. Exiles and emigrants.

John LEYDEN (1819), pp.142-5.

‘Elegy on a Friend killed in the West Indies.’

’Tis sad to linger in the church-yard lone,
   Where mouldering graves in dreary rows extend,
To pause at every rudely sculptur'd stone,
   And read the name of a departed friend.

Yet o'er the youthful friend's untimely grave
’Tis sweet to pour the solitary tear;
And long the mourner haunts at fall of eve
   The narrow house of him that once was dear.

The latest word, that feebly died away,
   Revisits oft the ear in accents weak;
The latest aspect of the unbreathing clay,
   The thin dew shining on the lifeless cheek.

The freezing crystal of the closing eye
   In fancy's waking dreams revives again:
And when our bosoms heave the deepest sigh,
   A mournful pleasure mingles with the pain.

While still, the glimmering beam of joy to cloud,
   Returns anew the wakeful sense of woe;
Again we seem to lift the fancied shroud,
   And view the sad procession moving slow.

But o'er young Henry's bier no tear shall fall,
   Nor sad procession stretch its long array:
For him no friendly hand shall lift the pall,
   Nor deck the greenwood turf that wraps his clay.

Mid Caribbs as the brinded panther fierce,
   Far from his friends the youthful warrior fell;
The field of battle was his trophied hearse;
   His dirge the Indian whoop's funereal knell.

In youth he fell: — so falls the western flower
   Which gay at morn its purple petal rears,
Till fainting in the noontide’s sultry hour,
   Fades the fair blossom of an hundred years.

Unsooth'd by fame, to fond affection lost,
   Beneath the palm the youthful warrior lies; And on the breeze from India's distant coast
   Sad fancy seems to hear his wafted sighs.

Not this the promise of thy vernal prime; —
   Mature of soul, and confident of fame,
Thy heart presag'd with chiefs of elder time
   The sons of glory would record thy name.

And must thou sink forgotten in the clay?
   Thy generous heart in dumb oblivion lie;
Like the young star, that on its devious way
   Shoots from its bright companions in the sky?
Ah! that this hand could strike the magic shell,
And bid thy blighted laurel-leaves be green!
Ah! that this voice in living strains could tell
The future ages what thou wouldst have been!

It must not be — thine earthly course is run —
Sleep, sweetly sleep in Vincent’s western isle!
I hopeless waste beneath the eastern sun,
Nor can the charm of song the hours beguile.

Blest be the sanguine bier, for warriors meet,
When no slow-wasting pangs their youth consume,
They fearless wrap them in the winding-sheet,
And for their country proudly meet their doom.

And blest were I to yield this fleeting breath,
And proud to wrap me in a blood-stain’d pall,
So I might stand on glory’s field of death
‘Mid mighty chiefs, and for my country fall.

Robert STORY (1826), pp.57-60.

‘The Young Poet Dying at a Distance from Home.’

O! bury me not in yon strange spot of earth —
My rest never sweet, never tranquil can be;
But bear me away to the land of my birth,
To a scene — O how dear and how pleasant to me!
If you saw how the sunbeams illumine the mountains,
How brightly they lie in the glen that I choose;
Could the song of its birds, and the gush of its fountains
Through your souls the rapture and freshness diffuse.
Which erst in life’s morning they shed over mine —
O, your hearts would confess it is all but divine!

Nay — call it not raving. A stranger I came,
And a stranger amongst you I ever have been.
When I stepped from my circle, you found me the same
Vain trifler, as thousands besides, in the scene;
But I lived in a circle of fancy and feeling —
A world of fair forms — a creation of bliss,
Yet never to you the arcanum revealing —
My first and my latest disclosure is this,
This dying request, the last light of the dream —
O do not despise it, though wild it may seem!

I know it — the grave which to me you assign,
Is black in the shade of your dreary Churchwall,
Where nettle and hemlock their rankness combine,
And the worm and the sullen toad loathsomely crawl.
O! where is the primrose, so meet for adorning
The grave of a Minstrel cut off in his bloom?
O! where is the daisy, to shed in the morning
The tears it hath gathered by night for my doom?
And lastly, but dearer than anguish can tell,
Where, where are the friends that have loved me so well!

Thrice blest be those tears! they descend on my heart
Like the soft rain of Spring on a perishing flower —
And may I expire in the hope they impart,
That yet I shall rest by my favorite bower?
Heaven love you for that! Like the flower I have shown you,
No more to expand in the loveliest ray,
And breathing its last sigh of perfume upon you,
My spirit all grateful shall vanish away!
For, laid in the glen by the stream and the tree,
Deep, hallowed, and happy my slumber shall be!

See! one aged Mourner comes, trembling, to place
A weak, withered hand on the grave of her Son —
See! Friendship to tell how I strove in the race,
But died ere the chaplet of glory was won —
And Beauty — I plaited a wreath for that maiden,
When warm was my heart, and my fancy was high —
See Beauty approaches with summer-flowers laden,
And streus them when nought but the blackbird is nigh:
Thus, thus shall I rest with a charm on my name,
In the shower-mingled sunshine of Love and of Fame!

b. The poor.

Robert GILFILLAN (1851), pp.318-20.

'The Poor Man's Grave.'

The poor man's grave! this is the spot
Where rests his weary clay;
And yet no gravestone lifts its head,
To say what gravestones say!
No sculptured emblems blazon here,
No weeping willows wave,
No faint memorial, e'er so faint,
Points out the poor man's grave!

No matter — he as soundly sleeps,
As softly does repose,
Though marbled urn around his grave
No idle incense throws!
His lowly turf it burdens not,
Yet that is ever green;
And, hopping near it oft at morn,
The little redbreast's seen!

For none disturbs the poor man's grave —
To touch it who would dare,
Save some kind hand to smooth the grass,
That grows all wildly there!
The poor man's grave! call it his home —
From sorrow all secure —
For woe and want vex him no more,
Whom Fortune stamped as poor!

The poor man's grave! — a lesson learn,
And profit by't who can —
Here lies a man all nobly poor,
And yet an honest man!
He was a man well known for worth,
But all unknown to fame;
And yet within his village bounds
He did not lack a name!

For all the village came to him,
When they had need to call;
His counsel free to all was given,
For he was kind to all!
The young, the old, the sick, the hale,
Found him a friend most sure;
For he rejoiced in others' weal,
Although himself was poor!

And yet not poor; for calm content
Made all that he possess'd
Be cherished with a grateful heart,
Which made it doubly blest.
Serene 'mid ills, — to age resigned,
His days in peace did flow —
His timeward pilgrimage is past,
And now he sleeps below!

A happy man! — though on life's shoals
His bark was roughly driven,
Yet still he braved the surge — because
His anchorage was in Heaven!
I know no more — what more would'st know,
Since death deliverance gave:
His spirit took its flight on high —
This is the poor man's grave!

c. Criminals.

Lady Emmeline STUART-WORTLEY (1837b), pp.141-52.

'The Felon's Grave. A Fragment.'

It was a Felon's Grave — the spot seemed drear,
And something stern and chilling lowered around —
The dark and sombre Presence lingered near,
A troubling Shadow lengthened o'er the ground.

There reigned the mysteries of a withering awe,
There ruled the horrors of a sickening fear —
These warned the heedless wanderer to withdraw, —
These checked the pious offering of a tear!

There spread no pensive peace — whereunto clings
The Heart so oft beneath Life's changeful Skies —
No solemn sense of high and holy things,
No atmosphere of sweet Humanities!

And yet although the spot seemed drear and wild,
Some reconciling features marked the scene,
Where Earth embosomed her frail, erring Child,
And Nature shed her influences serene.

That grave was roofed by the eternal Sky,
'Twas open to the Sun and to the Shower —
'Tis true there rose no deck'd memorials nigh,
There sprung up from the sod no tribute-flower.

That Grave was roofed by the resplendent Sky!
And Nature round displayed her pride and power —
Creation's Grand Cathedral wide and high
Rose o'er it — glorious through each changeful hour.
That Grand Cathedral not by frail hands built,
Whose chrysal walls have yet known no decay,
Whose splendid Dome with living Suns is gild,
Whose lamp's the everlasting Torch of Day.

Whose never-closing Gates lift up their heads,
That through the King of Glory's Pomp may pass —
Which o'er the Universe still streams and spreads
The Eternal Pomp, which all things share and glass!

Yes! in that Grand Cathedral 'twas enshrined,
The grave of one so branded, and unblessed!
The admired — the abhorred — the good and guilty find
Alike their last long Home in Earth's deep breast!

Nature repulseth not with disrespect
The meanest or the vilest of mankind;
Maternal Earth may spurn nor nor reject
The veriest outcast to her arms consigned.

The World without may cast no shade of blame
On mortal Man — the Living or the Dead —
Passive, Creation's universal frame,
Whate'er the curse piled on the Culprit's head!

'Twere well if Man himself thus acted too!
All here is but perplexity and doubt! —
He boasts he reads his brother's history through,
And knows as little as that World without!

The Actions and the Conduct he may scan,
But ne'er their springs detect — their cause assign.
Be strict, be rigorous to thyself — Oh! Man!
But leave thy brother to his Judge and — thine!

Canst thou his trials and temptations know,
And pierce the inmost counsels of his breast?
Can Skill or Science the veiled motives show,
Canst thou adjust the scales — apply the test?

And if by Human laws condemned to pay
The forfeit of his crime or of his fault,
Should'st thou uncharitably then essay
To magnify that fault — that crime to exalt?

No, no! let Human pity sorrowing draw
The curtain then o'er criminal and crime —
No longer subject unto Earthly law!
No longer brought before the bar of Time!

To dread Eternity's tribunal borne,
There shall the Child of Earth his doom receive —
And all Earth's children at the appointed morn
Must there appear — where shall be no reprieve!

Then doth not meek indulgence best become
Poor erring mortals towards their fellow men?
And most when frowns between the sacred tomb —  
Oh! surely most must it become them then!

This rude, lorn Grave — which for its tenant's sake  
I shunned at first with shudd'ring scarce suppress'd,  
Not in itself was't such as should awake  
Dismay and horror in the stranger's breast!

From mine own knowledge of the truth there sprung  
A gloomy feeling and a chilling awe —  
A heavy cloud around its precincts hung,  
But nothing there to appal or shock I saw.

The dreariment that darkly seemed to brood  
Around that spot from mine own thoughts arose,  
And took its colour from mine own sad mood,  
There was but quiet silence, and repose!

And when with calmer gaze I looked around,  
New feelings soon those feelings chased away;  
A voice spoke from the green and dewy ground,  
And bade me yet a little while delay.

Nature's immortal finger there did trace  
Deep solemn truths to touch and teach the heart;  
I felt her glorious Presence in the place,  
And stood in silence and in thought apart —

And stood in silence and in thought, and felt  
How holy Charity indeed is blest —  
'Tis well to feel the softened Spirit melt,  
And gently bow to Mercy's mild behest.

The sickening fear with all its horrors passed,  
The withering awe with all its mysteries fled,  
No more I shrunk, bewildered and aghast,  
From that lone Presence-chamber of the Dead!

Ev'n, as I said before, the Grave was shrined  
In such a lofty Temple and august,  
It could not fail at last to impress the mind  
With deep and hallowed feelings — clear and just.

'Twas fair surrounded like some honoured Grave  
By many lovely and outshining things;  
There, roll'd uncheck'd the Sunset's golden wave —  
There, fluttered Mom't's empearled and rainbowed wings.

'Twas visited like Innocency's Tomb,  
By tenderest Ambassage of breeze and star —  
'Twas watched thro' dreamy Midnight's purple gloom  
By the pale Moon — borne high on rolling car.

Yea! through the lonely Night's most lonely hours  
(When nought the scenery's solemn show can mar)  
'Twas watched — as though by deep mysterious powers —  
By Moonlight pale — and Passion paler far!

For there, one, sorrowing and deploring knelt,  
Who loved the lost one with a perfect love,  
No transient sentiment it was she felt —  
In that alone could she live — breathe — and move.
Daughter of Sorrows! mourner tried and true —
Thy heavy anguish is as still, as deep,
Though thy chang'd cheek presents Death's shadowy hue,
Thou dost not murmur, and thou canst not weep.

Thine is no pomp of woe — no laboured grief —
Oh, no! 'tis Nature's own — and Nature's all —
It seeks no sympathy — asks no relief —
Content to abide by its own crushing thrall!

'Tis Nature's all, in sooth — and Nature's own —
Even like this solemn Sanctuary of death,
Where rose no carven monumental stone,
Where hung no chiselled scroll — no sculptured wreath.

Her Grief is even as her Love had been,
Deep as her Life — and single as her Soul —
Silent as 'tis profound — and calm as keen —
It is her being's all — her feelings whole!

Sorrows there are, so buried in the breast,
They prompt no sigh, and they permit no tear;
The Soul by deadening ills is stunned to rest,
There dwells no wild suspense, no watchful fear!

They wrestle briefly with the inward storm,
Whose anguish thus all words are vain to speak —
Misery then earthwards weighs the Heavenniest form,
And plucks the young rose from the loveliest cheek.

They wrestle briefly with the inward storm,
Whose Souls must thus, with speechless suff'ring ache —
For ever gnawed by Grief's undying worm —
The Heart's core crushed — the Heart shall quickly break!

It was a Felon's grave — what did she there? —
That gentle, stricken, uncomplaining thing?
How could his death cause her young heart's despair,
And blight her smiling Season's opening Spring?

Who can reveal that pale young mourner's tale,
There kneeling speechless in her hopeless woe —
Or what would such slight chronicle avail —
The Heart's profounder History who can know?

To us that tale might seem mysterious still
Without the clue to guide us through its maze,
And would perchance but with fresh wonder fill,
Since the deep truth lies veiled from mortal gaze.

That Heart's strange workings nothing may unfold,
Strong Feeling's young beginnings none descry,
Eternal shadows still round these are rolled,
Eternal shadows round them darkening lie!

To her perhaps the Culprit might have shown
Alone his better nature — swayed by Love —
His Spirit's bright and sunny side alone,
For few or none in utter darkness move.

On her he might with gentlest fondness smile,
For her become the being that he seemed,
Few — none are hopelessly and wholly vile —
O'er darkest minds some softening rays have beam'd.

Or she might still have hoped on to the last —
That by such love as her's he must be moved —
Must be reclaimed — and weaned from that dark Past —
Cease, Dreamer! she was Woman — and she loved!

And Love was surely sent unto our Earth
To be for all of Heaven a voice and sign —
And oh! when once he springs to radiant birth,
He cannot die — ev'n from that birth divine!

d. Victims.

Janet HAMILTON (1863), pp.84-5.

'Dirge for Jessie MacPherson.'

Sad Winter weeps, his tears bedew thy grave,
That grave on which no kindred sorrows flow;
The wailing winds around it moan and rave,
Oh! lonely grave, where mourners never go!

Thy mangled form, wrapped in its bloody shroud,
Forgotten lies; few hearts, few eyes, will melt
For thee, poor victim. The press-ridden crowd
Have for thy cruel fate small pity felt.

O night of horror, when the murder fiend
Hacked out thy life, and revelled in thy gore;
With felon hand thy wardrobe's treasures gleaned,
And left her bloody footprints on the floor!

Yet heaven and earth were stirred, regions beneath
Were moved t' avert the proven murderer's doom;
Sensation journals, libellous in their wrath
'Gainst law and justice, foam, and rave, and fume.

The eye of Heaven beheld the fearful deed,
The ear of Heaven received the victim's cry;
'Tis Heaven's command, let earth give rev'rent heed,
The murder prove, and let the murderer die.

Nay, though another should have shared the guilt
Of this most foul and most ferocious deed,
Yet she is guilty of the blood thus spilt —
Justice accepts no offering in her stead.

Rest, murdered Jessie, on thy lowly grave
Shall ne'er be writ the branded felon's doom;
Rest thou in peace, though madmen storm and rave,
Thou hear'st them not — peace shades thy lonely tomb.
e. Black slaves.

Caroline Louisa WADSWORTH (1872), pp.9-10.

‘The Slave’s Funeral.’

His life-long sufferings are o’er,
His spirit to its Owner fled,
His master now can harm no more,
Those bruised limbs are cold and dead.

His fate how sad, for one so good,
The heavy cross he meekly bore,
Of sin alone in fear he stood,
And now he’s blest for evermore.

With heavy hearts they bore away,
And placed his corpse beneath the sand,
Where vultures scream, and pack-wolves bay,
And Death clasps Desolation’s hand.

No bell was toll’d, no prayers were spoke,
O’er the entomb’d, uncoffin’d dead,
But stifled sighs the silence broke,
And hidden tears alone were shed.

Left there the moles and worms to feed,
His comrades dare no grief reveal,
Tho’ inwardly their hearts may bleed,
They may not utter what they feel.

No mound or marble marks the spot
Where the poor captive’s bones were thrown;
In life ill-used, in death forgot,
But angels find, and claim their own.

What matters where the body lies?
His soul is in the realms above;
Assaults of foes it now defies,
Defended by Almighty Love.

f. The nameless and lonely.

Adelaide Anne PROCTER (1905), pp.80-1.

‘The Unknown Grave.’

No name to bid us know
Who rests below,
No word of death or birth,
Only the grass’s wave,
Over a mound of earth,
Over a nameless grave.

Did this poor wandering heart
In pain depart?
Longing, but all to late,
For the calm home again,
Where patient watchers wait,
And still will wait in vain.
Did mourners come in scorn,
And thus forlorn,
Leave him, with grief and shame,
To silence and decay,
And hide the tarnished name
Of the unconscious clay?

It may be from his side
His loved ones died,
And last of some bright band,
(Together now once more,)
He sought his home, the land
Where they had gone before.

No matter — limes have made
As cool a shade,
And lingering breezes pass
As tenderly and slow,
As if beneath the grass
A monarch slept below.

No grief, though loud and deep,
Could stir that sleep;
And earth and heaven tell
Of rest that shall not cease,
Where the cold world’s farewell
Fades into endless peace.

g. Suicides.

Dora SIGERSON (1907), pp.235-8.

‘The Suicide’s Grave.’

This is the scene of a man’s despair, and a soul’s release
From the difficult traits of the flesh; so, it seeking peace,
A shot rang out in the night; death’s doors were wide;
And you stood alone, a stranger, and saw inside.

Coward flesh, brave soul, which was it? One feared the world,
The pity of men, or their scorn; yet carelessly hurled
All on the balance of Chance for a state unknown;
Fled the laughter of men for the anger of God — alone.

Perhaps when the hot blood streamed on the daisied sod,
Poor soul, you were likened to Cain, and you fled from God;
Men say you fought hard for your life, when the deed was done;
But your body would rise no more ‘neath this world’s sun.

I’d choose — should I do the act — such a night as this,
When the sea throws up white arms for the wild wind’s kiss;
When the waves shake the shuddering shore with their foamy jaws;
Tear the strand, till slipping pebbles shriek through their claws.

The sky is loud with the storm; not a bird dare span
From here to the mist; beasts are silent; yet for a man,
For a soul springing naked to meet its judge, a night
That were as a brother to this poor spirit’s long flight,

But he had chosen, they tell me, a dusk so fair
One almost thought there were not such another — there.
The air was full of the perfume of pines, and the sweet
Sleepy chirp of birds, long the lush soft grass at his feet.

They say there was dancing too in a house close by,
That they heard the shot just thinking wild birds must die.
They supped and laughed, went singing the long night through,
And they danced unknowing the dance of death with you.

What did you hear when you opened the doors of death?
Was it the sob of a thrush, or a slow sweet breath
Of the perfumed air that blew through the doors with you,
That you fought so hard to regain the world you knew?

Or was it a woman's cry that, shrieking into the gloom,
Like a hand that closed on your soul, clutching it from its doom?
Was it a mother's call, or the touch of a baby's kiss,
That followed your desperate soul down the black abyss?

What did you see — as you stood on the other side —
A strange shy soul amongst souls, did you seek to hide
From the ghosts that were, who judged you upon your way,
Reckoned your sins against theirs for the judgment day?

You feared the world, the pity of men or their scorn,
The movements of fate and the sorrows for which you were born.
Men's laughter, men's speech, their judging, what was it to this
Where the eyes of the dead proclaim you have done amiss?

Not peace did you gain, perhaps, nor the rest you had planned,
'Neath the horrible countless eyes that you could not withstand?
Or was it, God looked from His throne in a moment's disdain,
And you shrieked for a trial once more in the height of your pain?

Perhaps — but who knows? — when you struggled so hard for life's breath,
You saw nothing passing the grave except silence and death;
You lay shut in by the four clay walls of your cell,
There the live soul locked up in the stiff dead body's shell.

Dead, dead and coffin'd, buried beneath the clay,
And still the living soul caged in to wait decay,
For ever alone in night of unlifting gloom
There to think, and think, and think, in the silent tomb.

Or was it in death's cold land there was no perfume
Of the scented flowers, or lilt of a bird's gay tune;
No sea there, or no cool of a wind's fresh breath,
No woods, no plains, no dreams, and alas! no death?

Was there no life there that man's brain could understand?
No past, no future, hopes to come, in that strange land?
No human love, no sleep, no day, no night,
But ever eternal living in eternal light?

Perhaps the soul thus springing to fill its grave,
Found all the peace and happiness that it could crave;
All it had lost alone was that poor body's part
Which naught but grey corruption saw for its chart.

Ah well! for us there ended all one man's life with this —
A shot, a cry, a struggle, and a fainting woman's kiss;
Life's blood let 'mid the grasses — and all a world was lost,
And no one may ever know how he paid the cost.
He is lost in the crowd of the dead, in the night-time of death,
A name on a stone left to tell that he ever drew breath.
So desperate body die there, with your soul's long release,
And, unhappy spirit, God grant you Eternity's peace!

8. The material grave as a central subject.

a. Epitaphs and inscriptions.


'Verses inscribed on the Tombstone erected to the Memory of Jacob Minnikin,
Master of the Brig Syria, of Sunderland, who was drowned from the Wreck of
that Vessel in the Great Storm of Nov. 13, 1840.'

Stop, stranger, stop! in silence tread
Amidst the dwellings of the dead.
This stone records the second grave
Of one, first buried in the wave;
This sod enshrouts the gallant form
Of him who perish'd in the storm:
A man of virtue, honour, trust,
Reposes here, in hallow'd dust.
Then think, and weep, for, in a breath
He sunk within the jaws of death;
And haven'd here his body lies,
His spirit safe beyond the skies.


'An Epicurean's Epitaph.'

When from my lips the last faint sigh is blown
By death, dark waver of Lethean plumes,
O! press not then with monumental stone
This forehead smooth nor weigh me down with glooms
From green bowers, grey with dew,
Of Rosemary and Rue.
Choose for my bed some bath of sculptured marble
Wreathed with gay nymphs; and lay me — not alone —
Where sunbeams fall, flowers wave, and light birds warble
To those who loved me murmuring in soft tone,
"Here lies our friend, from pain secure and cold;
And spreads his limbs in peace under the sun-warmed mould!"


'An Epitaph without a Name.'

I had a Name. A wreath of woven air,
A wreath of Letters blended, none knew why,
Floated a vocal phantom, here and there,
For one brief season, like the dragon-fly
That flecks the noontide beam,
Flickering o'er downward, forest-darkened stream.
What word those Letters shaped I tell you not:
Wherefore should such this maiden marble blot?
Faint echo, last and least, of a foolish Fame,
I am a Soul; nor care to have a Name.
b. Grave-choosing: lyric speakers anticipate and describe their own graves.

Thomas DOUBLEDAY (1818), pp.103-4.

‘When I shall sink in my latest sleep.’

"Sepulchri
"Mitte supervacuos honores."

When I shall sink in my latest sleep,
Let not my poor remains be laid
Where yon cypresses funereal weep,
Or the yew affords unwholsome shade;
But let me rest in the well-known bowers
Where life its choicest blessings gave,
Where the scented shrubs and springing flowers
May lend a grace to my humble grave.

Place not a stone for him beneath,
Be no memorial taken nigh,
But let the gales of the spring-time breathe
And the summer sun smile where I lie;
And let o’er the spot my mistress dear
Bend for awhile with dishevell’d hair,
And give to the conscious earth a tear,
’Twill serve me better than pomp and prayer;

For there nor baleful blight shall rest,
Nor wicked dews be nightly shed,
To fade the turf on my mould’ring breast,
And mark the grave of the unbless’d dead!
There shall nor brooding sprite be roused,
Nor sullen ghost, untimely, roam,
But I, to a hallow’d couch unused,
Shall sleep the sounder laid at home!


‘The Last Home.’

Where shall ye lay me? not in foreign climes,
Where stranger winds would sadly waft the unaccustom’d chimes;
Where my weary spirit would in pain a lonely vigil keep, —
Oh! in that distant land, I pray, lay me not to sleep.

Where shall ye lay me? not where mermaids sigh,
‘Mid the roughly chafing billows, so dolefully;
And, longing for the summer days, o’er shipwreck’d sailors weep, —
Within the waves of the deep dark sea lay me not to sleep.

Where shall ye lay me? not on mountain brow
Where the white snow lies, and the dark firs grow;
I do not love the precipice and chasm’s yawning deep, —
Upon the frowning mountain, then, lay me not to sleep.

Where shall ye lay me? not ‘mid haunts of men,
Where crime and poverty peep out from every crowded den,
Where loud the ceaseless bells would clang, Death’s harvest-ears to reap, —
Oh! in the city’s busy range lay me not to sleep.

Where shall ye lay me? far far away,
Where freshly in the early spring the dancing leaflets play.
Tall poplars by my grave long watch shall keep;
There, by those I loved in life, lay me to sleep.

c. Ancient Tombs.

A. Mary F. ROBINSON (1902), pp.147-9.

‘Etruscan Tombs.’

I.

To think the face we love shall ever die,
And be the indifferent earth, and know us not!
To think that one of us shall live to cry
On one long buried in a distant spot!

O wise Etruscans, faded in the night
Yourselves, with scarce a rose-leaf on your trace;
You kept the ashes of the dead in sight,
And shaped the vase to seem the vanished face.

But, O my love, my life is such an urn
That tender memories mould with constant touch,
Until the dust and earth of it they turn
To your dear image that I love so much:

A sacred urn, filled with the sacred past,
That shall recall you while the clay shall last.

II.

These cinerary urns with human head
And human arms that dangle at their sides,
The earliest potters made them for their dead,
To keep the mother’s ashes or the bride’s.

O rude attempt of some long-spent despair —
With symbol and with emblem discontent —
To keep the dead alive and as they were,
The actual features and the glance that went!

The anguish of your art was not in vain,
For lo, upon these alien shelves removed
The sad immortal images remain,
And show that once they lived and once you loved.

But oh, when I am dead may none for me
Invoke so drear an immortality!

III.

Beneath the branches of the olive yard
Are roots where cyclamen and violet grow;
Beneath the roots the earth is deep and hard,
And there a king was buried long ago.

The peasants digging deeply in the mould
Cast up the autumn soil about the place,
And saw a gleam of unexpected gold,
And underneath the earth a living face.

With sleeping lids and rosy lips he lay,
Among the wreaths and gems that mark the king,
One moment; then a little dust and clay
Fell shrivelled over wreath and urn and ring.
A carven slab recalls his name and deeds,
Writ in a language no man living reads.

IV.
Here lies the tablet graven in the past,
Clear-charactered and firm and fresh of line.
See, not a word is gone; and yet how fast
The secret no man living may divine!

What did he choose for witness in the grave?
A record of his glory on the earth?
The wail of friends? The paean of the brave?
The sacred promise of the second birth?

The tombs of ancient Greeks in Sicily
Are sown with slender discs of graven gold
Filled with the praise of death: thrice happy he
Who sleeps the milk-soft sleep of dreams untold.

They sleep their patient sleep in altered lands,
The golden promise in their fleshless hands.


Henry Kirke WHITE ([1830]), pp.127-9.

'Lines Written in Wilford Churchyard. On Recovery from Sickness.'

Here would I wish to sleep. This is the spot
Which I have long marked out to lay my bones in;
Tired out and wearied with the riotous world,
Beneath this yew I would be sepulchred.
It is a lovely spot! The sultry sun,
From his meridian height, endeavours vainly
To pierce the shadowy foliage, while the zephyr
Comes wafting gently o'er the rippling Trent,
And plays about my wan cheek. 'Tis a nook
Most pleasant. Such a one perchance did Gray
Frequent, as with a vagrant muse he wantoned.

Come, I will sit me down and meditate,
For I am wearied with my summer's walk;
And here I may repose in silent ease;
And thus, perchance, when life's sad journey's o'er,
My harassed soul, in this same spot, may find
The haven of its rest — beneath this sod
Perchance may sleep it sweetly, sound as death.

I would not have my corpse cemented down
With brick and stone, defrauding the poor earthworm
Of its predestined dues; no, I would lie
Beneath a little hillock, grass o'ergrown,
Swathed down with osiers, just as sleep the cotters.
Yet may not undistinguished be my grave;
But there at eve may some congenial soul
Duly resort, and shed a pious tear,
The good man's benison — no more I ask.
And, oh! (if heavenly beings may look down
From where, with cherubim, inspired they sit,
Upon this little dim-discovered spot,
The earth,) then will I cast a glance below
On him who thus my ashes shall embalm;
And I will weep too, and will bless the wanderer,
Wishing he may not long be doomed to pine
In this low-thoughted world of darkling woe,
But that, ere long, he reach his kindred skies.

Yet 'twas a silly thought, as if the body,
Mouldering beneath the surface of the earth,
Could taste the sweets of summer scenery,
And feel the freshness of the balmy breeze!
Yet nature speaks within the human bosom,
And, spite of reason, bids it look beyond
His narrow verge of being, and provide
A decent residence for its clayey shell,
Endeared to it by time. And who would lay
His body in the city burial place,
To be thrown up again by some rude sexton,
And yield its narrow house another tenant,
Ere the moist flesh had mingled with the dust,
Ere the tenacious hair had left the scalp,
Exposed to insult lewd, and wantonness?
No, I will lay me in the village ground;
There are the dead respected. The poor hind,
Unlettered as he is, would scorn to invade
The silent resting place of death. I've seen
The labourer, returning from his toil,
Here stay his steps, and call his children round,
And slowly spell the rudely sculptured rhymes,
And, in his rustic manner, moralize.
I've marked with what a silent awe he'd spoken,
With head uncovered, his respectful manner,
And all the honours which he paid the grave,
And thought on cities, where e'en cemeteries,
Are not protected from the drunken insolence
Of wassailers profane, and wanton havoc.
Grant, Heaven, that here my pilgrimage may close!
Yet, if this be denied, where'er my bones
May lie — or in the city's crowded bounds,
Or scattered wide o'er the huge sweep of waters,
Or left a prey on some deserted shore
To the rapacious cormorant, — yet still,
(For why should sober reason cast away
A thought which soothes the soul?) yet still my spirit
Shall wing its way to these my native regions,
And hover o'er this spot. Oh, then I'll think
Of times when I was seated 'neath this yew
In solemn rumination; and will smile
With joy that I have got my longed release.

Thomas HARDY (1930), pp.144-5.

'O Passenger, pray list and catch
Our sighs and piteous groans,
Half stifled in this jumbled patch
Of wrenched memorial stones!

'We late-lamented, resting here,
Are mixed to human jam,
And each to each exclaims in fear,
'I know not which I am!'

"The wicked people have annexed
The verses on the good;
A roaring drunkard sports the text
Teetotal Tommy should!

"Where we are huddled none can trace,
And if our names remain,
They pave some path or porch or place
Where we have never lain!

"Here's not a modest maiden elf
But dreads the final Trumpet,
Lest half of her should rise herself,
And half some sturdy strumpet!

"From restorations of Thy fane,
From smoothings of Thy sward,
From zealous Churchmen's pick and plane
Deliver us O Lord! Amen!"

1882.

e. Speaking from the grave.

Frederick William Orde WARD (1899), pp.484-6.

'In My Grave.'

I lie among these holy hills
Which nearer come to God,
Bathed in the majesty that fills
The world with wonderment and thrills
Alike the sun and sod,
In blowing wind and flowing wave, and beautifies the clod.
The miracle and hush
Of peaceful places and broad spaces,
Here to their glory rush;
Afar from sordid strife,
I read in roots and upward shoots
The mystery of life.

I love the quiet of the dust,
After the fevered fret
And angry arms that fain would thrust
Away my simple touch of trust
And eyes with weeping wet —
The eager aims and meagre acts are fancies I forget.
It's always evening now,
And to the glaring force and staring
Deceit I need not bow;
I only rest and dream,
Care murmurs on as it has done
Above me like a stream.

The robin that we used to pet,
Will sometimes come and sing
As though it did remember yet
Amid the snowdrops which are set
About my bed in Spring —
The throbbing throat and sobbing breath keep concert with its wing.
   I see its crimson breast,
And here its calling with the falling
   Of daylight in the West;
It almost seems a wrong,
I do not live and cannot give
   An answer to the song.

But now I have become so wise,
   Within my chamber dim
Where secrets may no more surprise,
I would not if I could arise
   To earth's mere outer rim
Of fruitless lore and bootless love and idle vague surmise.
For here I really know
The sum and centre, and do enter
   The core of things below;
For in the hidden womb
Of miry clay dark pulses play —
   The birthplace is the tomb.

If children come and chat and sit
   Among the bees and grass,
I feel as though new sunbeams lit
Upon them and my tale was writ
   In words that never pass —
By burning thought and yearning deep more strong than stone and brass.
   My epitaph is truth,
Set forth in simple faiths that dimple
   The rosy cheeks of youth;
It's blessed to have been,
   When baby lips deny eclipse
And keep my memory green.

But thus I turn a boy again
   Who may not ever die,
And do not at my lot complain,
   But in the very grave maintain
A fresh and fairer tie
With growing plants and glowing rays as here at rest I lie.
   I send my greetings up
With shining showers and in the flowers,
   Daisy and buttercup;
I learn all Nature's arts —
   How leaf and thorn are dumbly born,
And live in loyal hearts.

Rosamund MARRIOTT WATSON (1889), pp.86-7.

'The Quick and the Dead.'

**Under** the grass and the graveyard clay
   Faint fall the voices from overhead.
Rough is the road for the quick to tread.
Breasting the tide and the tempest they —
Mine is the haven of life's heyday.
   *They are dying, but I am dead!*

Oh, but the daisies and long grass under,
   I, with my myriad lives instead,
Listening, laughing, I hear them wonder —
   *They are dying, but I am dead!*
I, with my myriad lives again,
Grass and roses, and leaves and rain,
They with their struggle with doubt and pain,
They with the strangling throes to come,
They with the grip of the grave to dread.
God! how I laugh in my quiet home —
They are dying, but I am dead!

Oh! but the life of me! gathering, growing,
Emmet and butterfly, flower and thorn,
Poppy and rose in the gold sun glowing,
Over and over unmade, re-born.

One with the grey of the winter day,
One with the glint of the sunset gold,
One with the wind and the salt sea-spray,
One with the dun of the furrowed mould.

How shall I joy in the world unwitting?
How shall I lean to the dear warm sun?
Grub or nightingale — creeping or flitting —
Nature and I in the end made one.

Only the life of me one with thee:
Body and soul of us joined and wed.
Shall we not pity them, I and she.
They the dying and we the dead?

a. Women.

William Cox BENNETT (1862), pp.74-6.

'A Dirge. Conclusion to "Sketches from a Painter's Studio".'

Here let never wild winds rave;
Winter howl not o'er her tomb;
Only come anigh this grave
Summer shade and gentle gloom,
And round it ever soft low winds keep moan,
And sobs flow by,
And faint airs sigh
Sad murmurs of the fading year alone.
Low we laid her, cold and pale,
Whiter than her folding shroud,
With a grief not told aloud,
Sudden sob and smothered wail;
Withered violets tell her tale —
Tender blooms, the gleam swift lost,
The fleeting breath
Of early Spring tempts forth to blighting frost
And icy death.
Unoped lilies o'er her tomb strew —
Primroses — the purple bloom
Of hyacinths and faint perfume
Of every frailest star that peeps the April through.
Fair she was and sweet as they,
With azure laugh within her eyes
That tears and sadness gleamed away,
A thing we said unmade for sighs,
Till, woe, love came!
Oh, tears, that love, life's best of worth,
Love, joy of the rejoicing earth,
Her days should claim
From girlhood's mirths and careless sports and gay
Light-hearted laughs and low-breathed prayers away,
For gaze-drooped shame,
For sobs and death — the cold, still tomb's decay,
An unbreathed name.
Yet ever in our thought she lies
A memory all reproof above,
On whom reproach turns not its eyes,
But only love:
Love with a misty gaze of gathering tears,
That no accusing word of chiding memory hears.
But unto him
Comes she not in the watches of the night,
The chamber's gloom,
Thronging the dim
And spectral room
With wan, felt presence, that the shuddering sight
Aches out upon through the dim taper's light,
Till cold damps start
On his dank forehead, and through his keen ears
Throng palpable the utterings of his fears,
And, ghastly fright
Scourging his spotted soul, again he hears
In the old tones that the remembered years
Thrilled with delight,
The grave-closed sorrow of her tale of tears?
Such wages win
The accursed sin,
The serpent sin that on her pureness stole,
Sliming its track across her spotless soul,
Poisoning to ill the holy peace within.
Yet there is rest for all,
Sleep for the weariest eyes:
In peace she quiet lies
Where chequered shadows fall
Across her low-heaped grave,
Where the wild winds in grief forget to rave,
And ever the loud gusts of winter blow
In moanings low,
Wailing for her our sorrow might not save.
The hueless rose,
The palid lily plant upon her tomb,
So shall their vestal glory light its gloom,
Its shadowing gloom, with the pure gleam of snows,
And their white beauty shall the summer show
Our weeping love for her who sleeps below.


‘Annie's Grave.’

The mournful billows burst along the solitary shore,
The night-wind answers fitfully their sad and ceaseless roar;
But quietly the moonbeams creep, and softly, softly sighs
The night-wind round the lonely mound where in her youth she lies.

No vulgar marble marks the spot of her unnoted rest,
But the wild rose blossoms at her head, the violet on her breast,
And soft green moss haps tenderly her cold and stirless feet;
Ah! fitting such a grave, for one so young, so pure, so sweet!

Since Annie died long years have past of mingled joy and pain,
But one so fair I have not found, nor shall I find again,
Till, by the Crystal Sea, once more I clasp her gentle hand; —
O, I shall know thy face, Annie, 'mong all the shining band!

For, as the morning fills with light a sphere of lily-dew,
That pale, pellucid face of thine the soul shone ever through: —
A soul as free from worldly guile, as pure from earthly stain,
As ever pined for mortal love — and pined, alas! in vain.

But, Annie, we were both so young in that sweet time of sighs!
And though by fits I caught the deep, sad meaning of thine eyes,
A spell was on my heart and brain — a spell I could not break,
Until I read the wild Too Late on thy cold, unconscious cheek.

Yet, if the heart-corroding rain of penitential tears,
The sorrow and the sacrifice, of long and lonely years,
Can expiate the unconscious wrong I did thy virgin love —
Thou wilt not turn away, Annie, when I meet thee there above! . . .

One rosebud from thy grave, Annie, — as though with tears, 'tis wet! —
One tiny tuft of velvet moss, one sweet-souled violet,
One sigh for "auld lang syne," Annie, — for youth, and love, and thee;
And I must leave thee evermore to thy rest beside the sea.


'The'  
"The grave-worm revels now"
Upon the pure white brow,
And on the eyes so dead and dim,
And on each putrifying limb,
And on the neck 'neath the long hair;
Now from the rosy lips
He damp corruption sips,
Banquetting everywhere.
Creeping up and down through the silken tresses
That once were smoothed by her husband's caresses,
In her mouth, and on her breast
Where the babe might never rest
In giving birth to whom she lost her life;
She gave all and she gave in vain,
Nor saw the purchase of her pain,
Poor mother and poor wife.

Was she too young to die?
Nay, young in sorrow and in years,
Her heart was old in faith and love;
Her eyes were ever fixed above,
They were not dimmed by tears.
And as the time went swiftly by
She was even as a stately palm
Beside still waters, where a dove
Broodeth in perfect calm.
Yea, she was as a gentle breeze
To which a thousand tones are given;
To tell of freshness to the trees,
Of roses to the honey-bees,
Of Summer to the distant seas,
And unto all of Heaven.
They rest together in one grave,
The mother and her infant child,
The holy and the undefiled:
Let none weep that ye could not save
So much of beauty from the earth;
It is not death ye see, though they
Pass into foulness and decay;
It is the second birth.

b. The buried body as an erotic subject.

Norman GALE (1912), pp.134.

'The Lover to his dead Mistress.'

Night after night, Eurydice, I tremble at thy homing
To pillows long deserted, with lips and hands forbidden:
I cannot bear the agonies that scorch me at thy coming
With so little beauty showing, with so much of beauty hidden!

To hear thee breathing by the bed, to feel thy fingers stroking
The nest thy body sweetened once, is peril near to madness.
Sleep in thy grave, Eurydice, by memories invoking,
Nor work so bitterly to give a double-edge to sadness.

Have I not bought the sullen ground that waits for me above thee,
In promise of the summer when they bring to thee my starkness?
Keep in thy grave, Eurydice, remembering how I love thee,
Nor break me on the wheel at night by breathing in the darkness!

Thomas HARDY (1930), pp.162-5.

'The Supplanter. A Tale.'

He bends his travel-tarnished feet
To where she wastes in clay:
From day-dawn until eve he fares
Along the wintry way;
From day-dawn until eve he bears
A wreath of blooms and bay.

"Are these the gravestone shapes that meet
My forward-straining view?
Or forms that cross a window-blind
In circle, knot, and queue:
Gay forms, that cross and whirl and wind
To music throbbing through?"

"The Keeper of the Field of Tombs
Dwells by its gateway-pier;
He celebrates with feast and dance
His daughter's twentieth year:
He celebrates with wine of France
The birthday of his dear."

"The gates are shut when evening glooms:
Lay down your wreath, sad wight;
To-morrow is a time more fit
For placing flowers aright:
The morning is the time for it;
Come, wake with us to-night!" —

He drops his wreath, and enters in,
And sits, and shares their cheer. —
'I fain would foot with you, young man,
Before all others here;
I fain would foot it for a span
With such a cavalier!"

She coaxes, clasps, nor fails to win
His first-unwilling hand:
The merry music strikes its staves,
The dancers quickly band;
And with the Damsel of the Graves
He duly takes his stand.

"You dance divinely, stranger swain,
Such grace I've never known.
O longer stay! Breathe not adieu
And leave me here alone!
O longer stay: to her be true
Whose heart is all your own!" —

"I mark a phantom through the pane,
That beckons in despair,
Its mouth all drawn with heavy moan —
Her to whom once I sware!" —
"Nay; 'tis the lately carven stone
Of some strange girl laid there!" —

"I see white flowers upon the floor
Betrodden to a clot;
My wreath were they?" — "Nay; love me much,
Swear you'll forget me not!
'Twas but a wreath! Full many such
Are brought here and forgot."

The watches of the night grow hoar,
He wakens with the sun;
"Now could I kill thee here!" he says,
"For winning me from one
Who ever in her living days
Was pure as cloistered nun!"

She cowers; and, rising, roves he then
Afar for many a mile,
For evermore to be apart
From her who could beguile
His senses by her burning heart,
And win his love awhile.

A year beholds him wend again
To her who wastes in clay;
From day-dawn until eve he fares
Along the wintry way,
From day-dawn until eve repairs
Towards her mound to pray.

And there he sets him to fulfil
His frustrate first intent:
And lay upon her bed, at last,
The offering earlier meant:
When, on his stooping figure, ghast
And haggard eyes are bent.

"O surely for a little while
You can be kind to me.
For do you love her, do you hate,
She knows not — cares not she:
Only the living feel the weight
Of loveless misery!

"I own my sin; I've paid its cost,
Being outcast, shamed, and bare:
I give you daily my whole heart,
Your child my tender care,
I pour you prayers; this life apart
Is more than I can bear!"

He turns — unpitying, passion-tossed;
"I know you not!" he cries,
"Nor know your child. I knew this maid,
But she's in Paradise!"
And he has vanished in the shade
From her beseeching eyes.

10. Figurative graves.

a. The burial of days, years and emotions.

Susan K. PHILLIPS (1898), p.117.

'The Death of Love.'

And is he dead at last? He lingered long,
Despite the fever-fits of doubt and pain;
It seemed that faith had wov'n a web so strong,
'Twould keep him till his pulse beat true again.
Centre of so much youth, and hope, and trust,
How could he crumble into common dust?

Cold blew the icy winds of circumstance;
Prudence and penury stood side by side,
Barbing the arrow shot by crafty chance,
Snatching the balsam from the wounds of pride;
Slander spiced well the cup false friendship gave,
And so Love died. Where shall we make his grave?

Scatter no roses on the bare black earth,
Plant no white lilies, no blue violet bloom.
Weak in his death, as feeble in his birth,
Why should life strive to sanctify his tomb?
Even gentle memory is by truth forbid
To honour aught that died as light Love did.

Let the rank grasses flourish fearlessly,
With no fond footsteps brushing them away;
While the young life he troubled, strong and free,
Turns to the promise of the world's new day,
Leaving the darkening skies to close above
The unhallowed burial-place of shallow Love.
b. As a trope of public protest: social justice.

James MONTGOMERY (1850), pp.337-8.

'The Cholera Mount. Lines on the Burying-place for Patients who died of Cholera Morbus: A Pleasant Eminence in Sheffield Park.'

In death divided from their nearest kin,
This is "a field to bury strangers in;"
Fragments, from families untimely reft,
Like spoils in flight or limbs in battle left,
Lie here; — a sad community, whose bones
Might feel, methinks, a pang to quicken stones;
While from beneath my feet they seem to cry,
"Oh! is it nought to you, ye passers by!
When from its earthly house the spirit fled,
Our dust might not be 'free among the dead?''
Ah! why were we to this Siberia sent,
Doom'd in the grave itself to banishment?"

Shuddering humanity asks, "Who are these?
And what their crime?" — They fell by one disease!
By the blue pest, whose gripe no art can shun,
No force unwrench, out-singled one by one;
When, like a monstrous birth, the womb of fate
Bore a new death of unrecorded date,
And doubtful name. — Far east the fiend begun
Its course; whence round the world pursued the sun,
The ghosts of millions following at its back,
Whose desecrated graves betray'd their track.
On Albion's shores unseen the invader stept;
Secret and swift through field and city swept;
At noon, at midnight, seized the weak, the strong,
Asleep, awake, alone, amid the throng;
Kill'd like a murderer; fix'd its icy hold,
And wrung out life with agony of cold;
Nor stay'd its vengeance where it crush'd the prey.
But set a mark, like Cain's, upon their clay,
And this tremendous seal impress'd on all, —
"Bury me out of sight and out of call."

Wherefore no filial foot this turf may tread,
No kneeling mother kiss her baby's bed;
No maiden unespoused, with widow'd sighs,
Seek her soul's treasure where her true love lies:
— All stand aloof, and eye this mount from far,
As panic-stricken crowds some baleful star,
Strange to the heavens, that, with bewilder'd light,
Like a lost spirit, wanders through the night.

Yet many a mourner weeps her fallen state,
In many a home by these left desolate,
Once warm with love, and radiant with the smiles
Of woman, watching infants at their wiles,
Whose eye of thought, when now they throng her knees,
Pictures far other scene than that she sees,
For one is wanting, — one, for whose dear sake
Her heart for very tenderness would ache,

---

1Written during the prevalence of the disease in 1832, and while great terror of infection from it was experienced throughout the kingdom, sanctioned by legislative authority requiring the separate interment of its unfortunate victims.
As now with anguish, — doubled when she spies
In this his lineaments, in that his eyes,
In each his image with her own commix'd,
And there, at least, through life their union fix'd.

Humanity again asks, "Who are these?
And what their crime?" — They fell by one disease;
Not by the Proteus-maladies that strike
Man into nothingness, not twice alike;
But when they knock'd for entrance at the tomb,
Their fathers' bones refused to make them room;
Recoiling Nature from their presence fled,
As though a thunderbolt had smote them dead;
Their cries pursued her with the thrilling plea,
"Give us a little earth for charity!"
She linger'd, listen'd, all her bosom yearn'd,
Through every vein the mother's pulse return'd;
Then, as she halted on this hill, she threw
Her mantle wide, and loose her tresses flew:
"Live!" to the slain, she cried, "My children, live!
This for an heritage to you I give:
Had death consumed you by the common lot,
You with the multitude had been forgot,
Now through an age of ages shall ye not."

Thus Nature spake; and, as her echo, I
Take up her parable, and prophesy:
— Here, as from Spring to Spring the swallows pass,
Perennial daisies shall adorn the grass;
Here the shrill sky-lark build her annual nest,
And sing in heaven while you serenely rest:
On trembling dew-drops morn's first glance shall shine,
Eve's latest beams on this fair bank decline,
And oft the rainbow steal through light and gloom,
To throw its sudden arch across your tomb;
On you the moon her sweetest influence shower,
And every planet bless you in its hour.

With statelier honours still, in time's slow round,
Shall this sepulchral eminence be crown'd,
Where generations long to come shall hail
The growth of centuries waving in the gale,
A forest landmark on the mountain's head,
Standing betwixt the living and the dead,
Nor, while your language lasts, shall traveller cease
To say, at sight of your memorial, "Peace!"
Your voice of silence answering from the sod,
"Whoe'er thou art, prepare to meet thy God!"

1832.

c. As a trope of public protest: Irish Famine and nationalist rhetoric.

William James LINTON (1867), pp.31-2.

'The consecrated land! —
Our fathers' and, alas! our children's grave:
Growing from out their hearts the wild flowers wave
O'er that dear earth, and on it yet doth stand
The poor man's shrine.
What prince dare lay his hand
On this, and say "'Tis mine"?

Is not our martyrs' earth
Held sacred too? — not merely the low ditch
Where kings can fling them, but the wide land which
Should be more than the grave-stone of their worth.
Where Emmett and Fitzgerald trod, —
What peer can own that earth?
None — none but God.

The "consecrated" soil! —
Is not the round earth God's, — his sacred field,
Where Man may learn celestial arms to wield,
And grow divine through sanctity of toil?
What landlord dare
To dispossess God's seed? what power shall spoil
Those whom God planted there?

Emily LAWLESS (1902), pp.38-40.

'Dirge for all Ireland. 1581.'

Fall gently, pitying rains! Come slowly, Spring!
Ah, slower, slower yet! No notes of glee,
No minstrelsy! Nay, not one bird must sing
His challenge to the season. See, oh see!
Lo, where she lies,
Dead with wide-open eyes,
Unsheltered from the skies,
Alone, unmarked, she lies!
Then, sorrow, flow;

And ye, dull hearts, that brook to see her so.
Depart! go! go!
Depart, dull hearts, and leave us to our woe.

Drop, forest, drop your sad accusing tears,
Send your soft rills adown the silent glades,
Where yet the pensive yew its branches rears,
Where yet no axe affronts the decent shades.
Pronounce her bitter woe,
Denounce her furious foe,
Her piteous story show,
That all may know.
Then quickly call
Your young leaves. Bid them from their stations tall
Fall! fall! fall! fall!
Till of their green they weave her funeral pall.

And ye, cold waves, who guard that western slope,
Show no white crowns. This is no time to wear
The livery of Hope. We have no hope.
Blackness and leaden greys befit despair
Roll past that open grave,
And let thy billows lave
Her whom they could not save.
Then open wide
Your western arms, to where the rain-clouds bide,
And hide! hide! hide!
Let none discern the spot where she hath died.
d. Grave and harvest imagery.

Alexander ANDERSON (1912), pp.8-9.

‘The Two Sowers.’

**Death** came to the earth, by his side was Spring,
They came from God's own bowers,
And the earth was full of their wandering,
For they both were sowing flowers.

“I sow,” said Spring, “by the stream and the wood,
And the village children know
The gay glad time of my own sweet prime,
And where my blossoms grow.

“There is not a spot in the quiet wood
But hath heard the sound of my feet,
And the violets come from their solitude
When my tears have made them sweet.”

“I sow,” said Death, “where the hamlet stands,
I sow in the churchyard drear;
I drop in the grave with gentle hands,
My flowers from year to year.

“The young and the old go into their rest,
To the sleep that awaits them below;
But I clasp the children unto my breast,
And kiss them before I go.”

“I sow,” said Spring, “but my flowers decay
When the year turns weak and old,
When the breath of the bleak wind wears them away,
And they wither and droop in the mould.

“But they come again when the young earth feels
The new blood leap in her veins,
When the fountain of wonderful life unseals,
And the earth is alive with the rains.”

“I sow,” said Death; “but my flowers unseen
Pass away from the land of men,
Nor sighs nor tears through the long sad years
Ever bring back their bloom again.

“But I know they are wondrous bright and fair
In the fields of their high abode;
Your flowers are the flowers that a child may wear,
But mine are the blossoms of God.”

Death came to the earth, by his side was Spring;
The two came from God's own bowers;
One sowed in night and the other in light,
Yet they both were sowing flowers.
e. Graves as prisons and prisons as graves.


'The Prisoner (A Fragment)'

In the dungeon-crypts, idly did I stray,
Reckless of the lives wasting there away;
'Draw the ponderous bars! open, Warder stern!' 
He dared not say me nay — the hinges harshly turn.

'Our guests are darkly lodged,' I whisper'd, gazing through
The vault, whose grated eye showed heaven more grey than blue;
(This was when glad spring laughed in awaking pride;)
'Aye, darkly lodged enough!' returned my sullen guide.

Then, God forgive my youth; forgive my careless tongue;
I scoffed, as chill chains on the damp flag-stones rung:
'Confined in triple walls, art thou so much to fear,
That we must bind thee down and clench thy fetters here?'

The captive raised her face, it was as soft and mild
As sculptured marble saint, or slumbering unwean'd child;
It was so soft and mild, it was so sweet and fair.
Pain could not trace a line, nor grief a shadow there!

The captive raised her hand and pressed it to her brow;
'I have been struck,' she said, 'and I am suffering now;
Yet these are little worth, your bolts and irons strong.
And, were they forged in steel, they could not hold me long.'

Hoarse laughed the jailer grim: 'Shall I be won to hear;
Dost think, fond, dreaming wretch, that / shall grant thy prayer?
Or, better still, wilt melt my master's heart with groans?
Ahl sooner might the sun thaw down these granite stones.

'My master's voice is low, his aspect bland and kind,
But hard as hardest flint, the soul that lurks behind;
And I am rough and rude, yet not more rough to see
Than is the hidden ghost that has its home in me.'

About her lips there played a smile of almost scorn,
'My friend,' she gently said, 'you have not heard me mourn;
When you my kindred's lives, my lost life, can restore,
Then may I weep and sue, — but never, friend, before!

'Still, let my tyrants know, I am not doomed to wear
Year after year in gloom, and desolate despair;
A messenger of Hope, comes every night to me,
And offers for short life, eternal liberty.

'He comes with western winds, with evening's wandering airs,
With that clear dusk of heaven that brings the thickest stars.
Winds take a pensive tone, and stars a tender fire,
And visions rise, and change, that kill me with desire.

'Desire for nothing known in my maturer years,
When Joy grew mad with awe, at counting future tears.
When, if my spirit's sky was full of flashes warm,
I knew not whence they came, from sun, or thunder storm.
'But, first, a hush of peace — a soundless calm descends;  
The struggle of distress, and fierce impatience ends.  
Mute music soothes my breast, unuttered harmony,  
That I could never dream, till Earth was lost to me.

'Then dawns the Invisible; the Unseen its truth reveals;  
My outward sense is gone, my inward essence feels:  
Its wings are almost free — its home, its harbour found,  
Measuring the gulf, it stoops, and dares the final bound.

'Oh, dreadful is the check — intense the agony —  
When the ear begins to hear, and the eye begins to see;  
When the pulse begins to throb, the brain to think again,  
The soul to feel the flesh, and the flesh to feel the chain.

'Yet I would lose no sting, would wish no torture less,  
The more that anguish racks, the earlier it will bless;  
And robed in fires of hell, or bright with heavenly shine,  
If it but herald death, the vision is divine!'

She ceased to speak, and we, unanswering, turned to go —  
We had no further power to work the captive woe:  
Her cheek, her gleaming eye, declared that man had given  
A sentence, unapproved, and overruled by Heaven.

11. Comic graves.

a. The grave as a humorous subject.

George DARLEY ([1850]), pp.52-3.

'Memento Mori: Inscribed on a Tombstone.'

When you look on my grave  
And behold how they wave, —  
The cypress, the yew, and the willow;  
You think 'tis the breeze  
That gives motion to these, —  
'Tis the laughter that's shaking my pillow!

I must laugh when I see  
A poor insect like thee  
Dare to pity the fate thou must own;  
Let a few seasons glide,  
We may lie side by side,  
And crumble to dust, bone for bone.

Go weep thine own doom!  
Thou wert born for the tomb,  
Thou hast lived, like myself, but to die;  
When thou pity'st my lot  
Secure fool! thou'st forgot  
Thou art no more immortal than I!
b. Satirical graves.

John CASTILLO (1843), pp.63-5.

'A Voice from the Dead!

Written on being uncivilly treated, when erecting some Tombstones in ------ Church Yard, where the Author was denied the use of any part of the Church, Porch, or Stable; was forbidden to Letter the Stone in the Church Yard, though it was more than a mile from the Church to the nearest convenient place for such a work; and was also denied the Keys of the Gate: — yet at that very time, the parson's horse and cow, were feeding on the grass, tearing up the graves, and breaking down the stones, while none dared to complain! On seeing the horse's leg sink into a grave up to the lisk, the following thoughts suggested themselves.

What foot is that disturbs my rest,
Which through my coffin lid hath press'd,
And caus'd my bones the air to feel? —
It is the parson's horse's heel!

'Tis hard so much as there's to pay,
That corpses cannot quiet lay,
But are by cow or horse plough'd up,
For priests to reap a three-fold crop!

Through such a process they must pass,
The grave, the tombstone, and the grass,
And Easter Offering beside: —
These claims must never be denied!

What though they do the grass devour,
And leave their dung against the door!
Pay up, — say nought, — 'What's that to thou?'
It is the parson's horse or cow!

I know the living dare not grumble,
Nor at the parson's conduct stumble!
And when the simple truth is told,
Of dead men they can get no hold.

We thought no hammer was to sound,
Upon this consecrated ground, —
Yet cow or horse may grind our bones,
And rub their sides against the stones!

Some think things so are constituted,
That masons' tools are all polluted,
But that the parson's horse or cow,
Like th' Church, is consecrated too!

Thus they may gallop o'er our graves,
And split our coffins into halves;
In spite of widows tears and groans,
May pastime make of dead folks' bones!

This is too hard for flesh and blood!
A thing which cannot be withstood;
A thing which inward grief imparts
To pious minds and tender hearts.

But men enthral'd must never speak,
Nor for redress attempt to seek,
But with such creatures be content,
As Bishops have ordain'd and sent.

Like him who dwells upon the coast,
Who of the priesthood makes his boast,
Regardless what the flock endure,
"If he can but the fleece secure!"

His present residence and living,
Are of his earthly father's giving;
So none his title dare dispute,
For Bishops cannot turn him out!

Though life and conduct be profane,
He knows that men dare not complain;
Or soon he'd show them his degrees,
And take revenge in tythes and fees!

Such workmen's labour is in vain
To keep their hands from bloody stain;
In vain they strive to show the road,
That leads to glory and to God!

No wonder if such Church decay,
If members leave it day by day,
Where tyrannising is the law,—
And till a change, it must be so.

The remedy will be unknown,
Till Priests are of the Spirit born;
Till they get hearts refin'd and pure,
Dissenters must their scorn endure!