[A] ‘A sea of stories’: Maritime imagery and imagination in Napoleonic narratives of war captivity

Elodie Duché

In 1836, twenty years after his liberation, a Royal Navy lieutenant named Richard Langton published a narrative of his captivity in France during the Napoleonic Wars.[[1]](#endnote-1) The memoir opened, like many other pieces of the same genre, on a panorama of his ‘voyage and capture’ depicting his defeat as a sentimental passage to imprisonment. The temporality of the narration was uneven; the departure of the brig *Scorpion* from Liverpool to the West Indies was instantly followed by an ellipsis: ‘nothing remarkable occurred until the third day of sailing’. This particular day, on the other hand, occupied several pages, where Langton dramatically rendered the crew’s skirmish with two French vessels. There, the sea was described as a theatre of ‘wild odyssey’ populated by men of war, and cadenced by relentless cannon shots ‘bounding on the water’ and adding to the general confusion of a prolonged chase with French ‘pirates’.[[2]](#endnote-2) Overall, this incipit served Langton to contextualise and justify his defeat to his readers. It metamorphosed a story of failure into a heroic tale of survival. The mention of his ‘last look of the sea […] with feelings of sorrow’, before being landlocked by his captors, had a similar purpose.[[3]](#endnote-3) It signified the commencement of captivity as a romantic separation from the marine world, an open space where employment, status and freedom could be gained and lost.

For various French and British prisoners of the Napoleonic conflicts, captivity was indeed ‘sea-marked’.[[4]](#endnote-4)These prisoners experienced different living conditions, whether detained liberally on parole, or confined more severely in fortresses and aboard hulks. Their number was equally asymmetrical: the 16,000 British captives in North-East France formed a minority against the 130,000 French sequestered throughout Britain between 1803 and 1814.[[5]](#endnote-5) Overall, there was not one common type of captive: British prisoners included an estimated four hundred civilians residing in France in 1803 (mostly genteel excursionists, artisans and textile workers), along with female passengers, field army and navy officers; whilst Napoleon’s ‘lost legions’ encompassed different nationalities and trades congregated by mass conscription. They had thus different levels of literacy, and diverse identities, abilities and social statuses. Yet, during and after captivity, many of them had access to facilities that would allow them to articulate their situation with the sea in mind. For sailors like Langton, but also for civilians and soldiers, adults and children, men and women, the sea was perceived as inaugurating and concluding their seclusion.

Not only did the Channel delineate the physical and temporal contours of their detention, but the sea formed an imagined space which detainees vested with ideas and sentiments of dislocation.[[6]](#endnote-6) Despite being placed far away from their home shores, the British captives in North-East France perceived the landscapes of their internment through a nautical prism. They depicted themselves as shipwrecked exiles, whilst perceiving their detention places as islands, and Burgundy roads as winding like the western ocean. Similarly, sea vistas permeated the objects French prisoners crafted whilst sequestered in Britain, which is exemplified by the vast array of bone ship models they designed for local markets. In this respect, captive productions reveal a twofold dynamic: they illustrate the potency of maritime imaginations in Napoleonic prisoners’ creativity, as much as the demand for nautical tales and images amongst the societies surrounding their seclusion. My holistic perspective on the visual, textual and material culture of the sea in the ‘contact zone’ of captivity aims to draw attention to a neglected aspect which I term the ‘environmental divestment’ of war detention. By investigating the neglected mobilisation of marine metaphors in various forms of narrations, this chapter re-evaluates the role of the sea as a site of mediation and memorialisation of coerced mobility in the age of sail, when ‘the lure of the sea’ and the ‘voyage’ literature soared into prestige across Europe.[[7]](#endnote-7)

[B] An environmental divestment

As Pauline Turner Strong argues, scholarly works on prisoner of war experience have long ‘tended to be similar in literary form and ideological function to the narratives of captivity they interpret’.[[8]](#endnote-8) Whilst recent studies have attempted to address this issue, the focus has mainly been on identifying the literary components of their ‘low literature’.[[9]](#endnote-9) For the eighteenth century, Linda Colley’s *Captives* and Catriona Kennedy’s *Narratives of the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars* have offered valuable insights into the articulation of defeat through intertextuality during a pivotal moment of nation-building and totalising warfare.[[10]](#endnote-10) However, little attention has been given to the use of landscapes, particularly mnemonic and imaginary seascapes, in voicing forced displacement in times of war.[[11]](#endnote-11) Yet, it appears significant that, for contemporaries, war captivity came hand in hand with the dissemination of maritime tales. Seditious rumours in Napoleonic France were, for instance, said to emanate from the ‘wave sounds’ (‘*bruits de vague*’) spread by British prisoners of war detained in the country.[[12]](#endnote-12)

This entanglement of marine imaginings and captivity throws into relief how war detention constituted not only a social unsettlement, as has often been argued, but what I would term an environmental divestment, which prompted the retrieval and circulation of sea-inspired tropes via diverse medium.[[13]](#endnote-13) War imprisonment deprived Napoleonic captives from familiar spaces of sociability, where their statuses and identities had been constructed and performed. Affective references to the sea were a response to this dislocation, which revealed the potency of French and British ‘hydrographic cultures’ in adversity during the period, namely cultures that richly encoded their relationships to saline water across textual, visual and material genres.[[14]](#endnote-14) Looking at the mobilisation of nautical metaphors in detention is important; it invites us to consider how the sea formed a constructive set of references and exchanges, despite the various constraints and motivations under which captives expressed themselves. Overall, the ‘narrationality’ of the sea in their depictions of coercing or liberating landscapes was an attempt to ‘create meaning from non-meaning’, especially ‘in the face of loss, absence or death’.[[15]](#endnote-15)

To explore this question, it is essential to read the prisoners’ manuscripts and printed writings in unison with other materials produced in confinement such as songs, sketches and ship-models. It is my contention that all these productions should be considered as ‘narratives’, understood broadly as mediated stories of internment, to investigate the shaping force of maritime outlooks and the diverse emotions that prisoners placed in aquatic landscapes to articulate their dislocation.[[16]](#endnote-16) Inspired by recent works on the archaeology of war internment, my holistic perspective on the textual, visual, material and melodic cultures of the sea in captivity could be named after the Indian ‘sea of stories’. This tradition of story-telling refers to the process by which tales, like rivulets, constantly emerge and merge into each other’s streams to form an imagined ocean of narration transgressing textual, material and oral boundaries.[[17]](#endnote-17) I do not claim that there is a direct link between captive writings and this tradition, despite the rise of Orientalism in Western cultures during the period.[[18]](#endnote-18) Rather, I use it as an analytic prism to perceive the neglected role of the sea as a site of musing, interpretation and memorialisation of coerced mobility.

After relocating this phenomenon in a European culture of the ‘sea voyage’, the second section of this chapter will explore how and why Napoleonic prisoners conceptualised their gatherings as displaced islands. These perceptions were nourished by the social performances of naval captives, who disseminated marine imaginings in writing as much as in crafting objects, which is the focus of the penultimate part. This will feed into the final question of the passage to liberty, and how traversing the ‘liquid border’ of the Channel crystallised the prisoners’ changing feelings of interiority and belonging.[[19]](#endnote-19)

[B] A sea-girt audience

In *The Story of the Voyage*, Philip Edwards has cogently argued that Georgian readers were avid consumers of travel-writing, particularly narratives of voyages at sea.[[20]](#endnote-20) ‘The reading public’, he observes, ‘could not get enough in the way of accounts of all the maritime activity involved in extending Britain’s knowledge of the globe and her control of territories old and new.’[[21]](#endnote-21) This movement was underpinned by a broader socio-cultural phenomenon: more readers had access to books, as the literacy levels rose in the country, and the prices of book printing lowered. Overall, the development of the book industry meant that the ‘pleasures of the imagination’ were increasingly textual.[[22]](#endnote-22) Translations of French, German or Dutch travel-writing were promptly and widely circulated to furnish the shelves and minds of many readers. Equally, publishers multiplied during the period, offering the chance to a variety of authors to see their stories in print. This generated a rage for the ‘voyage’ genre, which shaped the mental landscapes of Europeans with a remarkable force. ‘Voyage-narratives’, writes Edwards, ‘did have an impact on the imaginative life of the eighteenth century comparable to the impact of the world of chivalry on the imaginative life of the sixteenth century.’[[23]](#endnote-23)

As a genre, the sea-voyage literature was not a novelty of the period. The semantic presence of the sea and references to maritime journeys, as an environmental metaphor for political and confessional awakening, had been immensely popular in the preceding centuries. It had been an instrument of self-fashioning amongst Renaissance authors across Europe. In particular, the figurative and fugitive space of the sea had been used in early modern England by Shakespeare, Bacon and Marlowe, as a source of reflection on the scientific, spiritual and imperial conquests of their time.[[24]](#endnote-24) Yet, despite this textual genealogy, the sea voyage acquired a new dimension during the Napoleonic Wars, as the rise and fall of Nelson triggered a new set of military imaginings. As Sue Parill and Margarette Lincoln recently argued, Nelson’s Navy was fictionalised in novels, memoirs, songs, watercolours, caricatures and other varied objects during the conflicts and their aftermath.[[25]](#endnote-25) These creations nourished myths about life outside the territorial boundaries of a nation eager to ‘rule the waves’ of the world.[[26]](#endnote-26) They shaped enduring conceptions of the sea as a tormented space of colliding powers, violence, exile and sublime as evidenced by William Turner’s rendering of naval landscapes of the period, particularly his painting of the ‘Battle of Trafalgar’ (1824), ‘The Fighting Temeraire tugged to her last berth to be broken up’ (1838), and ‘War, The Exile and the Rock Limpet’ (1842). The latter depicted Napoleon contemplating his exile in the watery mirror of the Atlantic Ocean, and was accompanied by verses depicting sunsets as a ‘sea of blood’.[[27]](#endnote-27)

This romanticisation of naval violence was integral to novel ideas of belonging in space and time which, as Peter Fritzsche noted, were unsettled by the pan-European experience of the Napoleonic conflicts.[[28]](#endnote-28) In 1809, William Golwin voiced the ‘images of an apocalyptic sea’ that impregnated the minds of a British public menaced by revolutions ‘heaving beyond their bounds’.[[29]](#endnote-29) Ideas and feelings of being ‘in between […] two worlds’, peace and war, past and present, *ancien régime* and revolutions, nourished the following *mal-du-siècle* of the nineteenth century, which was articulated through the sea. In the words of the French author Alfred de Musset in the 1830s, this malaise was ‘something like the ocean […] something vague and floating, a rough sea full of wrecks’.[[30]](#endnote-30) This sentimentalisation of the sea nourished the ‘melancholy of history’ amongst authors who, like René de Chateaubriand in the bay of Saint-Malo, contemplated in the sea ‘a time [of having] nothing of what [they] once had’.[[31]](#endnote-31)

War captivity, particularly Napoleonic tales of capture at sea, satisfied this appetite for reflections on loss and seafaring in Britain and France during the nineteenth century. Following early publications, such as that of the *Journal* of the aptly-named William Story in London in 1815, narratives of former British prisoners in Napoleonic France populated the print market in Britain, with a peak in the 1830s when memoirs of sailors increasingly featured in book subscriptions and in series in the press.[[32]](#endnote-32) In Britain, these captive narratives were read avidly as adventurous tales of forfeiture. This is evidenced by the multiple re-editions of these texts. Charles Sturt’s narrative, for instance, was re-edited six times by the end of the year of its first publication.[[33]](#endnote-33) This is also perceptible in the titles of these accounts, which anchored their life-story in maritime and scenic escapades: *A Picture of Verdun*; *Narrative of a Forced Journey*; or *My adventures during the late war*, *a Narrative of Shipwreck, Captivity, Escapes from French Prisons, and Sea Service in 1804-14.*[[34]](#endnote-34)

Equally, French prisoners of war in Britain penned numerous accounts upon their return home, yet the publication of these texts followed a different chronology. In this respect, the delays Ambroise Louis Garneray experienced in finding an audience for his story are illuminating. After his release in 1814, Garneray wrote an account of his captivity in Britain, which he submitted to the French State in 1847 to be included in the curricular readings of future sailors, yet without much success. The posthumous publication of Garneray’s memoirs was, in fact, the project of later publishers in the 1850s, when a fashion for *émigrés*’ recollections and apocryphal accounts of the Revolutionary Wars developed in France. Garneray’s memoirs were collated, edited, and partially rewritten in a three-volume compendium of dramatic fiction entitled *Aventures et Combats* (Adventures and Fights). Captivity was placed under the sub-section *Mes Pontons* (My Prison Ships), which turned his narrative of detention into a novel of maritime adventure in order to appeal to the nautical taste of an audience including juvenile readers.[[35]](#endnote-35) Overall, considered as a corpus, published and manuscript narratives of captivity not only reveal a death of the author, as in Garneray’s case, but also the potency of maritime imaginations in shaping these texts and the ‘horizon of expectation’ of their intended readers, if not publishers.[[36]](#endnote-36) In particular, this culture of the sea voyage influenced the ways in which captivity was perceived as a social and spatial atoll.

[B] Inland islands

If water adds to its safety, in the winter months it may certainly boast of great advantages, for the melting snows from the adjacent eminences, and the overflowing of the Meuse, nearly insulate the town; and many prospects from the walls present only spacious lakes, spotted with small islands.[[37]](#endnote-37)

This was how James Forbes, a former civil servant of the English East India Company, described to his sister his first impressions of Verdun, the parole depot where he was sequestered with hundreds of other British civilians captured in mid-Grand Tour in May 1803. Isolated in a remote town of Lorraine, these captives were purposely detained as far away from saltwater as possible to hinder any escape. Yet, despite their location, British parole captives perceived the landscape of their captivity through its watery nature. The redcoat Major-General Blayney equally portrayed the town as ‘resting […] on several islands’, a vision which filtered through the prisoners’ pictorial representations of their new dwelling. Their watercolours were all panoramic views of the surroundings of the town with, as a point of focus, the enclosing meanderings of the river Meuse.[[38]](#endnote-38) Verdun was not unique: British prisoners of a lower sort, and confined more severely in the fortresses that constellated the North-East of France, equally associated their coerced migrations with maritime landscapes. In his journal, the common sailor William Story related his march through Burgundy in nautical terms. Approaching Autun, he wrote: ‘the weather was intensely hot and our road lay over ridges of hills, like the swell in the western ocean; we were continually ascending and descending, always expecting that, after passing the hill before us, we should see a plain.’[[39]](#endnote-39)

The function of these associations was twofold. First, the insulation trope served to articulate seclusion and displacement, which British prisoners associated with a popular and archetypal figure of the shipwrecked exile: Robinson Crusoe. Relating his first encounter with another English captive, Blayney expressed his astonishment through the novel: ‘certainly Robinson Crusoe could not have been much more surprised at hearing his parrot cry “poor Robin!” than I was at being addressed in an English voice from so unexpected a place’.[[40]](#endnote-40) Defoe’s novel not only shaped the writing of these narratives, but also their readings after publication. This is evidenced by a review of the aforementioned narrative by Langton in the *Gentleman’s Magazine*, and which read:

As Robinson Crusoe wrote a very entertaining journal in a desolate island, so Mr. Langton has made a tolerably entertaining and instructive book, as he was marched from Verdun to Ancona [*sic*.], and from Cambrai to Blois. We leave off with one strong impression, that though the French possess a deal of genius and politesse, they are far behind the English in the civilisation of manners and of mind.[[41]](#endnote-41)

As Edward Said observes, Defoe’s novel was a vehicle for colonial imaginations, especially through the themes it encompassed: the sugar trade, the subjugation of a Native American re-named after the day God created Adam, and the fantasy of transforming foreign lands which illustrated Britain’s imperial project abroad.[[42]](#endnote-42) This project was encapsulated in one island, and embodied in one dislocated man, who presented ‘a modern vision of the alienated individual attempting to find a way to be at home in the world’.[[43]](#endnote-43) This quest strongly resonated with the prisoners’ forced displacement, and the reference to the novel offered them an empowering tool of inversion. Indeed, suggesting that the French were European versions of Friday, knowledgeable yet lacking ‘civilised’ polish, asserted the prisoners’ cultural distinctiveness, if not dominance, over their captors. And so was the function of referring to the depots themselves as little British Isles, all-in-small worlds where prisoners emulated their lost society.[[44]](#endnote-44) Nourished by the microcosmic genre in vogue at the time, these discourses served a second function: the prisoners’ attempt to subvert the ‘contact zone’ of their detention place.[[45]](#endnote-45) Indeed, captives often narrated how, despite understanding French, they renamed buildings, streets and rivers after familiar places in their home country, and thus refashioned the space of their seclusion to ‘inspire the English spectator with the idea he was once more at home’.[[46]](#endnote-46)

These captive archipelagos were an inward- and outward-looking *topos* of escapism, yet two questions remain unanswered:why were these nautical references prominent amongst British captives? And was there a similar phenomenon amongst their French counterparts in Britain? Arguably, the sea cemented a social world in detention, by constituting the common denominator of various British and French prisoners. The 16,000 British captives detained in France were primarily naval men. In Verdun, eighty per cent of the British male military captives were seamen captured in naval skirmishes or drifted ashore by stresses of weather. What is often considered as a privileged civilian depot was thus, in fact, a naval gathering.[[47]](#endnote-47) The rest were non-combatant excursionists, male and female passengers and soldiers, who had also first-hand experiences of seafaring. For them, captivity was a second experience of displacement, which had been preceded by at least one passage, as they had all, at one time or another, travelled by boat to reach the continent.

Equally, French detainees in Britain had prior experience of the sea, whether they were soldiers, passengers, merchants, naval men or privateers. In 1810, fifty-nine per cent of non-ranking French captives were seamen, a tendency which altered only towards the end of the conflict when tensions escalated in the Iberian Peninsula.[[48]](#endnote-48) Regardless of their corps, these captives experienced maritime life, culturally and administratively, during detention. As Louis Cros argued, the Napoleonic Wars inaugurated a shift of the laws of the sea onto the land, exemplified by the decision of the British State in 1796 to divest the Sick and Hurt Board from its traditional responsibility to manage prisoners of war, in order to place captives under the care of the Transport Boart, a sub-branch of the Admiralty.[[49]](#endnote-49) Captives were clothed, fed, and disciplined by a naval system of welfare, which thus percolated through inland depots, as much as littoral fortresses.[[50]](#endnote-50) In this respect, it comes as no surprise that French captives were inclined to articulate, in naval terms, their misery in seclusion. The expression ‘*raffalés*’, used by French prisoners to categorise those amongst them who developed drinking and gambling addictions, was derived from an argotic nautical lexicon. It originally meant being ‘pushed ashore by gales of wind’, and was used to signify social wreckage in detention.[[51]](#endnote-51) Those detained in squalid conditions on hulks – that is, decommissioned naval ships – had even more reasons to describe captivity as a ‘floating sepulchre’, attributing their predicament to the ‘uncivilised’ comportment of British islanders, and creating a myth of the ‘*pontons*’ as a British invention.[[52]](#endnote-52)

In the absence of the sea, paroled sailors from the Royal Navy shifted their locus of activity to rivers, which influenced the ways in which other British captives conceived detention and their social time abroad.[[53]](#endnote-53) Along the Meuse, Molyneux Shuldham invented an ice-skating boat, much to the dismay of both the local inhabitants and the fish; whilst James Kingston Tuckey penned a four-volume compendium of maritime geography.[[54]](#endnote-54) If, as Joan Scott observes, the act of experiencing is inherently visual, the performances of these landlocked Tars might have contributed to the perception of depots as islands, and rivers as reminiscent of sea.[[55]](#endnote-55)They were active agents of the on-going production and imagination of space in these locales, as they transferred the rhythm of seafaring ashore through naval patterns of sociability.[[56]](#endnote-56) They called their lodgings ‘messes’, a term which their civilian room-mates repeated, if not adopted, in their diaries.[[57]](#endnote-57) Their outlooks also filtered through the everyday of captive civilians and soldiers via religion. In particular, devotional activities crystallised a fusion of horizons in the reading of one confessional tool designed by prisoners, a *Book of Common Prayer* edited by John Barnabas Maude, a captive clergyman who, with the help of a French bookseller, published it in one thousand and five hundred copies to be distributed in eleven depots of British prisoners in France.[[58]](#endnote-58) A comparison with other civilian prayer books reveals that sermons on ‘deliverance from an enemy’ were inserted amongst the regular psalms, as well as ‘thanksgivings after a storm’ or ‘a tempest’, which suggest the influence of the ‘blue lights’ on the religious life in captivity.[[59]](#endnote-59) These prayers strongly resonated with the sermons preached on war ships, which suggests that, despite having been extirpated from naval perils and combat, prisoners saw in the sea a space of spiritual communion for civilian and military captives alike.[[60]](#endnote-60)

[B] The trials of the sea

Whilst visions and languages of the sea circulated within detention places, the continuation of sea life ashore had specific meanings for sailors, as they perceived and narrated the sea under the constraints of professional practices.One trope can be discerned within naval accounts: the use of the sea to defend and fashion themselves as unfortunate ‘sports of war’.[[61]](#endnote-61) Indeed, for French and British sailors, the sea formed a probationary space, which they dramatized to pre-empt accusations of cowardice. Langton’s account, mentioned above, bears witness to this self-exculpatory usage of the marine world, since it was his escape that he aimed to legitimise by emphasizing prior bravery at sea.[[62]](#endnote-62) Such personal justifications permeated two types of writing – published memoirs, and manuscript Admiralty reports – in which specific stylistic devices were used to depict the trials of the sea.

Sailors profusely employed the epic register in printed accounts, which often embedded narratives of capture in prophetic plots. Alexander Stewart, for instance, related how a series of ominous occurrences had taken place before his passage from Plymouth: the crew had ‘wrecked’ in Brighton and, in Newcastle, he ‘again nearly drowned’;[[63]](#endnote-63) ‘so precarious is safety at sea’, he concluded.[[64]](#endnote-64) These anxieties crystallised when, in Plymouth, ‘a young man […] came on the deck, like a ghost rising from the sea’.[[65]](#endnote-65) This Gothic apparition led him to foresee capture in his sleep.[[66]](#endnote-66) The loop was then complete, as ‘this capture [took] place close to the very spot where, a few months previous, [he] had been shipwrecked’.[[67]](#endnote-67) This circular history reveals how British seamen tried to pinpoint the beginning of captivity in the sea. Stewart was forced into detention by natural elements, which dissipated his responsibility in his defeat. His outlook offers an insight into the potency of myths of wreckage, as much as the captives’ need to place their individual destiny into cosmic and historical vanguards.[[68]](#endnote-68) Stewart quoted his own dream, in inverted commas, as if it was already written not only in nature, but in history and Providence. Over several pages, he attempted to ‘trace […] its possible antecedents’, before concluding that ‘it resemble[d] the dream of Alexander the Great about the Jewish High Priest’.[[69]](#endnote-69) His effort to locate his defeat into a greater scheme materialised in the vision of a providential call in capture. ‘This was the turning point in my destiny’, he wrote, ‘I had given myself to a sea life, but God “hedged up my way”’.[[70]](#endnote-70) The rise of Evangelism in the Navy might explain why other sailors reclaimed the hardships of seclusion as a confessional awakening.[[71]](#endnote-71) Repossessing forfeiture also materialised in the use of Classics epitaphs from Virgil’s poetry, or humorous references to the ‘sentimental journey’ – Lawrence Sterne’s novel about discovering France – which both turned their passive experience of military violence into an empowering situation of self-fashioning.[[72]](#endnote-72)

In manuscript Admiralty reports, this empowerment relied mostly on *not* narrating the sea itself. For British captains, capture led to a court-martial evaluating the conditions of the ship’s loss and the responsibility of the defeated crew. To be acquitted and maintain their affiliation to the service, they had to write to the ‘Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty’ in London to defend themselves *in absentia*. They often did so at sea, aboard the ships of their captors, as evidenced by the ‘Statement of occurrences’ penned by Captain Daniel Woodriff on the *Majestueux.*[[73]](#endnote-73) His report stated that the defeat of the Indiamen under his command, *HMS Calcutta*, was necessary for the ‘escape’ of the merchant convoy he was in charge of escorting from Saint-Helena to England.[[74]](#endnote-74) The unexpected assistance request from a ‘leaky’ and ‘heavy’ brig from Tobago was the main impediment Woodriff invoked in his five-page letter to justify his navigational strategy. Suffused by a technical language of military ‘action’, his report thus portrayed the sea as a blank space of gallant maneuvering, which manifested most vividly in his attached sketch of the event, where only vessels, their trajectories and the times of their movement featured.

Conversely, French captains used the rhetoric of pathos to lament the lost sea, particularly through the trope of nautical burial.[[75]](#endnote-75) The memoir of Pierre-Marie-Joseph de Bonnefoux,captured on the *Belle Poule* in the Caribbean and detained in Britain for five years, is illuminating. The lexicon field of death permeated his narrative of capture at sea. The captor was a predator instilling a fear ‘similar to the one inspired by a wolf in a flock of sheep’. Surrender ‘sounded like a tolling knell’: the crew broke their swords and threw their remains in the sea.[[76]](#endnote-76) Once captured, their passage to Portsmouth was torturous: their decapitated ship ‘almost perished’ (‘*faillit perir*’) in a tempest, and the sight of French shores was ‘heart-wrenching’ (‘*crève-cœur*’) for the defeated crew.[[77]](#endnote-77) This language was coupled with an *argumentum ad passiones*, which elicited empathy from his reader to see sailors as ‘victims of a passion for the sea’ yet subject to the decay of the French naval sea power after Trafalgar.[[78]](#endnote-78) This self-exculpatory discourse permeated many narrations of officers liable for the defeat of their crew, who depicted themselves as developing leadership in adversity. Yet, other neglected mediums, such as objects, were used by these captives and others of a lower sort, who sometimes lacked literacy, to express their visions of the sea in seclusion.

[B] Marine crafts

In September 1809, in the churchyard of Odiham, Hampshire, a headstone was raised in memory of Pierre Julian Jonneau, a French parole prisoner in the village, who died aged twenty-nine. An epitaph entitled ‘Ode to a prisoner of war bone ship model’ ornated the stone to celebrate a miniature of the *Téméraire* Jonneau had fabricated in detention. Commissioned by local admirers of his art, this piece of poetry offers an insight into the process and meaning of representing seafaring in captivity during the period:

Mellow as ancient ivory

And fine as carven jade,

From beef-bones of captivity

The shapely hull was made,

Whose making helped upon their way

Such limping hours and slow

As measured out the leaden day

That none but prisoners know.

Old wars, old woes, olds wasted years,

Old causes lost and won,

Old bitterness of captives’ tears

As dreams–as dreams are done.

As dreams the stubborn hulls, the pride

Of masts that raked the sky,

Sea-shattering bows and oaken side

Of fighting fleets gone by.

Older practices of celebrating craftsmanship in burial and romantic imaginings of dying out of place instilled this lamentation.[[79]](#endnote-79) Nevertheless, the fact that this was written in English, and that the ship model was the point of focus, instead of the artist, appears peculiar. Jonneau was the son of an officer in the administration of the French Navy, and he was born in the *Ile de Ré*, which meant that seafaring had framed his everyday and education, before being the object of his craft. Yet, far from being a prosaic background of his life, the sea was depicted, in the poem, as an oneiric space of martial loss and elation populated by ‘mats that raked the sky’. ‘What about her builder?’ the poem asks, ‘Did he sail/Home to France at last,/To tell in happier times the tale/ of wars and prison past?’[[80]](#endnote-80) This penultimate verse suggests that its openness was associated with prospects of freedom. Whilst Jonneau never reached his home shores, the act of composing the ship model had, for the authors of the poem, enabled him to while the time away, as much as to carve out a place in the society of his defeaters. These objects were, in fact, meant to be sold in local markets and were well-appreciated by British clients, who developed amicable relations with the enemy through this commerce. Jonneau was not an exception. Many country houses, museums and private collectors are now in possession of ship models crafted by Napoleonic prisoners of war in Britain. They are categorised by curators as belonging to the ‘prisoner of war genre’, a genre which bears witness to the grip of the sea on the imagination of both captives and captors, craftsmen and customers.[[81]](#endnote-81)

The objects crafted by French prisoners in Britain were as various in subject, form, material and sophistication, as the conditions of their production. They were created by parolees dispersed in myriad villages in Britain, as much as by captives experiencing a more severe confinement in Portchester Castle or Norman Cross, and in hulks off the coasts of Portsmouth. Their prime material was bone derived from their food ration (half a pound of beef, pork or mutton on the bone), along with straw and wood smuggled or acquired in what was then known as the ‘depot market’. These weekly markets were extensions of inner transactions within the prison, which served detainees to exchange goods between barracks, such as coffee and tobacco. The inland ‘depot market’ was a regulated zone of trade within the detention place, generally in a secured yard within the main gate, between the inner and outer walls of the prison, where captive craftsmen were entrusted to sell their productions to the local population.[[82]](#endnote-82) The colourfulness of these popular fairs was a source of inspiration for various British artists who, like Robert Louis Stevenson, marvelled about the ‘little miracles of dexterity and taste’ put on sale by French captives in Scotland in his novel *Saint-Ives*.[[83]](#endnote-83)

Ship models were fine examples of the captives’ adroitness, as they metamorphosed humble materials into luxury goods.[[84]](#endnote-84) These artefacts were intricately carved and detailed compositions, as evidenced by the replicate below (Figure 2.1). Whether they represented ships-of-the-line, hulls or whaleboats, the vessels were fully decked, equipped and rigged with human or horse hair. They could feature Roman figureheads, elaborate sterns, miniature life boats and brass cannons, which could be linked to a retractable system of pullies or cords at the stern. These ornaments and mechanisms reflected the versatility of skills of the ‘citizen-soldiers’ of Napoleon’s army, a congregation of workers of various trades and nationalities enforced to take up arms by the conscription.[[85]](#endnote-85) This versatility was also visible in the sizes of these artefacts, varying from an 86-gun ship of almost fifty inch in height to a nutshell, in which a sailed ship was carved within three-quarters of an inch in width.[[86]](#endnote-86)

There was something natural, for these captives, to develop this occupation in detention. Carving miniature objects was, after all, not a novelty in their lives. Fishermen and off-watch sailors, for instance, were used to fabricating nautical folk art from whatever scrap material came to hand: rope, wood, wool, but also bones and teeth of walruses aboard whalers were transformed into creative items known as ‘scrimshaw’.[[87]](#endnote-87) This was a way of occupying time during long voyages, or else when the sea was not navigable. Farmers and miners designed similar wood carvings and ‘whimsy bottles’ during winter. This creativity offered to the less literate captives a mode of expression beyond words, which allowed transnational transfers to occur, as Danish prisoners adopted their style and techniques in detention.[[88]](#endnote-88)

These productions were variations on naval events of the time, as suggested by a ‘funeral catafalque’ produced by a French prisoner in Britain in 1806.[[89]](#endnote-89) This large three-decker was decorated with a canopy, a coffin and sarcophagus, to represent Nelson’s funeral cortege in an Egyptian manner. On the sides featured the Latin inscription ‘*Palmam oui meruit ferat Trafalgar hoste devicto requievit Nile*’: a combination of the Admiral’s motto ‘let he who has earned it bear the palm’ with a satirical comment from the artist ‘the enemy having been defeated, he rested’. In this respect, it seems that crafting marine scenes was a politically empowering tool of artistic and exotic escapism. These creations were performances of survival for Napoleonic prisoners, as much as displays of professional skills and identity, especially as they offered meagre financial rewards to their creators.

Brian Lavery and Simon Stephens have shown that ship models were produced for a variety of purposes during the period: as scale models in shipbuilding; as souvenirs of naval events, sometimes including relics of battle ships; or as domestic decorations.[[90]](#endnote-90) Prisoner of war models were generally not made to scale, since accurate plans were not available and their tools were modest. These models were consumed in Britain as ornaments, especially as they contained multifaceted *mises-en-scène* which made them more marketable than plain folk art. Locating the ship in a maritime milieu – with a watercolour of a seascape in the background, a balustrade, or a baseboard featuring a boat slip and suggesting that the ship was yet to be finished – offered additional scenic and interactive value to these items.[[91]](#endnote-91) The silver-tinted carrying case below (Figure 2.1) is illuminating in that regard.[[92]](#endnote-92) The case itself increased the artistic and economic value of the model: three surface silvered mirrors were placed inside the straw plaited box to reflect light on the ivory sails of the model to give them a translucent effect, and reproduce the shimmer of water whilst sailing at sea. The use of the light made the bone construction an object of luxurious display, as suggested by the glass door through which the scene could be observed, and the external doors which, with additional curtains, enclosed it as a miniature theatre.[[93]](#endnote-93) Other strategies were deployed by captive artists to distinguish themselves and their productions in a market where competition was fierce, such as placing the bone model in an ebony box, which, by contrast of colours, highlighted the subtle hues of the ivory and upgraded the piece to a higher price.

<FIG. 2.1 ABOUT HERE>

Figure 2.1 Ship-model in straw marquetry case crafted by a French prisoner in Britain, c. 1804-1815; National Maritime Museum, Greenwich, **©** Royal Museums Greenwich Picture Library

Prisoners did not only produce ship models in detention, they fabricated decorated tea caddies, chests (for jewels or needlework), cigar cases, snuff and game boxes (for cribbage, dominoes or chess sets), paper sculptures, automated toys, watch stands, straw marquetry pictures, miniature bone furniture, and kitchenware such as apple corers.Despite this diversity, the aesthetics of the sea permeated many of these creations, as a kind of metanarrative suffusing the material culture of captivity life. Marine scenes were a common motif of marquetry pictures executed by French straw workers. They often depicted harbour vistas with, on the foreground, a developed point of land with buildings or a clock tower and, in the background, large vessels setting off to sea whilst smaller fishing boats would sail in the opposite direction, the whole composition being framed with a wave motif.[[94]](#endnote-94) Equally, watch stands were elaborate cabinets, which could contain an encased ship model between supporting columns, or watercolours featuring fishing or shipping scenes.[[95]](#endnote-95) Others were constructed in the shape of a grandfather clock, in which the pendulum was replaced by bone-framed paintings of ships-of-the-line.[[96]](#endnote-96) Furthermore, the practice of housing objects in bottles reveals the devotional culture of the sea in detention. Engrained in older traditions of religious folk art known as ‘patience bottles’ amongst seasonal working classes, the technique of putting objects in bottles flourished in the early nineteenth century.[[97]](#endnote-97) Ships were often placed in glass flasks, in a similar fashion as messages in drift bottles, a practice which expanded to other types of objects in detention. This was the case of devotional artefacts, such as bone Crucifixion scenes, which were bottled to protect their fragile assemblage as much as to display the dexterity of the artist.[[98]](#endnote-98)

Overall, these objects reflect a twofold phenomenon: firstly, the potency of maritime imagery in French prisoners’ creativity; secondly, the fact that these captives were responding to a demand in Britain, since objects were meant to be sold locally. Markets disseminated maritime aesthetics and taste, along with other imaginings. Two symbols of political and industrial change were particular popular: guillotines and spinning Jennies, which were sold as automata and toys to the local population. These were permeated by other imaginations, particularly those of the theatre and Neoclassicism, which also underpinned the nautical representations mentioned above, particularly the use of Roman figureheads. Objects crafted by British prisoners of war in France have seldom survived, and these suggest that other environmental imaginations, such as botany, inspired their production.[[99]](#endnote-99) However, for these British captives, the idea and act of traversing the Channel, after being landlocked for a decade, equally crystallised expressions of displacement.

[B] Shores of Homecoming: Seeing the Channel

As the literary scholar Franco Moretti argued, the early-nineteenth century witnessed the emergence of a certain kind of home-comings, understood as a socio-cultural vortex that necessitated leaving the comforts of home to return to it after an initiatory journey, which redefined home as ‘less a particular place than a longing’.[[100]](#endnote-100) This longing permeated the ways in which prisoners narrated their confrontations with the sea in Saint-Malo, Calais and Dover. These narrations did not portray the Channel as a demarcation line affirmed by a journey abroad, as Catriona Kennedy noted for seamen engaged in fights against Revolutionary France.[[101]](#endnote-101) Instead of solidifying differences between ‘home’ and ‘away’, this sea was a space of blurred feelings of homesickness for returning prisoners of war.

The experience of children of British detainees illuminates the ways in which traversing the Channel crystallised unsettled feelings of belonging. This is apparent in the memoir penned by Frances Sophia Rainsford, the daughter of a British redcoat sequestered with his wife in Northern France. Born and educated in detention, she and her brothers experienced conflicting feelings in crossing the Channel, the route to a home they had never seen before. Recollecting her first encounter with Calais in 1814, she wrote:

There I first saw the sea. My Father took me to walk on the sands and I was charmed with the small corals and shells and the fisherwomen. He pointed out to me where England was […] We scarcely lost sight but we had a long rough passage, and arrived very sick and wretched at Dover. Everything looked so dreary there and most of us wished ourselves back to France. My little brother exclaiming ‘Is this England? Oh! Take me back to France!’[[102]](#endnote-102)

For these children, the passage to ‘the other side’ became the tangible manifestation of their former status as displaced captives. For Rainsford, Napoleonic France was ‘where [she] made [her] appearance on the stage’: this opening remark suggests how she considered her childhood as the prime moment when she developed a sense of her self, in time and space.[[103]](#endnote-103) The sea was where she saw this self most destabilised. After the sudden death of her mother in 1814, she travelled with her father and siblings from Gravesend to Elba, and experienced again a ‘long rough passage’ aboard the *Princess Charlotte*:

There was little time to get our cabin in order for it began to blow as soon as we got into the Channel and we were all very sick and unable to move […] It was so stormy that the sea came rushing through the portholes and our miserable little berths were soon wet through, and everything that was not secured was floating about our little cabins. It was so bad that the portholes had to be closed and the only light we had was admitted by the bulbic eyes [*sic.*], so when anybody on deck happened to step on upon them, or sail got on them, we were thrown into total darkness.[[104]](#endnote-104)

By the intermediary of the sea, she narrated a story of insecurity and constant disorder, where stability was paradoxically sought in the moving ‘heterotopia’ of the ship.[[105]](#endnote-105) ‘After that we were able to sit up on deck’, she concluded, ‘and some worked or read, and children were able to play […] It was amusement watching the moving of the log, and the various performances of the sailors. At last, when we had been on board about three weeks and were accustomed to the life.’[[106]](#endnote-106) After the death of her father, Rainsford and her sisters were sent on another voyage back to England, in which they further sought a home afloat. ‘One day’, she wrote, ‘the Captain announced that we should soon see England, but it was not very cheering for us, for the ship had been our home, and the rough kind old Captain our only friend.’[[107]](#endnote-107) Home was then conceived as a constant dislocation, or, in the words of Agnes Heller, a re-alignment between the familiar and the self-navigation of the world, which made Rainsford transfer her sense of belonging afloat. This moving ‘home’ was cemented in the keeping of pets – ‘two cats in a basket, a cage full of birds and a cockatoo’ – acquired in detention in France, and with which the family had traversed the Channel and the Atlantic Ocean.[[108]](#endnote-108) As Carolyn Steedman observes, ‘little things’ fashion identities, and these little animals were indeed part of Rainsford’s sense of belonging and search for home in migration.[[109]](#endnote-109)

Adults equally rediscovered the sea upon their liberation. On his arrival to Saint-Malo, Alexander Stewart described his elation at contemplating a marine vista:[[110]](#endnote-110) ‘When we first saw the sea from the inland heights, before we reached the town’, he wrote, ‘our rejoicing was boundless, many hearty cheers, a glass of brandy, and three cheers more.’[[111]](#endnote-111) The sight was not a novelty per se, as he had crossed the Channel before. Yet, he ‘saw’ it for the ‘first’ time in Brittany. The sea was then in focus, as a meaningful space, rather than as a medium to another destination. This translated into the narration Stewart made of his passage to Portsmouth and his return to British society as a ‘shipwrecked’ foreigner:

Mingled feelings moved our hearts. The fact of our being again in England was delightful, but our pockets and prospects cast a considerable damp over us. Our singular dress rendered us objects of remark wherever we passed on the way, for besides the peculiar cut and colour of our jackets and trousers, we had each his hairy knapsack on his back, and a peculiar shaped straw hat. Some thought we were Swedes or Danes proceeding to London, after shipwreck on the English coast.[[112]](#endnote-112)

The journey across the Channel made apparent a new physical, cultural, social and political identity in migration. Stewart noted that, after landing, he found himself ‘getting water a la Française’ and being the object of local mockery. ‘I felt so hurt’, wrote Stewart, ‘that I said I would perish by the roadside rather than ask again. I already felt I could spit in the face of England and abandon it for ever.’[[113]](#endnote-113) These feelings of alienation and injustice collided with the aspirations British captives had previously expressed about re-joining their ‘native shores’. The Channel had been a source of nostalgia in prisoners’ ballads, poems and plays. The ‘Ode to Liberty’, penned by Thomas Dutton, a civilian detainee, whilst in close seclusion in Bitche in 1808, reveals the shaping force of the sea on feelings and ideas of national identity in displacement:

Fair Goddess of my native shore!

Whom Albion’s hardy sons revere;

To whom they incense burn, and altars rear,

And at thy hallow’d shrine adore!

Whom Ocean, in his watery cave,

First rear’d, and gave to rule the wave!

Gave, ‘midst the loud and angry storm,

To raise sublime they god-like form!

At distance, hav’n born FREEDOM! hail! [[114]](#endnote-114)

The conflation of liberty with Britishness in the openness of the sea was based on an Ancient sociocultural construct, which became a defining feature of Englishness during the Elizabethan era.[[115]](#endnote-115) In particular, the work of Shakespeare contributed to shape an image of England as a ‘sea-girt ilse’, ‘a precious stone in silver sea’, whose sovereignty was ‘hedged in with the main, that water-walled bulwark’.[[116]](#endnote-116) Yet, the construction of the ‘free-born Briton’ and the marine deity of liberty emerged during the eighteenth century with celebrations of parliamentary monarchy and the dissemination of songs associated with the Royal Navy, such as ‘Rule Britannia’.[[117]](#endnote-117) The lyrics of this song – ‘Rule the *waves*:/Britons never will be *slaves*’– strongly impinged Dutton’s captive claim to regain freedom at sea.[[118]](#endnote-118) Yet, expressions of nautical patriotism were often more latent. Personifications of the Channel as ‘murmuring’, ‘chiding [their] impatience, yet inviting [them] to the protection of its bosom’ were concomitant with a femininity evocative of Britannia.[[119]](#endnote-119) Poems were also composed to be read with a musical air reminiscent of seafaring.[[120]](#endnote-120) A good example would be ‘Peaceful slum’ring on the Ocean’, which was meant to guide the reading of captive poems following the intonation of a marine lullaby. The air served to align the words of the prisoner with the lyrics of a song claiming that ‘Seamen fear no danger nigh; The winds and waves in gentle motion soothes them with their lullaby.’ Despite the rise of patriotism during the period, these references were not evident for non-captive readers. They necessitated the interventions of publishers, who provided ‘copious elucidation’ of the captives’ nostalgia for their ‘native shores’ in the footnotes of their texts, and which suggests that this articulation of a marine Britishness was still in construction during the period.[[121]](#endnote-121)

[B] Conclusion

In 2009, the historian of World War I captivity Alon Rachamimov depicted war detention as forming ‘islands of men’.[[122]](#endnote-122) The image was rhetorical, and yet it seems that, with regards to the Napoleonic narratives mentioned above, this discourse has its origins in the writings of the prisoners themselves. By investigating the mobilisation of marine metaphors in various forms of narration, this chapter has re-evaluated the role of the sea as a site of mediation and memorialisation of coerced mobility. Whilst a resurging interest in prisoner of war experience has shifted the lens of investigation towards their ‘low literature’, little attention has been given to the use of landscapes, particularly imaginary and mnemonic seascapes, in voicing forced displacement in times of war. Yet, it appears significant that Napoleonic prisoners deployed and circulated sea-inspired tropes not only to express their situation in reference to the ‘sea voyage’ genre, but also to retrieve a lost everyday and identity.

My holistic perspective on the visual, textual and material culture of the sea has thus drawn attention to the neglected ‘environmental divestment’ of war detention. I argued that, by unsettling them spatially, war captivity prompted prisoners of various sorts to adopt, reclaim and circulate sea-inspired tropes via diverse medium. Maritime representations permeated numerous creations of British and French captives, despite them being mostly landlocked, if not purposely kept far away from their home shores. This phenomenon was underpinned by the fact that prisoners avidly consumed each other’s productions, may they be texts or objects; as much as they were fond of the ‘sea voyage’ literature. In the first section, I have shown how such processes made the sea a common point of reference for these detainees, and how, in the early nineteenth century, this articulation of detention in seascapes resulted from triangular interactions between captive authors, readers and publishers.

This perspective has revealed the variety of maritime imaginings in war captivity. Whilst nautical outlooks and languages moulded mediations of seclusion, it seems important to differentiate the constraints, meanings and functions of such uses.[[123]](#endnote-123) For instance, the aforementioned conflation of the sea, national identity and freedom was specific to Britishness. Contemporary nation-building processes in France involved other land-inspired symbols and metaphors.[[124]](#endnote-124) Furthermore, references to the sea were multifaceted. These were nourished by Gothic myths of wreckage, romantic narrations of violence, and aesthetics of folk art. They constituted a form of escapism, confessional awakening, power inversion, and self-justification in the case of naval men, for whom the maritime space had a specific meaning, as they perceived it through the lens of professional obligations.

By focusing on two countries separated yet linked by a fluid frontier, this chapter has highlighted the value of approaching the diverse experiences of French and British prisoners of war through imaginings of their common space: the Channel. Jonneau’s craft, in particular, is a powerful reminder that the sea did not merely antagonise captives and captors, but offered them a shared space of dialogue, performance and memory. Napoleonic stories of the sea should thus be considered as ‘a sea of stories’. The water world was not merely an object of inspiration in war captivity, but a narrative line, a connector or, in the words of a Napoleonic prisoner, ‘a point in the universe, where defeaters and defeated, friends and hapless men, sought to overcome myriad difficulties and meet, for a moment, to communicate their emotions, then beg leave to each other after only a brief encounter.’[[125]](#endnote-125)

[B] Notes

1. Richard Langton, *Narrative of a Captivity in France From 1809 to 1814*, 2 vols (Liverpool: Smith, 1836). [↑](#endnote-ref-1)
2. Langton, *Narrative of a Captivity*, vol. 1, pp. 1-4. See also Dean King, ed., *Every Man Will Do His Duty: An Anthology of First-Hand Accounts from the Age of Nelson 1793-1815* (London: Conway Maritime Press, 1997), p. xiv. [↑](#endnote-ref-2)
3. Langton, *Narrative of a Captivity*, vol. 1, p. 31. [↑](#endnote-ref-3)
4. Expression borrowed from the work of Philip Edwards. [↑](#endnote-ref-4)
5. Patrick Le Caravèse, ‘Les Prisonniers Français en Grande-Bretagne de 1803 à 1814’, *Napoleonica. La Revue* 3:9 (2010): pp. 118-52; Gavin Daly, ‘Napoleon’s Lost Legions: French Prisoners of War in Britain, 1803–1814’, *History* 89:295 (2004): 361-80. [↑](#endnote-ref-5)
6. On the imagined space of the Channel, see Renaud Morieux, *Une Mer pour Deux Royaumes: la Manche, Frontière Franco-Anglaise (XVIIe-XVIIIe Siècles)* (Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2008). [↑](#endnote-ref-6)
7. Philip Edwards, *The Story of the Voyage: Sea-Narratives in Eighteenth-Century England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994). On the cultural shift from negative to positive visions of the sea in the West during the period, see Alain Corbin, *The Lure of the Sea: The Discovery of the Seaside in the Western World, 1750-1840* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1994). [↑](#endnote-ref-7)
8. Pauline Turner Strong, *Captive Selves, Captivating Others: the Politics and Poetics of Colonial American Captivity Narratives* (Boulder, CO.: Westview Press, 2000), p. 9. [↑](#endnote-ref-8)
9. Linda Colley, ‘Perceiving Low Literature: the Captivity Narrative’, *Essays in Criticism* 3 (2003):199-217. [↑](#endnote-ref-9)
10. Catriona Kennedy, *Narratives of the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars: Military and Civilian Experience in Britain and Ireland* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013); Linda Colley, *Captives: Britain, Empire and the World, 1600-1850* (London: Jonathan Cape, 2002); Linda Colley, ‘Going Native, Telling Tales: Captivity, Collaborations and Empire’, *Past and Present* 168:1 (2000): 170-93. [↑](#endnote-ref-10)
11. Catriona Kennedy has briefly explored the symbolic significance for the sea amongst Revolutionary and Napoleonic ‘travellers in uniforms’, namely sailors in regular service abroad. Yet, the question of how coerced mobility, in the context of war captivity, affected and was impinged by representations of the sea remains unchartered territory. Catriona Kennedy, *Narratives of the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars*, p. 95. [↑](#endnote-ref-11)
12. For example see *Narrateur de la Meuse*, 8 October 1813, p. 1. [↑](#endnote-ref-12)
13. On the social and gender unsettlement of war captivity, see, amongst others, Alon Rachamimov, ‘The Disruptive Comforts of Drag: (Trans)Gender Performances among Prisoners of War in Russia, 1914-1920’, *American Historical Review* 111:2 (2006): 362-82. [↑](#endnote-ref-13)
14. Simon Schama coined the expression ‘hydrographic culture’ in *The Embarrassment of Riches: An Interpretation of Dutch Culture in the Golden Age* (London: Collins, 1987), p. 44. [↑](#endnote-ref-14)
15. Howard Marchitello, *Narrative and meaning in early modern England: Browne’s skull and other histories* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), pp.4-5. [↑](#endnote-ref-15)
16. H. Porter Abbott, *The Cambridge Introduction to Narrative* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), pp. 20-2. [↑](#endnote-ref-16)
17. Harold Mytum and Gilly Carr, *Prisoners of War: Archaeology, Memory, and Heritage of 19th- and 20th-Century Mass Internment* (New York, Heidelberg, Dordrecht, London: Springer, 2012). On the ‘sea of stories’, see Salman Rushdie, *Haroun and the Sea of Stories* (London: Granta, 1990); Jean-Pierre Durix, ‘“The Gardener of Stories”: Salman Rushdie’s Haroun and the Sea of Stories’, *Journal of Commonwealth Literature*28:1(1993): 114-22. [↑](#endnote-ref-17)
18. On the popularity of the *Arabian Nights* and Oriental story-telling in Europe during the period, see, amongst others, Fahd Mohammed Taleb Saeed Al-Olaqi, ‘The Influence of the Arabian Nights on English Literature: A Selective Study’, *European Journal of Social Sciences* 31:3 (2012): 384-96. [↑](#endnote-ref-18)
19. On the imagined space of the Channel, see Morieux, *Une Mer pour Deux Royaumes: la Manche, Frontière Franco-Anglaise (XVIIe-XVIIIe Siècles)*. [↑](#endnote-ref-19)
20. Edwards, *The Story of the Voyage*, pp. 1-7. [↑](#endnote-ref-20)
21. Edwards, *The Story of the Voyage*, p. 2. [↑](#endnote-ref-21)
22. John Brewer, *The Pleasures of the Imagination: English Culture in the Eighteenth Century* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997), pp. 125-97. [↑](#endnote-ref-22)
23. Edwards, *The Story of the Voyage*, p. 3. [↑](#endnote-ref-23)
24. Philip Edwards, *Sea-Mark: The Metaphorical Voyage, Spenser to Milton* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1997), p. 6. [↑](#endnote-ref-24)
25. Sue Parrill, *Nelson’s Navy in Fiction and Film: Depictions of British Sea Power in the Napoleonic Era* (Jefferson, NC: MacFarland, 2009); Margarette Lincoln, *Representing the Royal Navy: British Sea Power, 1750-1815* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2002). [↑](#endnote-ref-25)
26. Nicholas Tracy, *Britannia’s Palette: The Arts of Naval Victory* (Montreal: McGill-Queen’s Press, 2007), p. 222. [↑](#endnote-ref-26)
27. The union of sky and sea was a common feature in Turner’s productions, yet in is particular portrait of Napoleon in exile the blurred and incandescent marine landscape aimed to represent the brutality and futility of the recently ended conflicts. The Emperor was portrayed as studying a rather banal mollusc, whilst crossing his arm in resignation and despair. See the recent analysis of the painting by Karine Huguenaud for *Napoleonica* <http://www.napoleon.org/en/essential\_napoleon/key\_painting/f

iles/476835.asp> [Accessed 11 November 2014]. The importance of the sea in Turner’s work has recently been highlighted in an exhibition at the National Maritime Museum in Greenwich. See Christine Riding and Richard Johns, eds, *Turner and the Sea* (London: Thames and Hudson, 2013). [↑](#endnote-ref-27)
28. Peter Fritzsche, *Stranded in the Present: Modern Time and the Melancholy of History* (Cambridge MA and London: Harvard University Press, 2004). [↑](#endnote-ref-28)
29. Paul Westover, *Necromanticism: Traveling to Meet the Dead, 1750-1860*(Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillan, 2012), pp. 1-2. [↑](#endnote-ref-29)
30. Westover, *Necromanticism*, p. 90. [↑](#endnote-ref-30)
31. Peter Fritzsche, ‘Specters of History: On Nostalgia, Exile, and Modernity’, *American Historical Review* 106:5 (2001): 1587-1618. [↑](#endnote-ref-31)
32. William Story, *A Journal Kept in France, during a Captivity of More than Nine Years, Commencing the 14th Day of April 1805 and Ending the 5th Day of May 1814* (London: Gale and Fenner, 1815). [↑](#endnote-ref-32)
33. Charles Sturt, *The Real State of France, in the Year 1809; with an Account of the Treatment of the Prisoners of War, and Persons Otherwise Detained in France* (London: Ridgway, 1810). [↑](#endnote-ref-33)
34. Amongst others, see James Lawrence*,* *A Picture of Verdun, or the English Detained in France*, 2 vols (London: Hookham, 1810); Andrew Blayney, *Narrative of a Forced Journey through Spain and France*, 2 vols (London: Kerby, 1814); Peter Gordon, *Narrative of the Imprisonment and Escape of Peter Gordon, Second Mate in the Barque Joseph of Limerick, Captain Connolly* (London: Conder, 1816); Robert Wolfe, *English Prisoners in France, Containing Observations on their Manners and Habits Principally with Reference to their Religious State* (London: Hatchard, 1830); Seacombe Ellison, *Prison Scenes: and Narrative of Escape from France, during the Late War* (London: Whittaker, 1838); Donat Henchy O’Brien, *My Adventures During the Late War*, 2 vols (London: Colburn, 1839); Edward Proudfoot Montagu, *The Personal Narrative of the Escape of Edward Proudfoot Montagu: An English Prisoner of War, from the Citadel of Verdun* (London: Beccles, 1849); Edward Boys, *Narrative of a Captivity, Escape, and Adventures in France and Flanders during the War*, 2nd ed. (London: Cautley Newby, 1863). [↑](#endnote-ref-34)
35. This is exemplified by its multiple adaptations for children’s books, which include *Un corsaire De Quinze Ans* (Paris: Bibliothèque Rouge et Or, 1954) and more recently *Corsaire de la République* (Paris: Phébus, 1984). [↑](#endnote-ref-35)
36. Roland Barthes, ‘The Death of the Author’, trans. and ed. Stephen Heath in *Image-Music-Text*, pp. 42-8 (London: Fontana, 1977); Hans Robert Jauss, *Toward an Aesthetic of Reception*, trans. Timothy Bahti Minneapolis (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1982). [↑](#endnote-ref-36)
37. James Forbes, *Letters from France Written in the Years 1803 and 1804, Including a Particular Account of Verdun and the Situation of the British Captives in that City*, 2 vols (London: Bensley, 1806), vol. 2, p. 227. [↑](#endnote-ref-37)
38. These productions greatly differed from local paintings, which, almost without exception, depicted the town from within its ramparts, thus subduing its fluvial charm to highlight urban scenes and architectures. Bibliothèque d’Etude de Verdun, France, Dessins et Cartes: BCM122, Henry, ‘Porte de France’ (1815); V20, Henry, ‘Vue prise de la Grande Digue’ (1815). Musée de la Princerie, Verdun, France, uncatalogued: Five watercolours of Verdun by James Forbes, 1804. See also Bibliothèque d’Etude de Verdun, France, Dessins et Cartes: V19 bis, Samuel Robinson, ‘A West View of the Town of Verdun in Lorrain from the Heights’, undated. [↑](#endnote-ref-38)
39. Story, *A Journal Kept in France*, p. 52. [↑](#endnote-ref-39)
40. Blayney, *Narrative of a Forced Journey*, vol. 2, p. 341. [↑](#endnote-ref-40)
41. ‘Miscellaneous Reviews’, *The Gentleman’s Magazine*, November 1836, pp.75-6. [↑](#endnote-ref-41)
42. Ann Marie Fallon, *Global Crusoe: Comparative Literature, Postcolonial Theory and Transnational Aesthetics* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013), pp. 28-9. [↑](#endnote-ref-42)
43. Fallon, *Global Crusoe*, p. 28. [↑](#endnote-ref-43)
44. Lawrence, *A Picture of Verdun*, vol. 1, pp. 90-1; Langton*, Narrative of a Captivity*, vol. 1 , pp. 254-5; Blayney, *Narrative of a Forced Journey*, vol. 2, p. 197. [↑](#endnote-ref-44)
45. Kennedy, *Narratives of the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars*, pp. 125-6. [↑](#endnote-ref-45)
46. Langton*, Narrative of a Captivity*, vol. 1, pp. 254-5. Contemporaries narrated that ‘Verdun began to lose the appearance of a French town’ as captives settled in and renamed its commercial artery Bond Street, see Henry Raikes, ed., *Memoir of Vice-Admiral Sir Jahleel Brenton* (London: Hatchard, 1846), p. 189. ‘At Verdun’, wrote Reverend Lee in a letter, ‘I found myself enclosed in a small town, comprehending about the space of that iniquitous part of Oxford which surrounds the castle: the river is the same dimension and nearly in the same manner environed with mansions [...] The ramparts afford agreeable walks [...] which I have christened by the much loved names of Christ Church, Magdalen and such like denominations.’ See John Parry-Wingfield, ed., *Napoleon's Prisoner: a Country Parson's Ten-Year Detention in France* (Ilfracombe: Stockwell, 2012), p. 29. [↑](#endnote-ref-46)
47. See National Maritime Museum, Greenwich, PRN/6, Officers of HM Royal Navy, prisoners of war at Verdun, 1803-13; John Hopkinson, ‘Register of fellow prisoners at Verdun’ in Thomas Walker, *The Depot for Prisoners of War at Norman Cross, Huntingdonshire, 1796 to 1816*, pp. 312-4 (London: Constable, 1913). [↑](#endnote-ref-47)
48. Daly, ‘Napoleon’s Lost Legions’. p. 363. [↑](#endnote-ref-48)
49. Louis Cros, *Condition et Traitement des Prisonniers de Guerre* (Montpellier: Delord-Boehm, 1900). [↑](#endnote-ref-49)
50. Patricia Crimmin described some French prisoners refused to eat fish as a form of protest against the naval system under which they were sequestered. Patricia K. Crimmin, ‘Prisoners of War and British Port Communities, 1793-1815’, *The Northern Mariner/Le Marin du Nord* 6:4 (1996): 17-27; Daly, ‘Napoleon’s Lost Legions’, p. 364. [↑](#endnote-ref-50)
51. On the definition of ‘*raffaler*’, see the Ortolang dictionary project <http://www.cnrtl.fr/definition/raffaler> [accessed 11 November 2014]. [↑](#endnote-ref-51)
52. Daly, ‘Napoleon’s Lost Legions’, p. 380. [↑](#endnote-ref-52)
53. The *Narrateur de la Meuse* reported on various ‘*inventions nautiques des Anglais*’. *Narrateur de la Meuse*, 5 September 1813, p. 6. [↑](#endnote-ref-53)
54. Léon Renard, *L’Art Naval*, 3rd ed. (Paris: Hachette, 1873), pp. 254-8; John Goldworth Alger, *Napoleon’s British Visitors and Captives (1801-1815)* (London: Methuen, 1904), p. 201; James Kingston Tuckey, *Maritime Geography and Statistics*, 4 vols (London: Black, 1815). [↑](#endnote-ref-54)
55. Joan W. Scott, ‘The Evidence of Experience’, *Critical Inquiry* 17:4 (1991): 773-97. [↑](#endnote-ref-55)
56. Doreen Massey, *For Space* (London: Sage, 2005), p. 118. Other seminal studies of space as an ongoing social production include: Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, trans. Donald Nicholson-Smith (Oxford: Blackwell, 1991); Edward Soja, *Postmodern Geographies: the Reassertion of Space in Critical Social Theory* (London: Verso, 1989). [↑](#endnote-ref-56)
57. For an example of the adoption of the military term ‘mess’ to refer to dinner parties organised by civilians, see Lawrence, *A Picture of Verdun*, vol. 1, p. 92. [↑](#endnote-ref-57)
58. John Barnabas Maude, ed., *Book of Common Prayer* (Verdun: Christophe, 1810). [↑](#endnote-ref-58)
59. The aforementioned sermons appeared in James Stanier Clarke, *Naval Sermons Preached on Board His Majesty's Ship The Impetueux in the Western Squadron, During Its Services Off Brest* (London: Payne and White, 1798). The expression ‘blue lights’ refers to evangelical sailors. See Richard Blake, *Evangelicals in the Royal Navy, 1775-1815: Blue Lights & Psalm-Singers* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2008). [↑](#endnote-ref-59)
60. [↑](#endnote-ref-60)
61. Kennedy, *Narratives of the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars*, p. 119. [↑](#endnote-ref-61)
62. Throughout his account, Langton endeavoured to justify himself by presenting his breach of honour as a ‘meditated escape’, Langton, *Narrative of a Captivity*, vol. 1, p. 98. [↑](#endnote-ref-62)
63. Alexander Stewart, *The Life of Alexander Stewart: Prisoner of Napoleon and Preacher of the Gospel* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1948), p.15. [↑](#endnote-ref-63)
64. Stewart, *The Life of Alexander Stewart*,p. 15. [↑](#endnote-ref-64)
65. Stewart, *The Life of Alexander Stewart*, pp.17-18. [↑](#endnote-ref-65)
66. The day after, he wrote, ‘the historic fact dovetailed most accurately with every part of the dream’; Stewart, *The Life of Alexander Stewart*, p. 20. [↑](#endnote-ref-66)
67. Stewart, *The Life of Alexander Stewart*, p. 18. [↑](#endnote-ref-67)
68. On the potency of myths of wreckage in eighteenth-century England, see Cathryn Pearce, *Cornish Wrecking, 1700-1860: Reality and Popular Myth* (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2010). [↑](#endnote-ref-68)
69. Stewart, *The Life of Alexander Stewart*, p. 17. [↑](#endnote-ref-69)
70. Stewart, *The Life of Alexander Stewart*, p. 20. [↑](#endnote-ref-70)
71. This process manifested itself in letter-writing, see the letters of a Methodist captive named Nicholas Lelean to his wife. Royal Institute of Cornwall, Courtney Library, The Wesleyans of Mevagissey papers,uncatalogued, Correspondence of Nicholas Lelean, 1806-1813. A similar confessional awakening in captivity can be found in the writings of Captain Jahleel Brenton detained in Verdun, see Henry Raikes, ed., *Memoir of Vice-Admiral Sir Jahleel Brenton* (London: Hatchard, 1846). [↑](#endnote-ref-71)
72. The convention of citing Classics was aligned with the romantic reimagining of the epic, and served to situate individual prisoners at the centre of a ‘sentimental journey’. On the question of the place of the epic in history-writing during the period, see Elisa Beshero-Bondar, *Women, Epic, and Transition in British Romanticism* (Plymouth and Lanham: University of Delaware Press, 2011); Chloe Wheatley, *Epic, Epitome, and the Early Modern Historical Imagination* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013). [↑](#endnote-ref-72)
73. Woodriff was tried on HMS Gladiator after liberation. See William Patrick Gossett, *The lost ships of the Royal Navy, 1793–1900* (London: Mansell, 1986), pp. 48-9. [↑](#endnote-ref-73)
74. National Maritime Museum, Greenwich, WDR6, Captain Daniel Woodriff, Map of Lat 49. 34 Long. 9.010 N°3, 25-26 September 1805; ‘Statement of occurrences on the 25th and 26th September 1805 n°1’. [↑](#endnote-ref-74)
75. This representation was based on a social practice, as it was common place to return the dead to the sea during voyages. [↑](#endnote-ref-75)
76. Émile Jobbé-Duval, ed., *Mémoires du Baron de Bonnefoux, Capitaine de vaisseau. 1782-1855* (Paris: Plon, 1900), p. 184. [↑](#endnote-ref-76)
77. ‘*Le crève-cœur de longer les côtes de France, d’en apercevoir les sites riants et de nous en éloigner avec le pénible sentiment de notre liberté perdue. Dans cette tempête, le Marengo fut démâté de tous ses mâts et faillit périr; mais il avait tant souffert dans sa vaillante résistance qu’il n’y avait rien d’étonnant.*’ ; Jobbé-Duval, *Mémoires du Baron de Bonnefoux,* p. 192. [↑](#endnote-ref-77)
78. ‘*victime de sa passion pour la mer […] La République, non plus que l’Empire, ne sut garantir nos côtes, ni même l’intérieur de plusieurs de nos ports, des blocus ou des croisières anglaises; espérons qu’une telle humiliation est passée pour la France*.’; Jobbé-Duval, *Mémoires du Baron de Bonnefoux,* pp. xxxi, 53. [↑](#endnote-ref-78)
79. Paul Westover has made a compelling argument on the cruciality of dislocation in turning towards the ‘dead’ in France, America and Britain during the experience of warfare in the Romantic age; Westover, *Necromanticism*, p.128. [↑](#endnote-ref-79)
80. Clive Lloyd, *A History of Napoleonic and American Prisoners of War 1756-1816: Hulk, Depot and Parole*, 2 vols (Woodridge: Antique’s Collector’s Club, 2007), vol. 2, p. 129. [↑](#endnote-ref-80)
81. See the series of curatorial podcast for the Thomson Collection, Art Gallery of Ontario, Toronto; Simon Stephens,‘Napoleonic French Prisoner-of-war boxwood and ebony model of the 120-Gun First-Rate-Ship-Of-The-Line “L’Ocean”’, <http://www.ago.net/agoid108063b> [Accessed 11 November 2014]. [↑](#endnote-ref-81)
82. See Paul Chamberlain, *Hell Upon Water: Prisoners of War in Britain, 1793-1815* (Stroud: Spellmount, 2008). [↑](#endnote-ref-82)
83. Arthur Claude Cook painted ‘Plait merchants trading with the French prisoners of war at Norman Cross or Yaxley Camp, Cambridgeshire, 1806–1815’ (1909), whilst Arthur David McCornick depicted the sale of a ship model in his ‘Prospective buyer’ (1931). [↑](#endnote-ref-83)
84. See Ewart Freeston, *Prisoner-of-War Ship Models, 1775-1825* (Lymington: Nautical Publishing Company, 1973); Wolfram zu Mondfeld, *Knochenschiffe: Die Prisoner-of-War-Modelle 1775 bis 1814* (Herford: Koehler, 1989); Manfred Stein, *Prisoner of war bone ship models: Treasures from the age of the Napoleonic Wars* (Hamburg: Koehler, 2014). [↑](#endnote-ref-84)
85. Daly, ‘Napoleon’s Lost Legions’, p. 376. [↑](#endnote-ref-85)
86. Lloyd, *A History of Napoleonic and American Prisoners of War*, vol. 2, p.139. [↑](#endnote-ref-86)
87. Stuart Frank, *Ingenious Contrivances, Curiously Carved: Scrimshaw in the New Bedford Whaling Museum* (Jaffrey, NH: Godine, 2012). [↑](#endnote-ref-87)
88. These transfers explain the variety of nationalities represented by these models, which encompassed French, Danish, American and British vessels. [↑](#endnote-ref-88)
89. National Maritime Museum, Greenwich, SLR0655, full hull model of a funeral catafalque made by a French prisoner of war in Britain, 1806. [↑](#endnote-ref-89)
90. Brian Lavery and Simon Stephens, *Ship Models, Their Progress and Development from 1650 to the Present* (London: Zwemmer, 1995). [↑](#endnote-ref-90)
91. National Maritime Museum, Greenwich, SLR0638, Full model of a 74-gun two-decker warship mounted on a slipway prior to launching made by a French prisoner of war in Britain (1804-1814); SLR0615, Full hull model of a French 100-gun, three-decker ship of the line with an attached scenic watercolour of a maritime landscape (1804-1815). [↑](#endnote-ref-91)
92. National Maritime Museum, Greenwich, SLR0641, Ship-model in straw marquetry case crafted by a French prisoner in Britain (1804-1815). [↑](#endnote-ref-92)
93. Other examples of such a display with additional miniature curtains, see Lloyd, *A History of Napoleonic and American Prisoners of War*, vol. 2, pp. 94-5. [↑](#endnote-ref-93)
94. Lloyd, *A History of Napoleonic and American Prisoners of War*, vol. 2, pp. 92-3. [↑](#endnote-ref-94)
95. Lloyd, *A History of Napoleonic and American Prisoners of War*, vol. 2, pp.110-11. [↑](#endnote-ref-95)
96. Lloyd, *A History of Napoleonic and American Prisoners of War*, vol. 2, p. 112. [↑](#endnote-ref-96)
97. The development of ship models in bottles was concomitant with the development of clear glass bottles over the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries; Robert B. Kieding, *Scuttlebutt: Tales and Experiences of a Life at Sea* (Bloomington, IN: iUniverse, 2011), pp. 249-50. [↑](#endnote-ref-97)
98. Lloyd, *A History of Napoleonic and American Prisoners of War*, vol. 2, p. 125. [↑](#endnote-ref-98)
99. National Maritime Museum, Greenwich, AAA0001, Wooden watch-stand made by a marine prisoner in France, 1806-1814. [↑](#endnote-ref-99)
100. Franco Moretti, *The Way of the World: the Bildungsroman in European Culture* (London and New York: Verso, 2000), p. 23; Peter Fritsche, *Stranded in the Present*, p. 77. [↑](#endnote-ref-100)
101. Kennedy, *Narratives of the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars*, p. 104. [↑](#endnote-ref-101)
102. Julie Garland McLellan, ed., *Recollections of my Childhood: The True Story of a Childhood Lived in the Shadow of Napoleon Bonaparte* (London: CreateSpace, 2010), pp. 7, 47. [↑](#endnote-ref-102)
103. As Carolyn Steedman has shown *in Strange Dislocations*, childhood was an intricate concept, a physiological prism through which a ‘sense of insideness’ developed in the late eighteenth century and the nineteenth century; Carolyn Steedman, *Strange Dislocations: Childhood and the Idea of Human Interiority, 1780-1930* (London and Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1995), p. xi. [↑](#endnote-ref-103)
104. McLellan, *Recollections of my Childhood*, pp. 23-4. [↑](#endnote-ref-104)
105. Foucault referred as an heterotopia: ‘the boat is a floating piece of space, a place without a place, that exists by itself, that is closed in on itself and at the same time is given over to the infinity of the sea […] The ship is the heterotopia par excellence. In civilisations without boats, dreams dry up, espionage takes the place of adventure, and the police take the place of pirates.’ Michel Foucault, ‘Des Espaces Autres’, lecture given at *Architecture/Mouvement/Continuité*, October 1967, trans. Jay Miskowiec, *Diacritics* 16:1 (1967): 22-7. [↑](#endnote-ref-105)
106. Foucault, ‘Des Espaces Autres’, pp. 24-5. [↑](#endnote-ref-106)
107. Foucault, ‘Des Espaces Autres’, p. 43. [↑](#endnote-ref-107)
108. Foucault, ‘Des Espaces Autres’, p.44. [↑](#endnote-ref-108)
109. Carolyn Steedman, ‘Englishness, Clothes and Little Things: Towards a Political Economy of the Corset’, in Christopher Breward, Becky Conekin, and Caroline Cox, eds, *The Englishness of English Dress*, pp. 29-44 (Oxford: Berg, 2002). [↑](#endnote-ref-109)
110. See also the emotive charge of the Channel after displacement in Langton, *Narrative of a Captivity*, vol. 1, p. 120: ‘The sea once more seen, created sensations indiscribable [*sic*.].’ [↑](#endnote-ref-110)
111. Stewart, *The Life of Alexander Stewart*, pp. 91-2. [↑](#endnote-ref-111)
112. Stewart, *The Life of Alexander Stewart*, pp. 91-2. [↑](#endnote-ref-112)
113. Stewart, *The Life of Alexander Stewart*, pp. 91-2. [↑](#endnote-ref-113)
114. Thomas Dutton, *The Captive Muse* (London: Sherwoord, 1814), p. 31. [↑](#endnote-ref-114)
115. In *A Culture of Freedom*, Christian Meier has shown that, ‘for many people [in Ancient Greece], the sea represented freedom and mobility’. The trope circulated widely in time and space to become a pillar of European culture; Christian Meier, *A Culture of Freedom: Ancient Greece and the Origins of Europe* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), p. 8. [↑](#endnote-ref-115)
116. See Shakespeare’s *King Richard II*, ii, 1; and his *King John*, ii, 1. [↑](#endnote-ref-116)
117. Kennedy, *Narratives of the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars*, p. 95; see also Isaac Land, *War, Nationalism, and the British Sailor, 1750-1850* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009). [↑](#endnote-ref-117)
118. On the political implications of the rhyme between slaves and waves and the femininity of Britishness, see Emma Major, *Madam Britannia: Women, Church, and Nation 1712-1812* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), p. 56. [↑](#endnote-ref-118)
119. Edward Boys, *Narrative of a Captivity, Escape, and Adventures in France and Flanders during the War*, 2nd ed. (London: Cautley Newby, 1863), p. 158. [↑](#endnote-ref-119)
120. Dutton, *The Captive Muse*, p. 97. [↑](#endnote-ref-120)
121. A note from the publisher of Dutton’s poems reads: ‘it is a proud ground of legitimate triumph, and exultation for the British character, that this passage requires copious elucidation. To the English reader, who has never quitted his own happy sea-girt isle–that inviolable sanctuary of Freedom, and of equal Law–it may well appear inexplicable.’; Dutton, *The Captive Muse*, pp.125-6. [↑](#endnote-ref-121)
122. Alon Rachamimov, ‘Islands of Men: Shifting Gender Boundaries in World War I Internment Camps’, Institute of European Studies Lecture, University of California-Berkeley, 23 April 2009 <http://www.nrcweb.org/outreachitem.aspx?nNRCID =56&nActivityID=151021> [Accessed 11 November 2014]. [↑](#endnote-ref-122)
123. Other types of sources such as theatre plays could further inform this differentiation. [↑](#endnote-ref-123)
124. See the seminal work of Eugen Weber, *Peasants Into Frenchmen: The Modernization of Rural France, 1870–1914* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1976). [↑](#endnote-ref-124)
125. ‘*Mélange étonnant, concours singulier d’événements! On eût dit que, sur un point de l’univers, vainqueurs, vaincus, amis, infortunés, avaient cherché à triompher de mille difficultés pour se réunir un instant, se communiquer leurs émotions, et se séparer après s’être seulement entrevus*.’ ; Jobbé-Duval, *Mémoires du Baron de Bonnefoux*, p. 190.

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